



Civil Society and the Rose Revolution in Georgia

Publication of the International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation

Edited by George Khutsishvili

Written by (in Alphabetical Order):

Françoise J. Companjen

Tina Gogheliani

George Khutsishvili

Zurab Mkheidze

Rusudan Mshvidobadze

George Nizharadze

Heiko Nowak

Zaza Piralishvili

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Preamble (George Khutsishvili)	xi
Introduction (George Khutsishvili)	1
Chapter 1. Methodology and Hypotheses (Françoise Companjen, Rusudan Mshvidobadze, George Nizharadze)	15
Chapter 2. Revolution and Civil Society: Theoretical Framework (Tina Gogheliani and Heiko Nowak)	30
Chapter 3. Non-governmental Organizations in Georgia: Before and During the Rose Revolution (George Nizharadze and Françoise Companjen)	76
Chapter 4. The Ajara Case (George Nizharadze)	113
Chapter 5. Experts on Key Points of the Rose Revolution (Rusudan Mshvidobadze and Zurab Mkheidze)	125
Chapter 6. Mass-media Before and During the Rose Revolution (Rusudan Mshvidobadze)	179
Chapter 7. The Public Opinion on Civil Society in Georgia and the Rose Revolution (George Nizharadze)	213
Chapter 8. The Analysis of the Electronic Media (Zaza Piralishvili)	236
Chapter 9. Blank Spots (George Nizharadze)	270
Final Conclusions (George Khutsishvili)	278
Reflection (George Khutsishvili)	287
Annex 1 (Chronicle of Events)	294
Annex 2 (Experts data)	314
Annex 3 (Media data)	337
Annex 4 (Tables)	339
Annex 5 (Expert interview questions)	367
Annex 6 (Sociological Poll)	369

Acknowledgements

Research group of the project “The Role of Civil Society in Rose Revolution in Georgia” included representatives of the International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation (ICCN): Dr. George Khutsishvili (head of the group), Dr. George Nizharadze, Rusudan Mshvidobadze, Dr Tina Gogheliani (researchers), as well as Davit Kiphiani (consultant), and Zurab Mkheidze (invited researcher). Prof. Zaza Piralishvili (I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University) provided valuable contribution to the research and writing of the book, as well as Heiko Nowak (University of Tübingen, Germany), a former intern at ICCN . Valuable advice on development of methodology and the composition of the research work was done by the project international consultant Dr. Françoise Compañen (Free University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands) who has co-written chapters and participated in the editing work. Each part of the book has its own author(s), though all the contributors share general responsibility for the final product.

The research group extends thanks to all organizations and individuals without whose input the project implementation would have been impossible. The group extends deep gratitude to the Dutch foundation **Cordaid** for their partnership, organizational and financial support for the project. Special thanks to the members of the project Steering Committee: Irina Khantadze (chair), Dr. Ghia Nodia, Mikheil Chachkhunashvili, Dr. George Margvelashvili, Dr. Gigi Tevzadze, Dr. Tina Khidasheli, and Dr. Sandro Tvalchrelidze (members), for their valuable input and constructive collaboration at different critical points of the working process.

Our thanks to all interviewed respondents and experts for co-operation, to all interviewers and statisticians who worked on and processed the research materials; special thanks to the technical editors, translators – Ghia Chumburidze’s input should be specially highlighted here -- and proofreaders of the book - especially to Aniko Chabashvili et al. And of course, to the entire staff of the International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation (ICCN) who did their best to contribute to the successful implementation of the project.

Preamble

The present work is the product of almost a two-year intensive collective labour. The idea to create this book took shape when the euphoria around the Rose Revolution reached its peak – right after the almost unanimous election of Mikheil Saakashvili to the post of the President of Georgia on January 4, 2004. As an NGO we felt that this phenomenon needed to be understood from the point of view of civil society, particularly the non-governmental sector. Even at that time the lack of such literature was evident. Negotiations with donors finally resulted in the interest shown by and the agreement achieved with the Dutch non-governmental foundation “Cordaid” (formerly known as “Caritas”) to support a large-scale research (both qualitative and quantitative) on the role of civil society towards the Georgian revolution. At the suggestion of the foundation, certain persons and organizations were outlined for cooperation with

our working group, in order to achieve certain representativeness, as well as cogency of the work results. That is how the project Steering Committee has formed. Gradually we also determined the time period to be covered by our research: from the processes preceding and having an impact on the revolution, right up to the moment when the revolutionary plan started to malfunction. By the time the project documentation and the working plan were to be finally approved (June 2004), the bloodless revolution in Ajara had already been accomplished and the public was waiting for the results of the venturesome project of applying a similar scenario to South Ossetia. Now we already know what the result was. This is why our research covers the period starting from a few months before the Revolution and up to June 2004, and the Batumi events are the last case study of it. We hope that the results of our study will be of interest to both scholars and international organizations operating in the post-Soviet area.