

Fellow Compatriots!

Four years have passed since parliamentary elections, when Georgian people rejected the regime based on violence and demanded restoration of justice. For the vast majority of our citizens, 2012 was a year of hope that promised fundamental changes in our country. Yet, in 2016, most of us are disappointed. The ruling party failed to deliver on majority of its promises. Instead, they have opted for ‘cohabitation’ and co-stagnation with the criminal regime they promised to replace and prosecute. The government, but more significantly, the whole nation is being affected by virtual impotence of the current leadership.

The Saakashvili regime was responsible for the lost war and forced migration of thousands of South Ossetian refugees. The regime engaged in violent suppression of free speech, held hundreds of political prisoners and hundreds of thousands of probationers while more than 600 people lost their lives while serving their sentences. Significant portion of the population was affected by total eavesdropping and blackmail, whereas high-profile murders are still pending investigation. The current government has failed to put on trial those directly involved in aforementioned crimes. The so-called ‘cohabitation’ has led to establishment and maintenance of an artificial and undemocratic two-party rule.

As in 2012 parliamentary elections, current ballot presents us with a critical choice. If we make the right decision, we will be able to break out from the vicious circle we have been in, for past twenty years. Instead of tolerating legislature that is alien to our own people, we have an opportunity to attain the parliament which will be genuinely oriented towards Georgian national interest.

The state is in need of systemic change!

Impoverished people have no time to think of honour and patriotism. Resultant convenience could be the interest of certain groups. Through regular polls, we are being told that territorial integrity of Georgia as an issue, has sledged to the bottom of priority list of Georgians. Yet, what these polls cannot hide is the fact that our society is still plagued by unemployment and unbearable socio-economic environment. These issues are in no way unrelated.

There will be no relief neither for the economy, nor for our people, until Georgia remains fragmented.

When Georgia was united, Abkhazia alone received 3 million tourists annually. Autonomous republic of South Ossetia was a vital element of Georgian agriculture. In present, potential of these regions is underutilised by Abkhazians, Ossetians, as well as Georgians. The same is true for natural resources, heavy and light industries, transportation and state infrastructure. Georgia will never be an accomplished state without its breakaway regions. In fact, politicians who strive towards Euro-Atlantic integration without these vital regions doom Georgia for being impoverished and failed state, chronically dependent on foreign aid.

Non-alliance

For reunification and revitalisation of the Georgian state and the economy.

We have a vision for reunification and revitalisation of our state and the economy.

Proposal for Georgia's Non-alliance is our original initiative. We are collecting signatures with the purpose of making amendment to Georgian constitution. In particular, we are petitioning for addition of the fifth paragraph to 9th article, the content of which is as follows:

“For the sake of Georgia's territorial integrity, national security and defence, Republic of Georgia refuses to join any international military bloc or alliance. It is forbidden for any foreign state, bloc or alliance to emplace its military units on the Georgian soil. Status of non-alliance will operate within territorial borders of the Georgian republic, internationally recognised in 1991.”

Our proposal for constitutional amendment on non-alliance represents a realistic opportunity for restarting negotiations with everyone interested, including our Abkhazian and Ossetian compatriots. One should note, however, that restricting emplacement of military units of any nation does not interfere with Georgian aspirations to remain a fully-fledged member of international community. By taking into consideration aversion of Abkhazians and Ossetians towards integration of Georgia into Euro-Atlantic alliance, as well as interests of the Russian Federation, which is anxious over the military threat from the Georgian territory, we aim to initiate the process of reunification through reintegration of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Internationally, we will strive towards the restoration of diplomatic links with the Russian Federation, whereas on sub-national level, we will establish direct links with de facto governments of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

In present, Georgia for its development needs a clear and effective programme based on social consensus which is geared towards its reunification. This programme aims to present you with

our vision, both internal and external, that aims to establish synergy with our society, one that strives towards the betterment of our living standards and the accomplishment of our national interests.

We know what needs to be done in order to:

Restore the justice; defend human rights (property rights in particular); to initiate the process of restoration of stolen private businesses and properties, as well as financial compensation for the victims of the previous regime.

Change the current attitude of the government towards its own people. To prioritise the well-being of our citizens.

Provide every citizen with adequate social, as well as economic environment.

Both internally, and on international arena, lead the policy of unity, restoration of territorial integrity and the protection of our fundamental values and national identity.

Today, Georgia is in need of a multi-faceted and modernised national security doctrine. The current state, inherited from the previous government, is alarming both, in terms of internal and external threats. It is vital to identify challenges to our country, to clarify our goals and to present a realistic mechanism to meet them.

For the provision of aforementioned tenets, it is necessary to prepare appropriate conceptual base which will encompass the national and strategic interest, legitimate interests of our neighbours, transparency and predictability of our security policy. The policy will be executed gradually.

Georgian state has two primary goals:

- To provide its citizens with internal and external security.
- To create a foundation for societal and economic prosperity.

Georgian national interests are:

- Strengthening its national sovereignty.
- Restoring the trust with Abkhazian and Ossetian compatriots.
- Restoring and consolidating its unity.
- Establishment of a genuinely democratic system.
- Preservation our national identity, but, at the same time, embracing progressive, yet healthy societal tendencies.
- Strengthening national institutions and creation of a genuine intra-governmental balance.
- Guaranteeing our citizens with economic, societal and spiritual well-being; national unity and societal consensus.
- Provision of each and every citizen with ethnic, cultural and religious freedom – to guarantee equality of opportunity.

Georgia faces internal, as well as external threats:

Government should serve its citizens, not the other way around! We need a strong state and stable development. It is important, however, that a strong state is not a coercive one! The

power of the state should be based on justice and universal consensus. Only just government can guarantee stability and future success. The time is ripe for the execution of the major tenet of our constitution – supremacy of law and order, as well as the social justice.

Since its independence, due to ignorance of certain politicians, Georgia has endured a serious political and strategic damage. In particular:

- State sovereignty and independence is now questionable.
- The state is practically impotent in implementing and executing its sovereign internal and foreign policies.
- Prestige of Georgia on international stage has been seriously tarnished, position seriously weakened.
- Internally, ‘borders’ with breakaway regions are creeping inwards.
- On our soil there are foreign military units supporting two de facto quasi-republics.
- National borders are in disarray, with demarcation and delimitation still pending with three out of four neighbouring states.
- Relative, as well as absolute poverty is on the increase. Two thirds of the population endure extreme poverty.
- As shown in UN figures, the country is facing demographic catastrophe.
- Economy has shifted from virtual growth to stagnation.
- Education and science are degrading with prevalence of brain drain.
- The state seeks to resolve its energy dependence by ecologically catastrophic construction of gigantic hydro-electric power plants.
- Environmental issues are largely neglected.
- In the age of Information Technology, no-one seems to have a plan for cyber-security.

Every level of the government is staffed by incompetent personnel. The state remains plagued by cronyism and kleptocracy. As a result, political processes are being isolated from competent and intellectual forces. The government lives in virtual reality, there is no link between the state and society.

Major internal political threats include:

Absence of democratic system, obscure decision-making process, inadequate and incompetent Parliament. Today, your decision decides whether we achieve, once and for all, the Parliament genuinely oriented on national interest.

The state is on the verge of economic catastrophe:

Social issues are deepening:

- There is no concept for ordered economic policy.
- Natural potential and relative advantage of our country are being underutilised.
- ‘Knowledge economy’ is being replaced by ‘service economy’.
- Balance of payments is in disarray. Our imports disproportionately exceed exports; foreign debt is solely financed by foreign aid. Danger of insolvency is looming.
- Unemployment has penetrated all segments of the society.
- The middle class, oppressed by the previous regime, is further weakened in economic and social terms.
- Productive labour force is emigrating; the state suffers from brain drain.
- Issues of the refugees are still largely unresolved.

- The problem of the “lost generation” is being aggravated. Those over the age of forty are being isolated from socio-political life.
- Promised ‘restoration of justice’ has only taken place selectively, only for those close to the current government.

Aims of ‘Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement’ are:

- To transform Georgia from being the object of international community to an active participant. In the realm of international security, our guiding principle should be preventive diplomacy.
- In order to guarantee external security, foreign political, as well as military adventurism should be excluded from our calculus, Georgia should seek to facilitate concord, rather than conflict on its soil. This miniscule state cannot serve as a polygon of two military Superpowers.
- Georgia should seek close ties with the European Union.
- Cooperation with North Atlantic community should be based on equality. Crucially, it should be in line with our national interest.
- It is important to accelerate and intensify normalisation of Russo-Georgian relations.
- It is necessary to convince the Russian Federation that it will face no threat from Georgian territory.
- Georgia should play constructive role in stabilisation of Northern Caucasus – peaceful and stable Caucasus is a top priority for Georgia as well.
- We should strengthen and deepen relations with our neighbours and all our actions in the region should be geared towards peace and stability.

Current state of relations with the Russian Federation is opaque. There seems to be no coherent strategy for normalisation of Russo-Georgian relations. The government seeks to mask its virtual impotence with superficial thaw in relations. At the same time, however, right in the heart of Georgia, new walls and barbwire are being constructed. We have a will and capability to initiate wide-ranging negotiations with the Russian Federation. We will not limit our goals to partial and superficial opening of the Russian market. We can achieve visa-free travel with Russia. In its turn, optimal utilisation of the Russian market will give significant boost to Georgian economic performance.

We should initiate wide-ranging relations with Russia over the restoration of Georgian territorial sovereignty. We can convince Russia to play positive role in conflict management in the region, accompanied by direct Georgian-Abkhaz and Georgian-Ossetian dialogue. We aim to return our internal refugees back to Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Through orderly and goal-oriented policy, in conjunction with the status of ‘non-alliance’, Abkhazia and Ossetia can be reunited with Georgia, our refugees returned to their homes.

It is very important to:

- Begin a direct dialogue with Abkhazians and Ossetians. Only this kind of dialogue can restore trust. It is necessary to convince Abkhazians and Ossetians that they will never be victims of war. Our country needs to become attractive to them. Georgia should furnish them with economic, as well as social guarantees.
- Empower diplomatic links at all levels (economic, human, cultural, educational, media, etc.) with Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Given problems should be resolved gradually. The key to conflict resolution is an emphasis on what unites our peoples, rather than focusing on divisions. Georgia should not strive to resolve its territorial, or any other dispute through military means.

Therefore, it is vital to:

- Introduce modern and realistic defence doctrine.
- Take into consideration natural and demographic intricacies of Georgia.
- To abolish universal conscription and shift towards a compact, contract-based Arms Forces, with active reserves complementing it. As a result, we will not only reinvigorate our army, but also tackle the unemployment.
- Victims of war, veterans and their families will be honoured by the state, regardless of the conflict they have participated in. Every single soldier who has lost their life while protecting their motherland must be honoured similarly to the ones who have served abroad.
- Social benefits for their families need to become a top priority for the government.

Justice everywhere and for everyone!

Judiciary is in an urgent need of reformation. Courts should be fair, competent, objective, and accessible for our citizens at reasonable price. The rule for staffing the Council of Justice needs to be changed. The issue of Jurors should be reconsidered as well. Distribution of cases in court should eliminate the chance of political manipulation. It is wrong to appoint judges for their lifetimes. Those Judges who have undertaken political instructions should be removed and prosecuted. The rights of lawyers should be defended and guaranteed. Both, party for the defence, as well as the party for accusation, must possess equal rights in all cases.

Private arbitration should be restored in order to resolve economic arguments swiftly and efficiently.

The so-called 'first' and the 'second' waves of judicial reform under the current government was nothing more than appeasement towards judges sharing responsibility with the previous government in past wrongdoings,

Hereby, 'Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement' suggests that:

- a.) A judge, as an independent person, will not be considered as a victim of a political regime if the decisions made by him/her on behalf of Georgia are based on political conjuncture. Respectively, judging from the weight of crime implied, he/she may only be considered unfit for the position and removed immediately
- b.) The rule for staffing of the Judicial Council needs to be revised.

During the rule of the United National Movement, the so-called 'conveyor of injustice' was in operation. More than 400 000 individuals were pursued under criminal charges. All of these cases were resolved either through financially and morally debilitating probation periods, or imprisonment. In order to avoid imprisonment, the state exploited its legal and illegal convicts to the fullest – in most cases, people had to sell their sole dwellings. As most of the convicts ended up on probation, to a large part of the accused the rightness of charge was legalized by common courts, under Habeas Corpus procedures and every one of them was announced to be convicted. Even today, there is no constitutional mechanism for these people to prove their case and gain equitable rehabilitation.

The second wave of injustice oppressed private entrepreneurs and their property. Thousands of individuals were threatened with imprisonment and forced to hand over their property, or shares of their businesses to the government. Significant portion of the aforementioned properties were sold by the state. The rest still belongs to the government. Current authorities have failed to transfer these properties to its rightful owners.

Following the 2012 parliamentary elections, aggrieved citizens appealed to common courts and demanded the review of consummated cases on the base of changed circumstances, but none of them were accepted (with the sole exception of Rustavi 2 TV channel). The reason for rejection was uniform in all cases – expiry of the appellation period. Therefore, the current government failed to fulfil its promises on providing its own citizens with elementary constitutional rights.

Our party proposes a solution – the so-called *Recurso di Amparo*. Amparo remedy serves a dual protective purpose: it protects a citizen and his/her basic guarantees, and protects the constitution itself by ensuring that its principles are not violated by statutes or actions of the state that undermines the basic rights.

Recurso di Amparo represents an opportunity to resolve the aforementioned problem. When the principle is operational, every Georgian citizen will be provided with legal leverage to review consummated decisions, regardless of appellation period. This is the sole way for restoration of justice, everywhere and for everyone.

There are three main fields in court jurisdiction, in particular:

1. Discussing the claim and reviewing the verdict in Habeas Corpus part (Checking the legality of the arrests regarding the constitution);
2. In part of culpability (Verification of constitutionality of evidence collection and permissibility of the evidence).
3. Verification of verdicts, notary acts and public register. Ensuring that records reflect the reality in terms of ownership transfers and confiscation of private property.

Equality and Social Justice!

Our country faces social problems which are worsening day by day. The government should find a way to attract large businesses towards charity and fundraising programmes. One should generate an environment that will reward solidarity and assistance towards the poorest.

- The state must encourage charity both in cultural and social realms. Entrepreneurs involved in charity must be given tax breaks and other forms of incentives. Our society needs a ‘law on charity’.
- We need to reintroduce progressive taxation.
- The state should prioritise economic projects that will create jobs and reduce unemployment.
- Benefits entitlement should not be dependent on subjective individual evaluation. It is important to develop automated system, whereas disputes should be resolved through transparent and civilised mechanisms.
- Economic policy in general, and taxation in particular, is in need of fundamental reform.
- The policy on taxation should not focus solely on government income. It should also prioritise the development of businesses of different size.

- The state should utilise all constitutional means to recover billions of stolen money by former high-ranking officials. This will in turn be used to fund the following social benefit schemes.

Social minimum, pensions and unemployment benefits.

There are several decisions to be made in order to restore the social justice. The law on ‘subsistence minimum estimation’ should be revised, whereas the government should calculate social normative rather than factual statistics. In particular, basket of goods should include 2500, rather than 2200 calories. Food-to-other-goods ratio should be 50:50. Our estimates, based on modern international standards, put the minimum subsistence in Georgia at a monthly income of GEL 250.

In order to maintain the purchasing power of the public after inflation, indexation of pension and wages are necessary. Primary determinant should be the rate of inflation.

The state is in need of reform of pension system.

- Pensions (including those of disabled, politically repressed, refugees, etc.) will be equated to estimated subsistence minimum. It will be determined by seniority – each additional year will warrant an increase in pension.
- ‘Maternity Wage’ will increase the birth rate by allocation of benefits for first three years of child-rearing. These years will not be lost, they will count towards the seniority.
- Veterans and the families of the war dead need to be provided with social guarantees.
- The law should determine the status of single parents and large families. Both should be provided with benefits.
- The current budget can and should provide unemployment benefits for six months.
- The government should strive towards the increase and empowerment of the middle class. Our goal is to make the middle class a majority, rather than a scant minority.

Education, science, culture and sports should lead us to the world of modernity!

Throughout its history, Georgia has produced numerous distinguished scientists and artists. It is known for its ancient and unique culture. Yet, two decades of independence produced few memorable advances. Georgia has proven that it possesses immense natural potential. The assumption that small states should have no Academy of Science, conservatoire, technical institutes or a robust educational system is mistaken. It is a common sense that spending on the education of future generations is the most valuable investment state can make.

‘Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement’ will do everything in its powers in order to:

- Pay particular attention to the tuition of Georgian language and literature, the quality and impartiality of historical education.
- Make elementary education obligatory.
- Return the genuine autonomy to universities.
- Introduce reforms to Georgian Academy of Science, to restore fragmented and looted specialist institutes.
- Create new institutes attuned to modern internal, as well as external challenges.
- State-fund the higher education.
- Create an electronic library of translated, as well as native textbooks, accessible free to all Georgian students.

- Incentivise school teachers – their monthly wages should be no lower than GEL 1300.
- Restore kindergartens and schools to remote villages.
- Restore pedagogical status to kindergarten teachers.
- Create a special fund for the study abroad. Education credit will be fully funded if a student, following his/her graduation, decides to return to Georgia.
- Study the demand of professions and organise wide scale specialist programmes.
- Finance post-secondary educational institutes (vocational colleges) which will provide its students with technical skills required to perform the tasks of a particular and specific job.
- Finance two-year vocational colleges where the youth will receive practical and professional training.
- Cancel general comprehensive examinations. Prospective undergraduate students should be allowed to enrol to universities of their choice based on results of their final examinations.
- Physical education should not be overlooked. Sports federations need to have adequate financing.

Our programme ‘no single citizen left without profession’ aims to train citizens of all age with different skill sets relevant to contemporary job market. We also aim to establish the ‘open university’ which will provide everyone with flexible timetable to receive modern education and appropriate certification.

Civil integration

The basic purpose of our programme is to create a democratic, consolidated society that will be founded on basic human values. Our priority lays in the emergence of a robust civil society which will regard ethnic diversity and multiculturalism as a principal source of its strength. The state must be the guarantor of equality of opportunity for every single Georgian citizen, regardless of race, ethnicity or religion. Furthermore, the state should facilitate the preservation of diverse identities. Regions dominated by ethnic minorities need greater access to the tuition of the Georgian language. As Georgian is the official state language, availability of accessible and affordable language courses will guarantee the full participation and integration of minorities into our society.

Effective, fair and universal healthcare programme:

For the health of our people, we need a robust health care system. Prevention of the disease should be a top priority. People should be given an opportunity to take care of their health before the advent of illness. Health of a single individual is crucial for our families, society and the state. We should internalise the fact that sickness of a single person is not an individual, but a collective problem.

Environmental pollution poses significant threat to the well-being of our citizens. Furthermore, it is the major contributor to state expenditure on healthcare. We should raise environmental awareness to preserve the quality of air, land and water. The state should also promote healthy lifestyle. Georgia cannot afford to lose its citizens to inefficiency of healthcare system. But particular attention should be paid to the future generation. We should save every life that can be saved – something that is not possible in present conditions.

- The state healthcare guarantees should become genuinely fair and universal towards every citizen, regardless of age, ethnicity or religion.

- Citizens with corporative insurance should not be left behind in case of loss of their employment. They should be provided with appropriate healthcare package instantly.
- Primary healthcare should be strengthened. Declarative attitude towards this important chain needs to be changed. We should focus on early warning and prevention which is better for our people, as well as our economy.
- Former district doctors (now referred to as family doctors) need special attention. General practitioners should be given appropriate working conditions and wages to carry on with their jobs. Their work deserves special credit, especially in remote villages.
- In conjunction with betterment of ambulatory-type diagnostic treatment, state scheme on provision of medicine should be improved as well. No one should suffer from the absence of medicine – this should be relegated to the past.
- Healthcare sector needs professionals like no other. Medics should be provided with appropriate conditions so that they can freely help their compatriots in the time of need.
- State should support those who cannot fund their own treatment. Socially vulnerable groups (such as pensioners, disabled, unemployed, etc.) should be provided with complete medical service (from ambulatory treatment all the way to prescription of the medicine).

Rational and careful funding of health care system is essential to maximise the welfare of our population. We should leave no opportunities to financially exploit our patients. Monopolies in medical and pharmaceutical sectors should be subject to regulations.

Equal opportunities for the disabled!

We believe that the state needs to pay more attention to disabled people. We should do everything in our powers to make their lives easier. Infrastructural development is necessary. Our cities are still ill-equipped in terms of accessibility. Apart from that, however, we should fully integrate these people into our society. Both societal, as well as spiritual support should rid these people from social discomfort.

The problem of drug abuse is our collective problem!

Drug addiction has become a major national security threat. Previous governments have repeatedly failed to curb the rise in demand for illegal substances. There are no preventive efforts, rehabilitation clinics are virtually non-existent. Law enforcement agencies, even if they are ideal, cannot deal with the problem on their own. To resolve this problem, it is necessary to:

- Decriminalise the use of illegal substances – those suffering from drug addiction need assistance, rather than criminal conviction. If we send these individuals to jail, lengthy abstention during their imprisonment will not give desired results.
- Make the treatment available and affordable. We should create specialist medical-social rehabilitation centres. The state should fund and support these institutions.
- It is impossible to solve aforementioned problems by simple prohibition. The state should inform the society, especially vulnerable groups, of dangers of drug abuse. Conduct of anti-drug abuse campaigns and creation of appropriate preventive programmes can make the difference.

Demography

Georgia faces demographic catastrophe. As soon as we enter the parliament, we will work on general conditions, as well as provision of special material incentives for boosting our birth rates. Government should systematically update the population about demographic issues we now face. Our country is being depopulated. Our people must understand implications of current demographic threat – to put it simply, we are on the verge of extinction. Key to this problem is the economy – majority of our compatriots will not emigrate if they are offered jobs in Georgia. Our state should take special care of large families and single parents. The state should also try to reverse the process of depopulation in mountainous areas. If there is no investment in relevant infrastructure, such regions are doomed for depopulation.

It is the massive migration of our productive labour force that endangers our demographic situation the most. In most cases, our expats are young men and women who are deprived of opportunity to create new families and have children. The government should do all in its powers to prioritise their return and facilitate their employment back home.

Project ‘Georgian Hearth’

This project aims to provide young families with annual minimum of 100 000 square meters of housing. We plan to create a non-profit fund for this programme which will distribute GEL 50 million as an interest free government loan. This will enable young families to pay one-third of the market value for their housing. All proceedings will be used for funding the following year.

Diaspora

Our diaspora should have an opportunity to play an active part in discussions and decision-making process over our future. Recent years have seen the greatest numbers of émigrés flowing out of our country. Their remittances (up to GEL 4 billion annually) keeps our economy afloat. Despite that, for years, our diaspora has been deprived of basic rights – notably, the right to vote.

- We should strive to make our country economically attractive for those willing to return.
- We should go to great lengths to ensure that our diaspora has a right to participate in elections.
- Our expats should be invited to take active part in reconstruction and development of our economy.
- We need to create ‘Georgian Houses’ wherever there is a significant concentration of Georgian expats. These institutions will aim to popularise Georgian culture as well as utilisation of our economic potential – by paving the way for Georgian exports.

Migration

Georgia is now in need of a special body dedicated to legal monitoring of foreign immigrants. Migration in our country should be regulate to defend the state from unsustainable influx of immigrants. We need to defend our internal labour market. Foreign work force will not be prioritised over the local population.

Revitalisation of the economy

Our economy is in need of further liberalisation which will act as a stimulus for future development! The primary goal of United National Movement was to plunge our people into

poverty to suppress the emergence of civil society and political dissent. Massive expropriation led to accumulation and concentration of immense wealth into the hands of the few whereas the rest of the population endures extreme poverty. It is a paradox that despite the global control system monitoring each dollar, astronomical amounts of wealth were hidden abroad, wealth that could kick-start the Georgian economy.

- For revitalisation of our economy, it is necessary to prohibit the right to ownership for individuals or companies registered in offshore areas.
- They should be given reasonable amount of time to legalise their ownership.
- The stolen money that has left Georgia should be returned and spent on socio-economic development of our country. This is by no ways unrealistic. One can observe the similar process in various countries.

All the major exporters of the present have at some point supported their infant industries. In addition, our state should provide a free access to world economic markets. At this stage, this will be impossible if the state does not provide businesses with cheap credits or other forms of subsidies. Yet, it is equally important to give our industries free access to major markets. If there is an unrestricted access to foreign markets, factories will be restarted, small enterprises will re-emerge, generating new job opportunities, thus reducing unemployment.

First and foremost, economic growth implies the development of export industries and businesses oriented on internal market. For this purpose, Georgia needs to attract foreign investments. We propose the new legal package that will aim to develop the market of corporate investment securities. At the same time, companies will be given the opportunity to replace banking-loans with investment capita that will reduce production costs, thus boost competitiveness of Georgian exports.

Our mechanism for attracting foreign investment in the real economy will allow us to attract up to two billion worth of portfolio investments.

- During the start-up period, small businesses should be exempt
- [from taxation for at least first two years.
- To stimulate the growth of stock companies, such entities should be exempt from paying taxes according to sums directed to dividends.
- In order to support the development of investment fund market, new normative conditions will be enacted for brokers and preferential duties will be fixed (profit tax – 5%).
- The state should propose the state insurance programme for entrepreneurship, including insurance of the agricultural produce.
- Reinvested profit will be exempt from taxation.
- Income tax will be reduced to 12%, profit tax to 10% and dividend tax to 2%.
- In this case, our goal is less to be paid by more! Progressive taxation regime should be introducing and the acting income tax, instead of proportional 20% will be 10-20%. Proportion of taxation will increase with the income. We will also reintroduce the notion of untaxed minimum. Furthermore, property tax will be annulled for those households with annual untaxed income below GEL 100 000.
- Georgian Lari should be the sole means to pay taxes. Contracts can be based solely on the national currency. We will not tolerate the neglect of Lari.
- Due to short periodicity of tourist season in Georgia, legal entities engaged in the sector or businesses in touristic regions will have differentiated property tax – adjusted to seasonality.

- In order to develop tourism and gain competitive edge in this industry, we will focus on redevelopment of ecotourism and balneotherapeutic resorts. This will result in increase in tourists as well as longer periods of stay.
- In order to protect trade and commerce from unfair business practices, we will introduce a set of laws and regulations culminating in an introduction of effective anti-monopoly service.
- A dedicate body will provide financial monitoring and permanent supervision of high-ranking officials and their family members. Their personal wealth and property will be under constant scrutiny. This is the sole way to resolve the problem of elite corruption.

Our economic policy will aim to avoid new debts. Our foreign debt today is USD 4.2 billion. If we include debts with banks and corporations, our debt amounts to USD 13 billion. To deliver on our promises, according to our calculations, we do not need more than 75% of the acting budget. Through clever management of our resources, we will begin to settle internal debts: special programme for cooperative house-building will be created; we will pay off the back pay of 1998-2004 years; the growth of average pension will not only be indexed to the rate of inflation, but will also exceed the growth rate of average wages by at least two times.

Entrepreneurship, banks, credits and mortgages.

Our main economic priority is to support small and medium businesses. It is crucial to formulate a state policy which will defend interests of local entrepreneurs and provide them with equal opportunities in their relations with foreign investors. We believe that the welfare of middle class is a better foundation for the future stability of our economy. We cannot be overdependent on oligarchic capital. As significant portion of households face eviction from their sole housing, there is an urgent need for constitutional as well as administrative measures.

Creation of state commission is necessary which will closely study individual disputes between banks and its debtors. The state should protect the interests and basic human rights of the families who suffered financial or other losses during the 2008 war; those who were exploited by debilitating probation practices under the government of United National Movement; or individuals or businesses that faced illegal expropriation. Banking sector should be closely scrutinised – in spite of rising poverty and falling economic growth rates, their profits multiply geometrically. Our economic team understands that our evaluation of the banking sector needs to be delicate – we need to avoid damaging it. Yet, for instance, the practice of eviction of households from their sole dwellings needs to be halted. The government should provide its citizens with lower mortgage rates, whereas civil code is in need of significant revision, to ensure the genuine protection of individuals.

‘Nino-Burjanadze – Democratic Movement’ will pioneer the following social initiatives:

- Obligatory fee for registering the payer of value added tax will be increased to GEL 200 000, instead of GEL 100,000. We will introduce the notion of registration without taxation. Small businesses with the turnover between GEL 100,000 and 200,000 will operate in progressive taxation regime with income tax ranging from 5% to 15%.
- We will aim to stimulate the banking sector. At the same time, however, our policies will be aimed at eliminating artificially inflated interest rates.
- We should prohibit the disposal of the sole housing without separating the share for children and the disabled. We need a moratorium on such evictions until we find a compromise between banks and its debtors.

Optimisation of government expenditure:

Georgian government is incommensurate to economic realities. The government expenditure on maintenance of its state apparatus needs to be halved. This can be achieved through functional and structural optimisation of municipal and self-governing institutions. The money saved will be used to finance aforementioned social benefit schemes which means the increase of government expenditure on social programmes by at least 20%.

- For the purpose of saving money, the list of goods and services purchased through consolidated tenders needs to be enlarged.
- In case of state purchase of the agricultural produce, price and origin of the produce needs to be decisive.
- In state institutions and enterprises where the government is the major stakeholder (over 50%), wage system should be regulated to prevent its employees from receiving inadequately high salaries.
- Income of (high-ranking) civil servants needs to be tied to pensions, and thus to minimum subsistence.

Nutritional security

The state has to guarantee the safety and quality of the food consumed by its citizens. Two thirds of the Georgian population lives in extreme poverty. Our children suffer from chronic shortage of necessary nutrients such as proteins and vitamins. As a result, one can observe dangerous tendencies: infant mortality and maternal death rates are on the rise.

- We should provide our citizens with sufficient and adequate nutrition and agricultural produce.
- Relevant bodies should constantly monitor the quality of grocery and food products.
- We should ban the import of low quality food, as well as genetically modified produce and other potentially hazardous products.

Land property and agriculture

Agriculture has traditionally been the most important sector of our economy, the prosperity of our country is largely dependent on its revitalisation. We need to formulate a coherent policy and strategic vision towards its development. For more than two decades, agricultural sector has been plagued by counterproductive, spontaneous initiatives. If we plan carefully and utilise our resources in efficient manner, we will receive locally produced, organic and high quality produce. The surplus needs to be further processed and exported, creating additional jobs and adequate income for our farmers.

The state should be concerned with the well-being of our farmers. The government should provide long term loans at low interest rates to reinvigorate our agriculture. It is similarly crucial to develop the insurance scheme to protect our farmers from debt accumulation and other hardships associated with bad harvest.

We should rent out the necessary machinery to our farmers at a reasonable price. The state should also subsidise the creation of wholesale centres for the storage and distribution of agricultural produce. Our farmers need a stable access to foreign market. In particular, opening of the Russian market will be a lifeline to Georgian agriculture. This will lead to emergence of new enterprises and on-the-spot purchasing centres. Correct taxation will be necessary to

protect our agricultural market. Similarly, we need a strict control over the importation and utilisation of new breeds and seeds.

Our budget will set aside GEL 1 billion exclusively for agriculture. We plan to introduce agro-industrial bank which will provide subsidies to agrarian cooperatives, storage and distribution facilities and processing plants. The government will incentivise production of organic and eco-friendly produce. Our economic strategy will lead to creation of sustainable conditions for developing agro-corporations in form of stock-companies and cooperatives. Selection of regional projects for subsidisation will be based on rational evaluation of its social and economic efficiency. With coherent and rational strategy, once again, we will make the Georgian countryside attractive in terms of social-economic conditions. Once and for all, we will have an opportunity to rid our citizens from unemployment.

- Agricultural producers should be able to sell its produce at a fair price. We need to provide a coherent pricing mechanism to stimulate the agricultural sector.
- Preferential investment credits need to be prioritised. Direct investment turns our farmers into peons. Investment credit, in contrast, incentivises the development of farming industries.
- Lands that were acquired through illegal means need to be returned to their rightful owners.
- Current disarray in irrigation systems, land ownership and postures needs to be settled and regulated.
- Selling land to foreigners must be prohibited and replaced with long-term lease, on condition of employing local people.

We need a new agrarian policy which will be in touch with reality and oriented towards sustainable development of our countryside. In order to bolster our agriculture, we will try to attract the participation of the state apparatus, as well as civil society and scientific circles. The current ministry of agriculture should be evolved into the ministry of agriculture and grocery.

By the year 2020, the index of guaranteeing population with commodity wheat will be 35-40% compared to today's 12%. The demand for tea, vegetable, fruit, citruses, nut, honey, potatoes and dairy should be met completely. Our country possesses all the necessary preconditions for producing surplus dairy, meat, fish products, sugar, vegetable oils, cattle-rearing and silk production. We can fulfil these tasks through implementation of innovative technologies on industrial, as well as individual scale. Import-substitution of agricultural produce, in conjunction with growing exports will appreciate and strengthen our currency.

- Just like in borderline and mountainous villages, food processing plants should be exempt from taxation.
- Our agricultural industries are significantly damaged by subsidised imports. We are in urgent need of anti-dumping mechanism.
- In order to improve our scientific-technical potential in agriculture, we need to gradually restore the fourteen (criminally) abolished agricultural institutes.
- We need to restore Georgian Agrarian University. One again, it should supply the country with agricultural specialists it needs and coordinate their countrywide training.

Renewable energy, ecology and efficient use of natural resources.

Citizens of a country with abundance of natural and intellectual resources should not live in poverty! It is vital for our economy to formulate a strategy for efficient use of our renewable energy. Instead of copying wrongly interpreted European standards, we should adapt them to

our reality and work towards a coherent strategy. We should prohibit construction of gigantic hydro-electric power plants. The primary concern for the government should be well-being of its citizens rather than crude maximisation of government income. Ecology, ancient settlements, historic churches and cemeteries should not be bargained for commercial gain!

- We need to create conception of ‘green energy’ which aims to gradually implement generation of electricity through alternative resources. Energy produced from solar, wind or other natural sources is widely used across the world and should make its way to Georgia.
- It is striking that state-operated buildings are the least efficient ones: at this stage, their expenses reach GEL 200 million. According to competent specialists, these costs can be halved without significant effort.

Energetics is the base for country’s industrial prowess. It provides the base for industrialisation, development of agriculture, transportation, communal economy, tourism etc. There is no other field with matching influence on state policy, especially on security and defence. Therefore, energy sector should be regulated by the state.

It is crucial to create strategic energy reserves in order to ensure stable functioning of the economy. We need a permanent council of experts to tailor the state energy policy to contemporary regional and global realities.

Due to dramatic increase in air pollution, we need to restore and enhance our network of air quality monitoring stations. Currently, air quality in major cities is critical. Contributing factors are power plants, industrial and agricultural sectors. Personal and public transport, however, remains the major source of air pollution.

In order to restore and improve the air quality in our cities, we need a coherent strategy for gradual development of environmental standards. We plan to:

- Restore and modernise the existent network of air quality monitoring stations.
- Propose a concrete strategy for reducing transport emissions which will include stricter technical regulations, improved monitoring of fuel quality, optimisation of the city traffic, shift towards more eco-friendly public transportation, etc.

The law ‘on water’ ratified by Georgian Parliament in 1997 does not allow for efficient control of our resources. We need to shift from outdated administrative principles to pool-management of water resources. Revision of 1997 law should guarantee:

1. Universal and stable supply of clean water to our population.
2. Installation of sewage/sanitary systems at local level.
3. Provision of security for strategic water facilities.
4. Preserving water as a renewable resource.

Integrated management of water resources is a process which requires unitary management of land resources, surface run-off and ground water, without harming ecosystem, but at the same time, maintaining consistent social and economic standards.

It is necessary to implement water management systems in breakaway regions. Similarly, we should cooperate with neighbouring states to restore trans-border water facilities and to attract foreign investments both, from our neighbours, and third parties.

The programme of ‘Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement’ does not give false promises. Without aforementioned changes, it will be impossible to achieve breakthrough in the growth of our economy.

In contrast to other parties, we are in touch with reality. Our programme is based on thorough economic analysis and financial estimations, therefore avoids proposing random numbers such as 300 GEL pensions.

We know where to begin and possess all the necessary prerequisites for implementing aforementioned policies. Our team is brave, intelligent and highly motivated. In contrast to other political forces, our team has never colluded with internal or external forces. Especially at the cost of the well-being of our citizens.

Our bloc is led by the leader of international significance. As a team, we take pride in our professionalism, consistence and perseverance. ‘Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement’ is capable of prioritising national interest over its partisan interests.

Our programme is by no means unrealistic.

Current resources are by all means sufficient.

It can be fulfilled by election of a patriotic and courageous political force, that is capable of intelligent policymaking.

Our party is the sole force with these prerequisites!

Given your mandate, we vow to fulfil our programme comprehensively!

‘Nino Burjanadze – Democratic Movement