



**UNITED GEORGIA  
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT**

**PROGRAMME FOR  
2020  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

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## NINO BURJANADZE'S ADDRESS



DEAR COMPATRIOTS!

After a selfless political struggle, we "The United Georgia", together with the Georgian nation, Opposition and international community achieved a great victory: an electoral system close to the proportional, that gives the voters a bigger chance to elect, who they can entrust the country to.

The 2020 parliamentary election is the watershed. Today, we have a unique opportunity to break through the vicious circle the country has been in for the last 30 years. In the history

of independent Georgia all the parliamentary polls ended up with a single political force seizing the power. No matter who was the ruler, a single-handed rule would gain ground in the Government, Parliament and the Court. In October, our aim is to put an end to this trend. A new stage, where the United Georgia is going to play a key part is to begin before long. We are going to have a multi-party Parliament, the members of which would be wary of one another. And it is that fear of scrutiny and competition with one another that would lay the groundwork of the democratic institutions of new Georgia. Under the public pressure commitments towards the oligarch will be replaced with the public accountability, and the experience we have worked our way to, will replace the slavish obedience.

In such a Parliament, our team will be able to keep its promises, working hand in hand with the professionals towards socio-economic advancement of our state. In the interests of the country, we are ready to join forces with the others. Moreover, we are able to bridge differences between the opposed parties and inspire them to work for the benefit of the country.

As early as 1000 years ago, the Georgians would raise money and pay benefits to the poor, while the ruler of today has abandoned them to the whims of the fate. Our citizens' lives were hard enough, and the pandemic has made things worse. The gap between the rich and the poor has widened, and the inequality is now so widespread to be taken for granted. The encroachment into our historical lands is accelerating and regaining control over the breakaway Abkhazia and Samachablo (South Ossetia) is no longer on the agenda of our government. In the new Parliament, there will be no room for mistakes and experiments of the newly-minted politicians. The world is face to face with the grave pandemic, and even the well developed countries are on the verge of a severe economic crisis. The tensions between the neighboring Armenia and Azerbaijan are running high, while our relations with Russia and even the West are deteriorating steadily. Today as never before Georgia needs a team of confident, competent, professional politicians capable of protecting the national interests in a situation like this.

## **THE KEY TASKS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA ARE:**

- ✓ Laying economic grounds to the universal welfare;
- ✓ Ensuring the citizens' internal and external security;
- ✓ Establishment of democracy.

## **THE NATIONAL INTERESTS:**

- Ensuring the economic and social welfare and the peace of mind;
- Achievement of the national unity and public accord. Establishment and strengthening the social justice;
- Restoration and consolidation of the country's territorial integrity; trust-building and bridging differences with our Abkhazian and Ossetian compatriots; strengthening the sovereignty; establishment of good-neighborly relations with the bordering states;
- Establishment of a truly democratic polity. Enhancement of the state institutions and checks and balances. Creation of the efficient governance and control tools;
- Protection of the traditional national values and support to progressive trends;
- Respect to each societal groups' identity and creation of a level playing field for them;
- Achievement of national unity and public accord.

## **THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS FACING GEORGIA:**

The state is for people and not the other way around! What we need is a robust country and stable development. However, a robust state does in no way mean violence. The strength of a state is measured by the public accord and the universal welfare. Only a fair state can be stable and successful!

The feudal rule imposed by a single person has undermined the state institutions, while the corrupt policy of "the strategic patience" aggravated the law and order situation and caused insecurity of our citizens living along the so-called borderlines. The streets are no longer safe, and the people in the conflict zones feel as if they were in the times of the Lezghian invasions.

## **DUE TO THE AUTHORITIES, GEORGIA HAS SUFFERED A SIGNIFICANT DAMAGE, namely:**

- The level and scope of poverty are rising; 2/3 of the population still remain beyond the poverty line;
- The National economy is stagnating. What we see is a slump instead of growth;
- Georgia is in a precarious situation in terms of its independence and sovereignty; the Government does not plan and conduct independent National policy;
- On the international arena, the prestige of the Georgian Government and the reputation of the state are fading;
- Foreign troops are deployed on our territory and there are two quasi-states, with the encroachment deep into the heartland going on;
- Georgia's borders not only with Russia, but its other neighbors too are a source of instability. The border demarcation and delimitation with three states have not been completed as yet;
- Apart from Russia problems have emerged in our relations with Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia;
- The UN speaks about a demographic disaster facing Georgia, since the people have to flee the country for sheer survival of themselves and their families remaining here;
- Education and science are degrading;
- In these digital times, care for IT education and cyber security is largely a lip service;
- Environmental protection is just a pre-election promise, while the air and water quality is deteriorating on a daily basis;
- The gigantic hydro-electric plants are detrimental to nature. They are being constructed not for the country's energy security but in order to make the oligarch even wealthier.

However, the trend is not irreversible. Most of the authorities are totally incompetent, while those more knowledgeable get no chance of self-fulfillment. Nepotism is thriving; people are employed for their political loyalty and not competence. Therefore, most of the intellectuals are shut off the decision making. Meanwhile, the feudal ruler lives in his own virtual reality. There is no bridge between an untouchable Georgian Dream caste and the rest of the people.

## **THE MAIN INTERNAL POLITICAL THREATS:**

Absence of the democratic system, single-handed decision making and the incompetent Parliament totally unacceptable to the voters create grave problems.

- The consistent economic policy is missing;
- In the global pandemic, the Government has not presented a crisis-combat plan;
- The law and order situation has aggravated, uninvestigated murders, robberies etc. crimes are commonplace;
- The negative balance of payments has reached a critical level. Due to the excessive government spending, the generations to come will have to carry the burden of the sovereign debt;
- The gap between the rich and the poor is broadening and unemployment is a huge problem;
- In search of work, most of the able-bodied population is leaving the country;
- The middle class weakened by the previous government is becoming poorer;
- Only some people have enjoyed the pledged restoration of justice and the selective justice is still widespread;
- Instead of "the knowledge economy" what we have in place is 'underdeveloped service economy';
- The problem of the "lost generation" is becoming more and more acute. Those over 50 are virtually shut off the work life;
- The refugees still face severe hardships;
- Disregard of the grassroots sports, the poor quality preventive medicine, food safety etc. have caused steady deterioration of the public health.

### **The key objectives of the United Georgia:**

#### **1. OVERCOMING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE COUNTRY.**

What we should do to this end is as follows:

- A truly independent judiciary;
- A stable and predictable legal framework;
- Transparent and foreseeable financial institutions.

Only after achieving the aforesaid, will it be possible to:

- **ATTRACT INVESTMENTS:** a pragmatic, experienced and predictable leader will ensure availability of the legal framework necessary to rekindle the investors' interest. In a coalition Government, Mrs. Nino Burjanadze is going to guarantee the stability and balance. The United Georgia's plan sets out the

taxation system transparent to investors, preferential conditions and first and foremost, independent judiciary.

- **OPTIMIZATION OF PUBLIC SPENDING:** drastic cuts in bonuses, travel expenses and representative costs, freezing the Government members' and MPs' salaries and tying their growth to the economic indicators. Relentless struggle against incompetence, corruption and nepotism.
- **STREAMLINING TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE TRADITIONAL AND NEW ECONOMIC PARTNERS:** setting economic relationships apart from politics, so that the Georgian produce could enter traditional markets.
- Swift resumption of the air and land travel after the pandemic.

## **2. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY:**

- Georgia has to take up pro-active role rather than remaining an object of international relations;
- The EU-Georgia relations should be strengthened;
- The US-Georgia bilateral relations should become stronger;
- The relations with NATO should be based on parity, with due regard to our national interests;
- There should be no place for adventurism, where international relations are concerned. Georgia should become a collaboration zone rather than a fault line;
- Along with the international political activities, we need to conduct bilateral transparent negotiations with the top Russian officials;
- Georgia should strengthen ties with Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia. All our regional activities should be aimed at peace and stability.

## **3. NEGOTIATIONS ON RESTORATIONS OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.**

**What we need in this regard is:**

- Direct and transparent negotiations with the Abkhazian and Ossetian compatriots. Only by the dialog can we build trust. The Abkhazians and Ossetians should be confident that they will not be militarily targeted. Georgia should be attractive to them in terms of their self-identification, the economic and social guarantees.
- Support to popular diplomacy, human, economic, cultural, educational and media contacts with our Abkhazian and Ossetian compatriots.



**RIGHT AFTER WE START OUR PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES, THE "UNITED GEORGIA" WILL PREPARE AND BRING TO THE PARLIAMENT THE BILLS IN THE FIELDS BELOW:**

## **OVERCOMING THE CRISIS AND REHABILITATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY**

Given the situation in the country, we believe that achieving the following by 2024 would be totally realistic:

- economic decline of not over 5% by 2021;
- economic decline of not over 1.5% by 2022;
- 2.5-3% growth in 2023;
- approx. 3% growth in 2024.

Maintaining the parameters above is going to get the country out of the economic crisis with minimal losses. To this end, Georgia's macroeconomic rehabilitation is a must. A stable macroeconomic environment in the post-pandemic times will serve as an important indicator to the potential investors.

### **THE INVESTMENT ENVIRONMENT**

All the talk about economic progress would be nothing short of populism unless Georgia becomes attractive to foreign investors. In a grave situation like this, the business sector will hardly survive by merely the credit capital or one time or even multiple state subsidies. Becoming attractive to the investment capital is urgent. Here is what we need to do to this end:

#### **1. INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY**

Before making a significant investment, unless it is the capital of a dubious origin or a suspicious company or persons, an investor investigates degree of independence of the national judiciary. Today, the potential investors depend solely on benevolence of the Government or its milieu. Understandingly, in the situation like this, it is mostly a suspicious capital that would risk entering the country. If consensus is achieved with the other responsible parties, the "United Georgia" will support the judiciary reform to exclude the Government or informal ruler's pressure on the Court.

#### **2. STABLE AND PREDICTABLE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK**

In the toxic political climate, where the Parliamentary republic is governed by informal and unclear methods, an expert would be hard pressed to make even a medium term forecast what the country's taxation policy could be like as early as the next Parliamentary session. The "United Georgia" is ready to support the coalition Government whose economic team will be put together relying first and foremost on their expertise rather than the political belonging.

### 3. TRANSPARENT AND PREDICTABLE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The banking legislation, especially so where the activities of the National Bank are concerned will have to be streamlined. The Parliament control over the Finance Ministry and Revenue Service needs to be tighter. The NBS Board formed without regard to the political status quo should be made up of the highly qualified professionals (in case of a political will, a number of those can be found in Georgia). For the purpose of a sound economic environment, the Georgian Parliament is to ensure genuine independence of the National Bank.

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

The three pre-requisites above will make it possible not only to attract direct and portfolio investments but resume the economic growth for that matter. What the real economic growth implies is first of all development of the export - and domestic market-oriented business. The fields capable of producing competitive products will have to be identified. Boosting them will create the capital surplus and new jobs. It is those fields that would come up as life saver in the post-pandemic crisis. Stimulating a field for populist or corrupt reasons is unacceptable.

### EQUITY MARKET DEVELOPMENT

The competitive fields having been identified, the investments will have to be attracted to the real economy, which calls for the legislative reforms concerning development of the corporate investment securities market. The initiative will make it possible to develop the priority economic fields and create new jobs. Also, private companies will be able to replace the credit capital with the investment capital, which on its part will cut the prime cost of the export products and make them more competitive. It is going to be achieved by:

- creation of the equity market and adoption of the relevant legislation;
- introduction of an appropriate investment capital stimulus tool, which in the first two years will make it possible to attract 2 bn USD “portfolio investments” to the productive economy;
- introduction of the new rates and a preferential tax regime for stockbrokers (5% profit tax) in order to support the investment market and stock exchange;
- in order to stimulate establishment of the open joint-stock companies, they will be tax exempted proportionately to the paid dividends;
- the production, including the agricultural, state insurance program.

## TAXATION POLICY

Our aim: more taxpayers paying less; a more progressive taxation and a 7-17% income tax instead of 20% in place. The larger the income, the higher the taxes. The concept of untaxed minimum should be introduced.

- VAT on the primary products will be abolished;
- the property tax on the homesteads whose annual untaxed income is less than 175 000 GEL will be abolished;
- a cautious, stage-by-stage liberalization of the taxation policy;
- in the first three years, startups will be released from taxes;
- the part of the profit designed for reinvestment in the same type business should be profit tax-free;
- the profit tax should be brought down to 10% and the tax on dividends to 2%;
- for the country's transit potential to be fully exploited, the transit tariffs should be optimized (cut).

## NATIONAL CURRENCY

The national economy needs a stable currency. To this end:

- a transparent and a fair exchange rate tool is required;
- the National Bank ought to be truly independent;
- GEL ought to be the only payment currency;
- effecting a transaction in a foreign currency ought to be banned;
- the state must prevent illicit currency speculations.

## ENTREPRENEURSHIP, BANKS, CREDITS AND MORTGAGEES

Special support to the small and medium-size entrepreneurs is our priority. The policy involving protection of the Georgian population, the interests of the local entrepreneurs and cooperation with the foreign investors on equal footing should be developed. The social and economic status of the public depends on the welfare of the middle class and not only on the big oligarchic business. Urgent legislative and administrative action is required in the country where tens of thousands of households face eviction.

First of all, eviction from the sole accommodation before an alternative one is found is to be banned. A state commission adequately representing the aggrieved should be set up to investigate the debtors' cases. The families who suffered damage as a result of the 2008 Georgia-Russia armed conflict, those made to agree to the plea bargain or deprived of their businesses have the right to the state support.

The interest rates pushed up by the banks call for investigation. The debtors' eviction from accommodation must be stopped immediately. At least until 2023, the state is to pay a half of the loan interest costs. Amendments ensuring actual protection of the people should be made to the Civil Code. The "United Georgia" means to initiate:

- charging the VAT above the 200 000 GEL turnover instead of 100 000 GEL in place. We suggest the guideline: accounted but not taxed. The small businesses of 100-200 000 GEL turnover will be subjected to the progressive taxation system and those of over 200 000 GEL charged the regular taxes;
- stimulation of banking, which rules out inadequately high interest rates;
- moratorium on evictions until the banks and private debtors make an arrangement;
- termination of charging the bank interest to those who suffered a mortgage-related damage.

## BUDGET EXPENDITURE CUTS

Given Georgia's situation, its Government is "too expensive". Appropriate expenditure on the state bureaucracy calls for gradual reduction of the Budget costs by way of structural and functional optimization of the ministries, municipal and self-governing bodies. The saved sums will be spent on the social programs to result in at least 20% larger allowances.

- in order to make products cheaper and cut the Budget spending, the range of goods and services purchased via consolidated tenders should be wider;
- in purchasing certain agricultural produce by the state, both the price and origin thereof should be prioritized;
- in the state institutions and companies, where the state holds over 50% share, the salary system should ensure that the Management is not paid inadequately lavish wages;
- the incomes of the public servants should be raised only if pensions are raised in a given budget year. Pensions must be above the real minimum subsistence level;
- the salaries of the ministers, MPs and other officials cannot be increased if pensions are not increased proportionately.

## STATE DEBT AND BUDGET DEFICIT

The standards of the international financial institutions (IMF) should be applied to taking foreign debt and Budget formation. The IMF standard is that the foreign debt is not to be over 60% of the GDP. The international credit liabilities are to be subjected to a tight political and parliamentary control. There are numerous instances of the Government officials assuming international credit liabilities in line with their short-term political interests.

As to the Budget policy, it should be said that in the post-pandemic years, the Budget deficit will be a norm. Only after adequate and transparent computation of the mid and long-term crisis-related loss suffered by the country will it be possible to develop the relevant policy.

## PUBLIC SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

Higher qualification of public sector employees and optimization of their expenditure call for the public sector reform. However, neither reduction nor the increase should be the ultimate goal.

The number of the public servants and the amount of their costs should be adequate to the tasks set to a Government agency. The representative costs, bonuses and markups should be subjected to the state interests rather than those of a party, which calls for more transparency and a tighter control. In a country like Georgia, huge Budget funds must not be spent on fringes (a car, fuel etc.) granted to the state officials. The public sector is to be disassociated from politics. Appointments and dismissals should not be politically motivated. An efficient public sector official should know that an election result is not going to affect his/her career.

A public servant should serve the national interests rather than a ruling party. A stable public sector is crucial to the development of a country. Only in the conditions specified above, will there be room for professional bureaucracy true to its obligations, no matter which party is in power.

## TOURISM

Unfortunately, tourism that should have been a driving economic force will have to be subsidized in the post-pandemic years. For the country to support the existing tourism infrastructure in the long-run, the preferential regime in place should be maintained.

We believe that unless the preferential regime is kept for the next 2-3 years, 1/3 of the tourism business will be lost and the medium term crisis period of 2-3 years may prolong up to 5-7 years. The "United Georgia" supports the maintenance of the preferential regime for tourism in 2021-2023.

## AGRICULTURE

Georgia is a country of long-standing agricultural traditions. Therefore, its rehabilitation is crucial. It is vital to create the environment, where there will be no political instability to pose a threat to sales markets. To this end, political stability and continuous negotiations are needed.

The “United Georgia” led by Mrs. Nino Burjanadze is the only party in Georgia capable of putting the agriculture and industry back on track. The European-standard production will secure welfare to a bigger part of our people. As to the Russian market, the mutually guaranteed free trade and separation of economic relationships from politics will guarantee a much better future to the Georgian farmers, and that is what our team pledges to do.

The strategic vision and concept rather than inconsistent decisions concerning agriculture are what we want. Development of the agriculture and its right planning will make it possible to appropriately use the natural resources (land, water, pastures etc.) and get the high quality products to meet the consumption requirements, while the surplus will be processed by the small and medium size plants. New jobs will be created and farmers duly paid.

It is the state’s duty to care about the welfare of the farmers and ensure that they keep up with the innovations.

A peasant is to be able to rent the agricultural machinery at affordable price. Warehousing and refrigerating facilities should be in place to receive the agricultural produce. The country should have stable sales markets. Regular accessibility to the Russian market is especially important for sales of surpluses. A stable sales market is going to boost production, processing, purchasing and exports.

What we need is a realistic agricultural policy developed and implemented by the state, NGOs, private sector and scientific circles. The “United Georgia” has a plan for the establishment and operation of the national agricultural corporation.

## NATIONAL CORPORATION

Today, a Georgian farmer is unable to attract an investment capital and the bank loan terms are too rigid. Hence, the inadequately high prime costs and fairly poor quality agricultural produce. The farmers can neither sell their products for adequate prices nor store them appropriately.

The national corporation will stimulate farms and homesteads by way of investment. It aims at larger agricultural yield and its appropriate sale. By stimulating cooperation, the national corporation will ensure:

- high quality and low price products;
- creation of new jobs in the rural areas;
- attraction of foreign investments to various agricultural sectors;
- that the small and medium size manufacturers take advantage of economies of scale (accessibility to expensive machinery, infrastructure etc.).

## PROJECT DEVELOPMENT MODEL

1. Establishment of “Agrocorporation” JSC by the Agriculture Development Investment Fund;
2. Assessment by the relevant standards of the potential shareholders’ (farms and homesteads) resources transferable to the “Agrocorporation” in exchange of its additional shares.
3. Transfer of the “Agrocorporation” shares pro rata the received resources.
4. Sale of the ready products resulting from processing and packaging of the products purchased by “Agrocorporation”.
5. Priority employment of the “Agrocorporation” shareholders.
6. Distribution of dividends to the shareholders according to the annual results and reinvestment of the Investment Fund dividends.

The investment capital provided by the Investment Fund will go into:

- remuneration of the “Agrocorporation” Management and agricultural experts;
- establishment of the “Agrocorporation” regional branches;
- on the grounds of the lease agreements, commissioning the processing plants, cattle and poultry breeding automated farms, agricultural machinery, refrigerator units, warehousing facilities, quality assurance laboratories etc.;
- purchase of the biochemical substances and fertilizers;
- creation of the National Corporation’s retail chain.

The aforesaid will ensure:

- ✓ cultivation and sale of the agricultural products;
- ✓ mass employment in the rural areas;
- ✓ attraction of foreign investments;
- ✓ actual growth of the national economy.

## THE OTHER AGRICULTURAL INITIATIVES:

- tax exemption (save the utilities) of the processing plants in the mountainous and border villages;
- development of the antidumping legislation for protection of the local manufacturers from the subsidized imported products fully released from the redemption fee;
- restoration of the unduly abolished agricultural research institutions for the purpose of higher technological capabilities;
- rehabilitation and enhancement of the agricultural educational institutions. The Education Ministry should coordinate training of the agricultural staff.

## JUSTICE FOR ALL!

The judiciary reform is urgent. We need fair and competent judges and the easily accessible and affordable Courts. High Council of Justice of Georgia is to be free of political and clan influences. There should be no jury, for neither the criteria nor a lengthy procedure of selection of the jury members ensure fair decisions and comply with the principle of fairness and effectiveness. Also, there are no safety guarantees to the jury members. As such, the jury allows the state to avoid responsibility and place it on the public.

Independent inspector's office should be free of political influence since its political engagement makes it impossible to institute disciplinary proceedings against judges and pass down fair awards. Given their heavy schedule, there should be a much larger number of the Common Court judges.

Besides, specialized Courts should be established at the Common Courts. There should be no room for political manipulations where distribution of cases among the judges is concerned. Judges, especially those serving should not be appointed for life. The politically motivated judges, who rendered unfair awards, should be brought to justice. The adversarial principle and the lawyers' rights should be guaranteed.

We offer a bill of the writ of Amparo, which, regardless of the period of limitation, allows citizens to have the effective judgments revised for the sake of restoration of their infringed rights. Amparo is a type of the constitutional supervision over Courts in terms of inspection whether Court decrees comply with the constitutional rights of people. In the Amparo procedure, the decision comes into force with an immediate effect and is not subject to an appeal or cassation.



## INVIOABILITY OF PRIVACY

All the cases of violation of privacy must be investigated. Both the political contractors and executors must be brought to justice. Given the situation in Georgia, the privacy laws must be made tighter and the violations regarded as a gross crime.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Recurrent drastic and inconsistent Constitutional amendments are a disastrous trend. In this respect, stability and consistency is urgent.

The way of making constitutional amendments is to be changed. The relevant law should be amended so that the constitutional amendments adopted by the previous Parliament become effective only after the next one has been recognized.

As far as possible, the Constitution should be free of political status quo. The President should be elected by direct, universal, free and fair poll rather than the Electoral College. High Council of Justice of Georgia is to be free of political and clan influences. There should be no jury and no room for political manipulations where distribution of cases among the judges is concerned. Judges, especially those serving should not be appointed for life.

The national security and defense strategy focused on Georgia's antimilitaristic stance should be enshrined in the Constitution.

## ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The electoral system in Georgia should be fully proportionate for it has two significant advantages where a Parliamentary republic is concerned.

The first advantage is purely technical – the proportionate electoral system ensures minimal loss of the votes. In the right proportionate electoral system, most of the votes transform into Parliamentary mandates.

Political advantage – a Parliamentary Republic needs a robust multiparty Parliament, where the majority of the population is represented; a dispute will be discussed by the Parliament and not at the protest rallies held in front of the Parliament building. With a high degree probability, the multiparty Parliament leads to the coalition Government and ultimately the Government agencies competing with one another in terms of offering better terms, services and methods of governance.

There is no exaggeration to say that the proportionate electoral system is the best basis for strong democratic, welfare-oriented public institutions. (Israel, whose geopolitical situation is no better than ours, is an instance thereof).

Absence of the MPs elected within the majority electoral system is going to strengthen the local government and make it more efficient. The mixed majoritarian-proportional electoral system leaves room for subordination flaws between the Parliament and the local government. Those significantly diminish the latter's part and create obstacles to the regional development.

As against it, the purely proportional electoral system allows a parity-based lawmaking. There is no doubt that the legislative body made up of lesser known but competent MPs elected by the fully proportional system will be more efficient.

## EQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The unpromising social situation in Georgia is deteriorating on a daily basis. The state should find the way to engage large businesses in the social programs, so that the well-offs stand by the less fortunate.

- Charity should be given big incentives. Those supporting the socially vulnerable, culture and sports sponsors should be given incentives, including tax breaks. In this connection, "The Charity Act" should be adopted;
- taxes should be proportionate to incomes;
- the taxation system should be reformed so that the parametric taxation is replaced with the tax differentiation.

The state policies should be targeted at the economic projects involving creation of additional jobs, which understandingly, will reduce unemployment.

Classification of a person as a "socially vulnerable" and removal from the relevant list should not be down to the arbitrary decision of an inspector. The automated system needs to be upgraded and the exceptional errors transparently eliminated;

- The economic and taxation policies should support a stable development of the national economy.
- The taxation policy should be targeted not solely at the replenishment of the National Budget but development of the economy.

## MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, PENSIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Social justice calls for decisions. The Law on Computation of the Minimum Subsistence Level should be amended so that the final amount is based on the actual data. The present 2300 kcal nutritive value of the food basket should be set at 2500 kcal, and the ratio of the food and nonfood costs 50/50 rather than 70/30. Then the minimal subsistence level calculated as shown would be 400 GEL.

- indexation of salaries and pensions should be inflation-aligned;
- the pension reform for all type beneficiaries (the disabled, surviving dependents, victims of political repressions etc.) should be implemented, so that the pension is 50% over the minimal subsistence level;
- the pension should be defined according to the employment length;
- to the pensioners, the public transportation should be free;
- mothers with children should be given the so-called “mother’s salary”;
- the war veterans and family members of those killed in action should be given proper social guarantees;
- the status of a large family and a single parent should be defined and they should be eligible to allowances;
- the homeless should be registered and a special social protection program developed for them;
- the middle class should be empowered and enlarged. We want the majority of the population belong to the middle class rather than the socially vulnerable.

## THE PANDEMIC-RELATED BENEFITS

The benefits in place are targeted at the popular support to the ruling party in the run-up to the 2020 Parliamentary poll. Not infrequently, the benefits are discriminatory, unbalanced and extravagant.

For instance, the power supply subsidy was set at certain amount consumption both by the small and large families. The extremely vulnerable should be identified and made eligible to the special allowances.

The declared moratorium on credits is not enough. We believe that the first six months of 2021 are going to be particularly hard. The people cannot count on the goodwill of the private sector. The issue of deferred credits should be settled by the Government. The self-employed, small - and medium-size companies have found themselves particularly hard up. Unfortunately, insolvency is widespread. Not many companies are going to survive the crisis. The incentives scheme should be kept up at least until the second quarter of 2021.

- the self-employed should be given a monthly grant of at least 70% of their average income;
- the small- and medium size companies should be exempted from all the taxes save the VAT;
- a moratorium should be declared on the bankruptcy proceedings and the Law on “The Insolvency Proceedings” be suspended.

The aforesaid calls for drastic administrative cuts unprecedented in the history of independent Georgia and a relentless anti-corruption campaign.

## EFFICIENT AND FAIR HEALTHCARE FOR ALL

What the people need is an efficient, need-specific and fair healthcare focused on disease prevention. The people should be able to take care of their health before a disease and complications set in. We should make it clear that an illness is not only a personal but a public concern since not only a family but the public at large and the state need its society healthy.

We have to tend to the environment on a daily basis, so that we have fresh air, clean water, uncontaminated soil, safe food and accommodation crucial to one's health. We need to convince everyone about the importance of the healthy lifestyle and support them in this respect. If one has a health condition, one should know that the state will be there. Not a single person should die because of inappropriate healthcare system, poor quality or unaffordable medical care or neglect. Healthy younger generation should be the top priority. Each and every life must be saved if possible. Unfortunately, it is not the case now.

The healthcare guarantees should be universal and fair: an employee granted corporate insurance should be eligible to the universal healthcare program package, so that he does not lose the job and possibly health, too.

The primary healthcare needs enhancement. Lip service will not do. Both people and the economy would benefit if the focus is made on the early disease detection, prevention or treatment.

Family doctors need special attention, so that their work conditions and motivation are adequate to their tasks and the results we expect from them. Family doctors, especially those in the rural areas deserve special appreciation.

Along with enhanced outpatient clinics, people need affordable medicines supplied within the frameworks of a special scheme. This will prevent complications and self-treatment. WHO standards should be applied to the pricing of the vital medicines.

The healthcare system should be staffed with the highly qualified personnel. In this connection, what the country needs are adequate basic and continuous medical education, due work environment and a decent pay.

With due regard to its financial standing and the capacity of the healthcare system, the state will support those, who cannot afford adequate healthcare: the children, pensioners, disabled, unemployed, war veterans, students, large families, inhabitants of mountainous areas and the socially vulnerable. A whole range of medical facilities: the outpatient clinics, hospitals and medicines should be made affordable. The resources of the healthcare system should be reasonably spent so that the patients benefit from them and they do not fall into the hands of people pursuing non-medical purposes. Proper spending of the resources will lead to the upgraded healthcare system, pricing, treatment, high quality medicines and the right number of the efficient medical institutions.

## FOOD SAFETY

Food safety is a commitment of the state. Meanwhile, 2/3 of the Georgians are undernourished. The children are suffering from radical shortage of proteins, peptin- or vitamin-bearing food or milk. The national resources of bio-products remain actually untapped. The result is increased mortality among the pregnant women and children.

- the people should be supplied sufficient quality food and agricultural products;
- food quality assurance should be upgraded;
- import of GMO containing and poor quality products should be banned.

## CHILDREN'S PROBLEMS

It is a shame that in XXI c. in a country of 4 million, children face poverty and 150 000 of them go hungry. Despite of its economic problems, Georgia has sufficient resources not to have one out of five children live beyond the poverty line. Child labor is not controlled. Meanwhile, because of extreme poverty, quite a lot of children have to do hard work detrimental to their health.

Child abuse both in and outside families and also, at schools is not infrequent. To tackle these etc. problems, we need a 350 M GEL public fund, with the sums allocated not only for the elimination of poverty but prevention of child abuse.

The child abuse laws should be tightened and the relevant agencies' reaction prompt and adequate. At schools, safety of the children should be ensured.

State-run economic, educational, sports and cultural programs should be in place to improve economic situation of the families and support the children's physical and mental development. Families of many children deserve special care.

## DRUG ADDICTION IS EVERYONE'S CONCERN!

Drug addiction has become a huge problem so much so to threaten the national safety. The implemented anti-drug addiction measures are both insufficient and inefficient. Actually, there is no large-scale prevention. The drug abuse treatment is hardly accessible. There is hardly a rehabilitation clinic in the country.

However, efficient the law enforcement bodies may be in terms of prevention of drug dealing, drug addiction scale will hardly shrink unless we have adequate prevention, treatment and rehabilitation facilities. Decriminalization of all kinds of drug abuse is a must. Drug addicts ought to be treated rather than sent to prison. Drug addiction is a chronic disease. Imprisonment of drug addicts and even lengthy inaccessibility of drugs do not give the necessary results.

Affordable Treatment – Georgia needs a network of small, state-run, rehabilitation centers for drug addicts.

A ban on psychotropic substances will not do. What we should do first and foremost is to teach children how to protect themselves in an unfavorable environment of drugs and drug addicts. An intensive Media campaign and development and implementation of the age-specific programs would be a good option.

## DEMOGRAPHY

Georgia is facing a demographic disaster. As soon as we come to power, we will take action not only to improve general conditions but stimulate childbirth, infant /mother care and support young families.

The Government should consistently raise awareness of the depopulation threat, alert people so that we take responsibility for our future.

Economic development and employment are important in terms of demography. Single mothers and families of many children should be made a priority.

Depopulation of Georgia's mountainous regions calls for special attention. Creation of the relevant infrastructure and incentives to the local population is the only way of their survival.

Mass migration of Georgians seeking jobs abroad is devastating in terms of demography. Most of the migrants are young men and women unable to start families or support them. The state should create relevant conditions for their return and employment at home.

## “GEORGIAN HEARTH” PROJECT

The state should implement an accommodation program involving provision of at least 100 000m<sup>2</sup> accommodation to the young families. To this end, 150M GEL floating assets by way of an interest-free state loan and land lots should be allotted free of charge to a non-profit public fund. As a result, a young family would have to pay but the prime cost, i.e. 1/3 of the present market price of its accommodation. The revenue will replenish the fund to make it possible to provide another 100 000m<sup>2</sup> accommodation.

## WOMEN'S PROBLEMS

For decades, Mrs. Nino Burjanadze has advocated women's rights in Georgia and the post-Soviet area. Her efforts have significantly contributed to the progress in this direction. The “United Georgia” means to make elimination of violence against women a priority.

Law enforcement, regular education, improved economic situation of women and their financial independence are just a few measures to be taken.

In view of the soaring violence not infrequently tolerated by people, we suggest legal amendment regarding misprision. Police negligence will be punished. Women should be engaged in the small- and medium size businesses, especially so in the rural areas. Barriers impeding women's political careers should be removed. Competence is to be made the top criterion and there should be no room for sexism.

## CIVIL INTEGRATION

The key objective of our program is creation of a democratic, consolidated civil society based on the universal values, which would regard ethnic diversity as its strength and ensure preservation of the identity and development of the ethnic minorities.

All our citizens should be granted equal terms of engagement in the social and political affairs. Special attention should be paid to instruction in the official language. The state must protect all its citizens regardless of their identity.

The Georgian language instruction program should be implemented in the regions densely populated by the ethnic minorities, whose command of the official language is inadequate. Many of them do not know Russian anymore, others have not learned English just yet. Therefore, communication is a problem, which if not tackled will make their full integration impossible. Instruction in the Georgian language will open up the ethnic groups' higher education and employment prospects.

## EQUAL POSSIBILITIES FOR THE DISABLED!

We believe that the state should pay special attention and show particular care to the disabled. We should do all we can to ensure their decent life and integration into the society. To cast away their grief, they should be able to enjoy all the comfort the state can offer.

## INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (REFUGEES)

As a result of the developments in the 1990s and the Georgia-Russia armed conflict in August 2008, thousands of people had to flee their homes.

The Government should give them long-term accommodation. What they describe as an unfair appraisal system of their living conditions has to be changed urgently. Not infrequently, one and the same household is provided accommodation multiple times.

Sometimes, the refugees, who have purchased homes, are given another accommodation, which might be fair; however, it should not be done at the

expense of those, who have nowhere to live. Often enough, their allowances are in arrears. Not only is the practice in place unfair but it fosters nepotism and corruption.

Instead of the present largely chaotic, corruption breeding distribution of the accommodation, a geographic principle may be applied: for instance, first those from Gali region, then the former dwellers of the town of Ochamchire (Abkhazia) etc.

Meanwhile, the displaced persons get a belittling 45 GEL per capita allowance. It is good that the Employment Service has been started at the Department of Health and Social Services, but it needs to be overhauled extensively.

Until Georgia's territorial integrity is restored, social integration of the refugees is the call of the day. For brighter employment prospects, categorized in terms of education, trade and experience, they should be retrained.

## ENCROACHMENT

Occupation has become a buzzword, but no one is brave or experienced enough to lead a proactive policy against it. A state should not instigate a conflict, but the so-called "strategic patience" is nothing short of a crime.

Control over the so-called border should be tighter. Our law enforcement bodies should put an end to kidnappings from the Georgia-controlled areas. Sending letters to the international organizations and friendly states is not enough.

The Georgian Government should step up its diplomatic efforts in terms of priorities on the agenda of the bi- and multilateral negotiations. Direct negotiations with the Russian Federation is a must, but should also be complemented by active protests, and good use of the opportunities given by the multilateral communications.

## TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

A direct dialogue with the breakaway Abkhazians and Ossetians is unavoidable. Only by the direct talks can we restore the mutual trust. Abkhazians and Ossetians should be confident that they will never be targeted. Georgia should become attractive to them by democracy and the European style market economy. In order to put an end to the conflict, both sides should focus on what they had and will have in common. Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia should once again be put on the international agenda.

Direct negotiations with Russia, along with popular diplomacy (human, economic, cultural, educational, Media contacts) with the Abkhazians and Ossetians are also important. The policy of non-recognition is a must, but in no way the final goal in itself.



# FOREIGN POLICY

## KEY PRIORITIES

Georgia is situated in a complex geopolitical environment, the area of major states' different, often conflicting interests. Meanwhile, Georgia's national interests fit into its UN-recognized borders.

Not to let the country become arena for conflict should be the ultimate goal of a Georgian government. The key tasks: consolidation of the sovereignty, internal and external safety of the citizens and laying foundation to universal welfare are directly associated with the reasonable and well-balanced foreign policy.

The same is true for restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity. Prevention of adventurism, as well as preemptive diplomacy should be made the two main foreign policy objectives. Unfortunately, the country's sovereignty is now significantly undermined. The Georgian authorities refuse to launch talks with Russia so important to the interests of the country.

At the same time, the relations with our strategic partners are at a historical minimum. Our government is turning our country into a problematic partner to our friends. The partnership is characterized by support from our friends reciprocated with superficial declarations by Georgia. The new Government should become a stable and a predictable partner to the friendly countries. Georgia should become a dependable ally to its partners.

We should strengthen our relations with the EU and NATO and continue involvement in the international missions, such as the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. It in no way rules out direct negotiations with Russia. We should realize that our Western partners will not solve our problems with Moscow for us, without our involvement.

## STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Georgia cannot afford confrontation with a country or an alliance since our interests do not stand against any state's or alliance's legitimate interests.

We ought to deepen our bilateral relations with the US and make a good use of collaboration with friendly states. As to NATO, the strategic cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance should be expressed by our involvement in the international missions. We should be active participants rather than beneficiaries of the international security system.

It is unrealistic to place Georgia's NATO membership, a pre-election ploy most of the parties resort to for sheer attraction of voters, on the agenda of the next Parliament. Achievement of the ultimate goal of EU membership understandingly implies strong bilateral ties and compliance with the European standards. As to collaboration with the North Atlantic Alliance, it should be based on parity, with due attention to intricacies of our national interests.

To a country like Georgia, polarization of the foreign policy is disastrous. We believe that close collaboration with the neighboring states is of utmost importance to our national interests.

Unfortunately, differences prevail in Georgia's relations with Russia. Slackening tensions with Moscow so that to rule out a military confrontation, is an immediate task. The next stage is launching negotiations on multiple issues, including the restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity.

## THE EUROPEAN UNION

Given Georgia's incumbent authorities, the country's EU membership is becoming the matter of a distant future. Moreover, the country's informal feudal-like rule poses a threat to the EU Association Agreement.

Our democratic institutions have to be strengthened urgently. True democracy involving checks and balances should be established. Harmonizing the Georgian laws with those of the EU on papers is not enough. Law enforcement is a must. Putting the EU regulations to paper and only afterwards thinking of their implementation is an insult to our partners and totally unacceptable to the "United Georgia".

## THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND BLACK SEA BASIN

Strengthening and upgrading the collaboration is our key priority where South Caucasus is concerned. Completion of delimitation and demarcation of borders with the neighboring countries is another.

It is a shame that even after three decades of independence, out of four neighboring states, it is only with Turkey that we have a clear-cut formal border. The problem has to be solved urgently through direct negotiations and mutual respect. The unsettled issue impedes Georgia's relations with its neighbors.

While developing the Black Sea basin policy, we should keep in mind that although the Black Sea is a closed sea, not only the coastal but other the countries have interest to it, as well. Georgia should aspire for peace in the Black Sea basin to be used for only conventional reasons.

The Black Sea is important for its political and communicational aspects, as well as shipment of energy resources. It is our task to support security in the Black Sea basin. Georgia should bolster its presence in BSEC.

Cooperation with the other coastal states to protect the Black Sea eco-system, as well as navigation and fishing is no less significant. We should make sailing under the Georgian flag prestigious not only for our vessels but the foreign ones, too.

## NATIONAL SECURITY

Our territorial problems cannot be solved by the military means, and it is to be made the axis of our national security.

Consequently, our policy ought to rely on the peace initiatives. It is only in an exceptional case and for defense reasons that we may resort to force. Preservation of peace and stability in the Black Sea basin and Caucasus is crucial to our national security. To this end, Georgia should contribute to the regional security system by participation in the bi- and multilateral missions.

Relations with not only its neighbors but those between the bordering states are no less important. Georgia should play a part in the peaceful settlement of the neighboring countries' problems. We should not let an outside conflict spill onto our territory.

Georgia, as an international counter-terrorism coalition member should carry on with its fight against extremism. The unsettled issue with breakaway Abkhazia and Samachablo (South Ossetia) add up to our problems. Tighter control over the makeshift borders and closer collaboration with the relevant international organizations are required.

Georgia, as a transit country needs to keep a high profile. Its energy security and independence are no less significant. Consequently, we should be involved in the international energy transportation and communication projects.

The national cyber security has to be bolstered, too. The country should forge closer ties with partner states, make larger investments into the relevant infrastructure and staff. The state should be able to protect the vital infrastructure from cyber attacks, and ensure primary IT services and access to the global Internet.

## DEFENSE

First of all, Georgia needs the national defense concept to form the armed forces with due regard to the country's natural environment and needs. The draft service should be replaced with the service contract. By doing it, the country will have a sufficient number of reservists, efficient armed forces and new jobs.

Regardless of the time of their military service, those killed in action, the war veterans and their family members should be well tended, too. The servicemen fighting for Georgia's cause should be as appreciated as those involved in the military missions abroad.

The state should make social guarantees to the families of the fallen servicemen a priority.

## OTHER ISSUES

### EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND SPORTS

For centuries, Georgia stood out for its scholarly achievements, arts and the ancient and unique culture. However, but for occasional exceptions, we have all witnessed decline in those areas. Unfortunately, Georgia is likely to lose its prominent regional and international stance unless our national values, natural potential and creativeness are shored up.

It is a grave mistake to think that a small country has no need of the academy of sciences, scholarly institutions, conservatoire and robust educational system where the teacher and pupil/student are the key components. The state should support professional advancement of duly paid teachers. It is the universal truth that investment in education is the most valuable.

The “United Georgia” will do its best in order to:

#### HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS:

- during the pandemic, provide support to students in paying their education fee;
- make the municipal transport free for students;
- allow those with suspended studentship to take exams, and on condition of meeting certain criteria, provide public funds for their further education;
- make the universities truly autonomous;
- set up a special fund to finance the Georgian students' studies abroad;
- in line with the international practice, abolish the entrance exams so that the school-leavers are admitted by the universities on the grounds of their A levels. It would be good to the students, universities and the public at large. Besides upgrading the national education system, it would save millions of GEL to the Ministry of Education.

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION:

- have kindergartens and secondary schools in all the villages;
- restore the teacher's status to the pre-school educators;
- ensure the mandatory secondary education;
- upgrade instruction in the Georgian language, literature and history;
- implement the teachers remuneration reform, so that their minimal pay is 1600 GEL.

## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION:

- make the after school two-year vocational colleges state-funded;
- jointly with the private sector, conduct market research to find out, which professions are the most demanded and develop the relevant training programs with strong employment prospects;
- carry out “No One without a Profession” training program everyone will be eligible to regardless of age;
- establish an “Open University” where adults will be able to get education with a flexible schedule and the university diploma.

## SPORTS

The state should care for physical fitness of the younger generation. Therefore, funding the sports federations of various athletic disciplines should be made a priority. However, the state funding will not be enough. The Parliament should adopt a law involving special conditions to the business sector. Companies sponsoring athletes should be given tax breaks.

## “GREEN” ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION AND PRUDENT EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES

There should be no room for poverty in a state rich with its natural and intellectual resources. Development and implementation of the energy saving and energy efficiency legislation are vital. The country should progress in the right direction instead of chaotic employment of the torn from the context and wrongly understood European value or standards. We should say “no” to Potemkin’s facade like the windmills on the Gori mountain range costly to the taxpayers and detrimental to the environment. Construction of huge power plants should be banned. Care for own people should prevail over the revenues. The villages, churches and graveyards should not be flooded and the people displaced from their age-old places of residence.

- We need the green energy concept to gradually start production and delivery of the alternative energy. The sun, wind etc. energy generated from the natural sources, are widely utilized in the industrial countries.
- The utility bills of the Government and the other Budget-funded institutions amount to 200 M GEL. Meanwhile, experts say that those could be halved.

The energy sector underpins the production forces and the national economy as such for it ensures stable operation of industry, agriculture, transportation, public services, tourism etc.

There is no other field, which makes more impact on every aspect of life, including the defense potential. The fuel and energy industry should be state regulated regardless of ownership.

Strategic reserves of the energy resources should be formed in order to ensure stable operation of the economy and regular supply of the energy carriers. A think tank should be charged with developing the energy policy and strategy.

Efficient management of health hazards calls for creation of a uniform air quality monitoring system. The one in place should be upgraded in terms of the legal framework, methodology and physical facilities. Air pollution in Georgia has reached disastrous levels, with the main pollutants being cars, energy sector, agriculture and industrial facilities. However, vehicles have been causing most of the damage. Streamlined operation of Environment Protection Agency and its Air Protection Department play an important part in terms of the air, health and environment safety. In this connection, we propose the priorities and tasks below:

- enlargement and re-equipment of the air pollution monitoring network;
- refinement of the air pollution reduction strategy (technical inspection of vehicles, improved transportation service, revision of the fuel quality control).

The Law of Georgia “On Water” adopted by the Parliament in 1997 does not allow efficient management of the water resources. The administrative management principle has to be replaced with basin management to ensure:

1. supply of the clean water;
2. local sewage/sanitary installations;
3. protection of the water installations;
4. maintenance of the water resources;
5. development of the “No Village without Water” national program for regular supply of irrigation and fresh water.

Integrated management of the water resources implies management of water (surface, underground, return waters) and the related land resources not harmful to the environment and ensures maximal social and economic welfare. It is necessary to install the water management systems in the conflict zones. Also, Georgia should collaborate with the neighboring states in order to develop the programs for rehabilitation of the across the border water installations and attract the third countries’ and international organizations’ investments.

## DIASPORA

The Georgian expatriates should have a say where the country’s future is concerned. The Georgian diaspora, the most numerous in the recent past contributes a lot (at least approx. 7bn GEL) to the economic and social stability of the country. However, they are still deprived of the fundamental human rights – right to vote.

- We should do our best for providing an opportunity for emigrants to return, so that they fulfill their potential at home;

- Our compatriots abroad deserve the voting right;
- The Georgian diaspora should be closely engaged in the revitalization and development of their homeland;
- The state should take care of the Georgians abroad and given the opportunity to promote the Georgian cause. “The Georgian Houses” should be set up in the countries where the Georgian diaspora is fairly large. It will allow a more intensive promotion of the Georgian culture and serve as an economic incentive, including the export.

## ROAD SAFETY

Over the last decade, 6608 people have been killed in car accidents and up to 100 000 (including children) injured, which means that every year, each of us loses 2 loved ones. According to the World Bank report, the annual loss hits 0.5 bn GEL.

In this respect, heavy penalties do not give the desirable result. To put an end to the alarming dynamics, the Swedish so-called “Safe Systems Approach” should be introduced, which means that not only a driver carries a responsibility during the accident. Responsibility should be placed not only the directly involved but:

- the Road Department;
- the City Municipality;
- the relevant politicians;
- the companies in charge of the technical inspection of vehicles;
- the car manufacturers.

The infrastructure of the high risk roads, first of all the country’s central highway calls for urgent restoration. Not infrequently, for political or etc. reasons, sections of new roads still not quite fit for traffic are opened prematurely. Quite often, the negative practice brings about tragic car accidents.

Not only should those directly involved be regarded guilty. The road safety agencies need to be reformed especially in terms of staffing.

Road safety educational campaigns have to be waged. For the reason of higher awareness, both the drivers and pedestrians (including children) should get engaged in the relevant national and international projects.

Car enthusiasts should also be involved in finding solution to the problem, so that they safely pursue their passion. The “United Georgia” is going to closely collaborate with the Georgian Automobile Federation. Jointly with the Federation, the “United Georgia” is planning to codify and implement standards of the International Automobile Federation.

## GAMBLING: REGULATION

Stringent regulation of the casinos, including online is a must.

- Advertising of all types of gambling should be banned;
- The minimal online gambling age limit should be 21 instead of the present 18;
- The online casino registration regulation should be made more stringent to bar the teenagers' access;
- The income tax of the gambling business should differ from that of the other businesses. It should be at least 50% instead of present 20%.

## THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Georgia's informal governance and alarming non-transparency of Government agencies' decisions has made importance of civil society and non-governmental organizations ever more evident. The "United Georgia" supports their close involvement in the country's rule. In 30 years of the country's independence, they have played a major part in the introduction of democratic values.



*United Georgia is a team which is driven by the vital and stately interests of our country. That is why we are so careful in our promises. Our programme is not as grandiose as promises by other political parties. Our promises, however, are realistic rather than populist.*

*We are not making these promises to win your hearts. We are able and will deliver on them, after you cast your votes!*

*Dear friends, the world and our country are headed towards social and economic turmoil. In these difficult circumstances, our country needs an experienced and courageous leader, just like a ship needs a weathered captain to overcome stormy seas.*

*I have power and experience to tackle the challenges that our country faces and to overcome them alongside with competent professionals, in spite of their political party allegiance.*

*I believe that provided we make the right choice, we will be able to unite our country and build a meritorious state!*

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'B. Zuzunashvili'. The signature is stylized and cursive, with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

