Country: Georgia

Year: 1991

Head of government: Bessarion Paatovich Gugushvili

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Gugushvili's party affiliation as Round Table – Free Georgia (*Mrgvali Magida - Tavisupali Sak'art'velo / MM-TS*). Jones (2015: 59) writes that "retaining Soviet economic structures was the path of least resistance, a low-risk policy at a time of rapid political change. Some in Gamsakhurdia's entourage such as his last prime minister Bessarion Gugushvili, developed a theory of state capitalism". Jones (2013: 295) "Besarion Gugushvili, writing in 1993, showed hostility to what he called the Western 'imperial mafia.' In his article, ['Transnational Nomenklaturist Corporatism'], Gugushvili condemns the 'avalanche of elemental, uncontained privatizations' which the West is pursuing."

Year: 1992

Head of government: Tengiz Ipolitovich Sigua

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Sigua's party affiliation as non-party. NYT writes that "Mr. Sigua, a metallurgist by profession 'sort of represents a technocratic element of opposition'".

Years: 1993-1994

Head of government: Otar Amb akovich Patsatsia

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2005-2006: 430) identifies Patsatsia's party affiliation as the Political Union Tanadgoma (Solidarity), writing that "Tanadgoma was founded in July 1995 by (then) parliamentary speaker Vakhtang Goguadze and (then) prime minister Otar Patsatsia". Cook (2001: 740) identifies Patsatsia as leftist, writing that "Shevarnadze appointed Otar Patsatsia, a former communist, to head a new cabinet. The Institute of World Policy (2012: 106) also identifies him as leftist, writing that one of the "two sources of manpower known to Eduard Shevarnadze: former high-ranking Communist party leaders" such as "Otar Patsatsia, who served as the country's Prime Minister in the mid-90s, was a former Communist bureaucrat".

Years: 1995-1997

Head of government: Nikoloz Mikheilisdze Lekishvili

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Lekishvili's party affiliation as the Citizen's Union of Georgia (CUG/CU/Sak'art'velos Mokalaketa Kavshiri/SMK). DPI identifies CU's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 425) elaborates, writing that President Shevardnadze – whom Manzano (2017) identifies as leftist – "had sought to broaden his political base by launching the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG)". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies CU's ideology as centre-left. Nodia and Scholtbach (2006: 123) also identify CU as leftist, writing that "a number of parties have tried to occupy the left flank of the political spectrum. They view themselves as centre-left parties and identify themselves with Europian social democracy. Such was the case in Georgia with Shevarnadze's Citizens' Union". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Lekishvili's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.402) in 1995.

Years: 1998-1999

Head of government: Vazha Giorgisdze Lortkipanidze

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Lortkipanidze's party affiliation as the Citizen's Union of Georgia (CUG/CU / Sak'art'velos Mokalaketa Kavshiri / SMK). DPI identifies CU's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 425) elaborates, writing that President Shevardnadze – whom Manzano (2017) identifies as leftist – "had sought to broaden his political base by launching the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG)". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies CU's ideology as centre-left. Nodia and Scholtbach (2006: 123) also identify CU as leftist, writing that "a number of parties have tried to occupy the left flank of the political spectrum. They view themselves as centre-left parties and identify themselves with Europian social democracy. Such was the case in Georgia with Shevarnadze's Citizens' Union". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Lortkipanidze ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.402) in 1995 and "Center" (-0.195) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government's party's cohesion as "A high level of visible disagreement" in 1995 and 1999.

Years: 2000

Head of government: Giorgi Longinozovich Arsenishvili

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Turner (2001: 681) identifies Arsenishvili's party affiliation as the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG/CU), writing "Secretary of State: Giorgi Arsenishvili (Citizen's Union of Georgia; sworn in 11 May 2000". DPI identifies CU's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 425) elaborates, writing that President Shevardnadze – whom Manzano (2017) identifies as leftist - "had sought to broaden his political base by launching the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG)". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies CU's ideology as centre-left. Nodia and Scholtbach (2006: 123) also identify CU as leftist, writing that "a number of parties have tried to occupy the left flank of the political spectrum. They view themselves as centre-left parties and identify themselves with Europian social democracy. Such was the case in Georgia with Shevarnadze's Citizens' Union". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Arsenishvili's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.195) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government's party's cohesion as "A high level of visible disagreement" in 1999.

Years: 2001-2003

Head of government: Avtandil Khristoforovich Jorbenadze

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. East (2003: 139) identifies Jorbenadze's party affiliation as the Citizen's Union of Georgia (CUG/CU), writing that "Jorbenadze was elected leader of the pro-Shevardnadze CUG in June 2002". DPI identifies CU's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006: 425) elaborates, writing that President Shevardnadze – whom Manzano (2017) identifies as leftist – "had sought to broaden his political base by launching the Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG)". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies CU's ideology as centre-left. Nodia and Scholtbach (2006: 123) also identify CU as leftist, writing that "a number of parties have tried to occupy the left flank of the political spectrum. They view themselves as centre-left parties and identify themselves with Europian social democracy. Such was the case in Georgia with Shevarnadze's Citizens' Union". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Jorbenadze's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.195) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government's party's cohesion as "A high level of visible disagreement" in 1999.

Years: 2004

Head of government: Zurab Besarionisdze Zhvania

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2018: 530) identifies Zhvania's ideology as centrist, writing that "other components of the NMD included the United Democrats, a centrist group formed in June 2002 by former CUG leader and former speaker of the parliament Zurab Zhvania". Political Handbook (2018: 530) identifies Zhvania's party affiliation as the United Democrats. Perspective Monde (2019), however, identifies Zhvania's ideology as rightist. Jones (2006: 477) identifies Zhvania as centrist, writing that "[National Movement - Democrats] is a coalition of the United National Movement founded in October 2001 by Mikheil Saakashvili, the United Democrats led by Zurab Zhvania and Nino Burjunadze, the Union of National Solidarity, and members of the youth movement "Kmara." The bloc, though represented by a single faction in parliament, consists of two separate parliamentary parties, the United National Movement and the United Democrats. It is liberal and centrist, pro-European, pro-market, and reformist. In the March 2004 elections, it took a strong stand against corruption and urged increased pensions and radical reform of the state structures. Its platform focused on the "improvement of social welfare" and promised to address urgent social issues (pensions, minimum salaries, health care reform) that "are of vital importance for our population." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.356) in 2003. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "A high level of visible disagreement" in 2003.

Years: 2005-2006

Head of government: Zurab Teymurazovich Nogaideli

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as the United National Movement (*Ertiani Natsionaluri Modzraoba* – ENM). Nodia (2006: 123) identifies the United National Movement as rightist, writing that "four of the six parties, the United National Movement, the Conservative Party, the New Conservative Party, and Industry Will Save Georgia are centre-right parties". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Nogaideli's ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the United National Movement (UNM) as 8.4. Jones (2006: 477) identifies the United National Movement as centrist, writing that "[National Movement – Democrats] is a coalition of the United National Movement founded in October 2001 by Mikheil Saakashvili, the United Democrats led by Zurab Zhvania and Nino Burjunadze, the Union of National Solidarity, and members of the youth movement "Kmara." The bloc,

though represented by a single faction in parliament, consists of two separate parliamentary parties, the United National Movement and the United Democrats. It is liberal and centrist, pro-European, pro-market, and reformist. In the March 2004 elections, it took a strong stand against corruption and urged increased pensions and radical reform of the state structures. Its platform focused on the "improvement of social welfare" and promised to address urgent social issues (pensions, minimum salaries, health care reform) that "are of vital importance for our population." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.721) in 2004.

Years: 2007-2008

Head of government: Vladimer Gurgenidze

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2011: 511) identifies Gurgenidze's party affiliation as the United National Movement (UNM), writing that "Mgaloblishvili had successed Vladimer 'Lado' Gurgenidze [United National Movement]". Political Handbook (2011: 517) further identifies UNM's ideology as rightist, writing that "the center-right, nationalist UNM was founded in 2011". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the United National Movement (UNM) as 8.4. Jones (2006: 477) identifies the United National Movement as centrist, writing that "[National Movement -Democrats] is a coalition of the United National Movement founded in October 2001 by Mikheil Saakashvili, the United Democrats led by Zurab Zhvania and Nino Burjunadze, the Union of National Solidarity, and members of the youth movement "Kmara." The bloc, though represented by a single faction in parliament, consists of two separate parliamentary parties, the United National Movement and the United Democrats. It is liberal and centrist, pro-European, pro-market, and reformist. In the March 2004 elections, it took a strong stand against corruption and urged increased pensions and radical reform of the state structures. Its platform focused on the "improvement of social welfare" and promised to address urgent social issues (pensions, minimum salaries, health care reform) that "are of vital importance for our population." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.721) in 2004 and "Right" (1.728) in 2008.

Years: 2009-2011

Head of government: Nikoloz Gilauri

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2011: 511) identifies Gilauri's

party affiliation as the United National Movement (UNM), writing that "Nika Gilauri (United National Movement) was appointed by the president on January 30, 2009". Political Handbook (2011: 517) further identifies UNM's ideology as rightist, writing that "the center-right, nationalist UNM was founded in 2001". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the United National Movement (UNM) as 8.4. Jones (2006: 477) identifies the United National Movement as centrist, writing that "[National Movement – Democrats] is a coalition of the United National Movement founded in October 2001 by Mikheil Saakashvili, the United Democrats led by Zurab Zhvania and Nino Burjunadze, the Union of National Solidarity, and members of the youth movement "Kmara." The bloc, though represented by a single faction in parliament, consists of two separate parliamentary parties, the United National Movement and the United Democrats. It is liberal and centrist, pro-European, pro-market, and reformist. In the March 2004 elections, it took a strong stand against corruption and urged increased pensions and radical reform of the state structures. Its platform focused on the "improvement of social welfare" and promised to address urgent social issues (pensions, minimum salaries, health care reform) that "are of vital importance for our population." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.728) in 2008.

Years: 2012

Head of government: Bidzina Ivanishvili

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2018: 529) identifies Ivanishvili's party affiliation as the Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia (GD-DG), writing that "GD-DG was organized as a formal political party in April 2012 by Bidzina Ivanishvili and his supporters". Aprasidze (2016: 122) identifies GD-DG's ideology as leftist, writing that "Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia defines itself as a centre-left partyn, while its partners range ideologically from liberal via nationalist to mercantilist". Kakachia et al. (2017: 18, 13) identifies GD-DG as leftist, writing that "despite having a strong liberal wing, GD views itself as a centreleft party" and that "GD's economic profile corresponds to its ideological profile as a center-left party". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Ivanishvili's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (KODS), which is identified as leftist "center-left, social liberal, populist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Georgian Dream (GD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.808) in 2012.

Years: 2013-2014

Head of government: Irakli Garibashvili

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook (2018: 529) identifies Garibashvili's party affiliation as the Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia (GD-DG), writing that "[Ivanishvili] subsequently resigned as GD-DG chair in favor of new prime minister Irakli Garibashvili". Aprasidze (2016: 122) identifies GD-DG's ideology as leftist, writing that "Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia defines itself as a centre-left party, while its partners range ideologically from liberal via nationalist to mercantilist". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Garibashvili's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (KODS), which is identified as leftist "center-left, social liberal, populist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Georgian Dream (GD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.808) in 2012.

Years: 2015-2017

Head of government: Giorgi Kvirikashvili

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Turner (2016: 499) identifies Kvirikashvili's party affiliation as the Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia (GD-DG), writing that "on Dec. 2015 Georgian Dream named Kvirikashvili as Garibashvili's replacement as premier, and his candidature was confirmed in a parliamentary vote on 29 Dec." Aprasidze (2016: 122) identifies GD-DG's ideology as leftist, writing that "Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia defines itself as a centre-left party, while its partners range ideologically from liberal via nationalist to mercantilist". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Kvirikashvili's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (KODS), which is identified as leftist "center-left, social liberal, populist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Georgian Dream (GD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.808) in 2012 and "Center" (-0.365) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Some visible disagreement" in 2012 and 2016. DPI has no information on GD-DG.

Years: 2018

Head of government: Mamuka Bakhtadze

Ideology: leftist

Description: World Statesmen (2021) and Rulers (2021) identify Giorgi Gakharia instead of Mamuka Bakhtadze as head of government on December 31, 2019. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party affiliation. Political Handbook of the World (2019: 573) identifies Bakhtadze's party affiliation as Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia (GD-DG), writing "Prime Minister: Mamuka Bakhtadze (Georgian Dream)." Aprasidze (2016: 122) identifies GD-DG's ideology as leftist, writing that "Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia defines itself as a centre-left party, while its partners range ideologically from liberal via nationalist to mercantilist". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Bakhtadze's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (KODS), which is identified as leftist "center-left, social liberal, populist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Georgian Dream (GD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.365) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Some visible disagreement" in 2016. DPI has no information on GD-DG.

Years: 2019-2020

Head of government: Giorgi Gakharia

Ideology: leftist

Description: World Statesmen (2021) and Rulers (2021) identify Giorgi Gakharia instead of Mamuka Bakhtadze as head of government on December 31, 2019. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia (GD-DG). In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government's party ideology as "Center" (-0.365) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Some visible disagreement" in 2016. Aprasidze (2016: 122) identifies GD-DG's ideology as leftist, writing that "Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia defines itself as a centre-left party, while its partners range ideologically from liberal via nationalist to mercantilist". World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (KODS), which is identified as leftist "center-left, social liberal, populist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Georgian Dream (GD) as 4.6. DPI has no information on GD-DG.

## References:

Aprasidze, David. 2016. "25 Years of Georgia's Democratization". Tbilisi: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

East, Roger, Richard J. Thomas. 2003. Profiles of People in Power: The World's Government Leaders. London: Routledge.

- Hierman, Brent. 2018. *Russia and Eurasia 2018-2019*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Jones, Stephen F. 2006. Georgia. In: Neil Schlager and Jayne Weisblatt. World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties. Facts on File: 472-478.
- Jones, Stephen Francis. 2015. *Georgia: A Political History since Independence*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Kakachia Kornely, Bidzina Lebanidze, Joseph Larsen, Mariam Grigalashvili. 2017. The First 100 Days of the Georgian Dream Government: A Reality Check. Tbilisi: Georgian Institute of Politics.
- Kancheli, Teimuraz. 2012. "How to get rid of post-Sovietness?" The Institute of World Policy.
- Lansford, Thomas. 2006. Georgia. In: Political Handbook of the World 2005-2005. Washington: 423-432.
- Lansford, Thomas. 2011. Georgia. In: Political Handbook of the World 2011. Washington: 510-522.
- Lansford, Thomas. 2015. Georgia. In: Political Handbook of the World 2015. Washington: 521-533.
- Lansford, Thomas. 2019. Georgia. In: Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019. Washington: 573-586.
- Nodia, Gia, and Lvaro Pinto Scholtbach. 2006. *The Political Landscape of Georgia: Political Parties: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects*. Delft: Eburon.
- Norris, Pippa. 2020. Global Party Survey dataset. https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/GlobalPartySurvey
- Perspective Monde. 2019. "Georgia".
- Rulers. 2021. Georgia. http://rulers.org/rulg1.html#georgia
- Turner, Barry. 1991. The Statesman's Yearbook 2002: The Politics, Cultures and Economies of the World. 137th ed. London: Macmillan.
- Turner, Barry. 2005. The Statesman's Yearbook 2006: The Politics, Cultures and Economies of the World. 142nd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Turner, Barry. 2016. The Statesman's Yearbook 2017: The Politics, Cultures and Economies of the World. 1st ed. London: Macmillan.
- World Statesmen. 2021. Georgia. <a href="https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Georgia.html">https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Georgia.html</a>