



**Doc. 16420 – Compendium of written amendments**  
24/06/2026

**(Final version)**

## **The functioning of democratic institutions in Georgia**

<b>Contents</b>	<b>Page</b>
A. Draft Resolution .....	2

## A. Draft Resolution

1. The Parliamentary Assembly fully reiterates its Resolution 2585 (2025) "Challenge, on substantive grounds, of the still unratified credentials of the parliamentary delegation of Georgia", Resolution 2600 (2025) "The situation in Georgia and follow-up to Resolution 2585 (2025) 'Challenge, on substantive grounds, of the still unratified credentials of the parliamentary delegation of Georgia'" and Resolution 2624 (2025) "Uphold democracy and the rule of law in Georgia" in which it expressed serious concerns about the democratic breakdown and deep political and social crisis in Georgia.
  
2. Regrettably, since the adoption of Resolution 2624 (2025), democratic backsliding has continued unabated, as has the crackdown on civil society, political opposition and dissent. None of the urgent recommendations of the Assembly have been addressed. The continuing breakdown of democracy in Georgia and the lack of any response to the recommendations of the Assembly to address this raise serious doubts about the authorities' willingness to abide by Georgia's membership obligations and accession commitments to the Council of Europe.
  
3. Nevertheless, the Assembly remains committed to an open and results-oriented dialogue with the Georgian authorities as well as all other political and social forces in the country. It emphasises that such a dialogue should be

### Amendment 5

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Alicia KEARNS, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Agnieszka POMASKA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Ms Kadri TALI, Mr Martynas GEDVILAS**

*In the draft resolution, paragraph 1, after the words "fully reiterates" insert the following words: "its Resolution 2561 (2024) "Challenges to democracy in Georgia" and"*

### Amendment 6

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Alicia KEARNS, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Agnieszka POMASKA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Ms Kadri TALI, Mr Martynas GEDVILAS**

*In the draft resolution, at the end of paragraph 2, insert the following sentence:*

*"The Assembly views with profound alarm that such a backsliding coincides with a distinct geopolitical shift by the Georgian authorities toward the Russian Federation, which takes place against the backdrop of Russia's ongoing aggression against Ukraine."*

### Amendment 1

**Tabled by Mr Oleksii GONCHARENKO, Mr Oleksandr MEREZHKO, Mr Markus WIECHEL, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA**

*In the draft resolution, after paragraph 2, insert the following paragraph:*

*"Emphasising that this internal democratic deterioration is further compounded by the ongoing hybrid warfare, disinformation campaigns and continued occupation by the Russian Federation, aimed at undermining Georgia's democratic institutions and its European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations, in violation of international law and Council of Europe principles, the Assembly recalls its Resolution 2463 (2022) "Further escalation in the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine", as well as subsequent resolutions concerning the consequences of the Russian Federation's occupation of Georgian territories, and reiterates that these actions continue to pose a serious challenge to regional security and stability."*

based on the shared understanding that membership of the Council of Europe is a privilege that comes with rights and obligations. The principles and standards of the Organisation, as well as the obligations stemming from its membership and the imperative need to fully honour these obligations, cannot be put into question or negotiated.

4. The initiative to ban practically all democratic opposition parties in Georgia and the criminal prosecution of their leadership on politically motivated and trumped-up charges is unacceptable. The Assembly reiterates that, if pursued, this course of action would effectively establish a one-party dictatorship in Georgia, which violates essential democratic principles and is incompatible with Council of Europe membership. It insists that the Georgian authorities repeal without delay their appeal to the Constitutional Court to ban the democratic opposition parties and to end the unjustified and politically motivated prosecution of their leadership.
5. As a result of the relentless crackdown on the democratic opposition, civil society and the independent media, as well as the extreme social and political polarisation in the country, the conditions for holding genuinely democratic elections currently do not exist in Georgia. The Assembly therefore reiterates its call on the Georgian authorities to initiate as a priority an open and inclusive political process involving all political forces and civil stakeholders, to re-establish a genuinely free and democratic political environment in the country, in line with the clear expectations and ambitions of Georgian society.
6. The continued relentless crackdown on freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, including through repressive legislation and the abuse of politically motivated legal proceedings against civil society, independent media, opposition forces and individual protesters, should end at once. Politically motivated prosecutions with no other objective than to silence dissenting voices raise the spectre of the existence of political prisoners and are incompatible with a democratic society and Georgia's membership obligations to the Council of Europe. The Assembly recalls in this respect as a guideline its Resolution 1900 (2012) "The definition of political prisoner". In this context, it deeply deplores the politically motivated and disproportional sentences of opposition leaders and others, including Nika Melia and Elene Khoshtaria on clearly trumped-up charges.

#### **Amendment 2**

**Tabled by Ms Boriana ÅBERG, Mr Gustaf GÖTHBERG, Mr Markus WIECHEL, Ms Victoria TIBLOM, Mr Denis BEGIC**

*In the draft resolution, paragraph 6, last sentence, replace the words ", including Nika Melia and Elene Khoshtaria on clearly trumped-up charges" with the following words:*

*"on trumped-up charges, including Elene Khoshtaria, Nika Melia, Levan Khabeishvili, Irakli Nadiradze, Paata Manjgaladze and the third President of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili. It also expresses grave concern over recent reports concerning the deterioration of Elene Khoshtaria's health and condemns the degrading treatment to which she has reportedly been subjected while in detention."*

#### **Amendment 7**

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Alicia KEARNS, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Agnieszka POMASKA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Ms Kadri TALI**

*In the draft resolution, at the end of paragraph 6, insert the following sentences:*

*"The Assembly furthermore raises acute concern over the continued incarceration and rapidly deteriorating health of former President Mikheil Saakashvili, a Ukrainian citizen, recognised as a political prisoner in the Resolution 2463 (2022)*

7. The Assembly calls upon the Georgian authorities to fully repeal the recently adopted repressive legislation, in particular the controversial amendments to the Criminal Code, the Law on Political Unions of Citizens as well as the Code of Administrative Offences. It reiterates its recommendation that the Code of Administrative Offences be replaced by an entirely new law to be developed in close consultation with the Council of Europe to ensure its compliance with European norms and standards, including the European Convention on Human Rights (ETS No. 5).
8. The Assembly reiterates that a dynamic and pluralistic civil society is essential for a well-functioning democracy. Civil society plays a pivotal role in a country's democratic development and is a vital source of democratic expertise. The Assembly deplores the increasingly shrinking space in which civil society can operate, which threatens its very existence. This trend must be reversed. The Assembly also condemns the continued assault on civil society organisations and their leadership, as well as independent media, including through the abuse of controversial legislation. As a first step, the Law on Transparency of Foreign Influence and the Law on the Registration of Foreign Agents (GEOFARA), along with the recent amendments to the Law on Grants should be repealed, in line with the recommendations of the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission).
9. The Assembly is concerned about the impact of the recent education reforms on academic freedom in Georgia. The independence of the academia should be ensured. In addition, in order to dispel understandable corruption concerns, the Assembly calls on the authorities to establish a transparent and independent mechanism to govern the privatisation of any university assets that now may have become surplus as a result of the new "One City – One Faculty" reform.
10. The Assembly deplores that, despite its many calls to the contrary, no credible investigations have been conducted into police brutality and other human rights abuses committed during demonstrations, nor into the many reports of torture and ill-treatment of demonstrators during their arrest and detention. It takes note of the recent report of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) on its periodic visits to Georgia from 18 to 29 November 2024 and from 21 to 22 January 2025. It

*"Further escalation in the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine". The Assembly urges the Georgian authorities to immediately facilitate his transfer abroad for independent, specialised medical treatment."*

#### **Amendment 8**

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Alicia KEARNS, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Agnieszka POMASKA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Mr Martynas GEDVILAS**

*In the draft resolution, after paragraph 8, insert the following paragraph:*

*"The Assembly is particularly alarmed by information indicating that Georgian territory is being utilised as a transit hub for the circumvention of international sanctions imposed on the Russian Federation. The surge in the re-export of dual-use goods, microchips, and sanctioned vehicles to Russia via third countries represents a direct subversion of international efforts to curtail the Russian military apparatus. The Assembly calls upon the Georgian authorities to fully align with imposed restrictive measures, cease facilitating destination washing, and implement stringent, verifiable customs controls to ensure compliance."*

shares the serious concerns expressed in it. It is particularly concerned about the reports that prohibited chemical agents have been used for the dispersal of the protest in Tbilisi. A credible, independent and effective investigation into these allegations needs to be urgently established.

11. The Assembly calls upon the Georgian authorities to fully implement the general measures demanded by the European Court on Human Rights in its judgments in the Tsaava and Others v. Georgia, Mekvabishvili v. Georgia and Makharashvili and others v. Georgia cases as well as in all other 77 judgments by the Court that are pending satisfactory execution.

**Amendment 10**

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Mr Oleksii GONCHARENKO, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK**

*In the draft resolution, paragraph 11, replace the words "and Makharashvili and others v. Georgia" with the following words:*

*"Makharashvili and Others v. Georgia; A.D. and Others v. Georgia and Identoba and others v. Georgia"*

**Amendment 3**

**Tabled by Mr Mehmet AKALIN, Mr Mustafa CANBEY, Mr Cemalettin Kani TORUN, Ms Pelin YILIK, Mr Abdurrahman BABACAN, Ms Sena Nur ÇELİK KANAT, Ms Zeynep YILDIZ**

*In the draft resolution, after paragraph 11, insert the following paragraph:*

*"The Assembly recalls that Georgia committed itself, upon joining the Council of Europe in 1999, to facilitate the return of the Ahiska (Meskhetian) Turks. It regrets that this commitment has not yet been fully implemented and that significant legal and administrative impediments continue to affect the voluntary, safe and dignified return process. The Assembly calls on the Georgian authorities to intensify their efforts to honour this obligation, including through the removal of remaining barriers, full respect for family unity, and the conduct of return and citizenship procedures in a transparent, non-discriminatory and timely manner, consistent with the requirements of the European Convention on Human Rights."*

12. The Assembly takes note of the report of the expert appointed under the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Moscow Mechanism that was invoked by 24 OSCE participating States. It fully shares its findings and conclusions, which coincide with this and previous resolutions on the democratic backsliding in Georgia. It urges the Georgian authorities to fully implement the recommendations made in this report.

**Amendment 4**

**Tabled by Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Mr Gustaf GÖTHBERG, Mr Yuriy KAMELCHUK, Ms Boriana ÅBERG, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO, Mr Andrian CHEPTONAR, Mr Eerik-Niiles KROSS, Ms Albana VOKSHI, Mr Jan Filip LIBICKI**

*In the draft resolution, after paragraph 12, insert the following paragraph:*

*"The Assembly condemns the recent act of transnational repression against Afgan Sadigov, an Azerbaijani journalist, who was deported from Georgia through expedited proceedings on 5 April 2026 despite an interim measure issued by the European Court of Human Rights prohibiting his removal to Azerbaijan. This followed the*

13. In this context, the Assembly reiterates its call to the relevant bodies of the Council of Europe to use all available means, including those under Article 52 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and its invitation to all Council of Europe member States to consider the use of interstate applications to the European Court on Human Rights under Article 33 of the Convention, to ensure that Georgia fully honour all the standards and obligations stemming from Council of Europe membership. It regrets that to date no use has been made of these mechanisms provided for by the European Convention on Human Rights.

*temporary discontinuation of the criminal proceedings against him, which, according to the explanation provided by the Government of Georgia, served as the basis for the formal suspension of the extradition process and his expedited deportation to Azerbaijan. He was nevertheless rearrested in Azerbaijan on 8 June 2026 on the same grounds."*

**Amendment 9**

**Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Mr Serhii SOBOLIEV, Ms Agnieszka POMASKA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Lesia ZABURANNA, Ms Kadri TALI, Mr Martynas GEDVILAS**

*In the draft resolution, after paragraph 13, insert the following paragraph:*

*"The Assembly draws urgent attention to the ongoing militarisation of the Black Sea and the direct threat posed to regional stability by the Russian Federation's planned construction of a permanent naval base for the Russian Black Sea Fleet in the occupied port of Ochamchire in Abkhazia, threatening vital naval trade routes and drawing Georgian sovereign territory into the ongoing military aggression against Ukraine."*