

**TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL
GEORGIA**

ANNUAL REPORT – 2025

**25
YEARS**

**Serving And Standing
With The People**

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25 YEARS IN SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE



“Transparency International – Georgia” marked its 25th anniversary in 2025. Over a quarter century of operation, three different governments have come and gone in the country—yet throughout this entire period, the organization has remained faithful to its principles.

Through our work, we have proven that governments may change, but our fight for justice remains constant!

Without exaggeration, 2025 can be described as the most difficult and challenging year for the organization, as the intense campaign against us over the past three years reached its peak. The entire state apparatus was mobilized to silence us—so that we would no longer expose corrupt

officials for embezzling public funds, no longer stand by citizens oppressed by the state, accept the consolidation of Russian-style governance in our country, and stop protesting injustice.

However, this goal remained unattained, despite the adoption and use of numerous repressive mechanisms.

At the beginning of the year, in addition to our central office in Tbilisi, the organization operated regional offices in Kutaisi, Batumi, Zugdidi, and Akhaltsikhe. By the end of the year, we were forced to physically close these offices.

But an organization is not just offices—it is, above all, a community of dedicated people who are fearless and believe in the cause they serve for the good of the country.

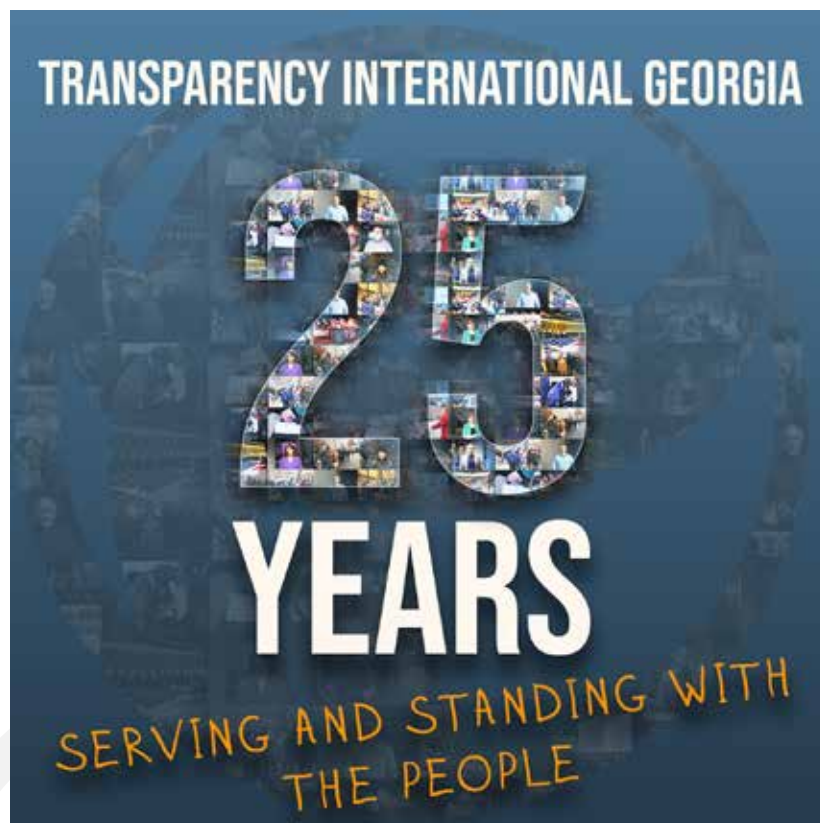
Despite significant pressure and risks, the majority of our staff did not pause their work for even a moment. Our resilience only grew stronger, as each of us firmly believes that we serve a just cause—to safeguard democracy and to guide our homeland safely toward the European family.

By the end of the year, the organization employed 36 staff members, with a gender balance of 19 women and 17 men.

We are part of the global Transparency International movement, alongside more than 100 independent national chapters, coordinated by the International Secretariat in Berlin.

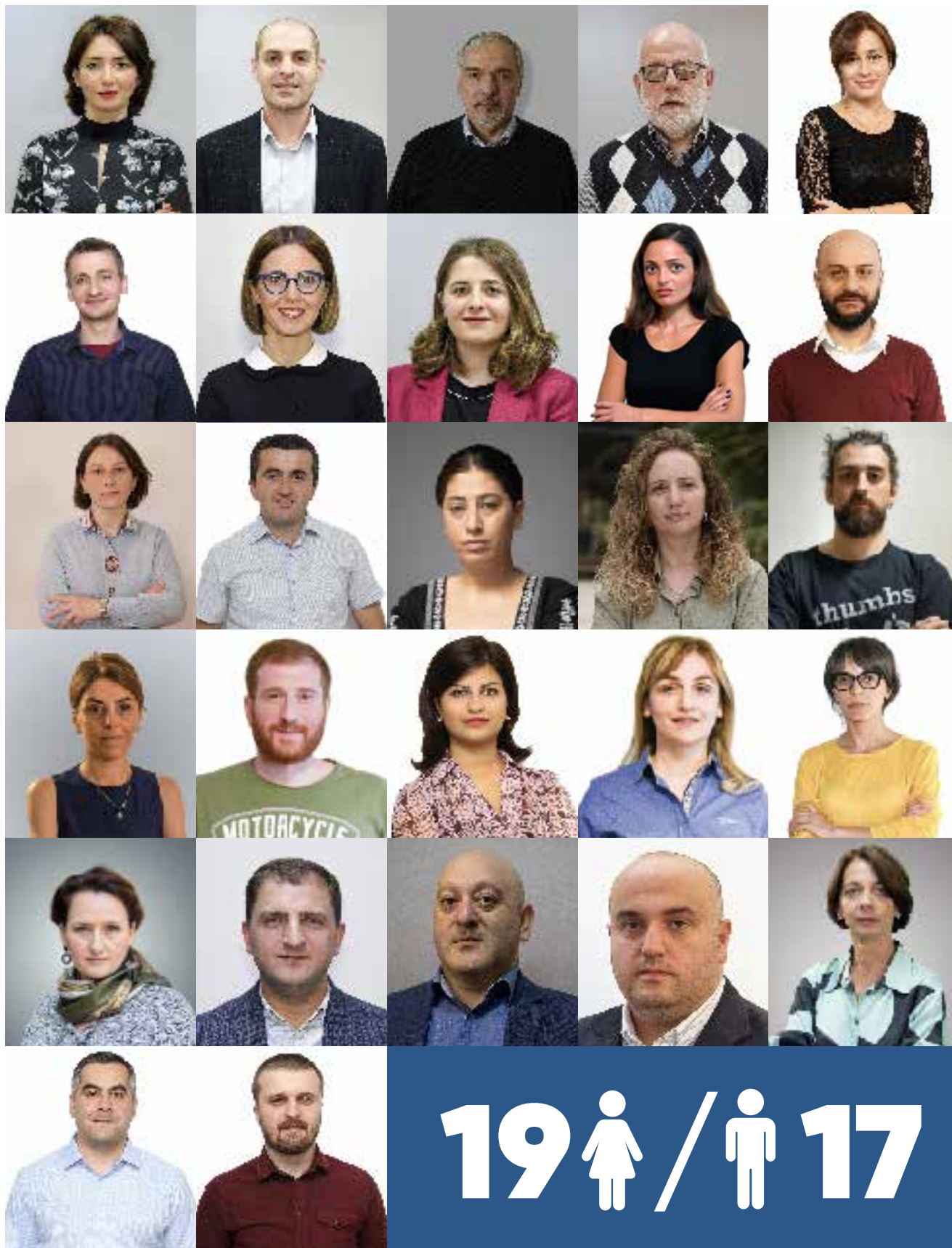
The mission of “Transparency International – Georgia” is to promote anti-corruption policy, support a fair electoral environment, strengthen the justice system, oversee the legislative process, and foster free and pluralistic media. Our goal is to support the country’s firm European and Euro-Atlantic course.

We assist citizens who have been wronged by the state, helping them defend their rights through our dedicated involvement. We also encourage civic engagement so that the government remains accountable to its people.



**OUR WORK HAS STOOD
THE TEST OF TIME!**

The team of Transparency International Georgia in 2025



ADDRESS BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, EKA GIGAURI



Greetings,

In the 25-year history of Transparency International Georgia, 2025 was the hardest, most stressful and at the same time the most important test for our organization and civil society as a whole.

This is the first time in these years that civil society has found itself under unprecedented, systematic and coordinated persecution. Throughout the year, attempts have been made to suppress critical voices in Georgia through repressive

laws, unfounded investigations, financial pressure and discrediting information campaigns. Transparency International Georgia, like many other organizations, has had to close 5 offices across the country. This is the first time in the organization's 25-year history that the organization has been unable to continue its activities in its usual form due to the hostile environment created by the government.

Despite all this, the main fact remains unchanged – we have not stopped!

Transparency International Georgia has always been about people, and this was especially evident in 2025. Not a single member of our team broke down. Despite constant pressure, interrogations, security risks, and personal danger, our employees continued to work with the same principled and steadfastness that has characterized this organization for 25 years. Throughout the year, we continued to investigate corruption, protect human rights, stand by citizens in court, and speak out against injustice.



DURING 2025 WE:

- Published 120 publications;
- Identified 145 suspicious facts of corruption and illicit enrichment;
- Provided legal assistance to 3,219 citizens;
- Defended the rights of 195 activists, 20 journalists, and 46 civil servants in court;
- We won 38 court cases, as a result of which citizens will receive significant financial compensation and their property will be returned;
- We filed 8 complaints in the Strasbourg Court to protect activists and journalists and to protest repressive laws.



In 2025, the majority of our effort was directed towards studying the cases of political prisoners. We studied all the cases, all the documents and evidence. As a result of this analysis, it is clear that more than

120 political prisoners are being punished for their love of the country. Their steadfastness and love for their homeland are an example for all of us. I promise that we will definitely free them.



2025 was a particularly problematic year for the media. Journalists continued to be physically abused and punished using the legal system in order to restrict our citizens' access to critical information. We protected the media and individual journalists from the punitive policies of the ruling party.



As for the future, I would say that we understand that the fight for freedom and democracy is not easy. We also understand that today it is especially important to understand that no one should be left alone in this fight. The challenges facing civil society force us to think about new ways – how to strengthen support for each other, how to maintain activism and how to continue the fight even in conditions when traditional forms of

work are limited. Activist work is more important today than ever. We must stand together, unite and strengthen each other. Only with solidarity and unity will we be able to protect our citizens, preserve democracy and serve our country. Despite this difficult year, our society has once again shown that it will not tolerate injustice and will not give up on freedom. This is our main strength and hope.



Transparency International Georgia has been serving this country for a quarter of a century. Governments change, the environment changes, but our fight for justice remains the same!

I would like to thank each of our employees, partners, and supporters – your strength and commitment are what give us the strength to keep going.

FOREIGN ACTIVITIES



Giorgi Oniani

Deputy Executive Director

2025 was probably the most challenging year for the organization and our staff. By the end of the year, we had to close our physical offices. This was a direct consequence of the adoption and enforcement of draconian legislation by the “Georgian Dream” government.

While in 2024 we spoke of democratic backsliding and the disruption of the European integration path, in 2025 it became evident that the authorities had embarked on a deliberate process of dismantling this

course. Western integration has effectively been halted, while anti-Western rhetoric and actions have further intensified in both the country’s foreign and domestic policies. Despite this difficult environment, the Georgian people’s pro-European choice has been expressed clearly and resolutely. Public protest and civic activism once again demonstrate that the country’s strategic direction remains unchanged – it continues to be aligned with the West.

I am proud that Transparency International Georgia has remained one of the leading organizations in these processes. In 2025, we continued to monitor the activities of state institutions, expose cases of corruption and abuse of power, and speak out publicly and actively. Our work was particularly critical in a context where the authorities increasingly sought to discredit and restrict critical voices.

Over the course of the year, pressure on civil society and independent media intensified significantly. We observed attempts to constrain the work of non-governmental organizations, further weaken state institutions, and undermine cooperation with international partners. Against this backdrop, our work became even more intensive and principled.



On the international front, our engagement with partners became even more crucial in 2025. We actively cooperated with state institutions of the European Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other partner countries,





as well as with relevant international organizations, to provide them with accurate and objective assessments of developments in Georgia. This dialogue once again confirmed that, alongside domestic resistance, international support remains a decisive factor for Georgia's democratic future.

It is important to note that despite anti-Western statements by the authorities and, at times, unacceptable rhetoric directed toward our international partners, Western support for the Georgian people remains steadfast.





This continued support creates the opportunity for Georgia to return to the path of European integration. For Georgia, European and Euro-Atlantic integration today represents an increasingly existential choice. Therefore, despite the obstacles im-

posed on civil society by the “Georgian Dream” government and the state institutions it has captured, we will continue to seek and find ways to carry forward our work in order to safeguard democracy, the rule of law, and Georgia’s Western future.

WHEN CORRUPTION CAN NO LONGER BE HIDDEN



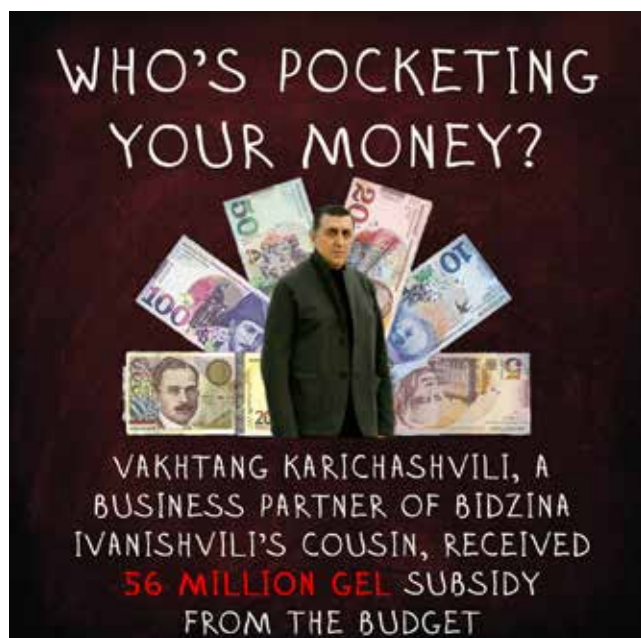
Sandro Kevkhishvili

Head of the Anti-Corruption Team

2025 was notable for the fact that the Georgian Dream finally had to acknowledge the existence of elite corruption in Georgia. TI Georgia, watchdog civil society organizations and investigative media have been raising alarm about this problem with concrete facts for many years, while the ruling party denied everything, protected perpetrators and attacked anyone speaking about corruption.

After many years of investigating and monitoring high-level/elite corruption in Georgia, at the end of 2025 we combined all the available data into one publication, which clearly showed the kleptocratic system of corruption in the country. 5 billion GEL is the amount that, according to the investigations of TI Georgia alone, Georgian Dream officials have received through corrupt state procurement over the past 10 years.

The Georgian Dream's use of the Anti-Corruption Bureau to repress civil society and the media was another clear manifestation of state capture. During the year, the Bureau launched several illegal monitoring operations against more than 80 organizations, including us. In response, we sent the Bureau more than 70 corruption investigations we had published over the years, none of which the Anti-Corruption Bureau had acted upon.



We also examined the officially declared gifts of officials and found that they received GEL 34 million in gifts in 2024-2025. There are no restrictions on an official's acceptance of gifts from family members, which is often used to legalize illegal income.

Corruption Investigations

Based on open sources, we discovered that in 2024, Vakhtang Karichashvili, a business partner of a relative of Bidzina Ivanishvili, received 25 million GEL from the government's agricultural support program, which is 13% of the program's annual budget. Karichashvili's companies, which received a total of 56 million GEL from these programs, donated 783 thousand GEL to the Georgian Dream in return.



WHERE DOES THE PUBLIC MONEY GO?

THE GEORGIAN GOVERNMENT SPENT
71 MILLION GEL ON BUSINESS TRIPS IN 2024



WHAT BUSINESSES AND PROPERTIES DO **GEORGIAN DREAM** MEMBERS AND OFFICIALS OWN IN EUROPE?



TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL
GEORGIA

In June 2025, we revealed that Bidzina Ivanishvili violated the law by not submitting an asset declaration after formally receiving the status of an MP in October 2024, despite renouncing his mandate shortly after the elections. TI Georgia's post on social media on this issue was followed by a public statement from the Georgian Dream, which effectively confirmed that its leader had violated the law.

BIDZINA IVANISHVILI HAS BEEN FINANCING IMEDI TV FOR YEARS

AT THE END OF 2022, IMEDI'S DEBT TO BIDZINA IVANISHVILI'S COMPANIES AMOUNTED TO AT LEAST **61 MLN GEL**



WHICH AMERICAN COMPANIES DID **GEORGIAN DREAM** CREATE PROBLEMS FOR?

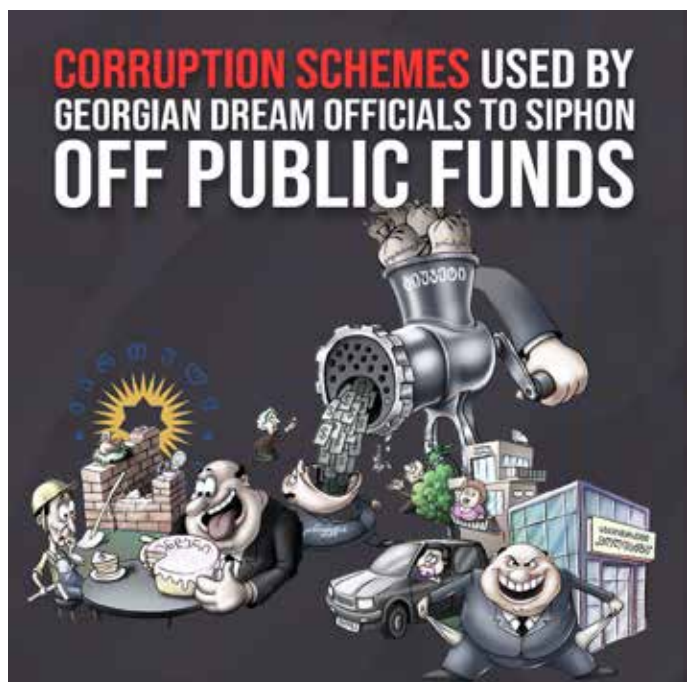
PHILIP MORRIS
BRITISH AMERICAN
TOBACCO
GEORGIAN AMERICAN
ALLOYS
CONTI INTERNATIONAL
SSA MARINE

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL GEORGIA DEFENDED THESE COMPANIES



In July, we investigated the European assets and businesses of Georgian Dream members and senior officials, which showed that those who support anti-democratic laws and steps in Georgia are buying real estate in democratic Europe, establishing companies, and obtaining EU citizenship for their children.

In October, we exposed how the ruling party's propaganda is financed. We discovered that the formally privately owned propaganda channel Imedi is actually financed by Bidzina Ivanishvili, using a loan scheme from his various companies.





Monitoring High-Level Corruption

For several years, we have been systematically monitoring and collecting publicly available allegations of high-level corruption against officials, which we publish in the form of an updated list. The list mainly includes investigations conducted by civil society organizations and independent media, to which there

has been almost zero response from the Georgian Dream government for years.

In 2025, 65 new investigations were added to the list, and it now includes 271 cases of alleged elite corruption. More than 227 officials are involved in these cases, including:

38 members of the government (ministers and deputy ministers), 40 members of parliament, 18 judges, and 72 senior local government officials. We periodically provide information about new investigations to investigative bodies.

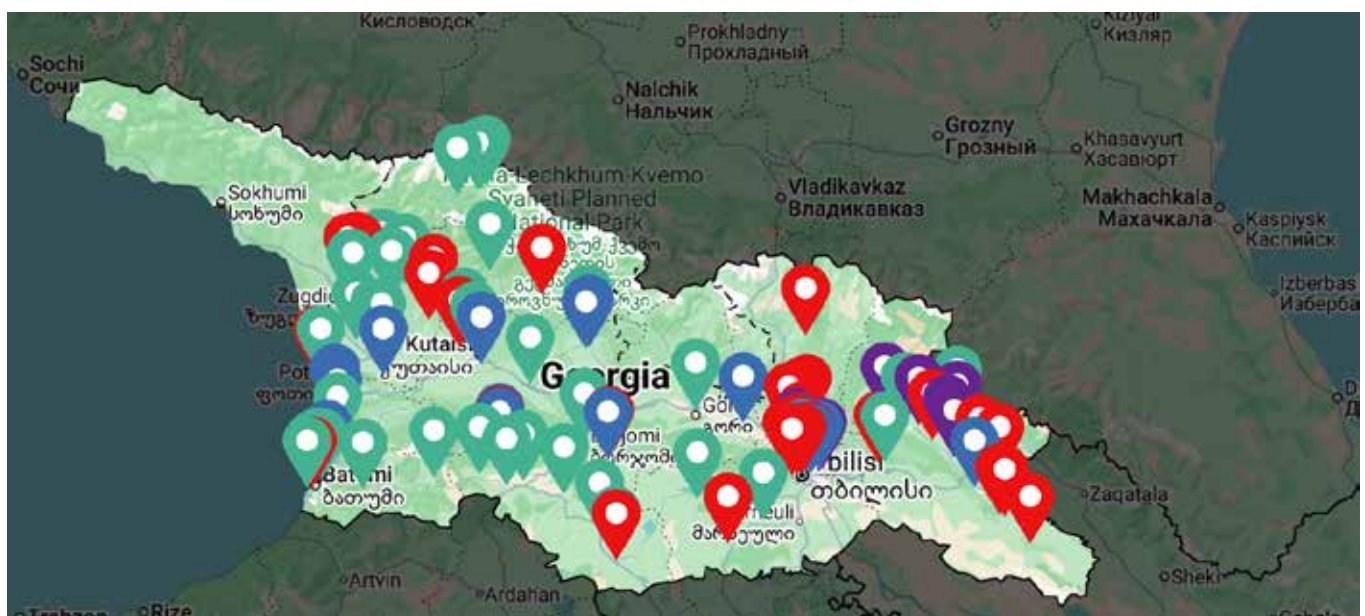




At the end of the year, we also became interested in the investigations launched by the Georgian Dream, as a result of which several former senior officials were detained, including former Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili and former head of the State Security Service Grigol Liluashvili. According to our analysis, the ongoing investigations are due to internal conflicts within the ruling party and do not serve to combat corruption in a real way.

Corruption Map

To better illustrate the scale of high-level corruption, in May 2025 we launched the Corruption Map, which shows the majority of high-profile and, as a rule, uninvestigated cases of elite corruption against the background of a map of Georgia.



Sanctions Monitoring

We continued to collect information on sanctions imposed on senior Georgian officials by Western countries. At the end of the year, more than 230 representatives of the Georgian Dream party were sanctioned by the Western world, of whom 141 were publicly identified, while the rest were subject to anonymous visa restrictions. The sanctions were imposed by the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Ukraine. Those sanctioned include:



In early 2025, we discovered that Bidzina Ivanishvili had taken steps to repatriate some of his offshore assets to Georgia after being sanctioned by the US for promoting Russian interests in Georgia. We also examined the potential consequences that Ivanishvili could face if the UK imposes sanctions.

Bidzina Ivanishvili and four members of his family, 52 senior Georgian Dream officials, 47 judges, 17 prosecutors, and 14 police officers. The sanctions relate to human rights violations, corruption, and Russian assistance.



Economic Analysis

In early 2025, we analyzed the impact of the ongoing political crisis on the country's economy. After that, we looked at Georgia's economic and political rapprochement with authoritarian countries such as China and Iran, which will increase the risks of corruption.



We also analyzed the draft 2026 budget, which revealed the growth of the public sector and the reduction of Western grants, as well as the huge imbalance in the remuneration of officials and pensioners - for example, the Prime Minister's salary is 43 times higher than the pension.

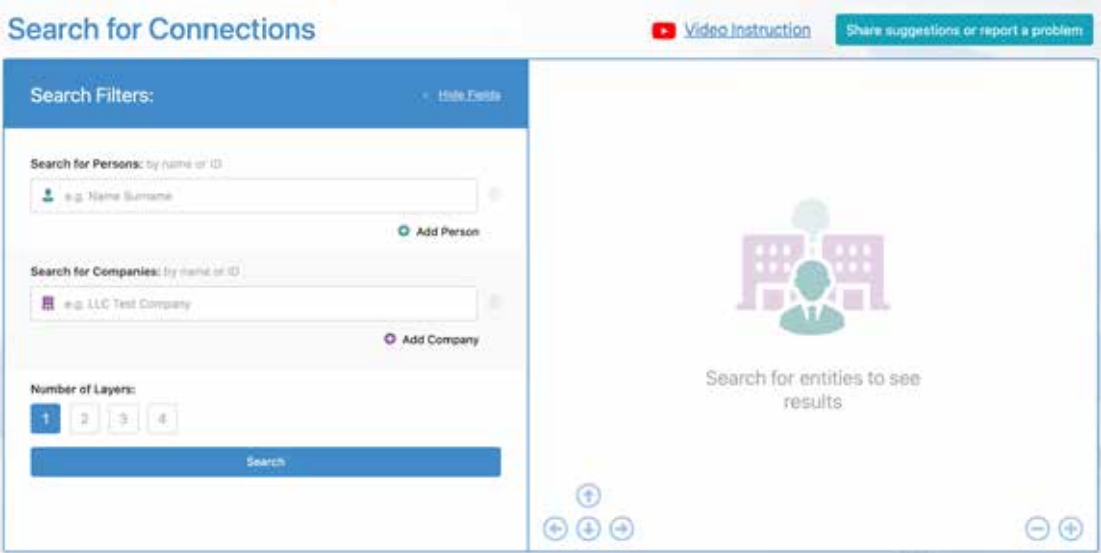
At the end of the year, we looked at the information surrounding the Kulevi oil refinery through the prism of possible evasion of sanctions imposed on Russia and asked questions about why Georgia is purchasing Russian oil and transferring money to Russia in the context of the ongoing war in Ukraine.



Development of Investigative Websites

During the year, we paid great attention to the development of our free to use online investigative websites. Software updates and addition of new functions to Companyinfo.ge (search for company owners), Ten-

dermonitor.ge (search for public procurement) and Politicaldonations.ge (search for political donors) were constantly underway. These websites make it possible to effectively monitor corruption.

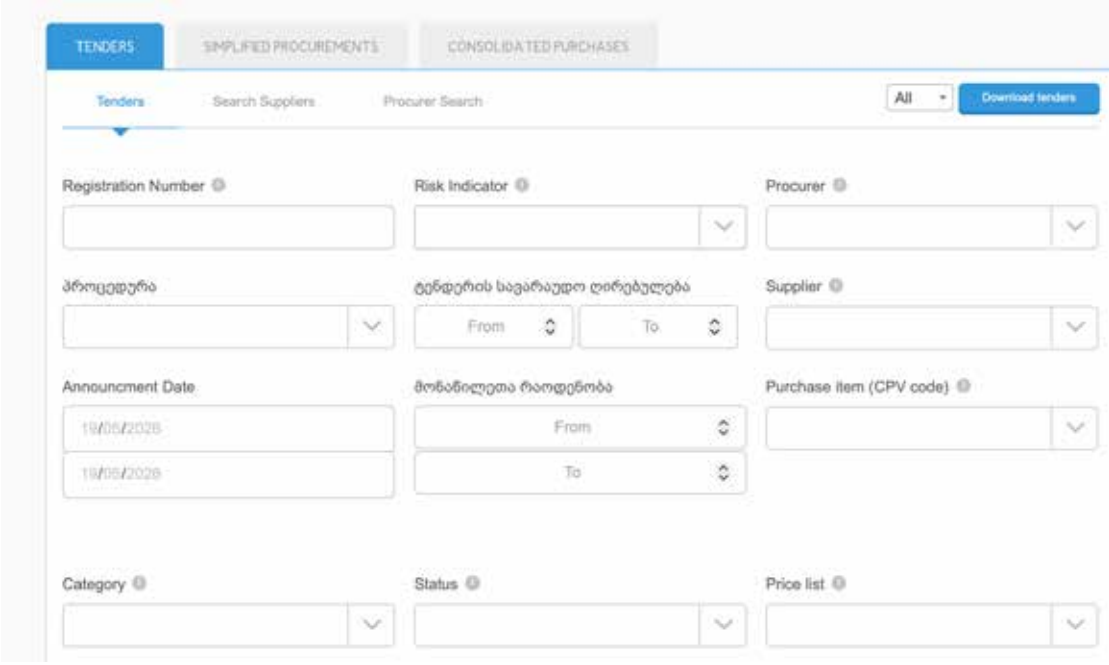


The screenshot shows the 'Search for Connections' web interface. It features a sidebar with search filters and a main search area. The sidebar includes fields for 'Search for Persons: by name or ID' (with a placeholder 'e.g. Name Surname'), 'Search for Companies: by name or ID' (with a placeholder 'e.g. LLC Test Company'), and a 'Number of Layers' section with buttons for 1, 2, 3, and 4. A 'Search' button is at the bottom of the sidebar. The main area has a large search input field with a placeholder 'Search for entities to see results' and a magnifying glass icon. At the top right, there are links for 'Video Instruction' and 'Share suggestions or report a problem'.

During 2025, our investigative websites were used by more than 1 million users.

As a novelty, in 2025, a database section was added to companyinfo.ge, from which it is possible to download databases such as: property declarations of public officials,

state property privatization data, construction license recipients, agricultural subsidy recipients, business support program beneficiaries, natural resource extraction license holders, and procurement-related data.



The screenshot shows the 'TENDERS' web interface. It has a top navigation bar with tabs for 'TENDERS', 'SIMPLIFIED PROCUREMENTS', and 'CONSOLIDATED PURCHASES'. Below the navigation bar, there are tabs for 'Tenders', 'Search Suppliers', and 'Procurement Search'. A 'Download tenders' button is in the top right. The main area contains several search filters: 'Registration Number', 'Risk Indicator', 'Procurement', 'Supplier', 'Announcement Date' (with a date range selector), 'Purchase item (CPV code)', 'Category', 'Status', and 'Price list'. Each filter has a corresponding input field or dropdown menu.

A YEAR OF REGRESSION AND REPRESSION: JUSTICE, RULE OF LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS



Sandro Baramidze

Human Rights and Justice Program Manager

The year 2025 marked one of the most challenging periods for justice, the rule of law, and human rights in Georgia's post-communist history. It was a year characterized by the further consolidation of an authoritarian regime, the complete capture of constitutional institutions, the criminal prosecution of supporters of Georgia's democratic development and European integration, the suppression of dissent in general, the near destruction of civil society, and steps taken toward dismantling po-

litical pluralism.

Staff members of our organization's Rule of Law and Justice Program dedicated more than 40 blogs and reports to identifying and analyzing these problems. We monitored the hearings of dozens of criminal cases in courts and defended the rights of dozens of individuals prosecuted for administrative offenses. One constitutional complaint was submitted to the Constitutional Court, and eight applications were filed with the European Court of Human Rights.

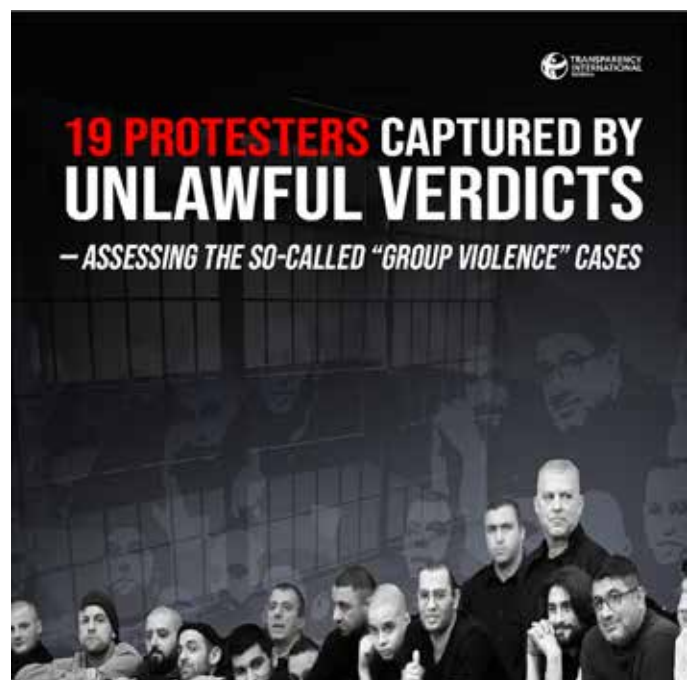
Justice

The justice system is entirely subordinated to the so-called judicial clan, which in turn acts as an unquestioning executor of directives from Ivanishvili and the political leadership of “Georgian Dream.” This situation became particularly evident during the court proceed-

ings against individuals detained in connection with the protests held in Tbilisi and other cities of Georgia following the falsified 2024 parliamentary elections and the November 2024 decision by “Georgian Dream” to abandon the course of European integration.

Members of our program—Tamta Kakhidze, Gvantsa Danelia, Teona Zakarashvili, Viktor Kvitationi, and myself—studied dozens of criminal and administrative cases involving protest participants, attended numerous court hearings, and reflected our findings in analytical publications. These include:

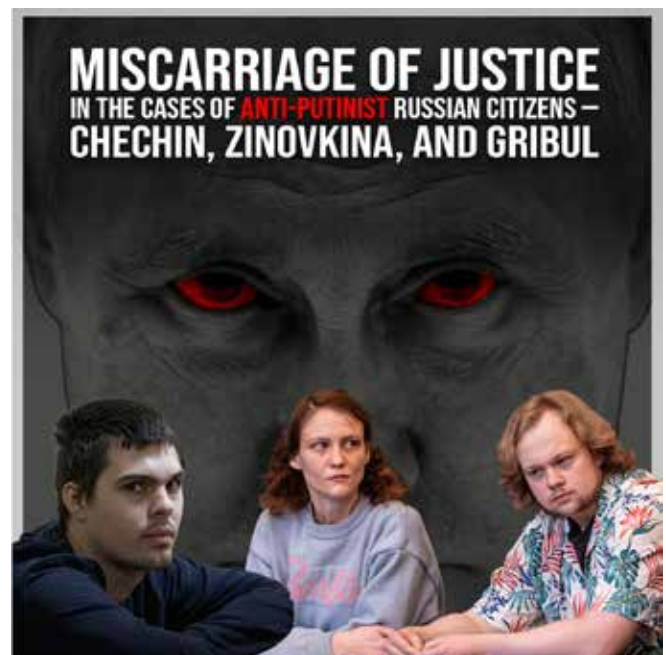
- The case of prominent journalist and Sakharov Prize laureate Mzia Amaghlobeli, in which the police state made an example of a female journalist for slapping an abusive police chief;
- The cases of Zviad Tsetskhladze, Andro Chichinadze, and 17 others convicted of so-called “group actions,” where convictions were based almost exclusively on video evidence obtained in violation of the law;
- The case of opposition activist and politician Saba Skhviataridze, in which virtually all elements—including initial statements about the alleged crime scene and circumstances—were fabricated;





- The case of civil activist and founder of the advertising company “Limoni,” Giorgi Okmelashvili, in which investigative bodies committed numerous procedural violations;

- The cases of three Russian civil activists persecuted by the Putin regime—Anton Chechin, Artyom Gribul, and Anastasia Zinovkina—who were convicted of allegedly illegal possession of narcotics but were in fact victims of the long-standing ill-practice of planting drugs;



- The cases of Georgian civil activists Giorgi Akhobadze and Nikoloz Katsia, who were fortunately acquitted of artificially fabricated drug charges, although they had been unlawfully detained for months;
- The cases of eight opposition political leaders—Nika Melia, Nika Gvaramia, Giorgi Vashadze, Zurab Japaridze, Mamuka Khazaradze, Badri Japaridze, Givi Targamadze, and Irakli Okruashvili—who were convicted for failing to appear before the so-called “Tsulukiani Commission”;

- The case against Elene Khoshtaria, who is being criminally prosecuted for writing words with a marker on an election banner of Kaladze, despite the fact that, at most, her conduct constitutes an administrative offense punishable only by a fine of 1,000 GEL;
- The cases of individuals detained on October 4, 2025—Paata Burchuladze, Murtaz Zodelava, Irakli Nadiradze, Lasha Beridze, Paata Manjgaladze, and others—who fell victim to traps set by law enforcement authorities.

All of the above cases demonstrate the complete degradation of justice. Charges and convictions are filled with assessments lacking reliable and relevant evidence and rely solely on false testimonies of police witnesses and conclusions of so-called experts influenced by the prosecution. This is compounded by the courts' complete indifference to allegations of torture and other forms of ill-treatment. Particularly noteworthy is the case of Giorgi

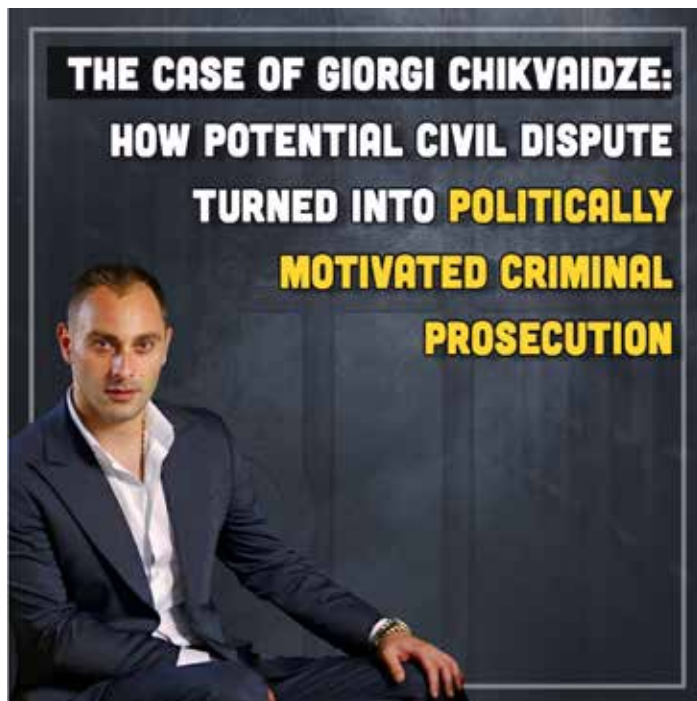


Bachiashvili, former financial advisor to Ivanishvili, involving unlawful charges and conviction, accompanied by allegations of his abduction from a foreign country, his illegal transfer to Georgia, his severe beating in a penitentiary facility, and the suspicious death—under still unclear circumstances—of the head of that facility, as well as unlawful criminal prosecution of his parents. The Bachiashvili case is a clear example of how the entire state apparatus, especially its repressive institutions—courts, prosecution, State Security Service, penitentiary

system, and others—operates to serve the private financial interests of a single individual. In this context, Bachiashvili's so-called confession, agreement to a plea bargain, and compensation of alleged damages, which led to his release on probation, as well as the termination of criminal proceedings against his parents, not only fail to dispel doubts but further reinforce suspicions about the falsity of the entire scheme and the subordination of state institutions to Ivanishvili's will.

Also noteworthy is the case of Giorgi Chikvaidze and his business partner, where, alongside the prosecution's private corrupt interests, signs of “Georgian Dream’s” appeasement policy toward Russia are evident. In our publication analyzing this case, we expressed a strong assumption that what could have remained a private civil dispute was transformed into a criminal prosecution solely because Chikvaidze—once close to “Georgian Dream”—refused to participate in an illegal scheme to

conceal the yacht of sanctioned Russian businessman Oleg Deripaska in Georgian territorial waters.



Rule of Law

“Georgian Dream” controls all branches of government and formally independent institutions. As a result, a system based on the rule of law no longer operates in the country, and a regime based on one-party rule has been established, where anti-democratic laws, politicized justice, and repressive mechanisms are used to suppress dissent.

Assessment of Repressive Legislation

Throughout 2025, our organization published numerous blogs assessing repressive legislation adopted by the “Georgian Dream” parliament, including:

- The so-called “FARA,” which prohibits any activity without registration in the so-called “foreign agents” registry and criminally punishes any natural or legal person that authorities may consider an agent of a “foreign principal”;



- Amendments prohibiting the receipt and issuance of grants without government approval, making assistance from foreign sources subject to administrative liability; subsequently, the concept of “grant” was arbitrarily expanded, and receiving or using grants without permission became a criminal offense;



- Legislative changes enabling the swift banning of political parties if they replicate the “declared goals or essence of activities” of an already banned party, including its personnel composition;
- Amendments to the Law on Broadcasting prohibiting broadcast media from receiving foreign funding and introducing content regulation norms granting the Communications Commission de facto censorship powers;
- Amendments (in five packages) to the Code of Administrative Offenses and the Law on Assemblies and Demonstrations, imposing heavy fines, administrative detention, and eventually criminal liability on individuals expressing protest in public spaces, including merely standing on sidewalks.

Assessment of the Temporary Parliamentary Investigative Commission and Constitutional Complaint on Party Bans

Our organization published a detailed blog on the unlawful establishment and activities of the parliamentary temporary investigative commission—the so-called “Tsulukiani Commission.” In our assessment, it was created in gross violation of the Constitution and parliamentary rules, rendering the prosecution of eight political leaders for failing to appear before it unlawful.



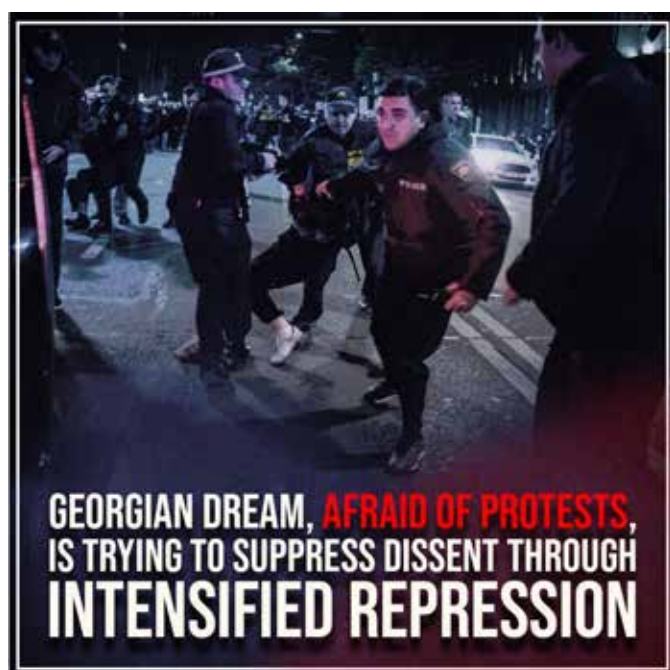
Furthermore, “Georgian Dream” used the commission’s conclusions to file a constitutional complaint seeking the ban of three major opposition parties.

In our view, the complaint is so unsubstantiated and devoid of evidentiary basis that the Constitutional Court lacks even grounds to admit it for consideration, let alone grant it. Granting the complaint would effectively mark the end of political pluralism in Georgia.

Human Rights

Repression Against Participants of Civil Protests

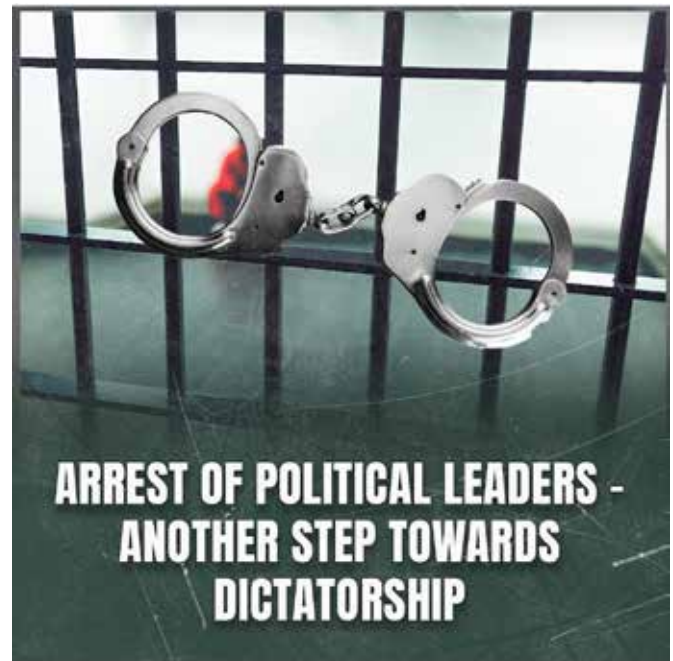
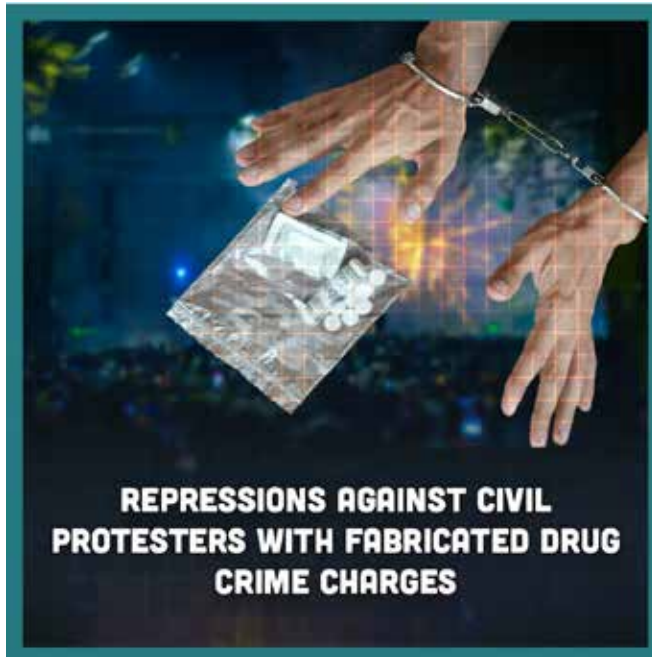
Since November 28, 2024, the state has systematically used ill-treatment and other forms of police violence against protest participants. Individuals were arbitrarily detained, beaten—often struck in the head and face—using special gloves and batons, then taken behind police cordons, away from media cameras, where violence continued in so-called “torture vehicles.”



On December 1, 2025, the BBC released a documentary titled “When Water Burns,” suggesting that the Ministry of Internal Affairs may have used a prohibited chemical substance against peaceful demonstrators in November–December 2024. The “Georgian Dream” regime denied this based on its own investigation conducted within five days of the film’s release, the results of which lack credibility.

In nearly all cases, beaten and unlawfully detained protesters were denied basic procedural rights, including immediate access to a lawyer. In some cases, detainees were stripped naked and forced to perform squats.





To date, not a single abusive police officer has been investigated or brought to justice. Instead, the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was awarded the “Order of Honor” upon nomination by “Georgian Dream” leaders. Moreover, par-

liament abolished the Special Investigative Service, which had been established upon strong recommendations from the international community to ensure effective investigation of crimes committed by law enforcement.



Repression Against Georgian NGOs and Media

Throughout 2025, legislative changes continued to be adopted at an accelerated pace, criminalizing or stigmatizing civil activity, NGOs, and independent media, eliminating access to international funding, restricting fundamental rights, promoting censorship and self-censorship, and creating a legal basis for politically motivated prosecutions. These laws received sharply critical assessments from the Venice Commission.



Based on these laws, in August and September 2025, leading Georgian NGOs received written notifications from the Anti-Corruption Bureau and courts that they were under monitoring. The Anti-Corruption Bureau requested that these organi-

zations submit all types of information, including sensitive personal data of their beneficiaries. In our written responses, we informed the Bureau that all financial information had already been made publicly available on our websites.

As for the beneficiaries' personal data, we refused to disclose it, as such data are protected under the Constitution of Georgia, the European Convention on Human Rights, and relevant Georgian legislation. These circumstances may, at any time, serve as grounds for additional criminal or administrative measures

against the organizations under monitoring, including their leadership. However, it should also be noted that, at the end of 2025, the "Georgian Dream" parliament abolished the Anti-Corruption Bureau and transferred its functions to the State Audit Office.



In September 2025, leaders of approximately ten NGOs, including Eka Gigauri, Executive Director of Transparency International Georgia, were summoned for questioning before a magistrate judge in the so-called "face mask" case in relation to which the so-called investigation was launched in April 2025 against solidarity funds.

Their only "offense" was distributing protective equipment—such as face masks, respirators, and similar items—to protest participants to shield them from unlawful police attacks, and providing financial assistance to civil activists who had been unlawfully fined so they could pay those fines. Furthermore, the bank accounts of some organizations were frozen.

In November and December 2025, Eka Gigauri and other NGO representatives were again summoned in connection with alleged sabotage, assistance to a foreign state in

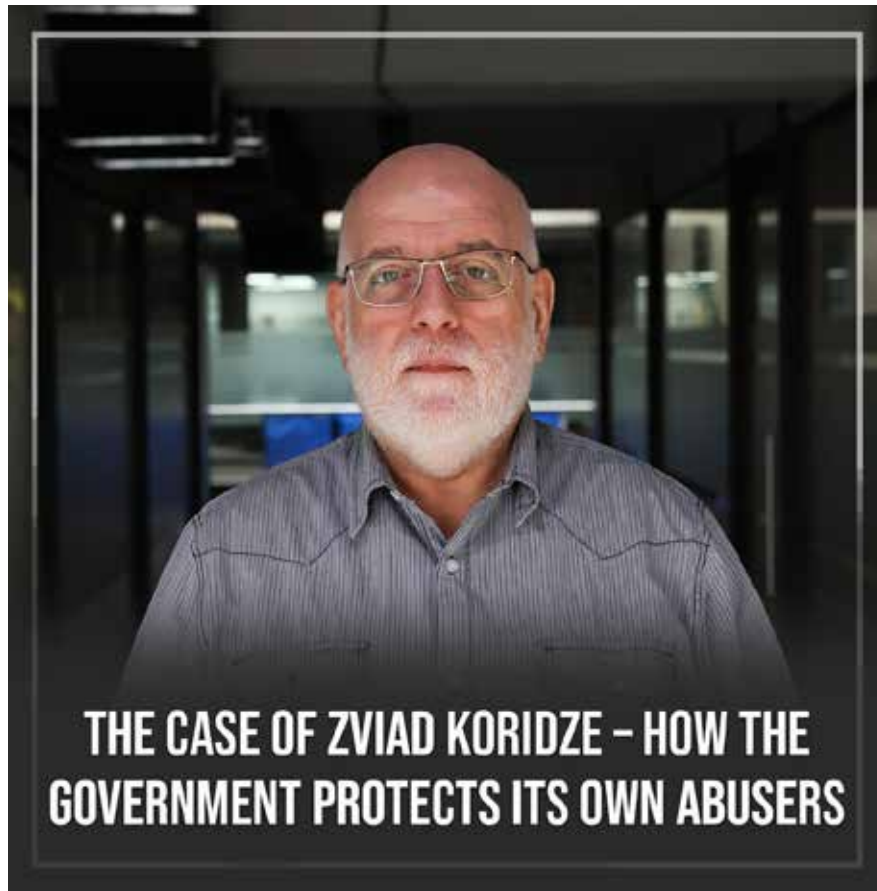


hostile activities, and financing activities directed against Georgia's constitutional order and national security. In November, similar charges had been brought against several political leaders, raising concerns that civil society leaders could face the same accusations.

In January 2025, in Batumi, at the Sheraton Hotel, a group attack was carried out against our organization's regional programs manager,

prominent journalist and civil activist Zviad Koridze. The attack was organized and instigated by one of the most aggressive MPs of "Georgian Dream," Dimitri Samkharadze, with the support of high-ranking officials in Adjara and affiliated individuals. The likely aim was intimidation and retaliation for Koridze's attendance at the trial of his colleague and prominent journalist Mzia Amaghlobeli.





Ultimately, only one individual—the driver of one of the attackers, reportedly a relative of Samkharadze—was punished, receiving a lenient penalty of GEL 3,000.

As a result of these repressive measures, many civil society organizations were forced to close offices and suspend activities. Some were compelled to leave the country or consider doing so.



Constitutional Complaint

In 2025, our organization also prepared a constitutional complaint on behalf of another civil society organization, challenging the constitutionality of amendments made in April 2025 to the Law on Grants. The complaint was registered on May 19, 2025; however, the year ended without any decision from the court.

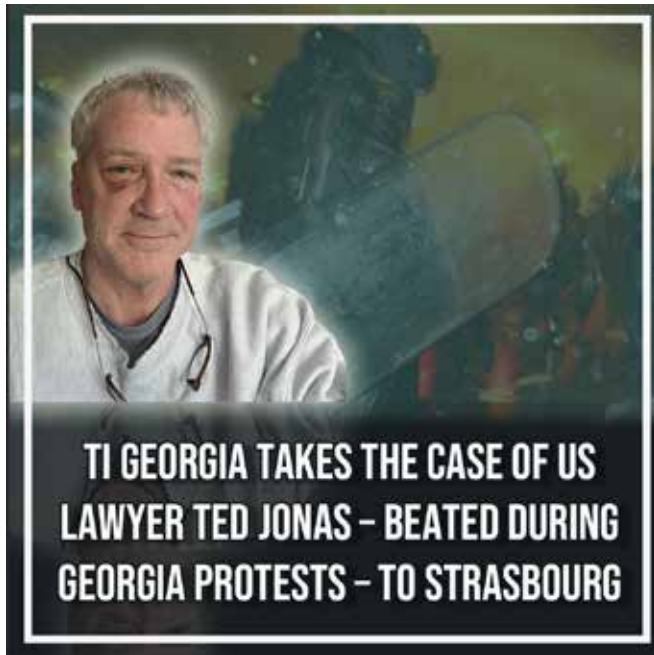


Applications to the European Court of Human Rights

In 2025, our organization prepared and submitted eight applications to the European Court of Human Rights. One concerns repressive laws adopted by the Ivanishvili regime; another involves a well-known lawyer and legal expert targeted by a SLAPP lawsuit filed by the Deputy Chair of the Supreme Court within a court system under their influence.

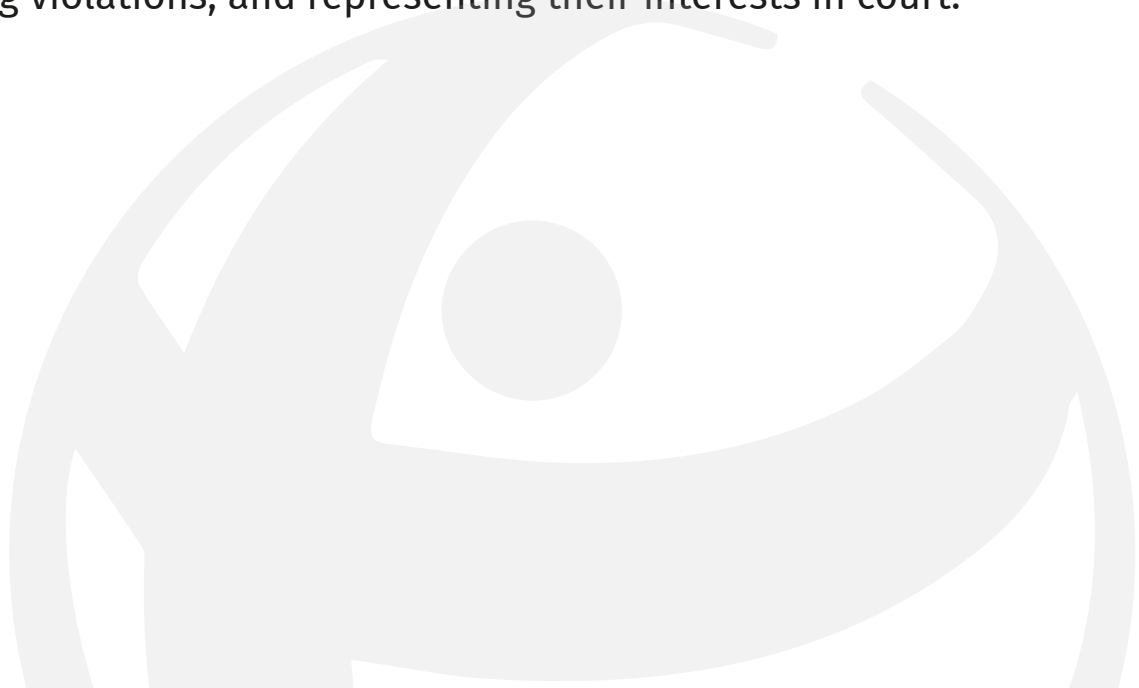
The remaining applications concern individuals subjected to criminal or administrative proceedings for participating in civil protests.

In 2025, the European Court of Human Rights found a violation by Georgia of the European Convention in the case of Aleksis Matchavariani, a victim of unlawful administrative detention. Our organization represented his interests before the Court.



Legal Assistance for Administratively Detained or Fined Individuals

Members of our program—Teo Zakarashvili, Viktor Kvitationi, Tamta Kakhidze, and Gvantsa Danelia —undertook extensive efforts to provide legal assistance to individuals unlawfully detained or fined under administrative procedures. This included visiting detainees in isolation facilities, documenting violations, and representing their interests in court.



SUCCESS STORIES – 2025



Teona Zakarashvili

Lawyer, Coordinator of the Legal Aid Center

Despite the deterioration of judicial practice over the past three years and repressive legislation that, among other things, hindered the functioning of our organization, the team of lawyers at “Transparency International – Georgia” actively defended citizens’ interests in courts of various instances, as well as in temporary detention isolators and penitentiary institutions.

During 2025, we provided free legal consultations to more than 3,200 individuals and won 38 court cases. For those under our protection, this resulted in: compensation amounting to 483,243 GEL for unlawful dismissal

from employment; 63,960 GEL in reimbursement for discontinued pensions; and 314,000 GEL in land dispute cases. In addition, we restored ownership of 10,100 sq. m. of land to beneficiaries. Against the backdrop of worsening legislation and ongoing repression affecting freedom of expression, assembly, and demonstration, we filed 46 new cases in court to defend public servants and represented the rights of 195 activists and 20 journalists across various institutions and instances.

Despite the challenges, we continue to work to protect human rights and spare no time or effort in defending the interests of the Georgian people.

**TI GEORGIA WON 38 COURT CASES -
SUCCESS STORIES 2025**

*OUR BENEFICIARIES WILL RECEIVE FROM THE STATE
BUDGET AS COMPENSATION:*

**GEL 483 243 - FOR UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT
TERMINATION**

GEL 63 960 - FOR PENSION TERMINATION

**GEL 314 000 - FOR LAND OWNERSHIP
COMPENSATION**

**10 100 SQ. M. LAND RETURNED TO
BENEFICIARIES**

STANDING UP FOR CITIZENS' RIGHTS!

IN 2025

**THE LAWYERS OF TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL
GEORGIA PROVIDED**

FREE LEGAL CONSULTATIONS TO 3,219 CITIZENS

- DEFENDED 46 UNLAWFULLY DISMISSED PUBLIC OFFICIALS
- FOUGHT IN COURT FOR THE RIGHTS OF 195 DETAINED ACTIVISTS
- DEFENDED THE RIGHTS OF 20 JOURNALISTS

STANDING UP FOR CITIZENS' RIGHTS!

Viktor Kvitatiani

Lawyer



The Case of Maia Kereselidze

Among the cases won in 2024, I would like to highlight the civil dispute of Maia Kereselidze, which concerned her unlawful dismissal. Recently, cases of unlawful dismissals of employees in both the public and private sectors by the state have significantly increased. Such dismissals are often carried out without any justification or legal basis. The case of Maia Kereselidze is a clear example of this unlawful practice. She had been continuously employed for 14 years

at Tbilisi Public Kindergarten No. 211. She was unlawfully dismissed under the pretext of reorganization, which is why we filed a case with the Tbilisi City Court.

With our assistance, the dispute ended in Maia's favor. The Tbilisi City Court confirmed that her dismissal was unlawful. As a result, in addition to compensation for lost wages, Maia Kereselidze will also receive 3,150 GEL in compensation.

The Case of Mikheil Buskhrikidze



Lela Motsonelidze

Lawyer

The Case of Pensioner Grigol Baghoshvili

Grigol Baghoshvili's pension was unlawfully suspended. Such illegal decisions by the state are frequent, and we challenge similar cases individually.

Grigol Baghoshvili has been working for years at Batumi Boulevard and has faithfully carried out his duties. Unfortunately, due to this unlawful practice, the state suspended his pension. From the very first day, Grigol Baghoshvili turned to us for assistance, and we initiated legal proceedings to defend his rights.

As a result of the case won at the Batumi City Court, Grigol Baghoshvili's pension was restored. In addition, he will receive the unpaid pen

Among the successful cases, I would highlight the case of Mikheil Buskhrikidze, who was unlawfully dismissed from the Adigeni Municipal Council.

Mikheil Buskhrikidze was dismissed from his position as Head of the Office of the Municipal Council on December 27, 2024—just one day after he published a Facebook post supporting European integration. As the basis for dismissal, they cited a provision of the Law on Public Service intended to make the decision appear more convincing and lawful. In court, we challenged the legality of this very basis.

The Akhaltsikhe District Court satisfied our claim—it annulled the unlawful decision, ordered the Adigeni Municipal Council to reinstate Mikheil Buskhrikidze to his position, and required compensation for forced absence from work.

Ana Berdzenishvili

Lawyer



sion for the period during which it had been unlawfully suspended due to his employment at Batumi Boulevard.

ACTIVITIES IN REGIONS



Zviad Koridze

Regional Office Manager

The year 2025 was both busy and dramatic for the regional offices of Transparency International Georgia. Throughout the year, our offices in Batumi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, and Akhaltsikhe worked tirelessly to expose corrupt officials and monitor public institutions, while simultaneously promoting and strengthening local civic engagement. The year concluded on a dramatic

note when we were forced to physically close our regional offices due to the enactment of Russian laws restricting freedom. This fact greatly affected many beneficiaries of Transparency International Georgia who relied on our offices for legal support, to discuss various methods of interacting with local authorities, and to share their opinions.

Although it became quite difficult to fully fulfill our mission under the conditions of “Russian laws,” our regional representatives successfully managed to be actively involved in civil protests and, at the same time, expose “budget thieves” in the regions who were enriching themselves at the expense of the

people’s impoverishment. In 2025, our regional offices uncovered more than 140 million GEL in suspiciously corrupt state procurements. These corrupt cases involved: MPs Giorgi Chkonia and Viktor Japaridze; Senaki Mayor Vakhtang Gadelia;



15 individuals associated with the Adigeni City Hall; Akhaltsikhe City Council MPs, their cronies and relatives, who received a total of up to 25 million GEL in procurements from Akhaltsikhe City Hall and its legal entities alone. 35 individuals participated in these dubious state procurements, 26 of whom are cen-

tral and local government officials, and 9 are businessmen who win state procurements, but are likely to later enter into corrupt deals with the ruling political power and contribute to the development of a kleptocratic governance system in the country.



- The head of the Akhaltsikhe office, Tamuna Uchidze, revealed that “15 individuals associated with the Adigeni City Hall received more than 2 million GEL from Adigeni Municipality purchases.” This is a vicious practice of local governance, when people employed in local government manage to offer people’s money, mainly to their own family members or various companies related to them. Another type of vice is when businessmen close to the “Georgian Dream” win public procurements. One of Tamuna Uchidze’s blogs was about the fact that “a businessman from Adigeni, close to the Georgian Dream, made up to 16 million GEL through procurements and state programs.”

WHO IS GETTING RICH AT YOUR EXPENSE?

THE MP FROM THE GEORGIAN DREAM, **GIORGI CHKONIA, HAS WON TENDERS WORTH **GEL 37 095 628** SINCE THE ELECTIONS.**

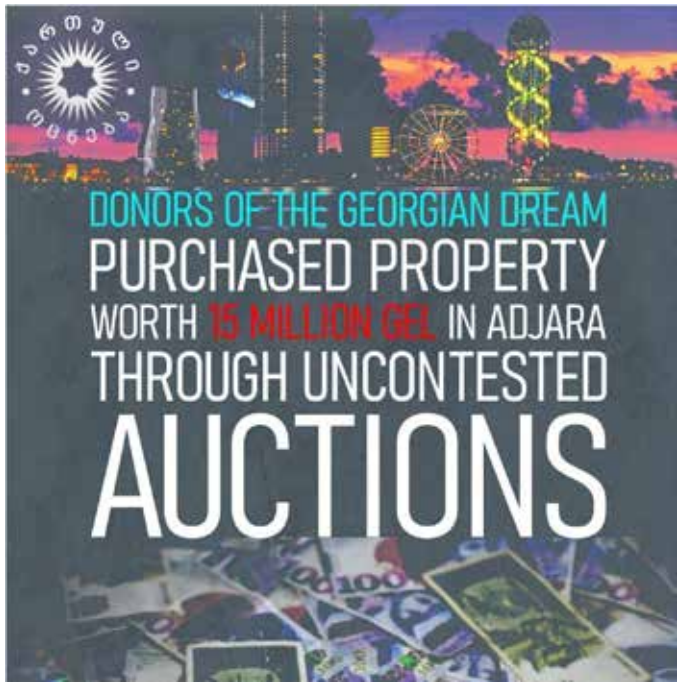
#CORRUPTIONMAKESYOUPOOR

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

ALEKSANDRE TKEBUCHAVA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POTI CITY COUNCIL, CONSUMED 17 TONS OF GASOLINE WORTH **GEL 48 000.**

TKEBUCHAVA'S FATHER-IN-LAW RECEIVED **GEL 1 568 800 IN PROCUREMENTS FROM THE POTI BUDGET.**

● The head of the Zugdidi office, Archil Todua, investigated that “a company belonging to a person close to MP Viktor Japaridze won tenders worth up to 17 million GEL in Mestia”. In 2025, the corrupt activities of Senaki Mayor Vakhtang Gadelia again came into our attention: In one case, “the mayor of Senaki gave his uncle and cousin’s companies a tender worth more than 38 million GEL,” and in another case, “the mayor of Senaki gave his friend and business partner’s father a state procurement worth more than 7 million GEL.”





- The head of the Batumi office, Malkhaz Chkadua, and analyst Gocha Mzhavanadze investigated that “in Adjara alone, winners of non-competitive auctions donated more than a million GEL to the Georgian Dream.” Transparency International Georgia has previously written about the activities of businessman Giorgi Chkonia, how he won state procurements and then helped the Georgian Dream. As a result of the 2024 parliamentary elections, Giorgi Chkonia became a deputy and continued to enrich himself at the expense of the people - he won tenders worth 37 million GEL after the elections. Malkhaz Chkadua and Gocha Mzhavanadze also revealed the “illegal construction and undeclared property of the Chairman of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara, the sanctioned Sulkhan Tamazashvili.”



- The head of the Kutaisi office, Lela Motsonelidze, in addition to being actively involved in civil protests, mainly provided legal assistance to citizens.

In 2025, our regional offices prepared 2021-2025 activity reports for the municipal councils of five municipalities - Batumi, Zugdidi, Kutaisi, Poti, and Akhaltsikhe. The goal was to inform citizens about their elected officials' actions and how they can better control the activities of mayors, so that they ultimately become more focused on the needs of residents.



Following the 2025 local self-government elections, the Georgian Dream secured majorities in all municipal councils across Georgia, and all elected mayors now represent the Georgian Dream. In our assessment, “the 2025 convocation of the local councils will further deepen the crisis of local democracy.”



During 2025, we studied the property declarations of more than 120 officials from various regions of Georgia and identified more than 10 violations. Among the violations were illegal construction and undeclared property of the sanctioned chairman of the Adjara government, Sul Khan Tamazashvili. Monitoring declarations is a fairly effective mechanism for detecting corruption. Along with revealing suspicious facts, we are trying to help improve the quality of filling out declarations.

WHO IS HIDING PROPERTY?

THE SANCTIONED CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ADJARA, SULKHAN TAMAZASHVILI, AND HIS FAMILY HAVE:

- APPROPRIATED A STATE-OWNED LAND PLOT;
- BUILT A HOUSE UNLAWFULLY;
- FAILED TO DISCLOSE THE CONSTRUCTION EXPENSES IN THE ASSET DECLARATION.





#CORRUPTIONMAKESYOUPOOR

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

JABA CHKHITUNIDZE, A NATIVE OF ADIGENI, WHO IS CLOSE TO THE GEORGIAN DREAM, HAS EARNED UP TO 16 MILLION GEL THROUGH STATE PROGRAMS AND PURCHASES

ბოლახური 1
BOLAJURI

→





In 2025, through our radio projects - Archil Todua's program "Our Self-Government" (10 programs) on Zugdidi Radio "Atinati" and Lela Motsonelidze's "Transparent Politics" (10 programs) on Kutaisi Radio "Dzveli Kharstu" - we regularly provided the audience with information on the findings of our research and discussed with guests ways to solve local problems. These radio projects were very helpful in ensuring that as many citizens as possible were properly informed, however, local radio channels were prohibited from broadcasting them by legislation adopted by the Georgian Dream, as licensed media outlets are not allowed to distribute media products funded by Western funds in any way.

MEDIA ENVIRONMENT: A YEAR OF PERSECUTION OF CRITICAL MEDIA



Natalia Vakhtangashvili
Head of Media Project

In 2025, Transparency International Georgia continued its established practice of closely monitoring and actively responding to developments in the country that affect the media environment, as well as freedom of speech and expression. The year 2025 proved to be alarming both in terms of the various forms of violence directed against journalists and the deterioration of legislation, which significantly reduced - and in some cases effectively eliminated - the possibility for independent media outlets to operate.

Incidents of violence against media representatives reached record levels, while due to a lack of financial resources, up to 20 regional broadcasters were unable to resume operations. At the beginning of the year, one of the country's leading critical television channels, Mtavari Arkhi, was shut down, while two other critical broadcasters - Formula and TV Pirveli - faced the threat of closure. Independent online media outlets are also operating under severe financial constraints.

Overall, alongside the consolidation of authoritarian tendencies - accompanied by a sharp deterioration of the legislative framework, increased targeted violence against journalists and media representa-

tives, as well as their unlawful detention and fining - the country's already fragile media landscape has been significantly damaged. Journalism has, in effect, become a life-threatening profession.



The severe developments of 2025 were also reflected in international media freedom rankings, where Georgia's position deteriorated markedly compared to previous years. For example, in the Press Freedom Index published by Reporters Without Borders (RSF), Georgia's ranking fell by 11 places, dropping from 103rd to 114th position.

At the beginning of 2025, so-called "censorship amendments" to the Law on Broadcasting granted the Communications Commission the authority to regulate broadcasters' content and introduced punitive mechanisms against television channels for using assessments and terminology deemed undesirable by the authorities. These developments were critically assessed in our report titled: "Georgian Dream" Implements a Policy of Censoring Critical TV Channels, Taking Another Step Toward Dictatorship."

Another legislative amendment aimed at silencing media independent from the government prohibited broadcasters from receiving foreign funding. The anticipated negative impact of these changes was analyzed by Transparency International Georgia in a separate report titled:

“The New Restrictive Legislation Aims to Destroy Critical TV Channels.” In 2025, independent online media outlets also saw their financial lifelines nearly entirely cut off following amendments adopted by the Georgian Dream-led parliament to the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) and the law on grants.

Overall, in 2025, the media team of Transparency International Georgia produced 11 critical reports reflecting the difficult conditions and hostile environment in which representatives of independent and critical media are forced to operate. In 2025 alone, up to 600 incidents of violence against journalists and media representatives were recorded - three times higher than the corresponding figure in 2024 and 15 times higher than in 2023.



The number of cases involving the detention, imprisonment, and fining of journalists also increased dramatically in 2025. Approximately 30 such incidents were recorded over the year. Particularly alarming was the criminal prosecution of Mzia Amaghlobeli, founder of the online outlets Batumelebi and Netgazeti, who was detained and sentenced to two years of unlawful imprisonment.

Alongside the increasing number of attacks against media representatives, persistent challenges remain, including prolonged investigations into crimes committed against journalists and the continued impunity of perpetrators. These issues are compounded by the aggressive rhetoric of representatives of Georgian Dream toward independent media, as well as ongoing discrediting campaigns conducted through affiliated propaganda platforms. Such actions further encourage violence against journalists and contribute to the normalization of harmful practices aimed at their persecution.



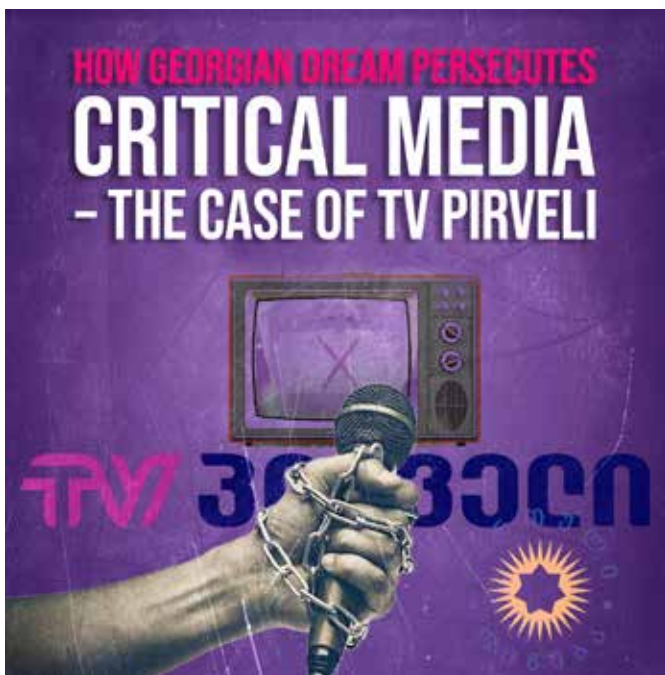
Another study by the media team, titled “How Georgian Dream Persecutes Critical Media - The Case of TV Pirveli,” found that, in an effort to silence independent media, representatives of the ruling party and individuals affiliated with them continue to actively employ so-called Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPP). This constitutes yet another clear example of coordinated attacks on critical media and attempts to silence journalists.

In 2025, the continued use of the so-called “security yellow zone” within the legislative body remained a significant concern. Under this harmful practice, representatives of online media are restricted from entering Parliament and carrying out journalistic activities for indefinite periods. At the same time, members of the ruling party continued to use parliamentary accreditation rules as a mechanism to penalize representatives of critical media. Transparency International Georgia documented up to 10 such cases.

In 2025, the working conditions for independent media representatives within the judicial system also deteriorated further after they were prohibited from taking photos and videos on court premises. The effective closure of courts to the media has had a negative impact on the timely coverage of court proceedings.

Against the backdrop of a dramatic deterioration of the media environment in the country, Transparency International Georgia continued to provide uninterrupted legal assistance to journalists and media representatives throughout 2025. During the year, the organization's lawyers provided legal support to up to 20 journalists.

The media team also published a report on the television advertising market, which once again highlighted the significant disparity in advertising revenues between pro-government and critical broadcasters. In the first three quarters of 2025, three pro-government broadcasters - Imedi Holding, Media Holding (Rustavi 2), and POSTV - generated 5.8 times more in advertising revenue, totaling GEL 45.5 million, while the critical broadcasters Formula and TV Pirveli earned only GEL 7.8 million.



In 2025, the media team of Transparency International Georgia also published an in-depth study titled "What Is Happening at the Public Broadcaster?", which examined the persecution and harassment of employees critical of the management and the pro-government editorial bias within the Georgian Public Broadcaster.



Despite the adoption of a number of laws restricting civil society by the Georgian Dream-led parliament, the Media Support Center established by Transparency International Georgia to promote investigative and ethical journalism remained actively engaged throughout the year. The Center assisted journalists, students, and civil society representatives in producing comprehensive articles and reports using open data.



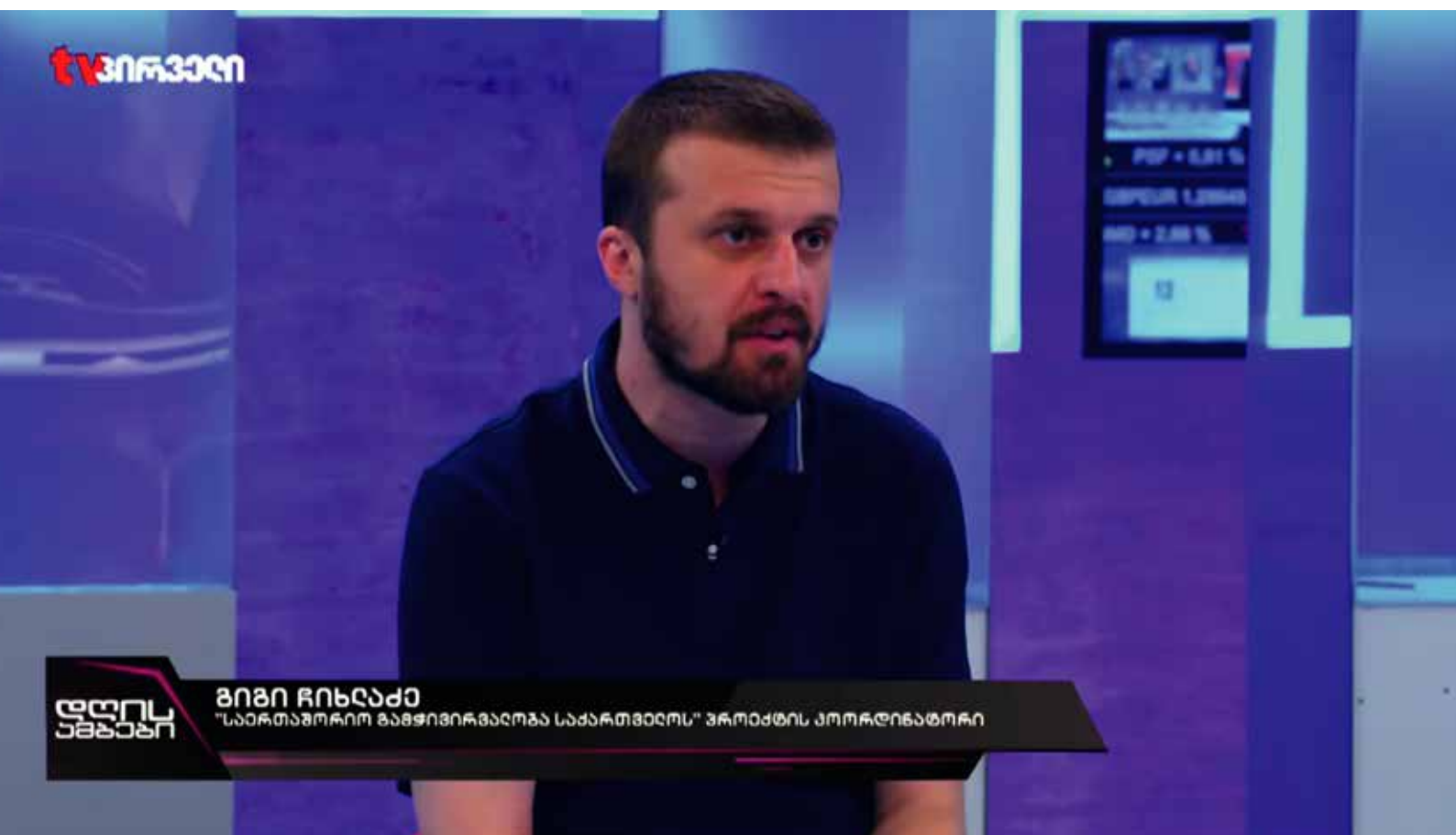
In addition, Transparency International Georgia actively cooperated with local and international organizations engaged in advocating for journalists' rights and promoting media freedom. Cooperation with the Media Advocacy Coalition continued, and the organization joined more than 30 statements issued in the name of the Coalition, addressing various forms of discrimination and violence against individual journalists and media organizations, as well as controversial legislative amendments.



Transparency International Georgia also continued its cooperation with the Anti-SLAPP platform, which it joined in 2023 and which aims to combat so-called SLAPPs (Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation) initiated by representatives of the authorities against journalists and activists. More than 40 such cases are currently pending in Georgia, two of which were handled by the lawyers of Transparency International Georgia.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION, ELECTORAL ISSUES

2025 proved to be one of the most challenging years for Georgia, marked by further deterioration of the electoral environment. During this period, the organization published regular reports on party financing and donations, and actively responded to changes in electoral legislation. For the first time in its 25-year history, the organization refused to observe municipal elections.



Party Financing and Signs of Systemic Corruption

In 2025, we continued monitoring political party donations and financing. In the first half of the year, we published a comprehensive report Party Financing in the First Half of 2025: The Financial Domination of Georgian Dream, while in the second half of the year, we released two more bulletins: July-August and September donation analyses.

The reports once again highlighted the enormous financial inequality between Georgian Dream and other parties. In the first half of 2025, all parties received a total of GEL 7,592,948 in donations, of which 87% — GEL 6,573,370 — went to Georgian Dream, which was 6 times more than the donations received by all other parties combined. In July-August, parties received a total of GEL 4,877,977, of which 73% (GEL 3,553,326) again went to Georgian Dream. In September, the ruling party received 60% (GEL 4,145,000) of the total GEL 6,909,602 in donations. Throughout the year, we consistently

demonstrated that companies linked to the ruling party's donors were systematically receiving multi-million state contracts, subsidies, and licenses. In the July-August bulletin, we noted that since 2016, companies linked to Georgian Dream donors had won nearly 1 billion GEL (997 million) in public procurement contracts, while in the September donors, this figure had already reached GEL 2.51 billion (since 2015). In 2024 alone, such companies won tenders worth GEL 588 million. During the same period, companies linked to opposition parties won only GEL 1.4 million in tenders.



Particularly notable was the anomaly in donations from Adjara: following the change of the Chair of the Adjara Supreme Council, GEL 2.59 million was transferred to the party from the region within three months, an almost unprecedented amount

for such a period. Additionally, 13 companies linked to Georgian Dream's first-half 2025 donors received more than GEL 27 million in agricultural subsidies in 2024–2025, while companies linked to opposition parties received zero.

We emphasized that the Anti-Corruption Bureau continued its biased practices and published with significant delays the data on Georgian

Dream's donations on the party donations platform, while information on opposition parties was regularly available.



Electoral Legislation Changes and Municipal Elections

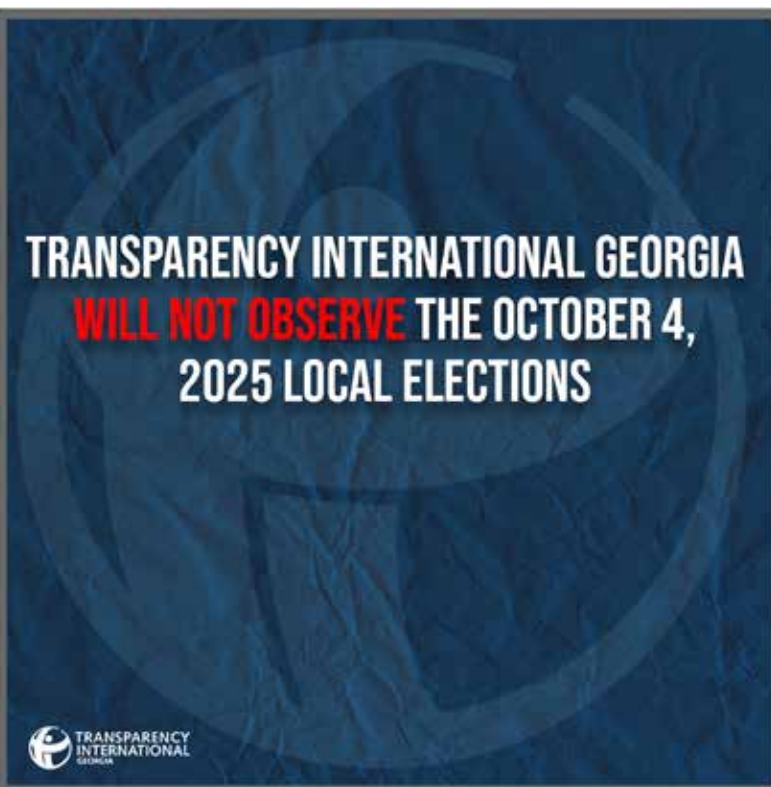
In December 2024, Georgian Dream's one-party parliament changed the municipal electoral system: the share of proportionally elected council members was reduced, and the number of majoritarian members increased, giving the ruling party a significant advantage. The

President of the Congress of Local Authorities of the Council of Europe criticized these changes, noting that they "revert to the 2017 situation" and violate agreements reached in 2021. The Central Election Commission set October 4 as the date for the 2025 municipal elections.



Refusal to Observe Elections

On October 2, in the days leading up to the October 4 municipal elections, the organization issued a public statement, announcing that for the first time in its 25-year history, it would refuse to observe elections. The decision was driven by two main reasons.



First — the repressive political environment: the laws adopted by Georgian Dream's government had made the work of non-governmental organizations virtually impossible. The organization's head, Eka Gigauri, was being summoned for interrogations, creating a serious threat of criminal prosecution. Furthermore, Georgian NGOs were constant targets of government media disinformation campaigns and verbal attacks by high-ranking officials.

Second — the safety of observers: potential observers would have been completely unprotected from attacks by "titushki" and fabricated charges by the ruling party. Under these conditions, observing elections would have created an illusion of free and fair elections, which we considered unacceptable.

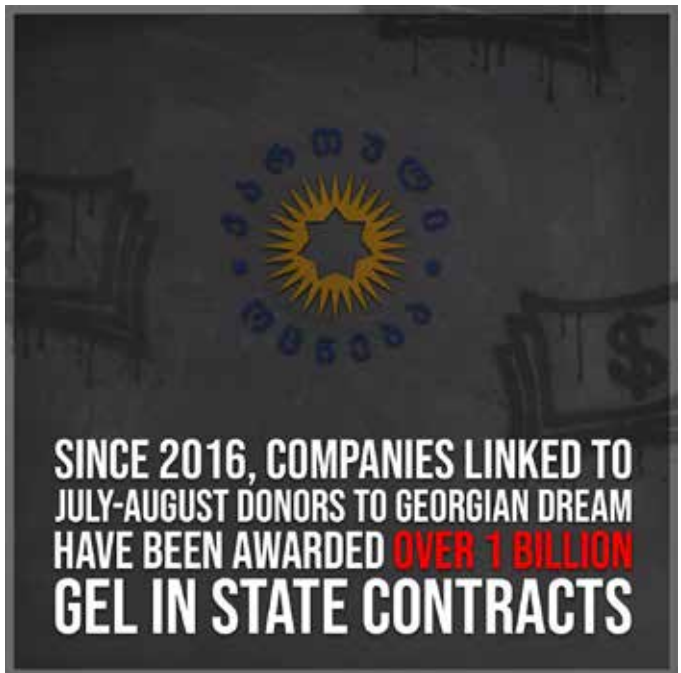
Ban on Voting from Abroad

At the end of the year, Georgian Dream passed yet another extremely damaging law. On December 17, amendments to the Electoral Code were approved in the third reading, abolishing the possibility of voting from abroad. This change represents a fundamental restriction of universal suffrage and the de facto exclusion of the numerous emigrants living abroad from the country's political life. From the very moment the bill was introduced, we actively responded to this issue.



Georgia's diaspora numbers up to one million citizens by various estimates; in the last 10 years, a total of 264 thousand citizens left the country, and according to World Bank data, in 2024, emigrants' remittances amounted to USD 4.1 billion (approximately 12% of GDP). At the same time, the diaspora's electoral activity had been steadily growing: in 2016, 4,816 voters cast their ballots abroad, in 2020 — 12,247, and in the 2024 elections — 34,574, representing a seven-fold increase in 8 years. Notably, in the 2024 elections, the ruling party received only 13% of the votes cast from abroad and came in fourth place.





Donations Platform and Database

In 2025, we continued updating the party donations web platform political-donations.ge, which aggregates information on all party donors, their business interests, and potential corrupt connections since 2012. The platform enables journalists, researchers, and citizens to track the systemic links between the ruling party's donors, their businesses, and state resources.



ONE-PARTY PARLIAMENT



Lika Sajaia

Parliamentary Secretary

In 2025, the forefront of ongoing un-democratic processes in the country was occupied by a one-party parliament, as it was distinguished by the adoption of repressive legislation and the effective abolition of parliamentary oversight.

The political context significantly shaped the functioning of the parliament. Following the 2024 elections, four opposition parties obtained mandates, however, three of them

refused to take up their seats, while one, “Gakharia for Georgia”, formally retained its mandates but did not participate in the activities of the one-party parliament. Later, in October 2025, they joined parliamentary activities. At the same time, deputies elected from the ruling party list left the majority and formed “People’s Power” and “European Socialists,” resulting in the creation of a quasi-opposition.

In such an environment, the one-party parliament in 2025 adopted numerous laws that contradicted fundamental human rights and restricted rights recognized both by the European Convention on Human Rights and the Constitution of Georgia. These laws had a direct impact on citizens. Hundreds of participants in protest demonstrations were subjected to imprisonment on their basis. “Transparency International-

Georgia” assessed and published analyses of all laws that undermined human rights and represented a step backward in the country’s democratic development. The adoption of repressive laws took place through expedited procedures, and the deterioration of legislation occurred in several cycles- amendments were introduced multiple times to the same laws.



Particularly noteworthy are the legislative changes affecting fundamental freedoms and the core institutions of the democratic system. These include:

- the effective abolition of the universal right to assembly and demonstration, and the criminal punishment of protest participants for their expression, for example, for standing on the sidewalk or wearing a mask during a protest;
- media-restrictive laws aimed at cutting off international funding sources for critical broadcast media;
- restrictions on freedom of expression, which significantly limited guarantees for the protection of journalists, including the confidentiality of journalistic sources, while increasing protection mechanisms for politicians;
- laws aimed at banning political parties and political activity, with the objective of removing opponents;
- repressive norms targeting Georgian non-governmental organizations, which prohibited receiving grants without government approval, ultimately posing the risk of eliminating civil society;
- changes aimed at restricting access to court decisions and undermining judicial independence, representing an attempt by the ruling power to legalize total control over the legal sphere and eliminate public oversight mechanisms over the judiciary;
- repressive amendments in criminal law, such as the use of anonymous witnesses, travel bans, and property confiscation.

Alongside the adoption of repressive laws, there was a de facto abolition of parliamentary control mechanisms. The new parliamentary rules abolished key instruments such as the Minister's Hour and the mechanism of thematic inquiry; in 2025, no committee summoned any public official for hearings; and the number of parliamentary questions submitted by MPs totaled only four. This indicates a systemic degradation of the parliamentary oversight function. Another significant aspect of the political process was the establishment of a temporary investigative commission, which was used



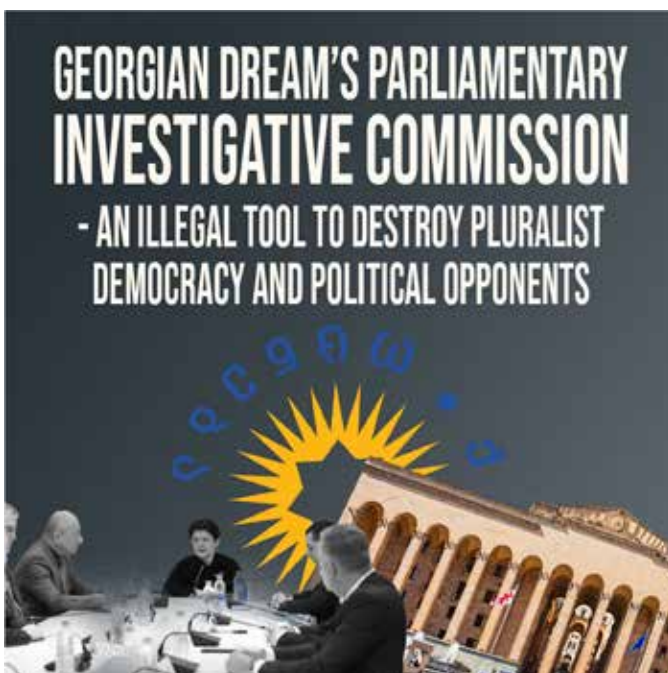
by the “Georgian Dream” to act against political opponents. The commission’s conclusion formed the basis for a constitutional lawsuit aimed at abolishing opposition parties and dismantling political pluralism. It is noteworthy that the creation of this commission was made possible precisely by the existence of an artificially created opposition faction. “Transparency International-Georgia” published a critical assessment of the commission, which analyzes in detail both procedural violations and its purpose and outcomes.





In 2025, Transparency International Georgia published a summary report on the activities of the legislative body titled “One-Party Parliament and the collapse of Democracy in a Parliamentary Republic.” The organization’s Chief Lawyer, Tamar Tatanashvili, analyzed extensive

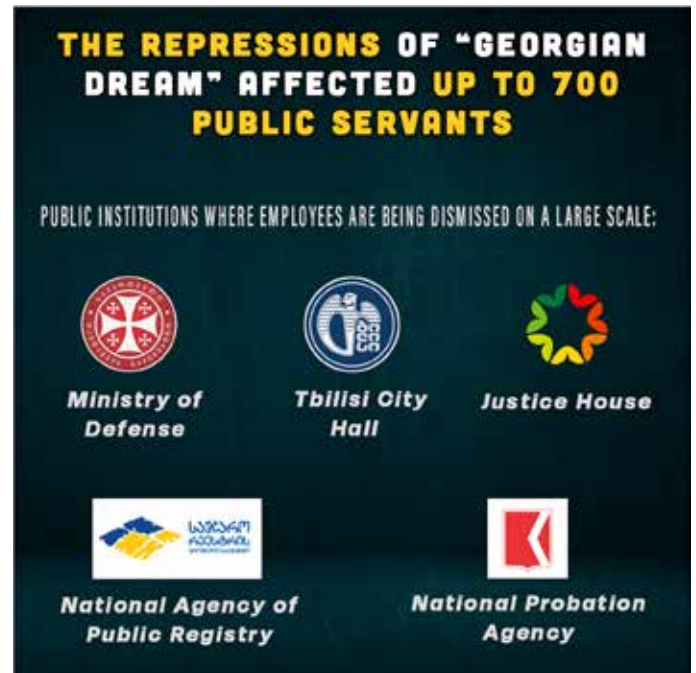
information regarding parliamentary activities. The report critically evaluates the role of parliament in the legislative process, in exercising parliamentary oversight, as well as its influence on foreign policy and the country’s democratic development.



The functional transformation of parliament became particularly evident in its role in repressive policies. It turned into an executor of the ruling party's directives and played a significant role in the dismissal of public officials undesirable to "Georgian Dream" by creating the relevant legislative basis. One of the main directions of suppressing the protest wave became the complete subordination of the public service to the

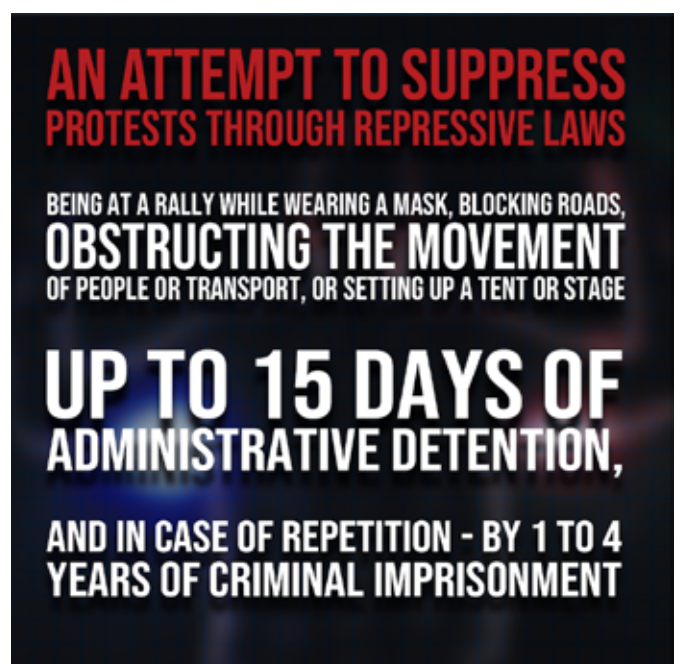
party. For this purpose, repressive laws were adopted, and in parallel, the dismissal of public servants who publicly expressed protest against the country's deviation from its European path began. Several important institutions were abolished, including the Civil Service Bureau, and the repressions affected thousands of employees across dozens of agencies.





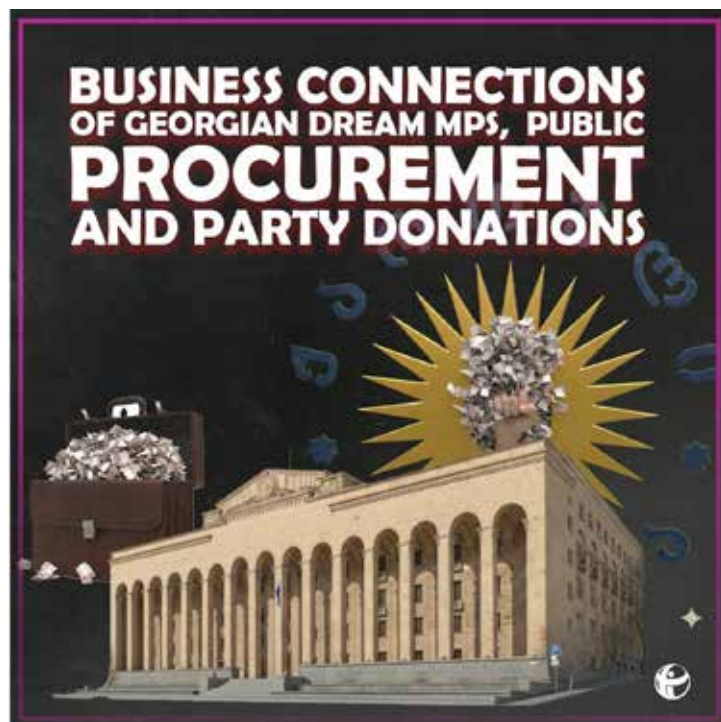
“Transparency International -Georgia” also studied cases of individuals unlawfully dismissed from various agencies, contacted them personally, and published the report “Georgia dream’s Repressions in the Public Service”, which describes in detail both the problems of legislative changes and the violated rights

of public servants. Following the publication of the report, a broad discussion was held, attended by more than one hundred dismissed public servants, where they shared personal accounts of punitive measures taken against them for supporting the European course.





“Transparency International -Georgia” also published the report “Business Connections of Georgian Dream MPs, Public Procurement and Party Donations,” which analyzes MPs’ business interests, their companies’ participation in public procurement, and pre-election party donations. According to the report, 41 out of 87 MPs have connections with businesses; 7 companies in which MPs hold shares have won 271 tenders; 13 companies have won 301 simplified procurements; and companies in which current MPs hold shares received 465,900,569 GEL after winning tenders.



PR ACTIVITIES

TI Georgia in the Media, Social Media

Throughout 2025, Transparency International Georgia was featured in the media more than 6,000 times. Our representatives were highly visible throughout the year, regularly

appearing on broadcasts and providing commentary on key issues for both local and international media outlets.



Across all social media platforms, our content generated more than 7.4 million views in total.





Facebook remained our primary channel for information dissemination, with over 6.7 million views. In 2025, our Facebook page gained 6,578 new followers, surpassing 52,000 followers overall.

On Instagram, our audience grew to over 1,300 followers, with total views exceeding 100,000.





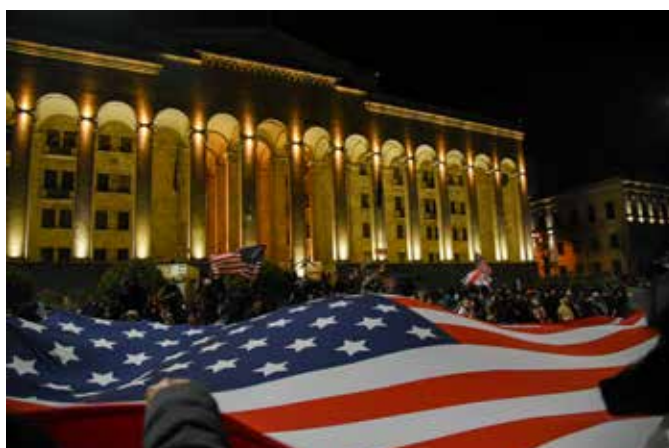
On X (formerly Twitter), we gained more than 1,000 new followers, reaching over 400,000 views. This platform remains a key tool for informing international audiences.



On LinkedIn, we recorded more than 131,000 views and reached over 72,000 unique users, while our follower base grew to 4,000. In 2025, LinkedIn was actively used to publish our reports and official statements.



On TikTok, we shared clips from television appearances as well as original video content produced by Transparency International Georgia, including interviews and street surveys. The platform generated over 100,000 views, with our follower count reaching 1,500.



Campaigns

The activities of 2025 bore more resemblance to a fight than our traditional campaign work, which has always been aimed at strengthening our country's Western orientation.

As the ruling party's anti-democratic and anti-Western actions and statements became systemic, we planned our activities as a response to these challenges, transforming our platforms into spaces where people could freely express their views.



Campaign in Support of Dismissed Public Servants

“Punished for Loyalty to Article 78 of the Constitution!” - this is the title we gave to a series of support videos telling the stories of public servants who were dismissed from their positions through repressive measures. In these videos, they describe how they lost their jobs solely because they publicly expressed their stance in support of the country’s European course, as enshrined in the Constitution, and signed the relevant petition.



On November 28, 2024, the Prime Minister’s statement that opening negotiations with the European Union would not be on the agenda sparked widespread outrage and large-scale protests, including within public institutions. Public servants signed petitions to defend Article 78 of the Constitution, and many of them were subsequently dismissed from their positions unlawfully.

Letters to Prisoners of the Regime

In February, during a march in support of prisoners of conscience, citizens had the opportunity to bring or write letters on-site addressed to prisoners of the regime. We took responsibility for ensuring that these letters reached every recipient.

A total of 222 letters were collected in a designated box at the protest. All were sent to the relevant penitentiary institutions and delivered to their intended recipients.

Through this initiative, we once again clearly expressed our solidarity with prisoners of conscience - individuals who are being punished for their love of their country!



#ProtectVisaFreeTravel

Our position was always unwavering and firm on the issue that the Georgian people deserved visa-free travel with European countries, and if it were to be threatened in any way, it would be the fault of the government's anti-Western and anti-democratic policies. To better understand public senti-

ment on this issue, we directly addressed citizens - we interviewed people on the street and also recorded videos with representatives from various fields, including writers, musicians, publishers, and other professionals, which accumulated significant views on our online platforms.





Education Reform: A New Iron Curtain

In 2025, the education reform was assessed as another step back from Europe, through which the government has obstructed young people on the path to European education.

On this issue, we recorded the views of field experts, professors, lecturers, and students. Through this campaign, we set the goal of clearly presenting the true will of society and showing how the announced education reform contradicts the choice of the Georgian people - to move closer to the European family, to develop an education system aligned with European standards, and to maintain the opportunity for students to receive a European education.



Strength is in Unity Strength is in Europe

On May 9, we marked Europe Day with a march, which was preceded by the video campaign “Strength is in Unity, Strength is in Europe.”

To announce the march, we created up to ten videos with the participation of Georgian influencers and activists. In these videos, the main message once again clearly and emotionally highlighted: the path of the Georgian people is toward the West, toward European values, and toward freedom.



INTERNSHIP AT TI GEORGIA: A PLATFORM FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In 2025, we successfully continued our internship program, giving students their first hands-on experience, helping them explore new areas of interest, and guiding them in planning their future academic and professional paths.

A total of 21 students completed our three-month internship program. We're proud that our organization is so popular among students.

Our internships provide a strong starting point for professional careers. In fact, in 2025, two of our interns joined our team as employees.

Here's what young people have to say about the valuable experience they gained while working with us:



Tamta Bezhanishvili

My internship at Transparency International Georgia was one of the most valuable professional experiences for me. I not only met great people and made new friends, but also gained important knowledge and practical experience. I really enjoyed the work environment, which always motivated me to come to the office.

During the internship, I learned how to find and analyze information from different sources, identify corruption schemes, and work with data more effectively. I also had the opportunity to support researchers and contribute to several studies, which was very beneficial for my professional development. As an International Relations student planning to work in this field, developing strong research skills is especially important for me.

I believe organizations like this play a crucial role in supporting democracy by acting as watchdogs, monitoring government activities, and exposing wrongdoing. I'm very happy to have been part of this team and wish them continued success!



Irakli Khocholava

My time at TI Georgia helped me develop strong critical and analytical thinking skills. It showed me that fighting corruption is not only about understanding theory, but also about paying close attention to details and recognizing the interests behind different processes.

The experience also gave me the opportunity to work alongside leading experts in the field and develop a strong sense of responsibility that is essential for anyone working to promote transparency and accountability.

It became an important professional foundation for me, as I saw firsthand how state institutions function and where corruption risks can emerge. The skills I gained—such as identifying legislative loopholes and conflicts of interest, requesting public information, and navigating administrative processes—will be valuable in both analytical and management roles. The professional connections I built during this time will also support my future work on complex research projects while maintaining high ethical standards.



Lika Gobezhishvili

My internship at TI Georgia was a very valuable experience, especially in helping me better understand Georgia's contemporary political and social environment. Working at the organization allowed me to connect my academic knowledge with practical experience and showed me how important independent research, evidence-based analysis, and an active civil society are for Georgia's democratic development.



During the internship, I worked on several interesting research projects, took part in professional discussions, and developed skills in critically evaluating information and working with diverse sources. This experience played an important role in shaping my professional path. I later participated in several international programs and projects and began my master's studies abroad in politics and international relations at LUISS Guido Carli University. The internship also helped me gain a deeper understanding of European Union institutions, cooperation with which is an important part of my future professional plans.

Mariam Gelashvili

During my three-month internship, I gained valuable practical experience in research, data analysis, and anti-corruption investigations. This work involved processing open-source information and paying close attention to details in order to identify potential corruption risks. I also contributed to online blogs and short analytical articles about corruption schemes in Georgia, based on the data our team analyzed.

This internship significantly strengthened my research, analytical, and writing skills, and gave me a clear understanding of how a civil society organization works to promote transparency and accountability. The experience made an important contribution to my academic development and further reinforced my career interest in governance, public policy, and international relations.





Mariam Korakhashvili

Working to protect the public interest has always been one of my main aspirations. My internship at Transparency International Georgia gave me the opportunity to gain valuable professional and personal experience on this path.

During this time, I became closely familiar with anti-corruption work and had the opportunity to take part in practical processes aimed at strengthening democratic institutions. I am especially grateful to the TI team—their support and professionalism were a great source of motivation and encouraged me to grow further.

Throughout the internship, I gained valuable experience in research and analytical work, which continues to help me develop my critical thinking and professional skills. I'm confident that the knowledge and experience I gained will play an important role in both my academic and professional journey.

Mariam Mamatsashvili

My internship was a very memorable and interesting experience. It gave me the opportunity to contribute, even in a small way, to the work of people who are tirelessly dedicated to promoting transparency and accountability in the country. I believe that, especially today, the work of NGOs like Transparency International Georgia is particularly valuable, and I'm glad I had the chance to experience it firsthand.



Alongside professional experience, the internship also played an important role in developing my personal skills. The theoretical and practical knowledge I gained—especially while working with the anti-corruption team—helped me grow and better understand the field. I deeply respect the organization's mission and work, and I believe this internship is an excellent opportunity for anyone interested in this area.



Natali Mtavrishvili

I believe I joined the internship program at a particularly critical time for the country. The time I spent at the organization and the experience I gained once again convinced me how important its work is for Georgia's democratic development.

The internship gave me the opportunity to work alongside leading specialists in the field and gain practical research experience. The program also played an important role in shaping my future career path and helping me

Saba Porchkhidze

As a public policy student, my experience at Transparency International Georgia was truly unforgettable. The internship helped me understand how anti-corruption work operates in practice—how to identify corruption in the public sector, assess institutional transparency, and recognize the importance of monitoring public political processes in a democratic state.

In terms of research, working with databases and analyzing various documents was especially valuable. It helped me learn how to process large amounts of information efficiently and in a short time. I also further developed my research skills, which are essential for my future academic work. Most importantly, I gained valuable experience working with a highly professional team.



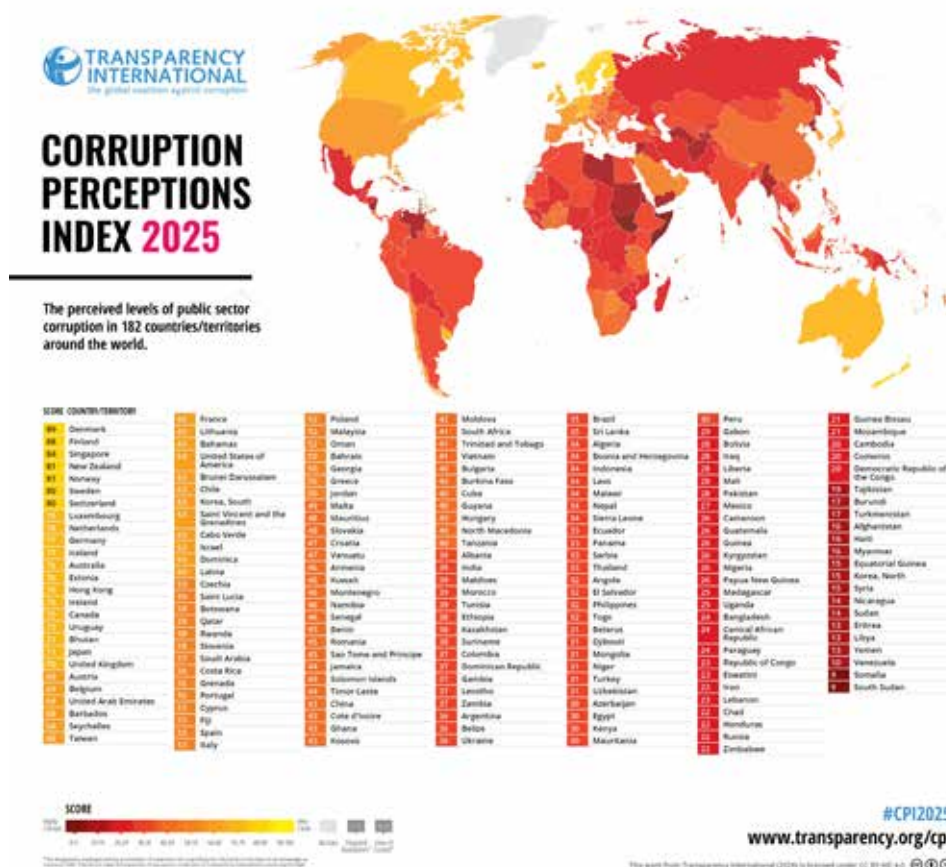
CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX 2025: GEORGIA'S SCORE DECLINES BY 3 POINTS

According to the 2025 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) published by Transparency International, Georgia's score dropped by 3 points to 50. On a 100-point scale, 50 is an average result. Georgia has not had such a low score since 2013, despite the fact that it remains the top country in the Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

The Corruption Perceptions Index mainly measures the vulnerability of a country's public sector to corruption, for example, how widespread petty bribery is. Georgia's average score indicates that petty bribery is not widespread in the country.

However, the index does not measure such complex forms of corruption as state capture and kleptocracy. This is precisely the main challenge in terms of corruption in Georgia.

The Corruption Perception Index is conducted in 181 countries. Countries are evaluated using a 100-point system, where 100 is a positive result and 0 is a negative result.

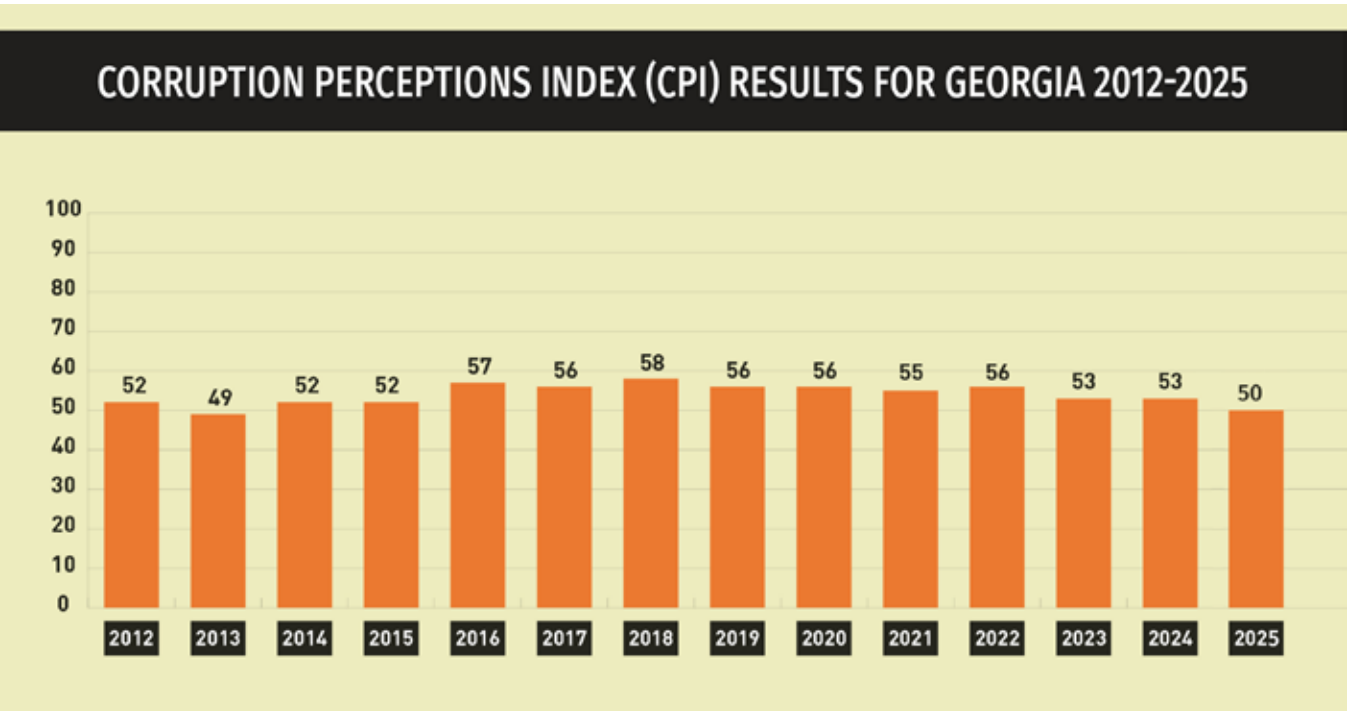


According to the accompanying analysis of the 2025 results, Georgia's decline in score and, consequently, its increase in corruption risk is directly related to the decline of democracy and the rise of autocracy in the country:

“Georgia illustrates how democratic backsliding directly fuels corruption risks. The ruling party has introduced a so-called “Foreign Agents” law and a Grants Law, which are anti-democratic measures that criminalise legitimate NGO activity and brand independent voices as foreign agents. It has also intensified its campaign against dissent through politically motivated prosecutions, media restrictions, freezing NGO bank accounts and violent crackdowns on protesters and journalists. Following disputed 2024 elections and the suspension of EU integration talks, international observers now describe Georgia as undergoing an authoritarian turn, with proposals to ban opposition parties and deepen political control over the civil service, police and judiciary. This is creating severely increased corruption risks and damaging Georgia’s society as a whole.”

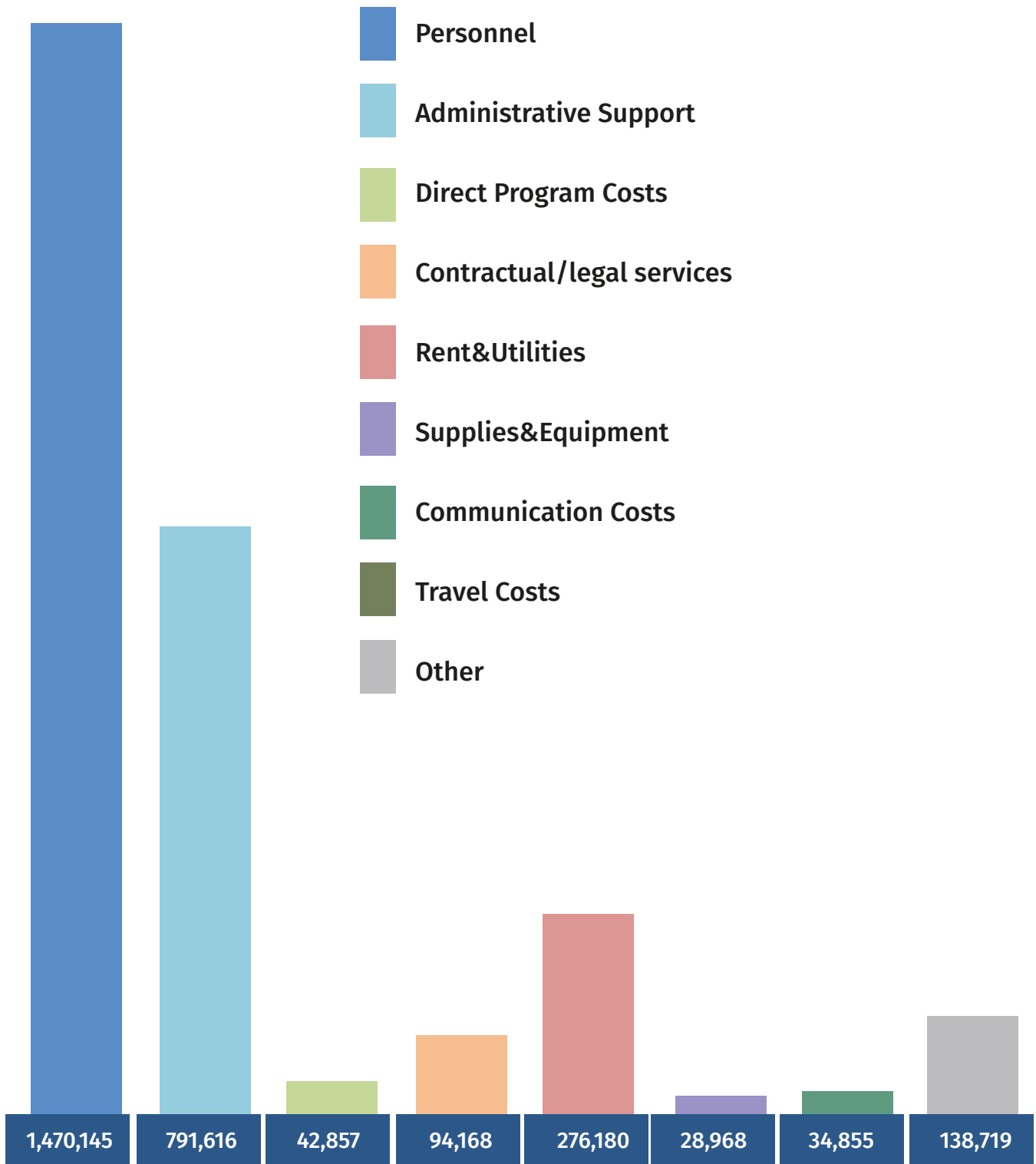
About the CPI

Georgia’s score in CPI 2024 is based on the following studies: Bertelsmann Stiftung’s Transformation Index, World Justice Project Rule of Law Index, Global Insight’s Country Risk Rating, Freedom House’s Nations in Transit, Varieties of Democracy Project, World Economic Forum EOS.

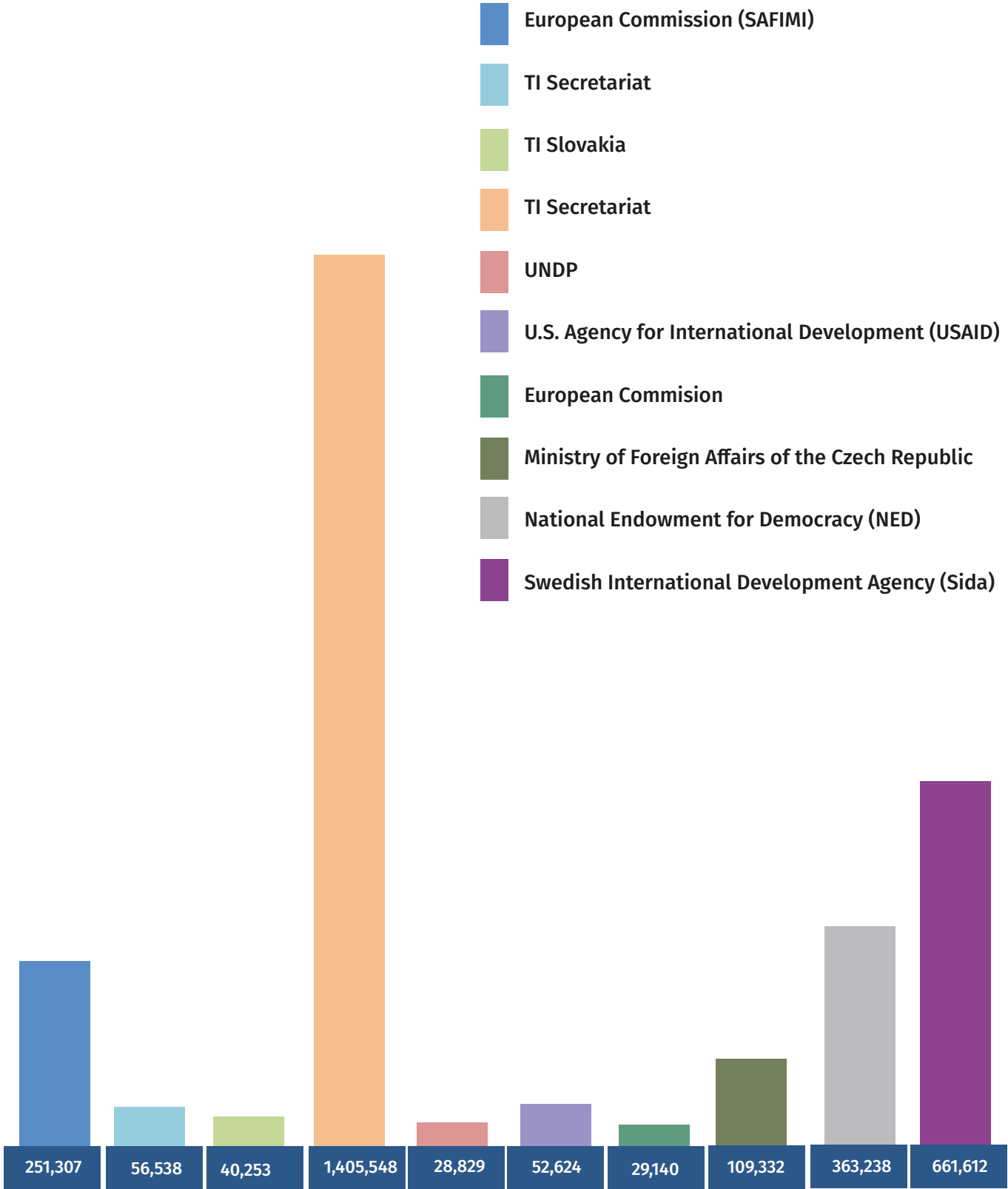


FINANCIAL DATA

EXPENSES IN GEL

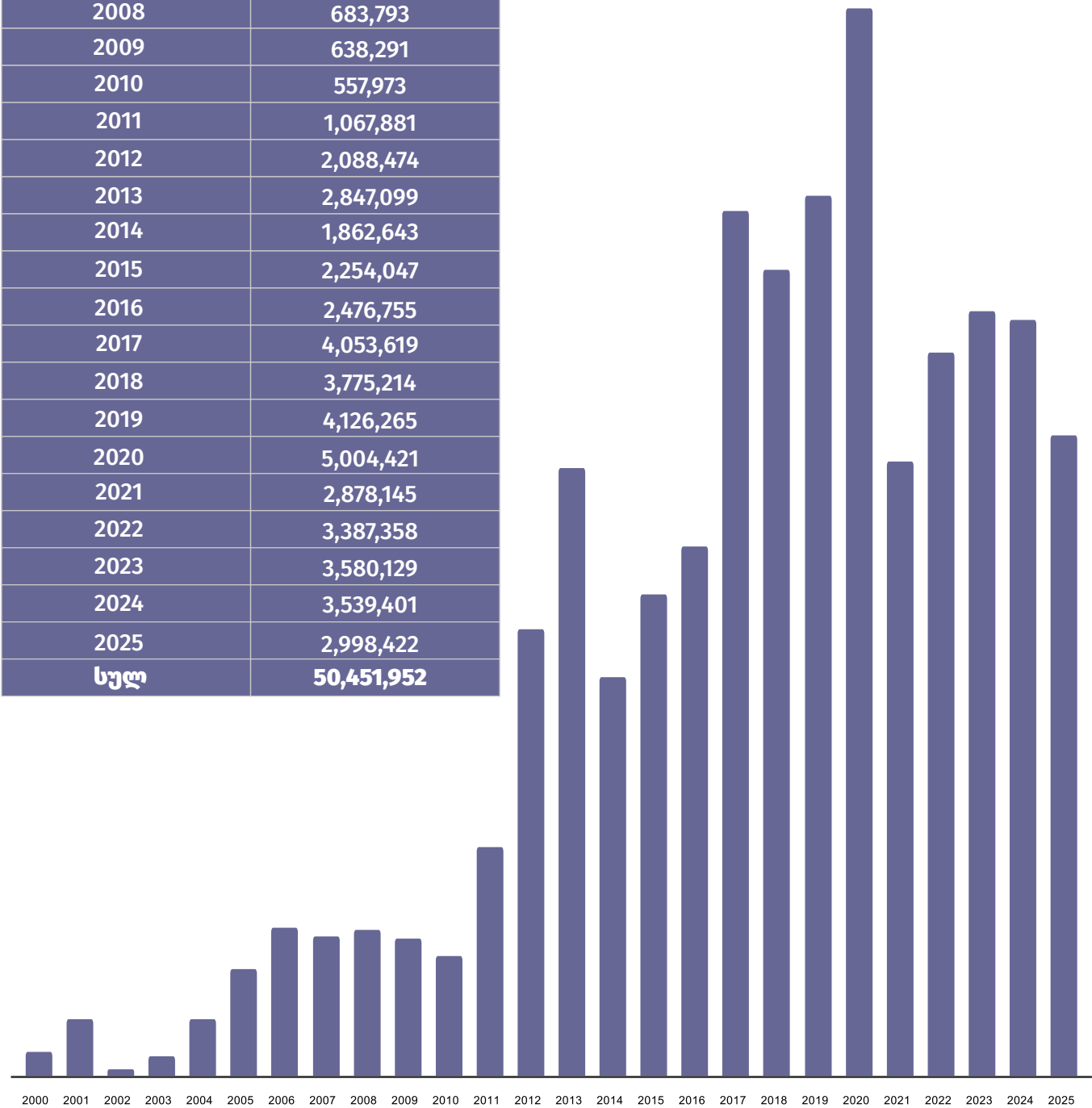


INCOME PER DONOR



INCOME PER YEAR

Year	GEL
2000	115,248
2001	268,912
2002	34,745
2003	94,754
2004	269,708
2005	496,986
2006	696,646
2007	655,022
2008	683,793
2009	638,291
2010	557,973
2011	1,067,881
2012	2,088,474
2013	2,847,099
2014	1,862,643
2015	2,254,047
2016	2,476,755
2017	4,053,619
2018	3,775,214
2019	4,126,265
2020	5,004,421
2021	2,878,145
2022	3,387,358
2023	3,580,129
2024	3,539,401
2025	2,998,422
სულ	50,451,952



INDEPENDENT AUDITORS REPORT

To: the Members of Board of Transparency International Georgia (TIG)

Opinion

We have audited the accompanying financial statements of Transparency International Georgia (the Organization), which comprises the Statement of Financial Position as at December 31, 2025, and the Statement of Comprehensive Income, Statement of Changes in Funds and Statement of Cash Flows for the year then ended, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies.

In our opinion, the accompanying financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Organization as at December 31, 2025, and its activities and its cash flows for the year then ended in accordance with the International Financial Reporting Standard for Small and Medium-sized Entities (IFRS for SMEs).

Basis of Opinion

We conducted our audit in accordance with International Standards on Auditing (ISAs).

Our Responsibilities under those standards are further described in the Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of Financial Statements section of our report. We are independent of the Organization in accordance with the ethical requirements that are relevant to our audit of the financial statements in Georgia, and we have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with these requirements. We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion.

Material Uncertainty Related to Going Concern

We draw attention to Note 2 Suggestions about going concern in the financial statements. These events or conditions indicate that a material uncertainty exists that may cast significant doubt on the Company's ability to continue as a going concern. Our opinion is not modified in respect of this matter.

Key Audit Matters

Key audit matters are those matters that, in our professional judgment, were of most significance in our audit of the financial statements of the current period. These matters were addressed in the context of our audit of the financial statements as a whole, and in forming our opinion thereon, and we do not provide a separate opinion on these matters. We would like to draw attention to the matter described in the *Material Uncertainty Related to Going Concern* section.

Responsibilities of Management and Those Charged with Governance for the Financial Statements

Management is responsible for the preparation and fair presentation of the financial statements in accordance with the International Financial Reporting Standard for Small and Medium-sized Entities (IFRS for SMEs), and for such internal control as management determines is necessary to enable the preparation of financial statements that are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error.

In preparing the financial statements, management is responsible for assessing the Organization's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and

and Independent Auditor's Report

using the going concern basis of accounting unless management either intends to liquidate the Organization or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so.

Those charged with governance are responsible for overseeing the Organization's financial reporting process.

Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements

Our Objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatements, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue an auditor's report that includes our opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance, but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with ISAs will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

As part of an audit in accordance with ISAs, we exercise professional judgment and maintain professional skepticism throughout the audit. We also:

- Identify and assess the risks of material misstatement of the financial statements, whether due to fraud or error, design and perform audit procedures responsive to those risks, and obtain audit evidence that is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion. The risk of not detecting a material misstatement resulting from fraud is higher than for one resulting from error, as fraud may involve collusion, forgery, intentional omissions, misrepresentations, or the override of internal control.
- Obtain an understanding of internal control relevant to the audit in order to design audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the Organization's internal control.
- Evaluate the appropriateness of accounting policies used and the reasonableness of accounting estimates and related disclosures made by management.
- Conclude on the appropriateness of management's use of the going concern basis of accounting and, based on the audit evidence obtained, whether a material uncertainty exists related to events or conditions that may cast significant doubt on the Organization's ability to continue as a going concern. If we conclude that a material uncertainty exists, we are required to draw attention in our auditor's report to the related disclosures in the financial statements or, if such disclosures are inadequate, to modify our opinion. Our conclusions are based on the audit evidence obtained up to the date of our auditor's report. However, future events or conditions may cause the Organization to cease to continue as a going concern.

We communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matter, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control that we identify during our audit.

The Engagement Partner on the audit resulting in this independent auditor's report is:

Alexander Skhiladze
Partner
Crowe GE LLC
Member Crowe Global

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Date: February 9, 2026