



PARTY BANS IN GEORGIA - POSSIBLE SCENARIOS **BASED ON FUTURE FORESIGHT METHODOLOGY**

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Context

The current government of Georgia employed numerous tactics to contain the large-scale protests that began on November 28, 2024. The ruling party resorted to violent measures against demonstrators, intimidation, smear campaigns, and even arrested politicians,¹ while imposing hefty fines for blocking roads.² Yet, despite all this, the protests could not be suppressed. On October 14, the main avenue of Georgia's capital, Tbilisi, was blocked for the 321st time.

According to interviews reported in the Georgian media, representatives of the ruling party are deeply concerned about the prolonged blocking of the central roads and have introduced new sanctions in response. Specifically, this includes the possibility of imprisonment. The ruling party, Georgian Dream, has initiated a bill stipulating that blocking roads and wearing masks at demonstrations could be punishable by 15 to 20 days in detention.³

At the same time, Georgian Dream appears to intend on consolidation of authoritarianism in Georgia. On October 15, Parliament approved in its first reading a legislative package that would prohibit certain individuals from engaging in party activities, holding political office, or participating in elections. Under the proposed changes, if a political party is dissolved by the Constitutional Court, its members and associated individuals would no longer have the right to participate in elections—they would be barred from running for seats in Parliament or local municipalities. Additionally, they would lose the ability to hold leadership positions

1 <https://publika.ge/40-ngo-politikuri-liderebis-dapatimreba-morigi-nabijia-diqtaturisken>

2 <https://bm.ge/news/jarima-gzis-gadaketvaze-5000-lari-sul-ramden-pirs-aqvs-saqartveloshi-4800-larze-meti-khelfasi>

3 <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/amp/33558853.html>

in any constitutional body and could not join other political parties. Supporters of other parties would also be excluded from participation. Moreover, parties whose members have engaged in these prohibited activities would face criminal liability under the "Criminal Code on Crimes Against the State," including fines and imprisonment.⁴

Earlier, on May 13, 2025, Georgian Dream passed a law in its third reading that, according to them, ensures the ban of the "Collective National Movement." As a result, the Constitutional Court of Georgia gained the authority to use simplified procedures to prohibit any party whose declared objectives or core activities—including its membership—substantially replicate those of an already banned party.⁵

Initially, Georgian Dream had planned to ban parties in April, but they postponed it for several months. A few months ago, they stated that they wanted voters themselves to "deliver the verdict" in this year's local elections before filing the corresponding constitutional petition.⁶

Overall, it all started with Bidzina Ivanishvili's rhetoric, when, in 2024, one month before the parliamentary elections, he appealed to voters for maximum support in order to secure a constitutional majority and pave the way for banning parties.⁷ Leaving the issue of legality of such procedure on the side, as it will be addressed in a later insight, this Insight focuses on the possible future scenarios developed based on the Future Foresight methodology.

⁴ <https://publika.ge/ocnebam-i-mosmenit-miigho-pirebistvis-politikuri-saqmianobis-akrdzalvis-shesakheb-kanonproeti>

⁵ <https://bm.ge/news/individebis-politikuri-saqmianobis-akrdzalvis-shesakheb-otsnebis-initsiativa-konstitutsiastan-sheusabamoasaia>

⁶ https://www.resonancedaily.com/index.php?id_rub=2&id_artc=225782

⁷ <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33120111.html>

Possible Expectations

We present six possible scenarios that help shed light on the ruling party's move.

1. Ban on All Political Parties - Full Authoritarianism

Over the past two years, the Georgian Parliament has begun passing repressive laws. In this context, the initiation of the aforementioned legislation could serve one primary purpose: to eliminate the possibility of political activity in Georgia, which would require banning all active politicians and parties. Signs of authoritarianism are already evident in the country, and this move could mark the final step in consolidating the power of a single party—an outcome long sought by the country's informal ruler, Bidzina Ivanishvili. A clear example of such a scenario can be seen in many authoritarian countries, including Uzbekistan, under Islam Karimov,⁸ Russia,⁹ Belarus,¹⁰ Venezuela.¹¹

2. Manufacturing a Confrontation

A representative of Georgian Dream said the list of the Georgian politicians to be banned from taking office will run into the hundreds. It's possible the ruling party will ban some people from political activity while leaving others untouched — those who enjoy some goodwill among the public. That would serve a single purpose: to sow doubt about anyone left off the list. People who aren't included would be accused of a secret deal with the ruling party, which would trigger mutual attacks and accusations. Georgian Dream could then exploit that chaos for propaganda. Similar events developed recently in Venezuela.

8 <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Islam-Karimov>

9 https://www.russian-election-monitor.org/foreign-agent-filter-for-parliamentary-opposition.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com

3. Clearing the Political Field for New Forces, supported by Bidzina Ivanishvili

In 2024, Bidzina Ivanishvili gave an extensive interview to the TV company Imedi, where he spoke about the potential emergence of new forces. He stated on air: “You will have a choice afterward. You will have the choice not of Georgian Dream, but to choose something similar or better. This is the situation we will create for the next elections.”¹² Similar message has been repeated by the affiliates for the GD, including MP Viktor Japaridze as well as long time family friend and now MP Eka Chichinadze.¹³

The ban on parties may serve precisely this purpose: to ensure the creation of a controlled opposition that can later overcome barriers and secure seats in Parliament in the 2028 or possible early elections. Notably, just a few days ago, Ivanishvili’s former lawyer, Viktor Kipiani, announced his entry into politics.¹⁴

4. The End of the “Bloody Nine Years” Narrative

Since 2012, Georgian Dream has consistently relied on the rhetoric of the previous government, the National Movement, and the so-called “Bloody Nine Years.” The party’s long stay in power has been largely due to this approach, as they know that parts of Georgian society still carry traumas and fears from the previous administration. Georgian Dream used this effectively for public relations purposes and continues to do so.

In the past year, alongside the “Bloody Nine Years” narrative, the ruling party introduced the “Deep State” rhetoric, attributing responsibility for all actions to this entity. Georgian Dream might now drop the “Bloody Nine Years” rhetoric and instead ban all individuals connected to the previous government from political activity. This could signal a move towards a new discourse basis for propaganda, possibly solely based on West v. Georgian sovereignty dichotomy.

10 https://csometer.info/updates/belarus-launches-campaign-forced-liquidation-political-parties?utm_source=chatgpt.com

11 https://apnews.com/article/venezuela-opposition-candidate-ban-machado-maduro-ed68b5d422e454371186c745046ebd75?utm_source=chatgpt.com

12 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjYPdzVumzY>

13 <https://www.youtube.com/shorts/1I07YQCvZFU>

14 <https://kvirispalitra.ge/article/137729-viktor-qipiani-politikashi-modis-am-rezhimshi-politikuri-cxovrebis-gagrzeleba-kraxit-dasruldeba-da-sheuzlebeli-mgonia-4-oktombris-movlenebi-gare-charevis-gareshe-momxdariqo>

5. Controlling a Discourse

Georgian Dream's governance relies on bringing up irrelevant topics that have nothing to do with actual issues, hijack and dominate political discourse. As a result, the entire political spectrum and media end up following Georgian Dream's agenda, which benefits the ruling party. A clear¹⁵ example is the impeachment process against former President Salome Zourabichvili, which was obviously not going to produce results and was artificially introduced by Georgian Dream. It is well known that the government fully controls the Constitutional Court, and they could continue to talk about this issue for months while, in reality, putting it on hold.

6. Bargaining with EU and the United States

At present, relations between Georgia and its partner countries are tense. New sanctions are reportedly in the works, including measures aimed at senior officials. The Social Democrats' group has urged the European Parliament to revoke visa-free access to the EU for roughly 1,000 to 2,000 Georgian officials and their family members. The faction's foreign policy coordinator, Nacho Sánchez Amor, made these remarks during a briefing in Brussels on Monday, October 13.¹⁶ Last month, EU Commissioner for Enlargement Marta Kos visited Armenia and Azerbaijan from September 18 to 20, but did not visit Georgia.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the "MEGOBARI Act," a bill related to Georgia that would impose sanctions on the ruling Georgian Dream party,¹⁸ is currently on hold. It is possible that Bidzina Ivanishvili intends, for some gain, not to implement this decision and use this topic for negotiation with the EU.

15 <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32620743.html>

16 <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33559445.html>

17 <https://publika.ge/marta-kosi-18-20-seqtembers-somkhetsa-da-azerbajianshi-chava-saqartveloshi-ara>

18 <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33407415.html>

Conclusion

The situation in Georgia is alarming. In any case, it is essential for active members of society to anticipate and assess developments in advance so as not to find themselves in the same situation as on October 4 in Georgia, when discussions began only after the events had already occurred — something that negatively affected the political process.

The scenarios outlined above will help them respond appropriately to each possible development and avoid ending up in a political deadlock.

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