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INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
FAIR ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

Georgia's Political Party

FINANCE

in 2025



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1. Introduction

In modern politics, finances play a major role and largely determine the dynamics of political processes, their scale, and election results. On the one hand, they ensure the viability of political competition, while on the other hand, they create risks of conflicts of interest and political corruption. Accordingly, the relationship between money and politics is a constant search for balance between effective governance and democratic equality, where the main challenge is to ensure that financial capabilities do not overshadow the free will of citizens.

Georgian politics is not an exception, and financial and other types of resources have always had a significant influence on political processes, which makes this issue of great public interest. Since Georgia is a parliamentary republic, political parties play a decisive role in politics; therefore, the study of political party finance is important.

Under Georgian legislation, every registered party is obliged to submit an annual financial declaration to the relevant state body by February 1 of each year, which must describe the revenues received by the party during the previous year, the expenses incurred, and information about assets and liabilities. In 2025, the Anti-Corruption Bureau was the state body responsible for monitoring and supervising the financing of political parties; however, in 2025, amendments were made to the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens, according to which, from March 2026, the Anti-Corruption Bureau was abolished, and its functions were fully transferred to the State Audit Office.¹ In 2025, 44 political parties submitted information on annual revenues and expenditures to the Anti-Corruption Bureau, although only 25 of them had financial turnover.

The present report aims to analyze the financial activities of political parties in Georgia during 2025, including the structure of revenues and expenditures, main sources of funding, access to resources, and the assessment of the implementation of the existing legal framework in practice. The report is based on the annual financial declarations submitted by political parties and publicly available official data.

The year 2025 was notable in that municipal elections were held in the country on October 4, in which a significant part of opposition parties did not participate. This circumstance had different impacts on party finance.

The document pays special attention to identifying the main trends in party finance, including the concentration of funding, diversification of revenue sources, spending priorities, and the distribution of organizational resources. It also assesses the circumstances that affect the financial capabilities of parties and, ultimately, political competition and the quality of democratic processes.

The purpose of the report is to provide the public and interested stakeholders with fact-based analysis of the situation in the field of political finance and to contribute to evidence-based public discussion, strengthening transparency and accountability, as well as improving relevant policy.

¹ Organic Law of Georgia “On Amendments to the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens”, Parliament of Georgia, 17.12.2025, Document No. 1315-IV06-XI03, <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/6699170?publication=0#DOCUMENT:1>;

2. Key Findings

44 political parties submitted information on their 2025 annual revenues and expenditures to the Anti-Corruption Bureau, although only 25 of them reported financial turnover. Twenty-one political associations reported no revenues during the reporting period, while 19 reported no expenditures.

Revenues of Political Parties in 2025

- The total revenues of political parties in 2025 amounted to approximately GEL 49 million. Donations remained the main source of income, accounting for 55% of total revenues; state budget funding accounted for 18%, while other revenues accounted for 27%. Membership fees, received by only one political party (Coalition for Change Gvaramia Melia Girchi Droa (hereinafter “Coalition for Change”)), were negligible, accounting for only 0.01%.
- Unequal access to political finance remained a significant challenge in 2025. Georgian Dream received more revenue (GEL 26.5 million) than all other political parties combined (GEL 22.5 million). At the same time, the revenues of certain opposition parties were highly dependent on one-off transactions. For example, the party ranked second in terms of revenue, Unity-National Movement, derived 95% of its revenues (GEL 9.4 million) from the sale of property, specifically office space. Similarly, the entire revenue of the Republican Party of Georgia in 2025 (GEL 1.5 million) was generated from the sale of office space.
- A significant number of opposition parties were also characterized by high dependence on a single source of funding. One of the main reasons was the loss of state funding by most opposition parties in 2025. A total of GEL 8.9 million was allocated from the state budget to finance six political parties, of which 68% was allocated to the Georgian Dream. By the end of the year, the number of parties receiving state funding had further decreased.
- In 2025, 21 political parties received donations. The total amount of donations exceeded GEL 27 million, of which 97% was provided in monetary form and 3% in-kind. 67% of donations were received by Georgian Dream, which received more than GEL 18 million from individuals. In terms of donations (GEL 7.7 million), second place was held by Strong Georgia - Lelo, For the People, For Freedom! (hereinafter “Strong Georgia”), which lagged significantly behind the leading party.
- A significant proportion of donations to the Georgian Dream originated from large donors. In 2025, one donor contributed an average of GEL 36,025 to the party. Among them, 91 individuals transferred the legally permitted maximum amount of GEL 60,000 (a total of GEL 5.4 million). Of these individuals, 29 had not donated to the party before 2025, while 62 had previously donated more than GEL 10.7 million to the Georgian Dream. Among them are individuals and businesspersons connected to the party’s founder and honorary chairman, Bidzina Ivanishvili, some of whom were donors to the United National Movement in 2012.

Expenditures of Political Parties in 2025

- Total cash-based expenditures of political parties in 2025 exceeded GEL 46 million. Of this amount, GEL 23.8 million (52%) was spent by the Georgian Dream, followed by the Unity-National Movement with GEL 9.3 million (20%) and Strong Georgia with approximately GEL 7.9 million (17%). All other parties combined accounted for only 11% of total expenditures.

- The majority of expenditures were allocated to advertising (GEL 13.9 million), remuneration (GEL 5.4 million), rent (GEL 4.3 million), and capital expenditures (GEL 9.4 million). Significant expenditure categories also included consulting, notary, interpretation, and translation services (GEL 2.8 million), as well as office expenses (GEL 1.9 million).
- Two parties stood out in terms of advertising expenses: the Georgian Dream (GEL 7.1 million) and Strong Georgia (GEL 5.7 million). The advertising expenditure of the Georgian Dream was stable throughout 2025, while Strong Georgia and other parties participating in the 4 October municipal elections incurred advertising expenses mainly during the election period.
- Political parties that participated in the municipal elections spent almost 25 times more on advertising (GEL 13.3 million) than parties that did not participate (GEL 543 thousand).
- Outdoor advertising accounted for 35% of total party advertising expenses in 2025, followed by internet advertising (27%) and television advertising (23%).
- In 2025, the Georgian Dream spent more than GEL 4.1 million on outdoor advertising, accounting for 85% of total outdoor advertising expenditure by all political parties. Strong Georgia allocated the majority of its advertising budget (56%) to television advertising, while the Georgian Dream did not use paid television advertising at all.
- Remuneration and human resource costs were concentrated mainly in several large parties. The highest remuneration expenses in 2025 were recorded by the Georgian Dream (GEL 2.22 million) and the Unity-National Movement (GEL 2.02 million). Nine parties with financial turnover reported no remuneration expenses.
- Rental expenses were mainly concentrated in the Georgian Dream (GEL 2.19 million), followed by Strong Georgia (approximately GEL 986,000) and the Unity-National Movement (GEL 479,000). Only 12 out of 25 parties reported rental expenses.
- Two-thirds of office expenses were attributed to the Georgian Dream (GEL 1.27 million), significantly exceeding those of other parties, indicating substantial inequality in organizational resources.
- 87% of expenses on consulting, notary, interpretation, and translation services were incurred by the Unity-National Movement (GEL 2.46 million), exceeding two-thirds of the legally defined maximum threshold on this expense.
- 83% of political party travel expenses were allocated to foreign travel, while 17% were spent on domestic travel. The highest amount - up to GEL 270,000 - was spent by the Unity-National Movement, 99% of which was allocated to foreign travel.
- The increase in non-financial assets was overwhelmingly concentrated in the Georgian Dream (GEL 8.28 million), significantly exceeding other parties. Changes in non-financial assets have a substantial impact on parties' organizational capacity and future activities, further highlighting inequality in resources among political parties in Georgia.

3. Revenues of Political Parties

3.1. Legal Regulation of Revenues

According to the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens, the property of a political party consists of membership fees, donations, and state funding. A membership fee is defined as a monetary amount deposited into a party's account, the exact amount of which is determined by the statute of the respective political association. In addition, funds are allocated annually from the state budget of Georgia to support party activities and the development of the party system. Any other monetary amount credited to a party's account is considered a donation. Donations also include material or non-material benefits received by a party free of charge or on preferential or discounted terms (including preferential loans), as well as monetary funds or benefits provided for party purposes, regardless of whether the provider of such funds, benefits, or services is identifiable. At the same time, services voluntarily provided by individuals within the framework of volunteer activity are not considered donations. A political party is entitled to obtain loans from commercial banks operating in Georgia, the total amount of which during a calendar year must not exceed GEL 1 million.²

Under Georgian legislation, it is prohibited to receive donations from individuals who are not citizens of Georgia, legal entities, or other types of associations of persons, public institutions, or entities belonging to the system of public authorities of another state.

When donating, a citizen of Georgia is required to indicate their name, surname, and personal identification number. Monetary funds transferred to a party's account without this information are considered anonymous donations, which are prohibited by law and must be immediately transferred to the state budget of Georgia by the official person responsible for the financial activities of the political association.³

Information on party donations is public. The Anti-Corruption Bureau ensured access to this information in 2025 in accordance with the procedures established by law. From March 2026, this function was transferred to the State Audit Office. The authority responsible for political finance transparency is obliged to ensure the public availability of information on party donations on a monthly basis via its website.⁴ By 1 February of each year, political parties also submit their annual financial declarations for the previous year. The declaration reflects the party's annual revenues, including membership fees, donations, and the identity of donors, state funding, as well as expenditures and information on assets and liabilities.⁵

Georgian legislation also establishes limits on the amount of donations and membership fees. In particular, the total amount of donations made by each citizen of Georgia during a calendar year must not exceed GEL 60,000, while the annual amount of membership fees paid by each party member must not exceed GEL 1,200. This restriction applies to all types of donations, including services provided for party purposes or on its behalf. The receipt of monetary funds in the form of membership fees and donations is permitted only via non-cash payment.

² Organic Law of Georgia "On Political Associations of Citizens", Article 25, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

³ Organic Law of Georgia "On Political Associations of Citizens", Article 26, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Organic Law of Georgia "On Political Associations of Citizens", Article 32, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

At the same time, a donation may be made only from an account held by the donor or the person paying the membership fee in a commercial bank licensed in Georgia.⁶

3.2. Amount and Sources of Revenues in 2025

In 2025, unequal access to political finance constituted a significant challenge for party politics in Georgia. According to information published on the website of the State Audit Office, 44 political parties submitted their 2025 financial declarations to the Anti-Corruption Bureau. Among them, 19 political associations had no financial turnover during the reporting period, while another two parties reported no income. The remaining 23 parties generated total revenues of GEL 48,947,614 in 2025, of which 54% (GEL 26,459,400) was attributed to one party, Georgian Dream. The Unity-National Movement party accounted for 19% of total revenues, the Strong Georgia party for 16%, the Republican Party of Georgia for 3%, Gakharia for Georgia for 2%, while all other political associations together accounted for 5% (see Figure 1). At the same time, it should be noted that 95% of the revenues of the Unity-National Movement, as well as the total revenues of the Republican Party of Georgia, derived from the sale of their offices.

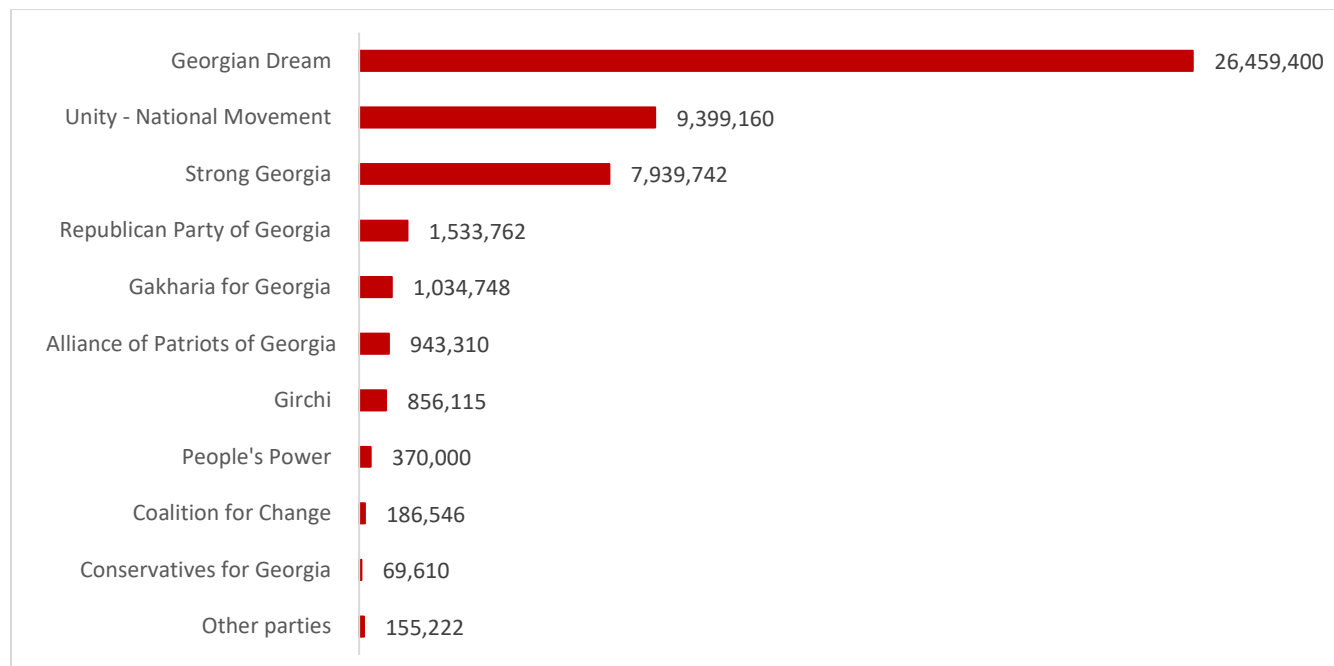


Figure 1. Total revenues of political parties in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

⁶ Organic Law of Georgia “On Political Associations of Citizens”, Article 27, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

55% of the total revenues of political parties derived from donations, 18% from state budget funding, and 27% from other revenues. Among them, membership fees accounted for only 0.01% of total party revenues (see Figure 2).

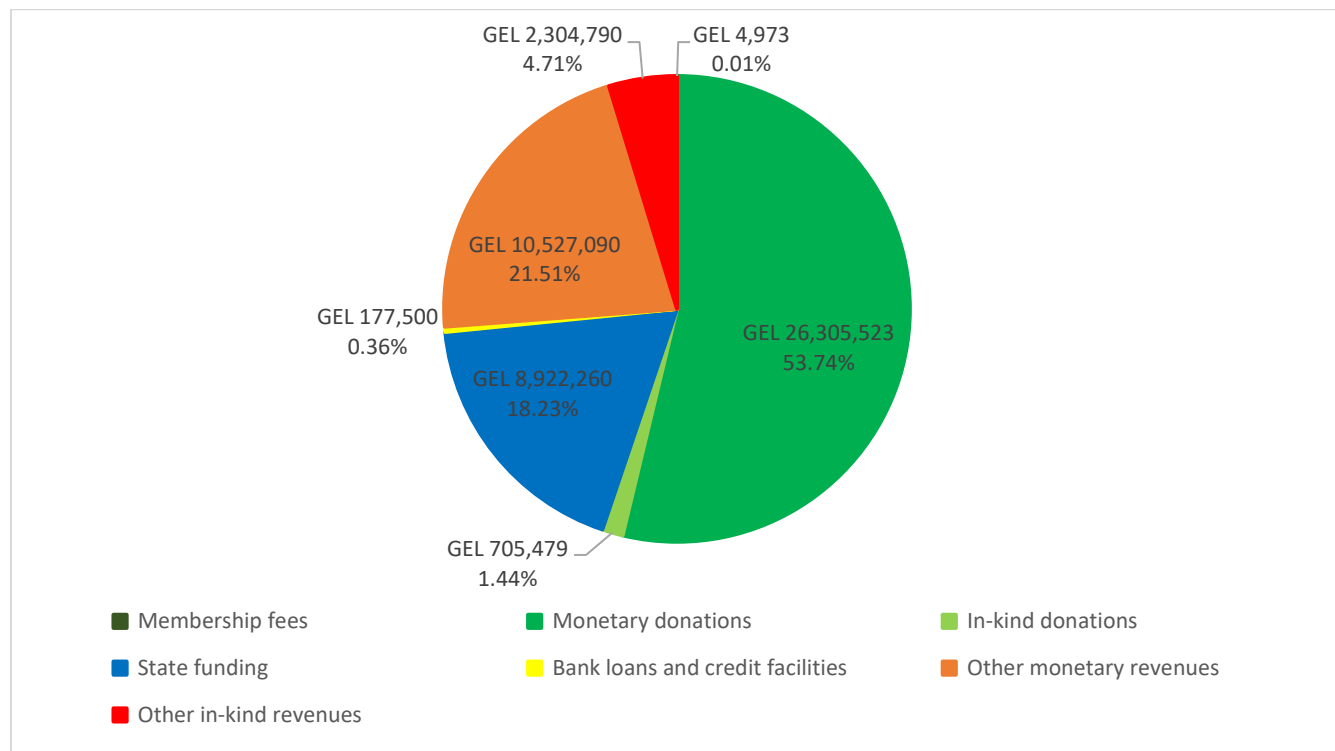


Figure 2. Sources of total revenues of political parties in 2025

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

The overall structure of party finances indicates a dominance of single-source funding models and a limited degree of revenue diversification. In particular, the high dependence of opposition parties on specific types of funding sources is noteworthy (see Figure 3). The majority of political parties received their revenues entirely or almost entirely in the form of monetary donations. In addition, the parties Conservatives for Georgia and Nation and State received between 99% and 100% of their revenues in the form of in-kind donations. At the same time, in the case of Girchi (95%), the Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (80%), and Gakharia for Georgia (74%), state funding constituted the dominant source of revenue. The revenues of the Republican Party of Georgia and European Georgia were fully composed of other monetary revenues. In the case of Unity-National Movement, 95% of revenues also consisted of other monetary revenues. By contrast, the Georgian Dream exhibited a more diversified revenue structure, comprising monetary donations (68%), state funding (23%), and in-kind revenues (9%).

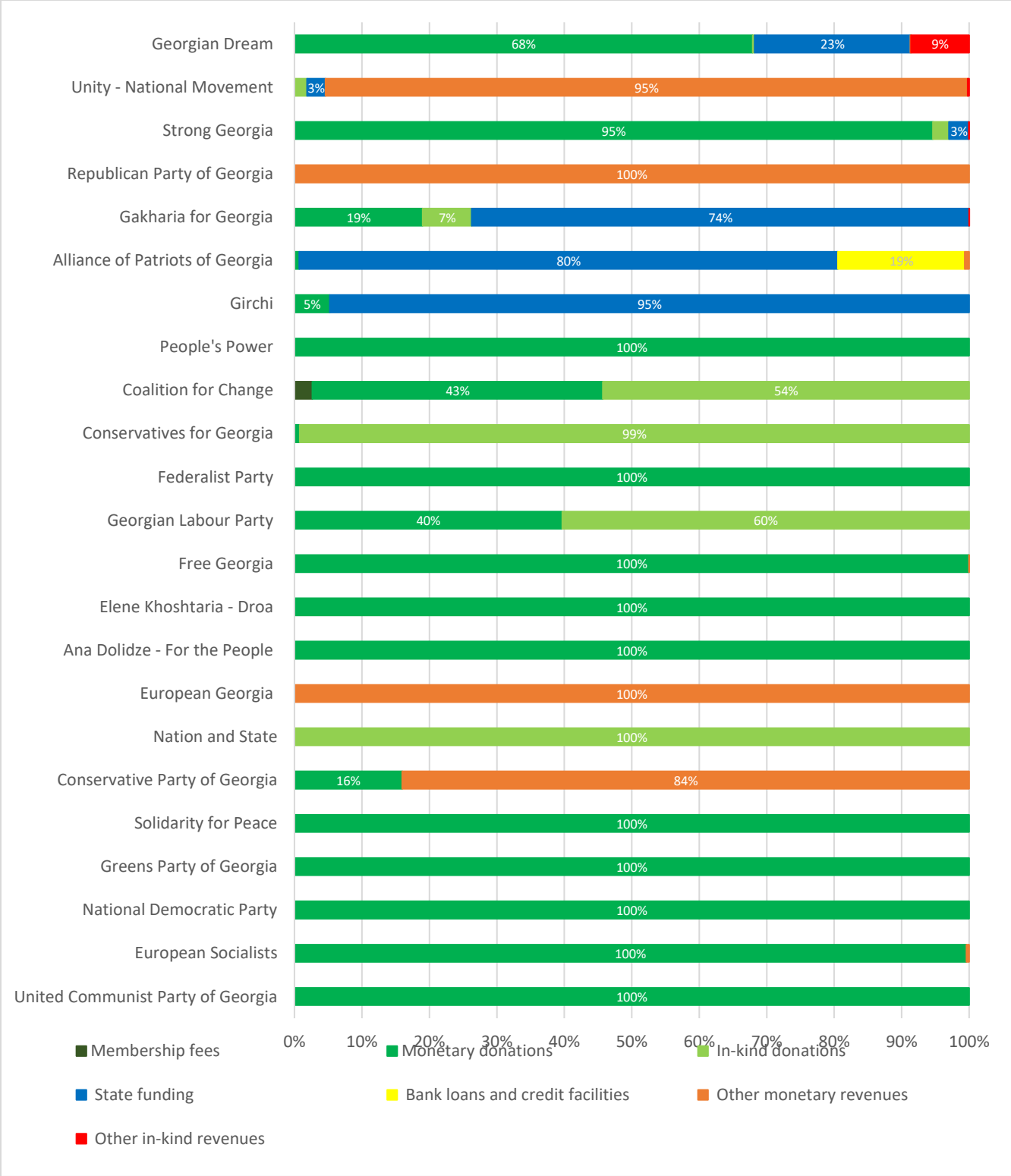


Figure 3. Percentage distribution of 2025 revenue sources by political party

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

3.3. Membership Fees

In 2025, only one political party - the Coalition for Change – received membership fees. A total of GEL 4,973 in membership fees was deposited into the party’s account by 57 individuals. The amount of membership fees paid by each party member ranged from GEL 25 to GEL 550, while the average amount was GEL 86. The most frequently paid membership fee was GEL 50, recorded in 26 cases.

3.4. Donations

In 2025, 21 political parties received donations. The total amount of donations reached GEL 27,011,002, of which 97% was transferred in monetary form, and 3% constituted in-kind donations. Notably, 67% of all donations were received by the Georgian Dream, which obtained more than GEL 18 million from individuals during the reporting period. In terms of donations (GEL 7.7 million), Strong Georgia ranked second, trailing the leading political party by a factor of 2.3 (see Figure 4).

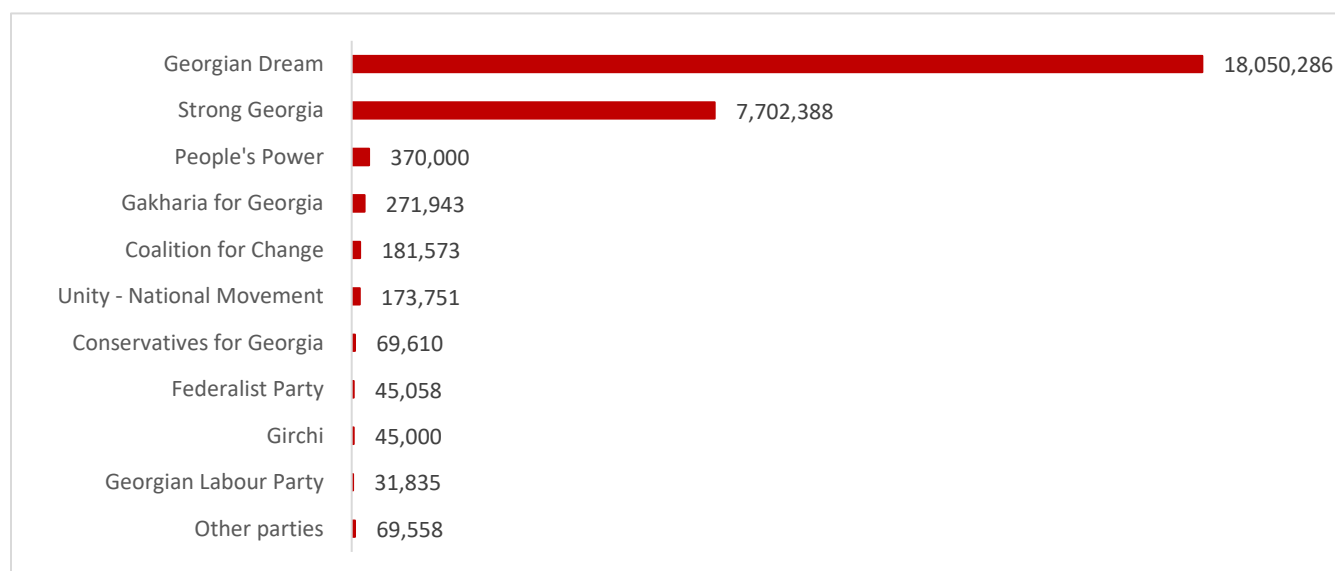


Figure 4. Political party donations in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

A significant proportion of donations to the Georgian Dream originated from large donors. In 2025, one donor contributed an average of GEL 36,025 to the party. Among them, 91 individuals transferred the legally permitted maximum amount of GEL 60,000 to the party’s account (a total of GEL 5.4 million). Of these individuals, 29 had not donated to the party before 2025, while 62 had previously donated a total of GEL 10,738,168. Among them are individuals and businesspersons connected with the party’s founder and honorary chairman, Bidzina Ivanishvili. Notably, some of the largest donors to the party were also donors to the United National Movement in 2012 (see Table 1).

Table 1. Largest Donors to the Georgian Dream (individuals who donated GEL 60,000 to the Georgian Dream in 2025, ranked by total cumulative donations to the party as of 31 December 2025)

#	Donor	Total donations to the Georgian Dream	Business activity (owned companies)	Other political donations in prior years
1	Davit Balanchivadze	GEL 537,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Blue Gold LLC; Villa Abastumani LLC; MSI Trading LLC; Taberne LLC (50%); Agrositeli LLC (33%); B&B Trading LLC (25%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018)
2	Nato Khaindrava	GEL 477,600	Chair of the Supervisory Board of Bank Cartu, Chief Executive Officer of JSC Cartu Group, Member of the Board of Trustees of the International Charity Fund Cartu, Member of the Supervisory Board of the Georgian Stock Exchange JSC, Member of the Supervisory Board of Elita Burji LLC	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 30,000 (2018); Public Movement Georgian Dream - GEL 45,000 (2012)
3	Giorgi Chqonia	GEL 461,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Gza LLC; Gonio Luxury Residence LLC; Tower Group Panorama Lisi LLC; Cafe Central LLC; House in Old Batumi LLC; Chalet Kvirike LLC; Chateau Kvirike LLC; Central Management Group LLC; Ivertrans LLC (50%); Megobari Branch LLC (50%); Mobilia Batumi LLC (50%); Figoil LLC (50%); Didi Sakhli LLC (50%); T.G. Group LLC (50%); Batumi Central LLC (45%); Tower Group Ureki LLC (40%); Sheni Sakhli LLC (40%); Kochi Group LLC (20%); Megobari LLC (20%); Crypto Home LLC (15%); Crypto Home Management LLC (10%); May 2020 LLC (10%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018); Georgia Is Not for Sale - GEL 60,000 (2012)
4	Giorgi Abramishvili	GEL 418,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Almandinger LLC; Bildi LLC; Vertex LLC; Kokhta LLC; New Motors Gallery LLC; New Motors LLC; Georgian Blueberry LLC; Hydromatika 1 LLC (85%); Hydromatika 2 LLC (85%); Verta Group LLC (40%); Saba +++ LLC (33%); GLOBAL DEFENSE GROUP LLC (25%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018)
5	Davit Baladze	GEL 418,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Trust Solution LLC; P08 LLC (50%); Impulse LLC (50%))	Georgia Is Not for Sale - GEL 4,000 (2012)
6	Kakhaberi Lataria	GEL 410,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Georgian Development 2023 LLC; IKD Group LLC; Luxury House LLC (50%); Poly Aromat LLC (50%); J.F.K. LLC (50%); KCF International LLC (33.4%); New Free (33%); KOLKHITRANS LLC (33%); Egrisi + LLC (33%); La Eco LLC (33%); Iceberg 2 LLC (25%); Euro Test LLC (25%); Chela LLC (25%); Geonuts LLC (25%); Poti Oil LLC (20%); GCM Service LLC (18%); Geo Capital Management LLC (18%); Iceberg Trading LLC (16.6%); Invest Group Georgia LLC (10%); C+P Universal LLC (10%); Geofish Company LLC (1.5%)); Member of the Supervisory Board of Poti Transterminal JSC; Member of the Board of the Association of Georgian Fishing License Holders; General Director of AGS Group LLC	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018); United National Movement - GEL 60,000 (2012)
7	Gia Andghuladze	GEL 397,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Artpalace Workshops LLC; Iberia 2020 Corporation LLC; Dolabauri LLC (25%); Lilo Mall LLC (14.285%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018); United National Movement - GEL 30,000 (2012)
8	Vazha Usanetashvili	GEL 396,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Oval LLC (70%); Moli LLC (60%); Samkaro LLC (60%); Georgian Transit Service LLC (50%); Sinensis LLC (50%); Arsakidze-2000 LLC (49.995%); Riva LLC (49.98%); Vagi LLC (33.34%); Dolabauri LLC (25%); Universal Transit Service LLC (25%); B/V Holding Corporation LLC (12.25%); Lilo Mall LLC (1.5%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018); Independent candidate Gulo Zumbadze - GEL 10,010 (2017); United National Movement - GEL 30,000 (2012)
9	Aleksandre Ivanishvili	GEL 395,767.74	Businessperson, brother of Bidzina Ivanishvili (Honorary Chairman of the Georgian Dream party) (companies owned: Prof Georgian Group LLC (50%); Tornado + LLC (39.5%); Aisi Inc LLC (33%); Dugladze Wine Company LLC (25.66%); Vaziani XXI LLC (13%); F & Company LLC (12.5%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 45,000 (2018); Republican Party of Georgia - GEL 20,000 (2012); Free Democrats - GEL 20,000 (2012); National Forum - GEL 20,000 (2012)
10	Ilia Shonia	GEL 394,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Kalasi Plus LLC; Tao 2052 LLC (50%); IG Georgian Bio Eco Products LLC (50%); Riva LLC (33.36%); Vagi LLC (33.33%); Georgia-Thailand Trading Company (33%); Georgian Bio Products LLC (25%); B/V Holding Corporation LLC (12.25%); ABG Consulting LLC (8.57%); Lilo Mall LLC (2%))	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018); United National Movement - GEL 30,000 (2012)
11	Giorgi Gagua	GEL 387,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Wineworld2022 LLC; Sevsamora LLC; Sevsamora Management LLC; Sevsamora Winery	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 60,000 (2018);

#	Donor	Total donations to the Georgian Dream	Business activity (owned companies)	Other political donations in prior years
			LLC; Sevsamora Gi & Go LLC (50%); Sevsamora Villa LLC (50%); T.G LLC (50%); IG Georgian Bio Eco Products LLC (50%); G.T LLC (50%); Revaz Lagidze 2 LLC (50%); Kherki LLC (50%); Georgia Ceramic Artistique LLC (46%); GEORGIAN BIO PRODUCTS LLC (25%); Alliance LLC (25%); Creative Ads LLC (25%); Terramica LLC (20%); B/V Holding Corporation LLC (12.25%); Dolabauri LLC (25%); Lilo Mall LLC (11.285%))	United National Movement - GEL 30,000 (2012)
12	Irakli Topadze	GEL 370,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Tbilaroma LLC (50%); Kazbegi Lemonade LLC (50%); Ighbali 2023 LLC (50%); Tskhra Tskaro-2007 LLC (35%); Holding Georgian Glass LLC (33%); Kazbegi-Pshaveli LLC (31.75%); Tskhra Tskaro-2022 LLC (25%); Nekerchkhali LLC (25%); Trialeti LLC (20%); Zamex Print LLC (20%); Kazbegi 1881 LLC (15.4%); Kazbegi 2005 LLC (15%); Pshaveli Kazbegi LLC (15%); Truso LLC (10%); CALWE LLC (10%); Cartu-Universali LLC (9%); Kazbegi Tobacco LLC (7.7%); Topadze & Company LLC (6%); Kazbegi-Krtsanisi LLC (5%); Kazbegi-Vere LLC (2%))	Industry Will Save Georgia - GEL 14,992 (2013)
13	Givi Lebanidze	GEL 366,800	Deputy General Director of Cartu Bank JSC; Chief Financial Officer of Cartu Insurance Company JSC	Independent candidate Salome Zourabichvili - GEL 25,000 (2018)
14	Zurab Chkhaidze	GEL 300,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Kakhetian Traditional Winemaking LLC; Mtatsminda Panorama LLC; Premier Residence Saguramo LLC; Art-Rustavi LLC; Guramishvilis Marani LLC; Guruli Nena LLC; Vartsikhe Group LLC; Gross Tour Georgia LLC (55%); Grand Centre 2014 LLC (50%); Kartuli Suli LLC (34%); ZIK Construction LLC (33%); Z.G.G.L Capital LLC (25%); Kidobani 2 LLC (14.4%))	-
15	Besik Zhgenti	GEL 298,000	Businessperson (companies owned: Gorgasali 94 LLC (50%); Meri-2007 LLC (50%); SAB International LLC (33%); Momavlis Sakhli LLC (25%); Alliance Lisi LLC (16.7%); Alliance Privilege LLC (16%); Alliance LLC (15%); Alliance Villa Development LLC (2%))	-

Source: State Audit Office & Companyinfo.ge

Among donations to political parties in 2025, the total amount of in-kind donations was GEL 705,479. According to financial declarations submitted to the Anti-Corruption Bureau, this type of donation was received by eight political parties. Among them, the largest amount of in-kind donations was received by Strong Georgia, amounting to GEL 189,505, which included cameras, office space, social media advertising, travel services, and other items. Strong Georgia received most of its in-kind donations in the form of movable property, while the Conservatives for Georgia received them in the form of real property. Other parties received various types of in-kind donations (see Figure 5).

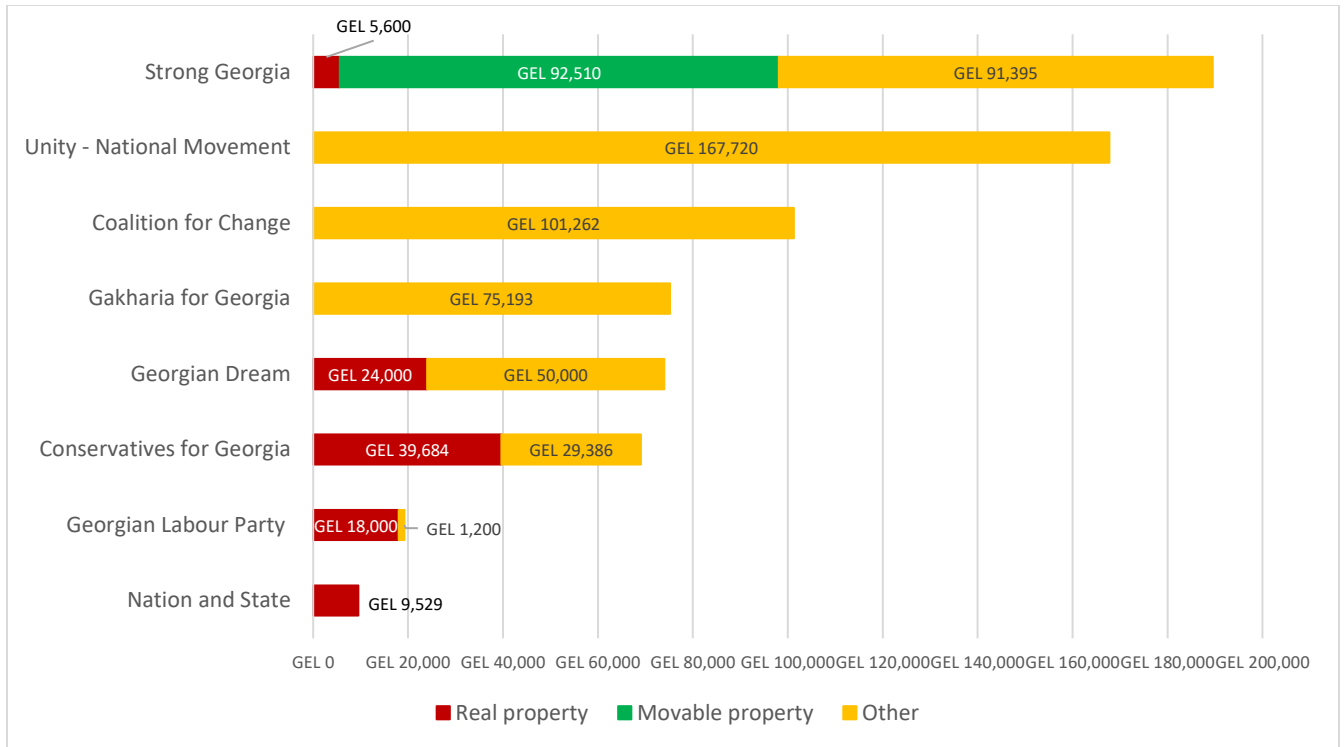


Figure 5. In-kind donations to political parties in 2025

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

3.5. State Funding

In accordance with Georgian legislation, state budget funding is granted to political parties that have received at least 1% of valid votes in the most recent parliamentary elections. At the same time, a political party loses eligibility for budget funding if at least half of the members of Parliament elected on its nomination have their mandates terminated prematurely, and it is not possible to recognize the mandates of a sufficient number of substitute members so that the number of MPs elected on the nomination of that party exceeds half of the parliamentary seats initially obtained by the party. In addition, a party’s budget funding is suspended for six months if more than half of the members of Parliament elected on its nomination fail, without a valid reason, to attend more than half of the regular plenary sittings during the previous regular parliamentary session.⁷

As a result of the 2024 parliamentary elections, seven parties obtained the right to receive state funding. However, the political party Coalition for Change refused to receive funding due to its parliamentary boycott, while two parties – Unity-National Movement and Strong Georgia - subsequently lost eligibility for state funding following the termination of their parliamentary mandates. At the same time, the party Gakharia for Georgia had its funding suspended for six months due to unjustified absence from parliamentary sittings. As a result, the number of parties receiving state funding decreased significantly during the reporting period.

⁷ Organic Law of Georgia “On Political Associations of Citizens”, Article 30, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

The application of the existing rules resulted in several parties being deprived of state funding, which further deepened financial disparities among political associations and reduced the space for political pluralism. In 2025, a total of GEL 8,922,260 was allocated from the state budget to finance six political parties, of which 68% was received by Georgian Dream (see Figure 6).

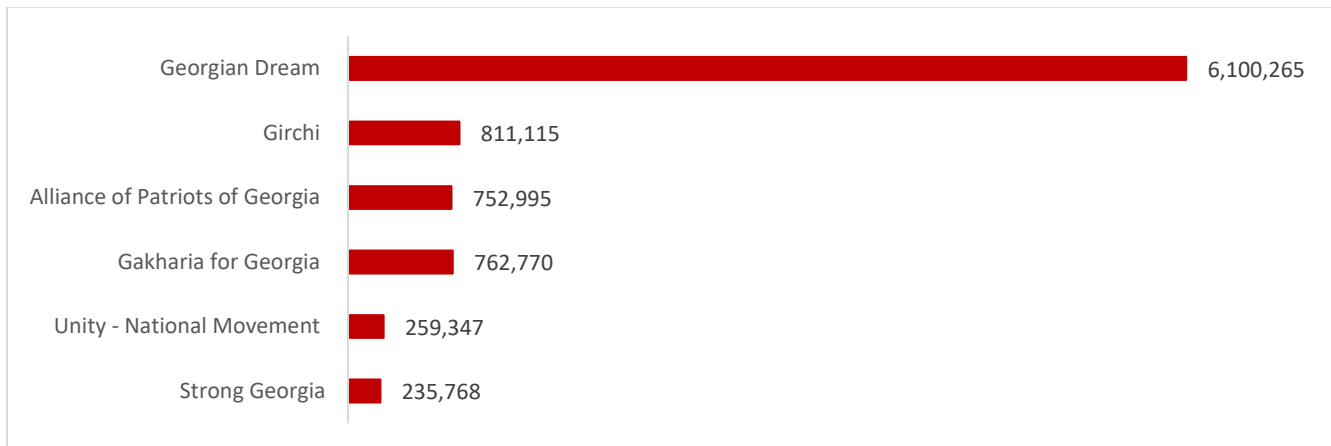


Figure 6. State budget funding received by political parties in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

3.6. Other Revenues

Political parties also received GEL 10,527,090 in other monetary revenues, which mainly consisted of income generated from the sale of immovable property. In particular, revenues of Unity–National Movement amounted to approximately GEL 9 million, while those of the Republican Party of Georgia amounted to approximately GEL 1.5 million (see Figure 7).

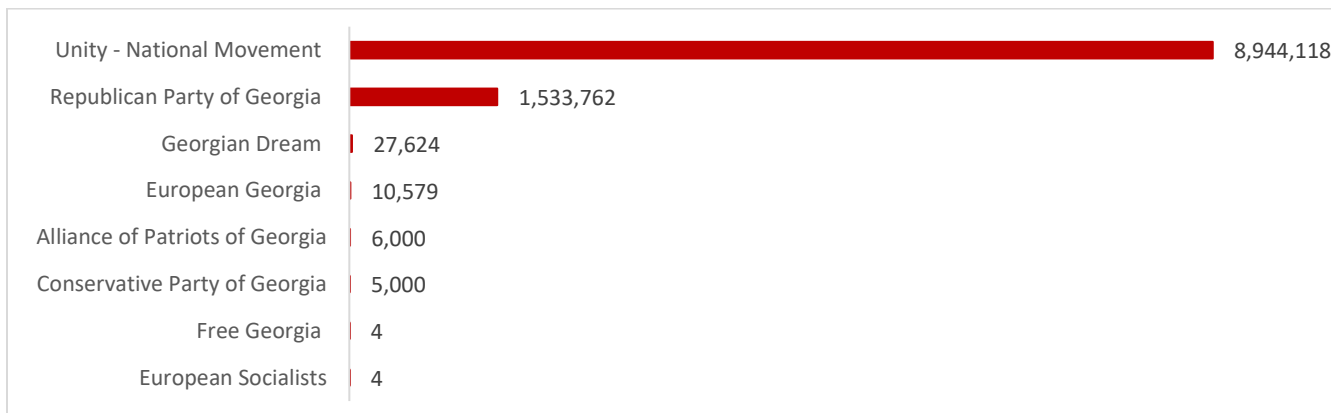


Figure 7. Other monetary revenues of political parties in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

In terms of non-monetary revenues, Georgian Dream stood out. In 2025, the party received in-kind revenues worth GEL 2,355,225, accounting for 79% of total non-monetary revenues received by all political parties (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. In-kind revenues of political parties in 2025 (excluding donations) (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

4. Expenditures of Political Parties

4.1. Legal Regulation of Expenditures

Georgian legislation establishes ceilings on political party expenditures. In particular, according to the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens, the total annual expenditures of a political party must not exceed 0.04% of Georgia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the previous year. At the same time, this ceiling includes expenditures incurred by third parties in favor of an electoral subject, as determined by the relevant oversight body and notified to the respective electoral subject. The legislation also establishes a specific limitation on expenditures for expert and consultancy services, which must not exceed 10% of the total maximum permissible expenditure ceiling.⁸

In 2025, the legally permitted maximum annual expenditure ceiling for political parties amounted to GEL 36,756,720. None of the political parties approached this threshold. Georgian Dream utilized 65% of the maximum permissible expenditures, while the party ranked second in terms of expenditure, Unity-National Movement, utilized only 25%.

⁸ Organic Law of Georgia "On Political Associations of Citizens", Article 25¹, <https://matsne.gov.ge/document/view/28324?publication=54>

4.2. Amount and Structure of Expenditures in 2025

Among the annual financial declarations submitted by 44 political associations to the Anti-Corruption Bureau, only 25 parties reported expenditures in 2025. The total cash-based expenditures of these parties amounted to GEL 46,114,243. Of this amount, Georgian Dream spent GEL 23.8 million (52%), followed by Unity-National Movement with GEL 9.3 million (20%), and Strong Georgia with approximately GEL 7.9 million (17%). All other parties combined accounted for 11% of total expenditures (see Figure 9).

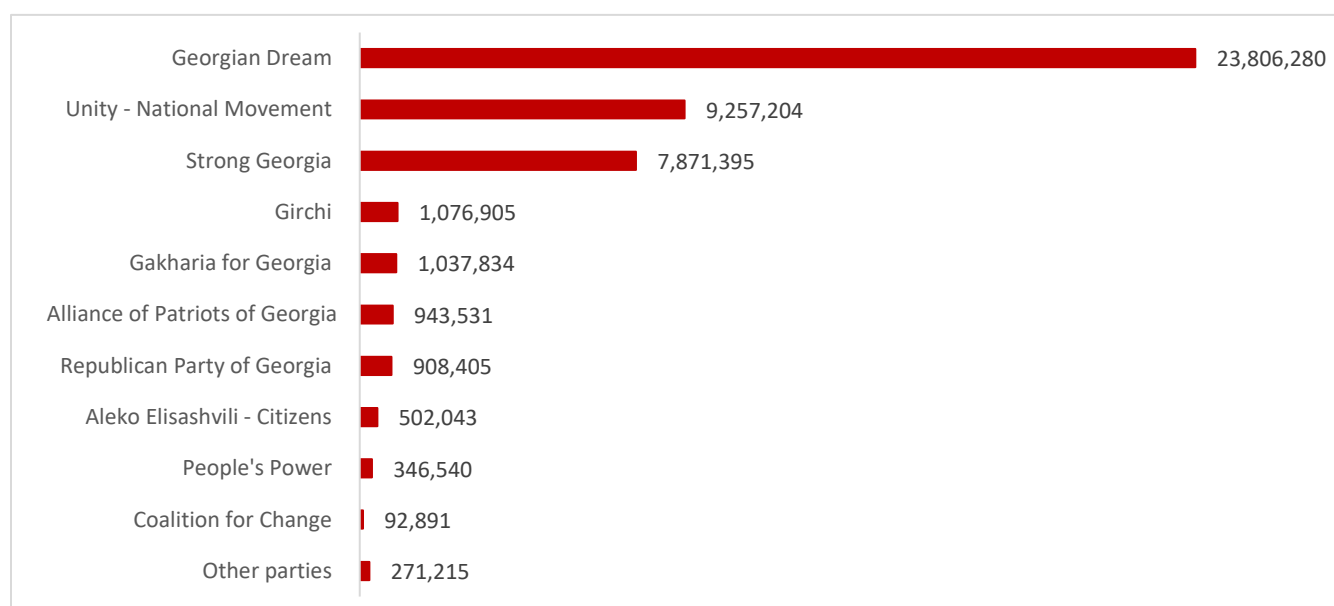


Figure 9. Total cash-based expenditures of political parties in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

The majority of party expenditures were allocated to advertising, remuneration, rent, and capital expenditures. In addition, consulting, notary, interpretation, and translation services, as well as office expenses, also represented significant expenditure categories in 2025 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Political party expenditures in 2025 by category

Category	Total amount (GEL)	Share
Advertising expenses	13,881,388.28	30.10%
Wages and salaries	5,420,709.27	11.75%
Rent expenses	4,273,400.58	9.27%
Consulting, notary, interpretation, and translation services	2,837,674.05	6.15%
Office expenses	1,911,373.01	4.14%
Travel expenses	530,584.41	1.15%

Category	Total amount (GEL)	Share
Cultural, sports, educational, and exhibition events	248,238.00	0.54%
Expenses for organizing sessions, conferences, congresses, seminars, and other working meetings	246,850.48	0.54%
Transfer of material and non-material assets to individuals	207,907.00	0.45%
Transport and equipment operation and maintenance expenses	207,476.70	0.45%
Audit service expenses	105,949.00	0.23%
Representation expenses	52,647.00	0.11%
Security services for buildings and premises	47,603.00	0.10%
Bank service fees	23,957.00	0.05%
Food and catering expenses	6,880.25	0.01%
Medical expenses	30.00	0.00%
Other expenses (including other goods and services)	6,539,669.59	14.18%
Increase in non-financial assets	9,427,074.12	20.44%
Decrease in liabilities	148,821.66	0.32%

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

The largest expenditure category for the following political parties - Georgian Dream, Strong Georgia, People's Power, Free Georgia, as well as Gakharia for Georgia, and Ana Dolidze - For the People, in 2025 was advertising expenses. The following political parties - Coalition for Change, the Georgian Labour Party, and the Federalists allocated the largest share of their expenditures to office rent. The Republican Party of Georgia and European Georgia spent the highest share of their expenditures on remuneration, while Unity-National Movement allocated the largest share to expert and consultancy services. Girchi spent the highest amount on cultural, sports, educational, and exhibition activities. The European Democrats of Georgia and the Conservative Party of Georgia primarily incurred travel expenses. The Greens' Party of Georgia reported only advertising expenditures in 2025, while the Nation and State party incurred only congress and conference organization expenses (see Figure 10).

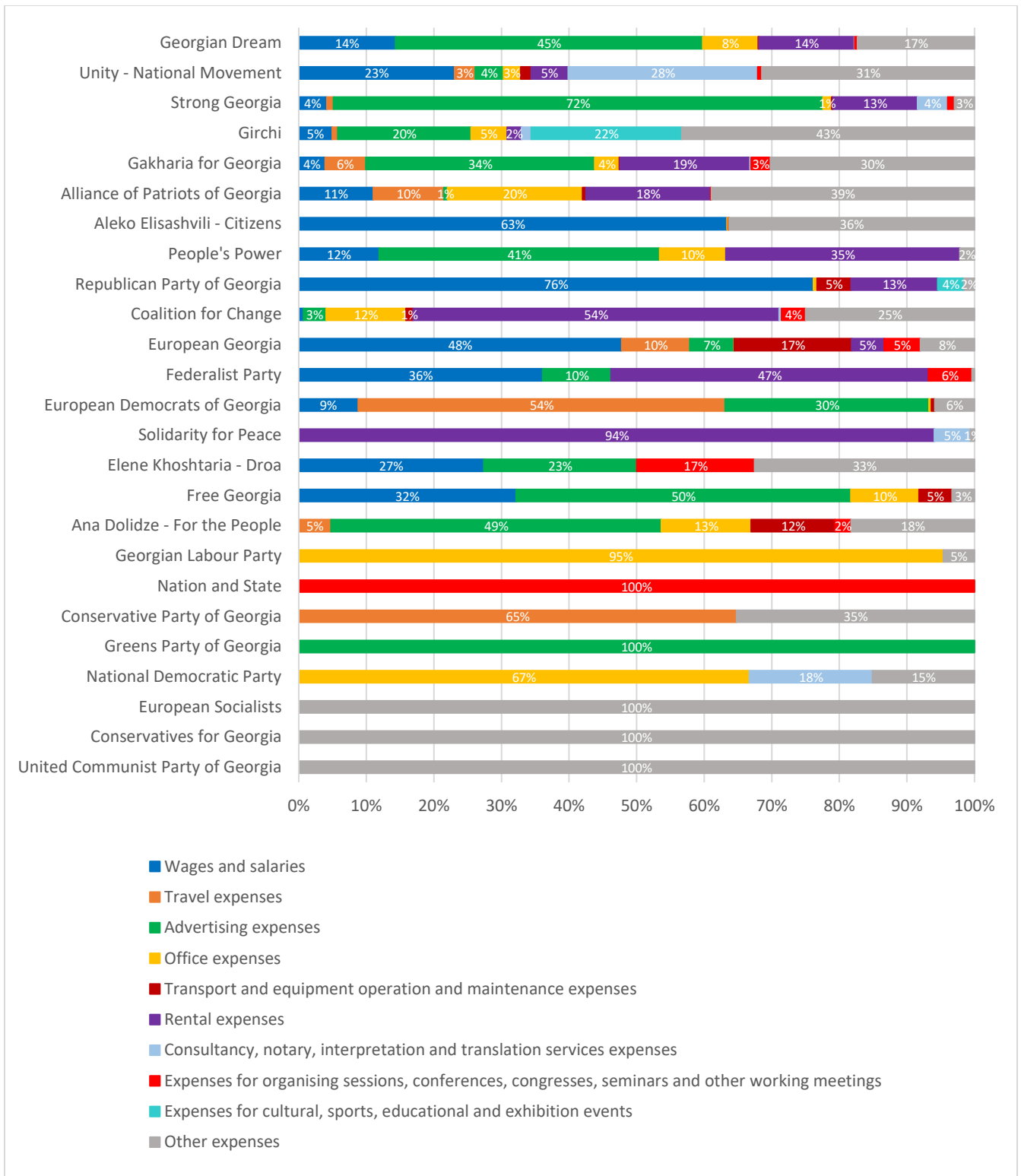


Figure 10. Structure of political party expenditures in 2025 (excluding increase in non-financial assets and decrease in liabilities)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

4.3. Advertising Expenses

In 2025, two political parties stood out in terms of advertising expenses - Georgian Dream and Strong Georgia (see Figure 11). At the same time, Strong Georgia spent more funds on advertising from its election campaign fund (GEL 5.4 million) than Georgian Dream (GEL 3.3 million). The advertising expense of Georgian Dream during the year was characterized by greater stability, whereas other parties participating in the municipal elections incurred advertising expenses mainly during the election period. Only 47% of Georgian Dream’s 2025 advertising expenses were financed from its election campaign fund, while for opposition parties participating in the elections, this share reached 99%.

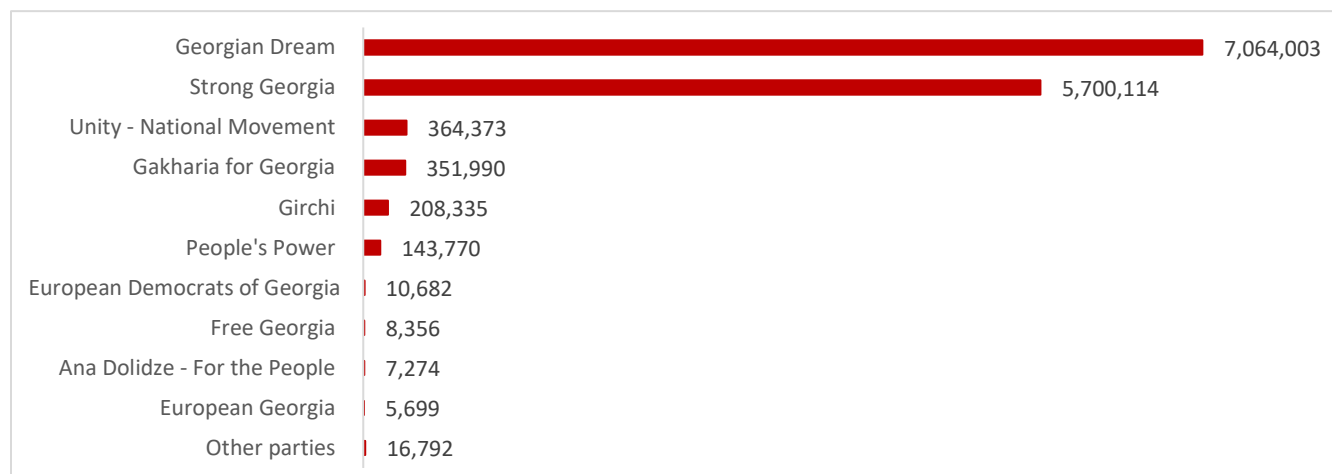


Figure 11. Political party advertising expenses in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

Political parties that participated in the 4 October 2025 Municipal Elections spent almost 25 times more on advertising in 2025 than parties that did not participate (see Figure 12).

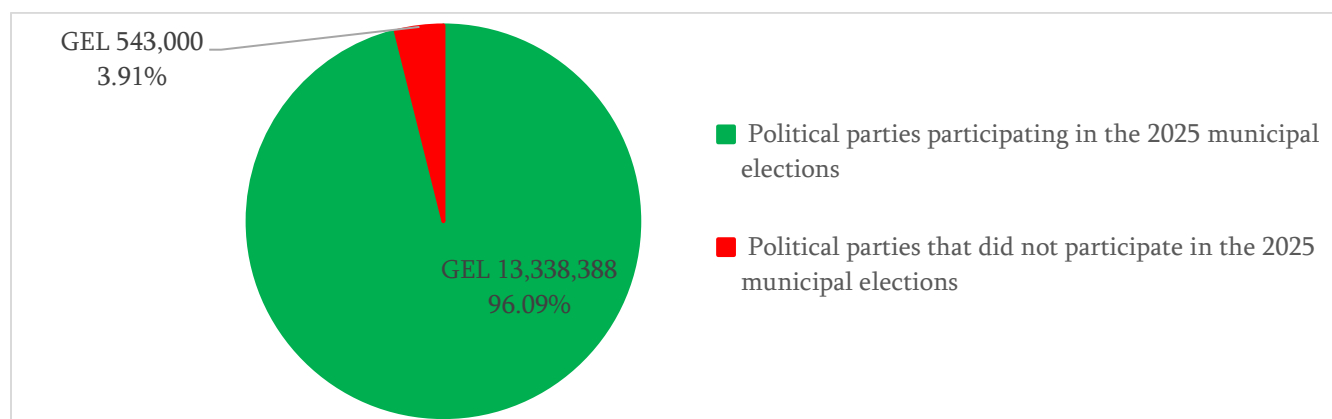


Figure 12. Political party advertising expenses in 2025, by participation in elections

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

In 2025, 35% of total advertising expenses by political parties were allocated to outdoor advertising (billboards, lightboxes, street-installed screens, advertising on vehicles, and other formats). Internet advertising ranked second (27%), followed by television advertising (23%) (see Figure 13).

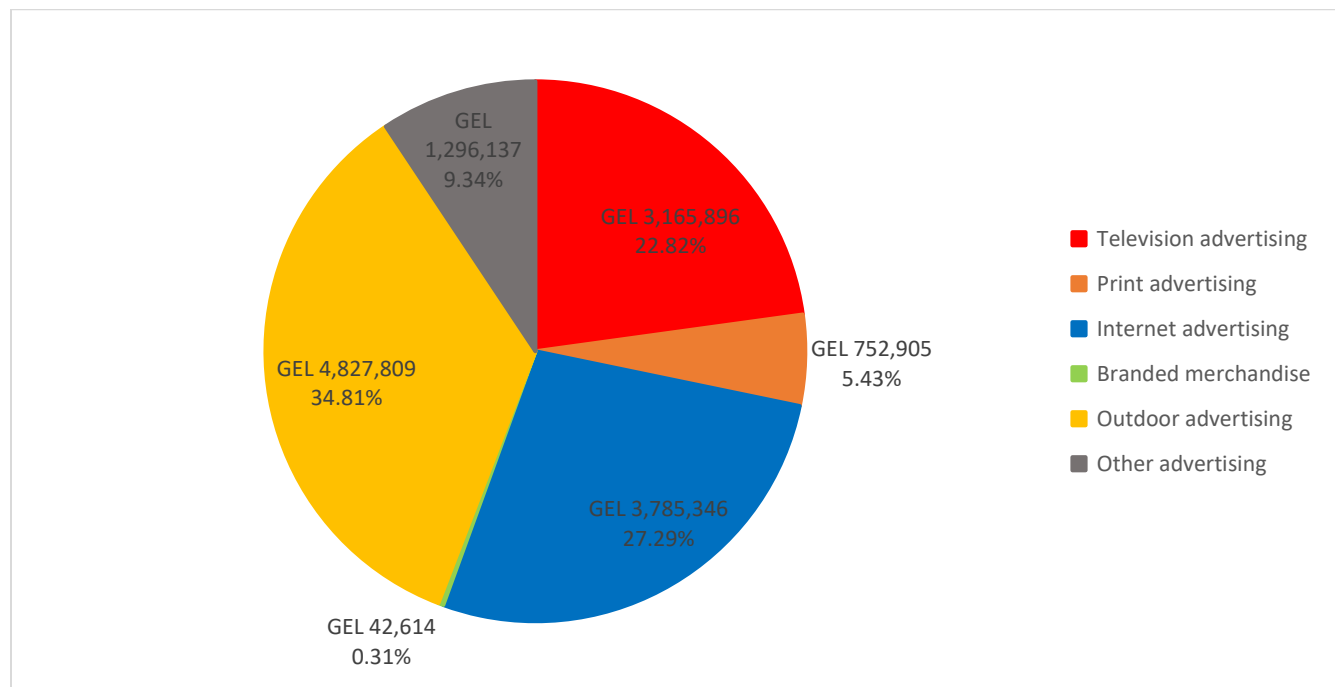


Figure 13. Structure of political party advertising expenses in 2025

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

In 2025, Georgian Dream spent more than GEL 4.1 million on outdoor advertising, accounting for 85% of total expenses on this type of advertising by all political associations. The large-scale use of outdoor advertising in the pre-election period contributed to the continuous high visibility of Georgian Dream, to which opposition parties were unable to provide comparable competition (see Figure 14).



Figure 14. Political party outdoor advertising expenses in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

Unlike Georgian Dream, which allocated 58% of its advertising expenditure to outdoor advertising, Strong Georgia directed the majority of its advertising budget (56%) to television advertising. It should be noted that

Georgian Dream did not use paid television advertising. The party Gakharia for Georgia allocated more than half of its advertising expenditure to outdoor advertising. The advertising activities of other political parties were largely limited to lower-cost formats, mainly print and internet advertising (see Figure 15).

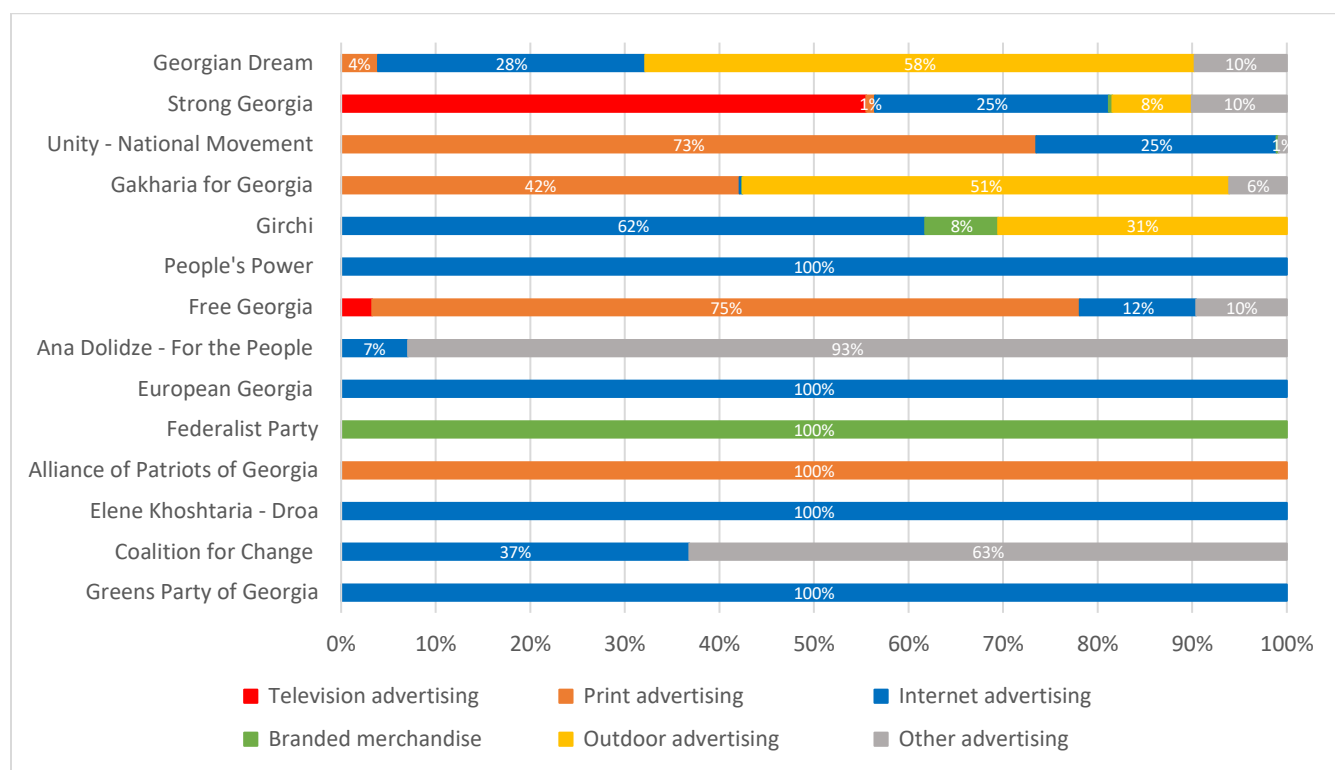


Figure 15. Structure of advertising expenses in 2025 by political party

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

4.4. Other Expenses

Significant amounts were recorded under other expense categories in the financial declarations of several political parties, including remuneration, office and rent expenses, consulting and expert services, and business travel. The data demonstrate a strong concentration of expenses in these categories among a small number of large political parties, further highlighting structural financial inequality.

Staff remuneration and human resource financing were predominantly concentrated among a limited number of large parties. In 2025, the highest remuneration expenses were recorded by Georgian Dream (GEL 2.22 million) and Unity-National Movement (GEL 2.02 million), followed by Strong Georgia with GEL 328 thousand. Among smaller parties, Aleko Elisashvili-Citizens and the Republican Party of Georgia also allocated a relatively large share of their expenditures to salaries and bonuses. In other parties, remuneration expenses were significantly lower or not reported at all (see Figure 16). Notably, nine political parties with financial turnover in 2025 reported no remuneration expenses.

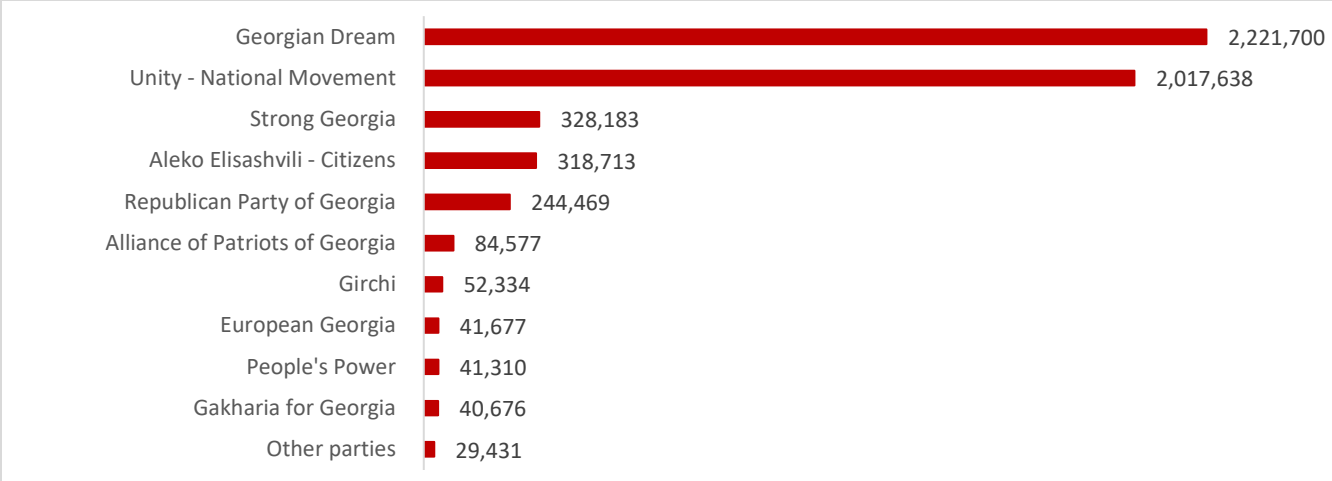


Figure 16. Political party expenses on remuneration in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

The analysis of rental expenses indicates that party infrastructure remains highly concentrated, primarily in the hands of Georgian Dream. This party spent GEL 2.19 million on office and premises rental. It was followed by Strong Georgia with GEL 985,921 and Unity-National Movement with GEL 478,989. Rental expenses of other parties were comparatively limited, indicating that the maintenance of extensive infrastructure is largely confined to financially stronger parties (see Figure 17). Among the 25 political parties with financial turnover, only 12 incurred rental expenses.

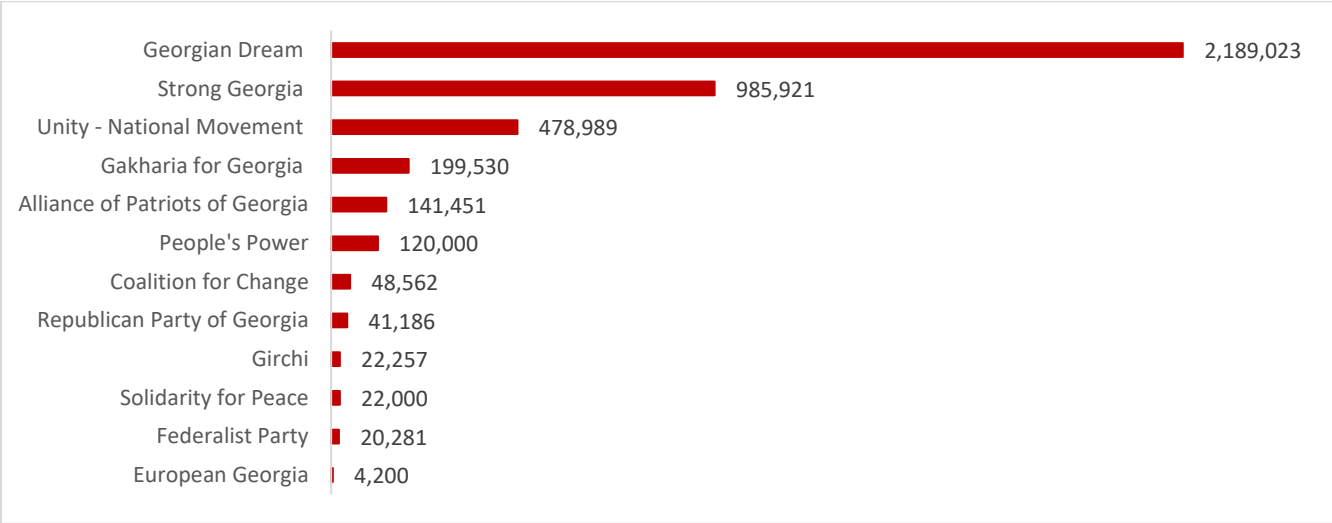


Figure 17. Political party rental expenses in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

Two-thirds of office-related expenses (including stationery, purchase, installation, and maintenance of office equipment and furniture, building maintenance, communications, postal services, utilities, and other expenses) were attributed to Georgian Dream (GEL 1.27 million). It was followed by Unity-National Movement (GEL 223,000), the Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (GEL 153 thousand), Strong Georgia (GEL 104 thousand), and other parties. In most parties, office expenses did not exceed a few thousand GEL, reflecting limited operational capacity and persistent inequality in resources (see Figure 18).

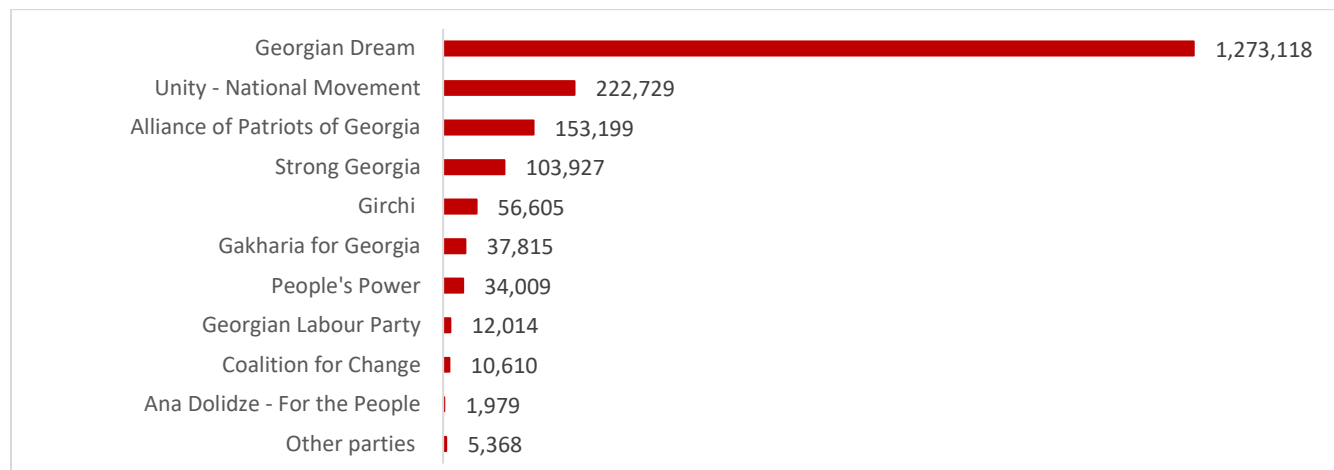


Figure 18. Political party office expenses in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

Expenses on consulting, notary, interpretation, and translation services were reported by only eight political parties. Total expense in this category exceeded GEL 2.8 million, of which 87% was attributed to Unity-National Movement (GEL 2.46 million). Notably, this amount exceeded two-thirds of the legally defined ceiling for expert and consultancy services (GEL 3,675,672). Among other parties, Strong Georgia stood out with expenses exceeding GEL 352 thousand (see Figure 19).

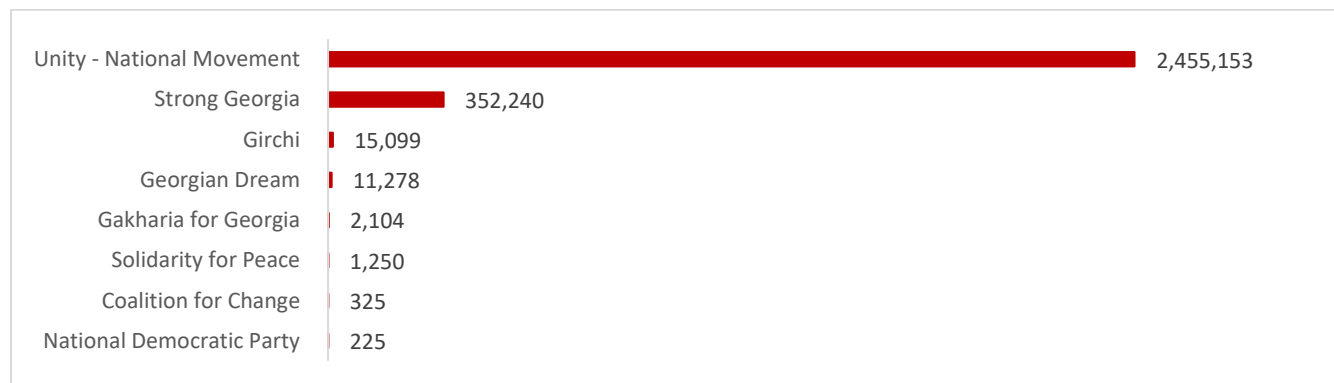


Figure 19. Political party spending on consulting, notary, interpreting, and translation services in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

Business travel expenses were reported by only nine political parties in 2025. Of these expenses, 83% was allocated to foreign travel, while 17% was spent on domestic travel within Georgia. The Alliance of Patriots of Georgia and the Conservative Party of Georgia covered only domestic travel, whereas in the case of other parties, travel expenses were fully or predominantly directed to foreign visits. The highest amount - up to GEL 270,000 - was spent by Unity – National Movement, followed by the Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (GEL 80,100), Strong Georgia (GEL 76,700), Gakharia for Georgia (GEL 62,400), and others (see Figure 20).



Figure 20. Political party travel expenses in 2025

Source: State Audit Office, 2026

In party financial declarations, changes in non-financial assets are reported separately, including the acquisition and improvement of property such as offices, equipment, furniture, and other material resources supporting long-term party activities. The data show a strong concentration in this category in favor of Georgian Dream, whose non-financial assets increased in 2025 and amounted to GEL 8.28 million, significantly exceeding those of other parties. Changes in non-financial assets have a substantial impact on organizational capacity and future activities, further highlighting disparities in resources among political parties in Georgia (see Figure 21).

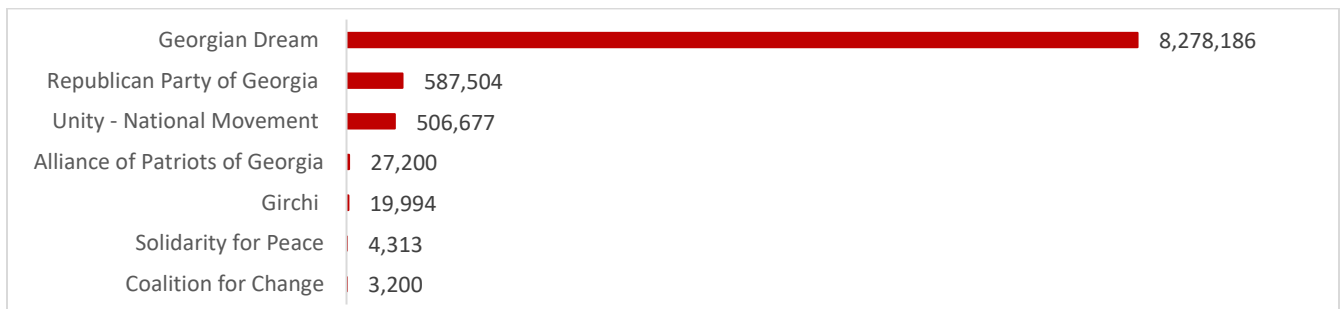


Figure 21. Increase in non-financial assets of political parties in 2025 (GEL)

Source: State Audit Office, 2026