



გეოპოლიტიკური კვლევების საერთაშორისო ცენტრი



International Centre for Geopolitical Studies



## Report of the Civil Manifesto Group

To Know! To Participate! To influence!



Tbilisi  
2009

Conceptualization and editing:

**Civil Manifesto Group**

5 Organizations Conducted Public Opinion Polls: Caucasus Women's Network (Coordinator), Human Rights Priority, International Center on Conflict and Negotiation, Public Movement Multinational Georgia, Center for the Protection of Constitutional Rights.

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# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Participating organizations</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Project Summary</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Activities</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Monitoring results</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Results of the Public Opinion Polls</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Other Analytical Materials</b>	<b>33</b>

# Introduction

Current edition is result of the activities of the Civil Manifesto Group – Group of NGOs which has been created on 10th of April 2009 in response to the political confrontation in the country.

Civil Manifesto which united the group is simple: To Know! To Participate! To Influence! These actions are in our view rights and obligations of every citizen of Georgia.

We, representatives of the civil society organizations of Georgia, being dedicated to the principles of non-partisanship, respect for human rights and diversity of opinions as well as culture of non-violence and civil responsibility, considered as our personal and professional duty to take direct part in the resolution of the political crisis emerged in the country.

We saw genuine role of the civil society not in simple protest but in obtaining of vision of the own future in line with establishment of the human and development values. That is why today we not only act as watchdogs of democracy and human rights but as ordinary citizens of the country striving for peace and public accord. We see our role in enhancement of the political and civil culture of the constructive action, but not of confrontation in sake of confrontation or mechanical change of political leaders.

We also believe that citizens have right to receive clear information from any political group about their vision of the country development and, what is more, have right to influence these visions.

With all mentioned above in a view group of civil society organizations were intended to:

- ✎ Act as a resource in order to contribute to the mediation of the conflict in a way allowing to establish long-lasting public accord and direct participation of citizens in decision-making processes,
- ✎ Collaboration with the international organizations to promote stability in Georgia
- ✎ Carry out complex non-partisan monitoring of the realization of right of Georgian citizens for peaceful assembly and activities of the all subjects responsible for the guaranteeing and protection of this right
- ✎ Provide space for the reflection of the opinion of citizens on the possible ways of resolution of political crisis
- ✎ Promote dissemination of the balanced and precise information about situation in Georgia

All these tasks have been achieved to the different extents during the last four months. Edition presents to the audience results of the working meetings, monitoring, expert interviews, surveys of public opinion and recommendations developed by the members of the Civil Manifesto. However, what is more important given report will not only serve as a source of balanced information about human rights situation and conditions of the confrontation between government and opposition in Georgia, but also as a commitment of the civil society organizations to act on further involvement of the citizens in the mainstream political processes, on raising of legitimacy of political commitments and solutions, on launching of the informed public discussion about future of Georgia.

# Participating organizations

(in alphabetical order)

Idea of the Civil Manifesto served as basis for the uniting of the efforts and resources of the NGOs of different profiles working with different target groups, who are able to provide legal aid, advocacy activities at the national and international levels, work with mass media, public opinion research, surveys, mediation, regional outreach and awareness rising.

## **Caucasus Women's Network**

**Chairwoman: Nina Tsikhistavi**

One of the leading women's organizations in Georgia, specialized in the research and advocacy for gender equality, women's rights and other important social issues. Actively works on enhancement of the political participation of women, raising their awareness, civil and legal literacy.

[www.cwn.ge](http://www.cwn.ge)

## **Center for Protection of Constitutional Rights,**

**Chairman: Koba Bochorishvili**

The overall objective of the organization is the protection of human rights and freedoms that are guaranteed by the Georgian Constitution and international human rights instruments. The CPCPR's goal is to develop a legal culture and legal institutions that will protect human rights in Georgia and the education of the legal profession and the population at large about human and constitutional rights in Georgia, also to back the process of building the legal state and rule of law.

[www.cpcr.ge](http://www.cpcr.ge)

## **Egalitarian Institute**

**Chairwoman: Nino Petriashvili**

Egalitarian Institute from its founding date until today is a group of citizens of Georgia and other countries united by the common interest and goal to combat any kind of violence. One of the major tasks of the organization is combating human rights violations, including social and environmental rights, right for life and whole number of other rights and freedoms. The main principle of the organization is dedication to the values of non-violence.

<http://www.tanasworoba.org.ge/>

<http://egalitarian.ge/>

## **International Center for Conflict and Negotiations**

**Chairman: George Khutsishvili**

International Center on Conflict and Negotiation is a truly independent, not-for-profit and non-partisan peace-making, research and training institution, one of the leading non-governmental organizations in the Caucasus. In 1994 ICCN has formed into an NGO registered in Georgia. Since then ICCN plays an active role in peace-building and civil society-building in Georgia and the Caucasus region.

[www.iccn.ge](http://www.iccn.ge)

## **"International Center for Geopolitical Studies"**

**Chairman: Tengiz Pkhaladze**

International Center for Geopolitical Studies is an-governmental, noncommercial organization

promoting the geopolitical security of Georgia as well as the political and economic development of the county and its integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. To this end the center: gathers, studies and analyzes the necessary information on policy, economics, human rights as well as in social-environmental, cultural-educational and other spheres; provides monitoring over the fulfillment of Georgia's international commitments; develops special program; engages in scientific-research and educational activity; cooperates with analytical centers around the globe, local and international governmental and non-governmental organizations and private entities; formulates conclusions and recommendations.

### **"Law for People"**

**Chairman: Zakaria Kutsnashvili**

Mission of the Association is to create fair legal environment. Among the main goals of activity directions of the Association are: raise awareness of the citizens about legal issues and level of their legal literacy; ensure participation of the public in the law making process and policy development; promotion of the provisions of the international law and harmonization of the national legislation with the international standards.

[www.lawforpeople.ge](http://www.lawforpeople.ge)

### **Network for Protection of Constitutional Rights**

**Chairman: Aleksi Shoshikelashvili**

Organization has been created in year 2002 by the lawyers residing in Telavi region. The main goal of the organization is monitoring of the human rights situation in the Kakheti region, as well as rising of level of civil and legal literacy of the local public and enhancement of its participation. Organization is also actively

involved in the process of policy development mainstreaming antidiscrimination and human rights discourse. Organization is active in political and legal research and development of the policy options in the field of own expertise.

### **Public Movement "Multinational Georgia"**

**Chairman: Arnold Stepanian**

Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" (PMMG) – civil movement which has been created in year 1999 uniting citizens of Georgia representing different ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups residing in Georgia. PMMG – is umbrella organization which provides resource support and cooperates with the representatives of the more than 18 diaspora and 56 grass-root NGOs working in the field protection of rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups residing in Georgia.

[www.pmmg.org.ge](http://www.pmmg.org.ge)

[www.minorityvoice.ge](http://www.minorityvoice.ge)

### **Union "21st Century"**

**Chairman: Paata Gachechiladze**

The Union "Century 21" is founded as non-political, non-profit, non-governmental organisation in December, 1998. Through the permanent programmes and ad hoc activities the organisation address challenges of the democracy building process in Georgia.

The organisation conducts monitoring and research work, organizes various non-formal educational activities, issues publications and provides consultative work in areas of its expertise.

[www.century21.ge](http://www.century21.ge)

# Project Summary

Efforts of the Civil Manifesto group have been kindly supported by the Open Society Georgia Foundation within the framework of the project "Civil Manifesto: striving for civil participation and public accord". Given edition is part of the mentioned project.

**Objectives of the project** "Civil Manifesto: striving for civil participation and public accord":

## Long-termed objectives:

- ✎ contribute to the enhancement of the political and civil culture of the constructive action and non-violent protest striving for consensus and diversity of opinions
- ✎ foster creation of the additional channels for the informational exchange between political elite and civil society

## Immediate objectives:

- ✎ Act as a resource in order to contribute to the mediation of the conflict in a way allowing to establish long-lasting public accord and direct participation of citizens in decision-making processes
- ✎ Cooperate with the international organizations to promote stability in Georgia
- ✎ Carry out complex non-partisan monitoring of the realization of right of Georgian citizens for peaceful assembly and activities of the all subjects responsible for the guaranteeing and protection of this right
- ✎ Provide space for the reflection of the opinion of citizens on the possible ways of resolution of political crisis

- ✎ Promote dissemination of the balanced and precise information about situation in Georgia

Main activities of the project prescribed:

## 1. Monitoring of the situation and independent investigation of the cases

Analyzing and assembling of the information from different sources ("Civil Defender", Public Defender Office, MIA, international organizations, political parties, local correspondents (Kakheti, Shida-Kartli, Kvemo-Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Imereti, Samegrelo) will be done and disseminated among international organizations, NGOs, mass media etcetera. The most serious cases identified by all currently acting monitoring groups will be continuously monitored with regard to the necessary reaction of the responsible parties, namely law enforcement authorities and national human rights protection institutions. Information on the progress of the cases will be systematically assembled and disseminated. Working meetings between representatives of the human rights protection organizations and law enforcement will be organized. Public attention will be attracted to the cases, providing space for independent civil investigation and preventing mutual accusations of the parties in partisanship or corruption.

## 2. Public outreach

- ✎ Organization of the phone public opinion surveys in Tbilisi and regions of Georgia (regional centers) in order to identify and popularize public opinion

of the different aspects of the resolution of the political crisis and other issues important for the civil society of Georgia.

- ✎ Receiving of calls from the citizens and recording of their opinions and propositions. Monitoring of the mass-media (Public Broadcaster, main print and electronic mass-media) through phone surveys of the audience in Tbilisi and regions of Georgia.

### 3. Civil Mediation

- ✎ Work with international organizations and diplomatic corps in Georgia – organization of the working meetings with representatives of the international organizations in the framework of the their mandate working in the field of the project focus by means of the round-table discussions and informal meetings
- ✎ Regular dissemination of the consolidated reports among international decision-makers (Council of Europe, UN bodies, OCE/ODIHR)

- ✎ Creation of the mapping of the existing proposals on resolution of the political crisis made by different political groups, government and experts with analytical evaluation of the proposed options and its combinations (coincidence within the proposals), which will allow to see common trends for the possible dialogue between different political and civil forces. Given work will be contribution of the applicant torganization.

- ✎ Work with national decision-makers/ work with citizens, including delivering of the results of the regional and capital-based public opinion surveys to the representatives of the government and opposition, organization of the channels for the information exchange between citizens and political elite through round-tables in the capital and three previously selected regions of Georgia, as well as through airs on local and central television.

# Activities

Activities of the Civil Manifesto included several main patterns among which:

- ✎ Monitoring and expert interviews
- ✎ Public Opinion Surveys
- ✎ Working meetings with the stakeholders of political process
- ✎ Meetings with the public in the regions of Georgia and TV shows at the regional TV Stations
- ✎ Informing of the public

## Monitoring and expert interviews

Results of the monitoring and expert interviews conducted and assembled by the members of the Civil Manifesto on the most actual topics of the ongoing public discussion are presented in the following sections of the given edition. Monitoring of the situation was based on the combination of different sources of information and focused on the basic human rights and freedoms (freedom of movement, freedom from illegal detention, and freedom of assembly etcetera). Each case within the monitoring section has been double-checked through number of different sources.

## Public Opinion Surveys

3 public opinion surveys have been conducted in order to identify and popularize public opinion of the different aspects of the resolution of the political crisis and other issues important for the civil society of Georgia. Phone surveys were based on the random sampling from the open

phone number base (interval 170 numbers). There were three groups of the questions. Three questions for each cycle are selected. Questions are closed. First cycle of questions was dedicated to the general evaluation of the political crisis. The second was dedicated to the evaluation of the actions of the government and opposition. Third cycle was dedicated to the extent of fair coverage of the events in the mass media.

## Working meetings with the stakeholders of political process and their consolidation

Despite of number of working meetings and press-conferences carried out by the Civil Manifesto the following ones can be considered as milestone events

## **Creation of the Civil Society Trust Group**

On 6th of May 2009 at the Tbilisi Marriott Hotel the civil society meeting was held to discuss current political situation and to elect a group – Trust Group from the representatives of civil society organizations, independent experts, coalitions and unities. The meeting was organized by Civil Manifesto.

The aim of the Trust Group is to act as the ad hock CS group and influence on the current situation, political crisis, to foster dialogue using all peaceful, non- violent ways.

## **The Civil Society Trust Group Members were elected:**

- ✎ Amaglobeli Rati
- ✎ Areshidze Mamuka
- ✎ Gachechiladze Paata

- ✎ Khidasheli Tamara
- ✎ Khutsishvili George
- ✎ Kutsnashvili Zakaria
- ✎ Moroshkina Lali
- ✎ Naneishvili Temuri
- ✎ Nikoleishvili Gela
- ✎ Pkhaladze Tengiz
- ✎ Rusetski Alexander
- ✎ Sakvarelidze Ramaz
- ✎ Shoshikelashvili Alex
- ✎ Stepanian Arnold
- ✎ Tsihistavi Nina

**List of the participants organizations:**

1. Association "Georgian Youth Action for Human Rights"
2. Association for the Free Development and Human Rights Protection
3. Caucasus Women's Network
4. Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights
5. Center on Youth Initiatives Promotion
6. Coalition for Democracy
7. Constitutional Rights Protection Center
8. Constitutional Rights Protection Network
9. Egalitarian Institute
10. Eurasia Foundation
11. European Choice
12. Foundation "Multiethnic Resource Centre for Civic Education Development"
13. Georgian Academy
14. Georgian Helsinki Citizens Assembly
15. Georgian Young Lawyers Association
16. House of Free Opinion (Including 12 Chambers)
17. Human Rights Priority
18. Independent Expert Club
19. International Center for Geopolitical Studies
20. International Center on Conflict and Negotiation
21. International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy
22. Justice and Freedom
23. Law for People
24. Lawyers Independent Trade Union
25. League of Disabled People
26. Open Society Georgian Foundation
27. Public Defender's Office
28. Public Diplomacy Center
29. Public Movement Multinational Georgia
30. Union "Multiethnic Forum – Students' Initiatives"
31. Union "Youth of Nationalities of Georgia"
32. Union 21st Century
33. Young Journalists Association "New Vision"

### 34. Youth Union of Public Movement "Multinational Georgia"

Since then Trust Group is actively involved in the resolution of the political crisis in the country and acts as powerful expert resource.

#### **Open Dialogue with the Diplomatic Corps**

On May 8, the members of the Civil Manifesto and "Trust Group" met with the representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Georgia (Italy, Belgium, France and others).

The meeting participants have talked about the current situation in Georgia and the possible ways to overcome the existing political standoff. The members of the "Trust Group" have informed the invited guests about their plans and expressed their willingness to obtain the support from the diplomatic corps in order to jointly search for the ways to improve the situation. The meeting participants have also talked about the existing political regime and touched upon those violations of human rights aroused as a result of the clash between the police and opposition activists which took place in the vicinity of the Tbilisi Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia on May 6. The meeting participants have expressed their dissatisfaction towards the foreign media sources considering their media coverage as non objective and partial.

The members of the "Trust Group" have informed the invited guests about the activities as well as the results of the public survey carried out within the framework of the "Civil Manifesto". The invited guests have underlined the fact that despite some reforms carried out in the country the situation regarding the assurance of justice and the protection of human rights still remains a serious problem and the current situation has reached the political impasse. Despite all the facts underlined above the representatives of the diplomatic corps considered it inexpedient

to interfere in the domestic issues of Georgia. According to them it is up to Georgians to shape the fate and destiny of their country.

#### **Presentation of the Civil Society Requirements to the Conduct of Political Parties**

Given event was dedicated to the presentation and discussion of the expert work led by Zakaria Kutsnashvili and dedicated to the formulation of the requirements on the Code of Conduct of political parties, ways and forms of their interaction with civil society, obligations of the political parties within the current political situation, culture of the constructive action.

Their ideas in the field have been also presented by other experts including Tengiz Pkhaladze and George Khutsishvili. Discussion of the responsibility of the political parties and mechanisms of the interaction between them and NGOs are rather rare within the Georgian expert spectrum. Given meeting launched new direction in the political parties' and civil society discourse.

#### Meetings with the public in the regions of Georgia and TV shows at the regional TV Stations

In 2009 the representatives of "Civil Manifesto" took part in the talk show "Dialogue" organized by "Batumi TV 25". The topic of talk show was: "the political crisis and the ways allowing its resolution".

In the first part of the Studio "Dialogue" the members of the "Civil Manifesto" talked about the goals and objectives of the "Civil Manifesto" as the initiative of Non Governmental organizations. Moreover, they have presented the results of the survey carried out in Tbilisi highlighting the populations' opinion regarding the ongoing political process as well as the protest rally underway in Tbilisi since 9 April of the current year. The results of the monitoring carried out by "Civil Manifesto" on

the violations revealed during the protest rallies and manifestations from 9 April onwards have also been discussed in the TV programme.

Particular attention has been devoted to the analyses of the envisaged constitutional changes as well as its political and legal evaluations and consequences during the proceeding of the programme.

The second part of the programme has been devoted to the "Group of Trust" as the holder of trust handed over by the civil society initiated on 5 May, 2009 by the members of the "Civil Manifesto" and its role in the peaceful overcoming of the political standstill.

The members of "Civil Manifesto" talked about the formation of "Group of Trust", its members and the necessities forcing the creation of the "Group of Trust".

Particular attention has been devoted to the consideration of those requests submitted to the authorities as a result of consultations and deliberations carried out with the representatives of Parliamentary and non Parliamentary opposition as well as other representatives of society. The requests have stipulated the necessity for the creation of healthy environment for resumption of societal trust and peaceful resolution of the existing political situation.

The members of "Civil Manifesto" answered to the questions posed by the viewers having the chance to ask questions to the guests by the phone during the conduct of the TV programme.

### **"Civil Manifesto" meeting in Telavi**

The meeting has been held with the representatives of NGO sector in Telavi office of

the "Center for the Protection of Constitutional Rights".

The three representatives of "Civil Manifesto" Alexander Shoshikelashvili, Zakharia Kutsnashvili and Mikheil Kachkachishvili have participated in the TV programme in a dialogue format organized by the Telavi TV company "Tanamgzavri". The topic for the programme was the civic participation in the ongoing public-political affairs and its role in the democratic development of the state.

### Informing of the public

Civil manifesto group was actively informing public about situation in the country. It has been done through two web-resources:

<http://www.civilmanifest.blogspot.com>  
[www.pmmg.org.ge](http://www.pmmg.org.ge)

The most important news and monitoring updates have been disseminated through list serve among international organizations, NGOs, mass media outlets.

Cooperation with media was ensured, Civil Manifesto information has been distributed through TV Channels "Maestro", "Imedi", "Kavkasia", "Rustavi-2" and radio "Liberty". Cooperation has been established with Association of the Local and Regional TV Broadcasters.

Civil Manifesto provided permanent informational support and update on the situation to the international organizations and entities Council of Europe Informational Office, OSCE/ODIHR, Frontline Defenders, PACE members, network "Young Europe".

# Monitoring results

## Main norms related to freedom of assembly and manifestations

According to point 1 of Article 25 of the Constitution of Georgia "Everyone, except members of the armed forces and Ministry of Internal Affairs, has the right to public assembly without arms either indoors or outdoors without prior permission".

According to Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association".

Article 21 of the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights recognizes the right to freedom of assembly, which implies the right of any group of people to freedom of peaceful assembly either indoors or outdoors.

Point 1 of Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights, everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

According to the Law on Assembly and Manifestations, "Assembly" means gathering of a group of citizens either indoors or outdoors, as well as manifestation in public areas to express solidarity or protest. Moreover, the mentioned law concedes a possibility for citizens to gather in public, without arms either indoors or outdoors, without prior permission.

It should be especially noted, that according to Article 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights, a state-party must protect rights and freedoms set out in the Convention. The definition of Article 1 of the Convention implies negative, as well as positive obligation of a state-party, i.e. a state-party is bound to not only avoid

violations of human rights and freedoms, but also ensure implementation of these rights and freedoms and their protection from any action of a third state. Otherwise, the responsibility will be laid upon the state-part in question.

The European Court judgment of 1988 on "Doctors for life" against Austria may be considered as an example of the mentioned positive obligations, in the context of implementation of the right to freedom of assembly and manifestation. The doctors protested against abortion practice through demonstrations, when the supporters of abortion started to cast eggs at demonstrators and tried to overlay the demonstration with audio-amplifiers. The police interfered only after there appeared danger of physical confrontation.

On the mentioned case, the European Court indicated in its judgment, that Article 11 of the Convention demands, when necessary, to undertake positive actions, including with respect to relations among individuals, if proved necessary.

The above judgment clearly defines the limits of the obligation laid upon the state-party to secure human rights. The state-part is bound unilaterally by the positive obligation to ensure peaceful demonstration and its protection from any ideological opponent.

Thus Article 11 of the Convention foresees negative, as well as positive obligations of the state structures, which include obligation of the said structures to ensure security of the participants of demonstrations, as well as create guarantees and mechanisms allowing them, enjoy their rights.

Article 8 of the Law on Police may be considered to reflect the mentioned positive obligation of a state, which says that the police must render, within its competence, due assistance to other state structures and citizens and ensure security of participants of rallies, demonstrations and other public measures.

### General Overview

#### a) Methodology

Coalition "Civil Manifesto" and its 11 member organizations started observation of developments, prior to the mass protest rallies. For this purpose, the Coalition formed working groups composed of legal experts and human rights defenders. We gained information directly from protestants, separate activists and those relating to different movements, political unions and mass media. During recent period, polls were conducted and the majority of persons were questioned, who were injured during the period of rallies. These persons include mainly activist of non-parliamentary political opposition parties, members of the youth movements "April 9" and "Ratom" ("WHY"), as well as active participants of rallies.

The Coalition closely cooperated with the Offices of the Public Defender and Social Defender, as well as representatives of trade unions of Lawyers, who also conducted monitoring of the events and offered free legal assistance to victims of violence.

We also received information on reactions on the part of the law-enforcement bodies on the incidents.

The report includes almost all facts of violence, having taken place from April 8 to April 30, which we deem entirely sufficient to have a general picture of what happened and make a respective analysis.

### General Conclusion

Having summed up and processed the received information, the Coalition is entitled to state the following:

✎ From the start of mass rallies, there were cases of unlawful arrest of opposition-minded citizens, especially representatives of non-parliamentary opposition parties, biased court proceedings and judgments;

✎ There were cases of well-organized and mobilized "punitive" groups constantly, especially during night hours, assaulting the protestants, kidnapping and beating them, causing them physical injuries, humiliating them, destroying their property and intimidating protestants;

✎ Instead of protecting the victims and arresting the offenders, the patrol police, in the best cases, did not interfere in such incidents or, in the worst cases, contributed, by their enactment or acts, to the assailants in their activities;

✎ There is a serious doubt, that the mentioned groups were formed by the Government and in some cases they were composed of staff of different services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;

✎ In some cases, private as well as high rank police officers were involved in unlawful actions against rally participants. Hence, they were not representing the law-enforcement system, but unconditional guards of the politically committed Government;

✎ The mentioned doubt grows even serious, considering that, as of May 6, no qualified and adequate reaction followed any act of violence committed against protestants on the part of the law-enforcement agencies, none of the suspects were arrested, even if there are clear evidences to solve the cases and arrest the suspects, e.g. photo or

video-material, testimonies of the victims, which clearly identify assailants and their cars that form the basis of starting criminal prosecution.

- ✎ The Tbilisi Municipality has not undertaken any action to meet demands (needs) of the protestants'
- ✎ There were cases of preventing (blocking) the transport movements from some places, especially the regions, and/or intimidation of owners of transport facilities, to prevent them from transporting the local population to Tbilisi in order to join the rally;
- ✎ In some cases, especially in the beginning of rallies, there were incidents of cutting electricity supply to consumers, which causes doubts of trying to have the population in information vacuum;

Thus, based on the general analysis of the above mentioned, there are indications of violations of human rights and freedoms foreseen by the Criminal Code of Georgia, in particular:

1. According to Article 161 of the Criminal Code (violation of the right to freedom of assembly and manifestations) a crime subject to criminal responsibility is unlawful action preventing enjoying the right to freedom of assembly and manifestations or participation in such measures by use force, threat to use force or exercising one's authority;
2. According to article 166 of the same Code (preventing establishment of political, public or religious unions or their functioning) a crime subject to criminal responsibility is preventing establishment of political, public or religious unions or their functioning by use of force, threat to use force of exercising one's authority;
3. The side-crimes should be noted, which follow the above crimes. These are crimes

defined in the Criminal Code against one's health, in particular: article 177 of the Criminal Code – grave injury caused deliberately to one's health; Article 118 – less grave injury caused deliberately caused to one's health; Article 120 – light injury caused deliberately to one's health; Article 125 – beating;

4. Some representatives of the law-enforcement structures witnessed several facts of violence, but they did not react to those actions. The said indicates to negligence of their duties, which according to Article 342 of the Criminal Code constitutes a penal offense; in particular, negligent performance of duties, i.e. non-performance or improper performance of duties by an official or a person having an equal status, out of negligence attitude, causing significant violation of rights of a physical or a legal entity, as well as lawful interests of society and the state.

Considering all the above mentioned, it may be concluded that:

- ✎ During rallies on April 9 and the following period, violations were committed against the right to freedom of assembly and manifestations;
- ✎ Violation of this right were committed by means and methods bearing threat to lives and health of citizens;
- ✎ In some cases, people were unlawfully detained or kidnapped, and their private property was destroyed;
- ✎ A person's honor and dignity were offended;
- ✎ The citizens' right to freedom of movement was violated;
- ✎ The right to freedom of information was not ensured;

✎ The right to freedom of choice and expression was ignored.

*Finally, all the above mentioned represent large-scale grave and mass offense of human rights and freedoms set by the Constitution of Georgia and international treaties.*

Detentions causing serious doubts as being politically motivated

"Everyone is free by birth and is equal before law regardless of race, color, language, sex, religion, political and other opinions, national, ethnic and social belonging, origin, property and title, place of Residence".

"A judge shall be independent in his/her activity and shall be subject only to the Constitution and law. Any pressure upon the judge or interference in his/her activity with the view of influencing his/her decision shall be prohibited and punishable by law".

*Constitution of Georgia, Articles 14 and 84*

### **The case of Tamaz Makashvili and Merab Gablishvili**

Tamaz Makashvili, member of the political union "Alliance for Georgia" Gori organization was driving to meet his wife on April 8 at 5 p.m. in Gori. On Stalin Avenue, he was stopped by two policemen in white "Zhiguli". Having affirmed that he was really Tamaz Makashvili, demanded him to follow them to the police station. Tamaz Makashvili asked to inform his wife on this matter, but he was refused and categorically asked to follow them. The policemen forcedly put Tamaz Makashvili in the car. Merab Gablishvili, friend of Tamaz Makashvili, was witnessing the incident and inquired about the reason of detaining his friend. The policemen called him to stop asking such questions. One of the policemen asked

Merab Gablishvili to drive Tamaz Makashvili's car to the police station. Tamaz Makashvili in the police car and Merab Gablishvili in Tamaz Makashvili's car arrived at the police station.

At the police station, drew up a report on administrative offence by Makashvili and Gablishvili, according to Article 166 (petty hooligan actions) and Article 173 (Disobedience to the Legal Orders or Instructions of Law Enforcement or Military Officers) of the Code of administrative offences. Tamaz Makashvili did not agree to the report and did not sign it.

At the court proceedings (Judge Davit Papuashvili), report on administrative violation drawn up by investigation officer Levan Akhalkatsi and his own report were presented as evidence. The court heard explanations by Levan Akhalkatci and Tamaz Makashvili.

Levan Akhalkatsi stated that, at first, Tamaz Makashvili violated traffick rules and was stopped by the police. After that he insulted the policeman verbally, namely he called him "a Dog". The policeman demanded him to stop using abusive language, but Makashvili did not obey to the order and the policeman was forced to detain him.

The court ruled the evidence to be sufficient and sentenced Tamaz Makashvili to a ten-day imprisonment.

### **The case of Badri Kvelidze**

Badri Kvelidze was detained for hooliganism on April 8, in Marneuli, in the vicinity of 300-400 meters to the local self-government (Gamgeoba) premises. The court sentenced him to a 14-day imprisonment. He was arrested by the representatives of SOD (Special Operations Department), when he had come out of a tea-cafe. He was attacked unexpectedly, put into the patrol-police car and taken to the police

station. The relatives of the detained as well as passersby witnessed the accident. The detainee was not duly familiarized with his rights and was deceived to sign the detention report, under the motive that having done so; he would have been detained for just one day. Badri Kvelidze was put into the pre-detention centre.

The judge did not satisfy mediation of lawyers Nona Pilauri and Lali Aptsiauri regarding questioning of witnesses, with the motive of having no justification that the witnesses existed. The two policemen gave opposing evidences at the court: the representative of the SOD, Tsereteli, stated that Kvelidze was standing alone, whereas the other SOD representative said that he was standing with 3 other persons.

The detainee stated that he was arrested on political grounds, as he is an active member of the united political opposition in Marneuli. The mentioned accident is not the only unlawful act committed by the police against him. Previously, Badri Kvelidze was detained by the police during elections.

#### **The case of Gocha Tedoradze, Zaza Dashniani, Temur Kekenadze and and Zaza Khachidze**

In the morning of April 9 in Rustavi the police conducted a large-scale "preventive" operation on the Leonidze street and its adjacent territory, in the yard of multistoried buildings, during which they detained up to 60 persons in the mentioned as well as other territories and took them to the district police station.

For 4-5 hours these persons were "processed" in the police station – taking fingerprints, intimidation and agitation against participation in the rallies. The majority of the mentioned persons were released, but four of them – Gocha Tedoradze, Zaza Dashniani, Temur Kekenadze and Zaza Khachidze were sentenced to,

respectively, a 15-day and 20-day administrative imprisonment, on the basis of Articles 166 (petty hooligan actions) and 173 (Disobedience to the Legal Orders or Instructions of Law Enforcement or Military Officers).

According to the detainees, they were directly told about the plan of their detention and were also allowed to "choose" Article, over which they would then be sentenced.

#### **The case of Severian Kareli**

On March 17, the above mentioned judge Davit Papuashvili ruled violation over petty hooligan actions and disobedience to the Legal Orders or Instructions of Law Enforcement or Military Officers (Articles 166 and 173 of the Code of administrative offences) and sentenced Severian Kareli, member of the Gori Sakrebulo, supporter of Irakli Okruashvili, to a 25-day imprisonment. According to the report on violation, Severian Kareli used obscene words in public and was asked by the police to stop. Kareli did not obey to the order and insulted the policemen verbally, for which he was detained.

The report was drawn up by investigation officer Ramin Aduashvili, but investigation officer Levan Sidamonidze summoned to the court as a witness stated that Severian Kareli did not use abusive language in public. The police just ordered him to get into the car. Severian Kareli got into the car, but later he was trying to jump out of it calling to his neighbours for help. Severian Kareli testified the same.

Thus the testimony of the policemen contradict to the situation described in the report. Despite this fact, the judged ruled the presented evidence as sufficient to sentence Severian Kareli to a 25-day administrative imprisonment.

### **The case of Alexandre Tevdorashvili**

Alexandre Tevdorashvili is the activist of "Democratic Movement – United Georgia". He openly criticized the Government. He transported people from his own village Karbi of the Gori region, on his own car, to the regional assembly of "Democratic Movement". On March 15 the report on administrative violation was drawn, according to Articles 166 (petty hooligan actions) and 173 (Disobedience to the Legal Orders or Instructions of Law Enforcement or Military Officers) of the Code of administrative offences. The court sentenced Alexandre tevdorashvili to a 27-day administrative imprisonment.

When the detainee was being transported to the police station, the police questioned Alexandre Tevdorashvili in detail about his political views.

Facts of kidnapping, inflicting physical injury, beating, insult and other unlawful actions committed against participants of the assemblies and manifestations

"Everyone has the inviolable right to life and this right shall be protected by law"

"Honor and dignity of an individual is inviolable"

"Liberty of an individual is inviolable"

*Constitution of Georgia, Articles 15, 17 and 18*

### **The case of Lasha Kopaliani, Irakli Khukhuneishvili and Natia Archvadze**

On April 9 at about 11.20 p.m., on their way to home, the protestants – Lasha Kopaliani, Irakli Khukhuneishvili and Natia Archvadze (activists of the Movement "Ratom" (WHY)) were stopped by three Jeep on the Rustaveli avenue, by blocking their way. Persons wearing masks rushed out of the car, insulted the protestants physically and warned them against going to the

rally again, otherwise threatened with physical violence.

Next day on April 10 assaults on the activists of the Movement "Ratom" (WHY) reoccurred twice in the territory adjacent to their office.

### **The case of Shmagi Gelbakhiani**

On April 10 Shmagi Gelbakhiani, member of the youth organisation of "Alliance for Georgia", was assaulted when he was walking toward Rustaveli avenue via Varazi descent together with other participants of the rallies. The assailants were dressed in civilian attire and armed with wooden clubs. They drove Toyota made car, with state numbers ZIJ 111.

### **The case of Gocha Tevzadze, Lasha Kuchava and Levan Kotetishvili**

On April 10, on the Beijing street Gocha Tevzadze, Lasha Kuchava and Levan Kotetishvili (members of the "Democratic Movement – for United Georgia") were assaulted by about 10 persons wearing civilian attire, when they got into the taxi on the Beijing street. The assailants damaged the taxi, insulted the taxi driver Temur Bunturi, physically and verbally. The black BMW made car was identified with state numbers LAS-43310.

### **The case of Dachi Tsaguria**

Dachi Tsaguria is the activist of the Movement "April 9". He was followed by several cars from the Rustaveli metro-station, when he was driving his own car. The tried to cut him the way, as a result one of the cars collided with his car. BMW made Jeep was identified with state numbers X 5 – JUB 777.

### **The case of Oleg Simonian and Vova Stepanov**

On April 10, at about 9.00 p.m. students of the Sports Academy were on the territory adjacent to the Academy of Science and were heading to the Freedom square. The BMW and Jeep X-5 with state numbers GMZ – 111, cut the way to Oleg Simonian and Vova Stepanov. 6 persons got out of the car, who insulted them physically using bats and took away their flag.

### **Incident in front of the Parliament**

On April 11, at 11.00 p.m. unidentified persons, wearing civilian attire, attacked the stage and editing room, destroyed computers and other technical facilities. The assailants used physical violence against the rally protestants. During the incident, citizens called the patrol police, but they declined to come to the scene by reason of being "busy".

### **Hamlet Gulordava**

In the evening of April 14 Hamlet Gulordava, Gizo Sartania and Malkhaz Charkviani (members of different opposition unions) were attending the rally in front of the President's Administration building. At about 11.00 p.m. they decided to go home. They detected 3 cars on the Armazi street, in the territory adjacent to the Avlabari metro-station. According to them, 2 of the cars were Jeep and the third of Mercedes made. A man dressed in civilian attire got out from the latter car. They hit Gulordava and he fell down. The assailants were beating him for about a minute.

### **The case of Vakhtang Lagidze**

On April 14 at about 11.10 p.m. Vakhtang Lagidze, Deputy Director General of the "Coca-

Cola" company, was driving home on his own car (Toyota Land Cruiser). According to him, on the Chavchavadze avenue in the first dead-end a grey Nissan made car cut his way. At the same time several cars stopped behind him, from where about 12 people got out. They pulled the victim out of the car, dropped him on the ground and beat him severely for several minutes. After they stopped beating Vakhtang Lagidze, they drove away on his car.

The mentioned fact was recorded by the video-cameras outside the Representation of the World Bank in Georgia.

11.11.54 p.m. – in front of the World Bank building a black "Land Cruiser" Jeep is seen driving from the direction of Chavchavadze avenue. On the left, it is followed by a white Nissan made Jeep. Behind they are followed by a black foreign made car. Then a grey Volkswagen Golf -2 stops, right-hand side doors open and faces of the persons getting out the car are clearly visible. A person wearing red jacket also gets out from the Volkswagen Golf -2 and it drives downward the street (dead-end) to the black "Land Cruiser" Jeep.

The second video-camera:

11.11.54 p.m. – in front of the World Bank building a black "Land Cruiser" Jeep is seen driving from the direction of Chavchavadze avenue, which, from the left side, is followed by a grey foreign made (presumably, Nissan) car. The grey car overtook the "Land Cruiser" Jeep and cut its way in front. A white Jeep stopped behind the "Land Cruiser" Jeep. A man gets out (on the driver's side) of the grey car. At this point the door of the white Jeep opens and a man gets out from the right side. The mentioned persons run to the "Land Cruiser" Jeep. Then a black car (presumably, Mercedes made) stops behind the white Jeep, right-hand side and then driver's doors open. The men run to the "Land Cruiser" Jeep. One more grey car

(Folkswagen Golf-2) stops behind the cars, two right-hand side and then driver's doors open, from where 3 men jumps out and runs to the black "Land Cruiser" Jeep. Then the white Jeep drives into the dead-end in front of the World Bank. The driver of the black "Land Cruiser" Jeep is seen being dragged by the men from the car, beaten and left lying on the road. The assailants get into the cars and drive away, including on the "Land Cruiser" Jeep.

Finally, the driver of the black "Land Cruiser" Jeep gets up on his feet and head toward the World Bank building. The five cars disappeared downward the dead-end.

The World Bank guards witnessed the mentioned incident.

### **The case of Davit Ujmajuridze**

On the Chavchavadze avenue, Davit Ujmajuridze, the former Parliamentarian, member of the political union "New Rights" was attacked by four men, armed, wearing masks and civilian attire, when he was getting in his own car – Mercedes made ML Jeep. The assailants drove black Land Rover. At first, they threw Davit Ujmajuridze on the ground and insulted him and his companion physically. Then they forcedly put him into the car and drove in an unknown direction. Later, Ujmajuridze was found in the territory of Saguramo with sticky tape (scotch) over his mouth, and his car in flames in the territory of Vashlijvari. Witnesses: Zviad Murmanidze-Minashvili (guard of the chemist's), Zviad Bakhtadze (guard of the VTB bank).

### **The case of Zurab Manjavidze**

According to Ioseb Manjavidze, on April 15 he was at the rally meeting in front of the

building of the Georgian Public Broadcaster together with his brothers – Zurab Manjavidze and Otar Manjavidze. At about 4.00 a.m. they were driven by their friend to the Shevchenko street, where Zurab Manjavidze had parked his car. When they got into Zurab manjavidze's car, the silver Mercedes made car stopped in front of them, and the Volkswagen made car of dark colour with state numbers W or V NX 937 or 972 – approached them from behind. Up to 10 masked men got out from the cars carrying clubs.

The assailants broke the windscreen, opened the door and tried to drag Zurab Manjavidze out of the car, insulting him him verbally and physically. Those sitting in the car resisted the assailants. The assault lasted for about 3-5 minutes, after which the assailants got into their cars and drove away.

According to the victims, Zurab Manjavidze informed the patrol police about the incident, but they started to question the victims and missed the opportunity to follow the assailants, despite the fact, that the victims saw which direction the assailants drove away (e.g. Volkswagen made car drove fast through Rustaveli avenue toward the Heros Square).

### **The case of Shalva Radiani and Temur Radiani**

On April 15 Temur Radiani was at the rally meeting in front of the building of the Georgian Public Broadcaster together with Shalva Radiani and their friends. At about 3.00 a.m. they left the rally and went home. Temur Radiani and his companions detected two Jeeps – white and black, on the territory adjacent to the Heros Square. Temur Radiani and his friends went up the Shio Mgvime street. Four cars cut their way – 3 black Jeeps and one small white car. Temur Radiani and Shalva Radiani ran toward Varazi descent. They were followed by approximately

10-15 men, who got out of the mentioned cars. According to Temur Radiani, they were wearing medical masks and carried rubber clubs. Temur Radiani and his son stopped in front of the Geocell office, just opposite to the 1st building of the I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. The white car stopped in front of them, which they had first seen on the Shio Mgvimeli street. 4-5 masked men jumped out of the car carrying clubs and attacked Temur Radiani, Shalva Radiani and their friends and started to beat them. The assailants knocked Shalva Radiani down, took away a cell-phone from him. They also knocked Temur Radiani down. Their friends could save themselves by running away. After that the assailants got in the car and drove away. according to Shalva Radiani and Temur Radiani, there was a patrol police car just near the site of the incident, however, they did not reacted in any way to the fact. Temur Radiani and Shalva Radiani asked them for help, but the patrol police replied that they did not have neither portable radio transmitter, nor a cell-phone and they could not help them. Temur Radiani had to call for patrol police by his own cell-phone. In few minutes, another patrol police car arrived at the site of the incident, but they also declined to help the victims. Temur Radiani and Shalva Radiani were taken to the Republic Hospital by their friends, where they were duly attended – information of the "Democratic Movement – United Georgia".

#### **The case of Vakhtang Ivanishvili and Zviad Licheli**

On April 15 Vakhtang Ivanishvili and Zviad Licheli were at the rally meeting in front of the Presidential Residence. At about 24.00 they left the rally and headed toward the nearby shop to buy some meal. at this point they noticed a white Niva (with serial TBI, they do not remember the numbers), which caused

doubts by moving around nearby. Having sensed the danger, Ivanishvili and Licheli decided to go back to the rally. at this very moment an unknown man sitting in the car addressed them calling "One moment, man". At the same time, a Mercedes made car cut them the way in front, from where four unknown man got out dressed in civilian attire carrying clubs. In all, 4 cars were at the site of the incident. The assailants started to beat Zviad Licheli and Vakhtang Ivanishvili and insulted them verbally. They stopped beating only after the protestants saw, what was happening and headed toward them. After that the assailants left the scene. The victims received injuries in the area of the head and lower extremities.

#### **The case of Gocha Sakhltkhutsishvili**

On April 15 at about 11.30 p.m. Gocha Sakhltkhutsishvili, member of the April 9 organisation headquarters returned home (Petritsi street, Didi Digomi) from the rally meeting on his own Land Rover made car (state numbers MUR-755). He parked the car near the entrance. The moment he parked the car, he was attacked by by 3-4 man. They dragged Gocha Sakhltkhutsishvili out of his car, threw him down to the ground and started to beat him. The assailant at the same time kept crying – "in the car". According to the victim, they might have wanted to put him in the car and drive him away. The noise attracted neighbours' attention, after that the assailants ran away driving away Gocha Sakhltkhutsishvili's car. When running, they collided with one of the neighbour's car. after 15-20 minutes the police arrived at the site of the incident. They declared that they knew about the incident by a phone-call. Sakhltkhutsishvili was inflicted with injuries of different degrees, in particular injuries could be seen in the area of elbow and forehead. At about 1.00 a.m. the police called him and

informed that his car was found in the village Digomi.

### **The case of Amur Tegetashvili**

On April 15 at about 10.30 p.m. Amur Tegetashvili, who participated in the rally in front of the Parliament, went to the Presidential residence, where he had to meet his neighbours. From the Avlabari metro-station he walked to the Residence.

In a few minutes, he was attacked by 5-6 athletic-looking man over 30 dresses in civilian attire. They started to beat Amur Tegetashvili. The assailants were armed with so called "cassettes", sticks and addressed him in the following words: "Do you want Misha to resign?", "Don't you want Misha?" etc. Amur Tegetashvili fell down on the asphalt and lost his consciousness for a while. When he came to his senses, the assailants were already gone. The population helped him, they called for ambulance, which took him to the hospital.

According to the patient's form, Amur Tegetashvili entered into the hospital – neurosurgery clinics on April 15, 2009 at 11.30 p.m. According to the diagnosis, he had bodily injury, cuts and bruises.

According to Amor Tegetashvili, he is a refugee from the village Sveneti and is actively involved in the 9th April and other protest rallies.

### **The case of Gocha Gabaidze**

According to Temur Gundadze and Luisa Gabaidze, on april 16 at 2.46 a.m. Gocha Gabaidze, Luisa Gabaidze, Murman Tsetskhladze, Amiran gabaidze, Teimuraz Gundadze, Nugzar Gorgadze, Giuli Gabaidze and Temur Bolkvadze were coming by a

route-taxi from the village Khikhani to Tbilis to take part in the protest rallies. according to Luisa Gabaidze, at first, the route-taxi was stopped in Marneuli by the representatives of the patrol police. They summoned the driver aside, checked his documents and told that since 2007 he had not paid a 10-lari fine. They told him that they had to take his car onto penal-parking. The route-taxi passengers divided and hired two taxis (one of the taxis VAZ 21-09 had state numbers AAK-488) and continued their way to Tbilisi. The taxi, which drove Luisa Gabaidze went ahead and distanced from the other car.

Gocha Gabaidze and Temur Gundadze were sitting tighther with other passengers in the mentioend car. According to Temur Gundadze, on the Rustavi highway they were caught up by BMW made silver car, presumably with transit numbers. They cut the taxi way and the latter had to stop. Approximately 6 masked man got out from the car carrying clubs and started to break the windscreens.

Teimuraz Gundadze and Nugzar Bokvadze could escape. The assailants dragged the rest of the passengers out of the taxi and started to beat them with clubs. All those left in the car were severly beaten.

### **The case of Shalva Sadaghashvili**

Shalva Sadghashvili, member of the "national Forum" was attacked in Ortachala. On April 16 at about 3.30 a.m. he was returning home on a taxi from a night-shift of the protest rally at the Freedom square. The taxi was caught up by a Jeep in Ortachala near the balneological hospital. The man siting in the car signaled with clubs to pull over. The taxi driver obeyed and stopped the car. 8-9 man wearing medical masks got out from the Jeep and two other cars forcedly pulled Shalva Sadaghashvili out of the

car, threw him on the ground and beat him severely with clubs. According to Sadaghashvili, they were beating him for 2-3 minutes asking: "Why do you go to rallies?", "What do you do in the Forum?"

One of the cars was parked in such a position that prevented other cars to come closer to the scene. According to Sadaghashvili, during that time the patrol police car passed by, but never stopped.

The local residents came out at the noise, after which the assailants hid away.

Sadaghashvili has the elbow of his right arm, right hand and left rib broken and has bruises.

#### **The case of Melor Vachnadze**

In the evening of April 22 at about 10.00 p.m. Melor Vachnadze, member of the April 9 youth organization headquarters was attacked.

According to Vachnadze, he was in the car on Marjanishvili and as soon as he got out of the car, he was attacked by unknown persons and put in the other, Opel Vectra made car. They took him to the Tovstonogovi Street and beat him. As he says, the assailants were trying to lock him in the car; he was sitting in the back seat of the car, when being beaten, but as the front seat was vacant, he managed to go to the front, get out of the car and run.

Vachnadze was examined in the Republic hospital. According to the emergency staff, he has arm trauma and has several cuts in the area of his neck. Before that, Vachnadze testified in the presence of the patrol police at the public defender's office.

#### **Elder Chapanadze**

On April 22 Eldar Chapanidze, member of the "National Forum" was coming from Poti, when four masked men beat him. Chapanidze was driving from Poti in his own car to join a column from Batumi, when 4 masked men cut him the way, dragged him out of his car and beat him. The patrol police car was stationed nearby, which having noticed the incident left the scene.

#### **Vasil Sanodze**

On April 25 in the crossing corner of the Chitadze and Ingorokva streets, on the territory adjacent to the building of the former Ministry of Security (currently, services of the MIA occupy the building) a group of protestants were gathered. There was staff of the Ministry standing on the balcony, who observed the developments. The situation was also recorded by the participants of the rally with amateur video-camera.

Vasil Sanodze, Head of the General Inspection of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is clearly seen in the video, who casts a small cellophane bag full of water to the protestants. One of the staff member, standing on the balcony, shots the so called "Kisti gun" (plastic bullet gun) and wounded an ordinary citizen Tengiz Beridze in the eye area.

No reaction followed to the behavior of Sanodze and other staff despite the fact that, as mentioned above, both facts are clearly recorded by video-cameras.

#### **The case of Koka Mukhadze and Davit Kirkitadze**

On April 30 at 1.00 a.m. Koka Mukhadze and Davit Kirkitadze, activists of the "April 9" were driving in their own car on the Beijing Avenue. At this moment, they noticed that they were

followed by BMW made car of dark colour. The activists drove in the direction of the Public Broadcaster and parallelly, contacted other members of the Movement, informed them about the strange situation they were in and asked them to meet them in the corner of the Dolidze street with a video-camera. Boys could reach the destination and stopped the car in the corner of the street on the request of those sitting in the BMW made car. At this point the "back-up group" neared the place. On the question of the activists, why they were following them, the BMW passengers responded that they had mistaken them in their relatives. At their further request to the BMW passengers to name themselves, the latter started the car immediately and drove away with a high speed.

The activists wanted to inform the law-enforcement bodies, but the two patrol cars, seeing them, immediately left the area of the 1st building of the Technical University.

According to the activists, BMW passengers had portable radio transmitters, and they detected police jackets in the salon of the car. BMW car with state numbers RAP-324 and dark red Opel-Vectra made car were detected.

#### Violation of the freedom of movement

"Everyone legally within the territory of Georgia shall, within throughout the territory of the country,

have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his/her residence"

*Constitution of Georgia, article 22*

Several days prior to April 9, the local government in the municipalities and law-enforcement bodies switched to emergency working regime. In regions, heads of local self-government structures (Gamageoba), chairmen of Sakrebulo and police Chiefs requested heads of public services to undertake measures

preventing the Service staff and their family members from attending the protest rallies. For this purpose, majoritarian deputies were sent on the spot. In addition, police teams were making rounds in the villages prior to April 9 and afterwards, and threaten those families, who were known to be supporting the opposition, by arresting their children and relatives, if they took part in the protest rallies.

"There are several policemen attached to our village from the Police department. They came to my house yesterday late in the evening and told me that I am in the list of opposition supporters and if I take part in the protest rally against the Government, they would arrest my son. They were aware that he goes to school in the 11th form and has never committed any offence. But despite this fact, they threatened me, that they would arrest him and make my life a hell", said inhabitant of the village Velistsikhe of Gurjaani region. "I do not belong to any of the political parties. I have plots of land and provide for my family by physical work. Several days before I was in Gurjaani to buy chemicals and when walking in the street, I saw Irakli Alasania, Davit Usupashvili and others. People were gathered around them and I stopped by. I was interested to know what they were speaking. But I left the site sooner, as I had lot of work to do, but it seems, they were quite quick to detect me", – says our respondent.

In a number of regions directors of the public schools and managers of kindergartens received strict warning from the Municipality heads (Gamagebelis), saying that no one teacher should go to the protest rallies; e.g. the Gurjaani Municipality heads met with directors of the public schools and managers of kindergartens on April 3.

"Gamagebeli told us directly that if we could not prevent the teachers, we shall lose our work", one of the public school director told us, who preferred to remain anonymous.

At the Gurjaani Municipality it was confirmed that Gamgebeli and the Chairman of the Sakrebulo met with managers of the public schools and kindergartens, but categorically refused to have exerted pressure upon them. Giorgi Chiviashvili, Head of the Gurjaani Municipality confirms that meeting with the managers of public schools and kindergartens focused only on common problems and he did not use pressure upon them.

In many regional centres registration certificates were taken away from microbus drivers. That was done by heads of transport companies and police staff by order of the local government. Several drivers confirmed the mentioned fact.

As a result:

On April 8 – on Tbilisi-Senaki highway, at the turning to Sachkhere, several patrol police cars did not allow the passenger transport to proceed to Tbilisi. In about an hour, the patrol police permitted only small cars proceed to Tbilisi. Many route-taxis and buses had to turn round and go back.

The situation lasted unchanged all day long, which paralyzed transport movement.

On April 9 – at the turning of Gomi-Sachkhere, passenger transport, as well as trucks were held. The police did not explain the reason behind such an action. The same situation was on the Kutaisi-Samtredia road section near the village Kvitiri and Marneuli-Tbilisi road section of Koda-Kumisi.

Those citizens who were registered in Tbilisi were able to arrive from Kutaisi by passenger transport. According to several drivers, who remained anonymous, during the past week they were intimidated by the police and local government saying that if they drove to Tbilisi, they would have serious problems.

On April 9 – In the village Chalaubani of the Gurjaani region, at the patrol check-point of Chalaubani and in the village Akura of the Telavi region, the patrol police stopped nearly all cars and did not allow proceed to Tbilisi.

By 10.00 a.m. at the Gurjaani bus station, the staff of the criminal police stopped a microbus going from Gurjaani to Tbilisi and requested all the passengers to get off, and in case of resistance, threatened to use force and drag them from the bus, no matter they were going to Tbilisi to attend the protest rallies or not.

"I undergo treatment at the Republic Hospital. I had an appointment with my doctor today. As I got on the microbus leaving for Tbilisi at the Gurjaani bus station, the police came and requested me to get off. "Why?", I asked. They told me, that I needed no explanation, the roads are blocked and, anyway, I could not reach Tbilisi. I tried to explain that I was not going to protest rallies, I showed them my medical documents, but they did not listen. They did not left me until I got off the bus", – said Venera Zveriashvili, inhabitant of the village Gurjaani of the Gurjaani region.

"I have been at the station for already several hours, but cannot go to Tbilisi. The police stop all minibuses, take people down, forbid the drivers to move and threaten them", – said Zviad Kviralashvili, representative of the Republican Party, member of the Gurjaani Municipality Sakrebulo.

Passengers were taken down from the microbus going to Tbilisi in the village Velitsikhe of the Gurjaani region. The passengers themselves declared this fact. According to them, the police car cut the way to the microbus and did not permit to proceed. "As soon as the bus stopped, the yield at us to get off. Several of passengers were going to Tbilisi, others to Rustavi, but they took us down by force and

threatened the driver with the arrest", said the passengers.

On April 9 – in Kakheti even the intraregional minibuses did not work. According to the drivers of the minibuses moving between Telavi-Gurjaani, Telavi-Lagodekhi and from Telavi to other cities of Kakheti, the regional police warned each of them against working on April 9. As they said, if they did not obey the order, the representatives of the law-enforcement bodies threatened them with creating serious problems.

At the bus station, it was said that minibuses did not work as April 9 was a day-off.

On April 9 during noon and till 6.00 p.m. no movement of passenger transport and even trucks was detected from west side, the central highway, as well as Kavtiskhevi-Dzegvi-Mtskheta and Zahesi through roundabout road toward Tbilisi, whereas at least 5 buses should have arrived just from Kutaisi. The patrol cars were stationed at the entrances.

In Samegrelo through mass media news were circulated, saying that some king of incident was

expected to happen at the April 9 protest rally, which might have caused armed confrontation resulting in possible deaths or grave outcome among the protestants.

From April 7 to April 11, in Zugdidi the number of private route-taxis and other transport means significantly decreased. At the request of the people, who wanted to attend the protest rally, to rent transport means, the answer was negative (busy, already rented or car malfunction). It is true, that no one declared publicly about the problems, but in private conversations they all noted, that they were warned against transporting representatives and activists of the political opposition parties, otherwise they might have had serious problems. Train tickets were considerably limited, in particular, a citizen who asked for two or more tickets, was told that all tickets were sold.

In the morning of April 9 200 home-made khachapuri were taken away from one of the activist of the political opposition party, which he was taking to the Tbilisi protest rally (citizen choose to remain anonymous).

# Results of the Public Opinion Polls

## Tbilisi Residents Polled on Current Situation in Georgia 16 April, 2009

Tbilisi Residents Polled on Current Situation in Georgia 16 April, 2009

On the fifth and sixth days of the protests started on 9th of April in the capital of Georgia, Georgian NGO initiative 'Civil Manifesto' conducted phone polling on the current situation.

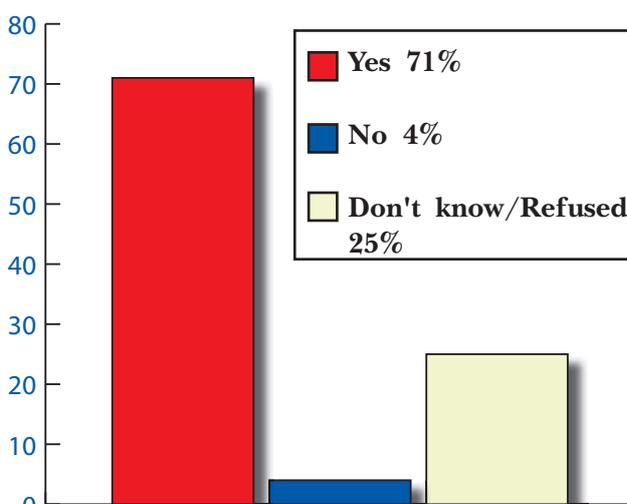
500 Tbilisi residents were randomly interviewed by phone on 14-15 April 2009 in Tbilisi. Standard methodology was used.

The aim of the phone polling was to register the Tbilisi residents' opinion on current political processes related to protest manifestations started in Tbilisi since 9th of April, to see if they assess these processes as a political crisis, and to collect their opinion on possible ways out.

Total 100%	
among them women	71%
among them men	29%

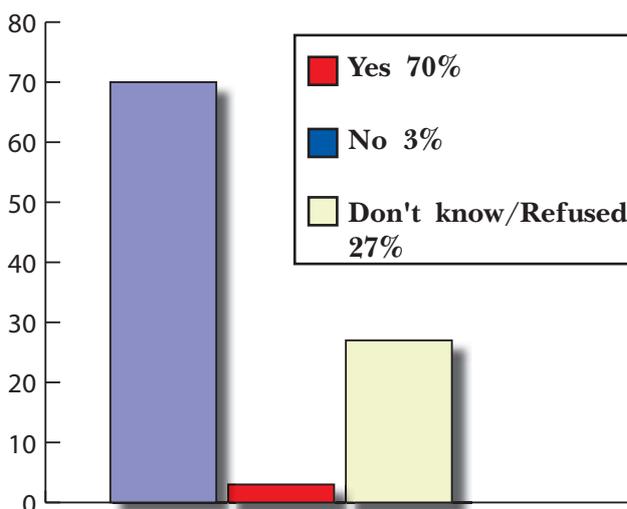
Refusal to respond after hearing the topics/questions of the interview might mean that respondents are afraid to express their opinion by phone, and several respondents have explicitly expressed their fears.

1. Is there political Crisis in Georgia in your opinion?



*Is there the Political Crisis in Georgia?*

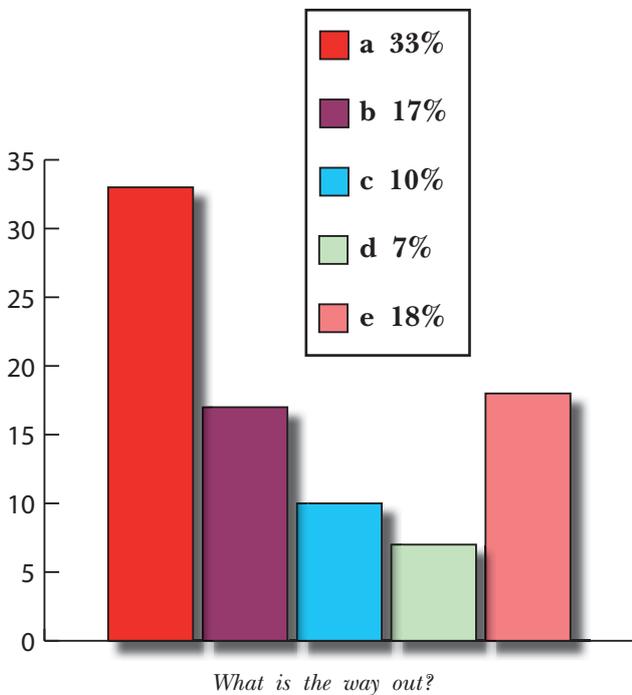
2. Is there way out from current situation?



*Is there the Political Crisis in Georgia?*

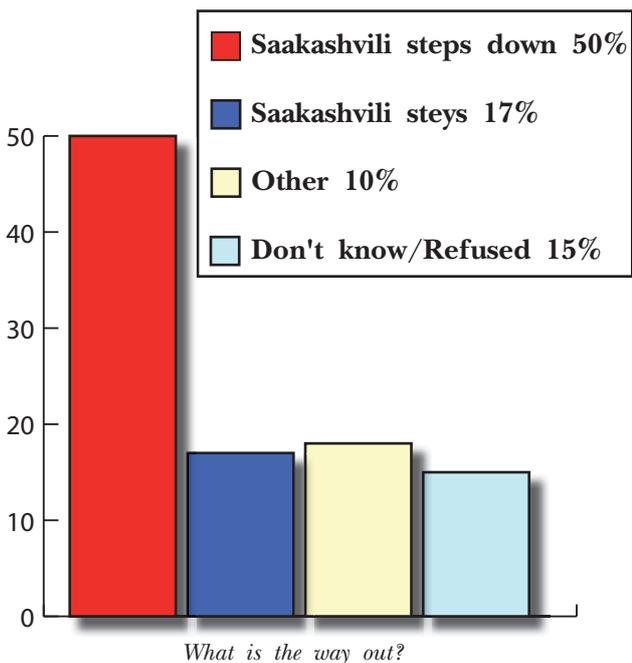
### What is the way out of this situation?

- a. *Saakashvili steps down* and a new Presidential election is conducted;
- b. *Saakashvili steps down* and Parliament of Georgia adopts Constitutional changes;
- c. *Saakashvili stays* in position and snap Parliamentary elections are called;
- d. *Saakashvili stays* in position and everything continues as before;
- e. *Other*



- a. *Saakashvili steps down* and a new Presidential election is conducted (33%);
- b. *Saakashvili steps down* and Parliament of Georgia adopts Constitutional changes (17%);
- c. *Saakashvili stays* in position and snap Parliamentary elections are called (10%);
- d. *Saakashvili stays* in position and everything continues as before (7%);
- e. *Other* – while listing other ways out, 18% respondents mentioned: importance of dialogue, solving of the problems by peaceful means, without any violence, letting people solve political crisis by themselves, facing changes in the country, appealing to Saakashvili to change his politics, also 2 respondents appealed to opposition to change protest forms.

15% of respondents don't know any way out of the situation or they refused to answer.



### Tbilisi Residents Polled on Current Situation in Georgia

27 April, 2009

After two weeks of the protests started on 9th of April in the capital of Georgia, on fifteenth day of the protest rally Georgian NGO initiative 'Civil Manifesto' conducted phone polling on the current situation.

500 Tbilisi residents were randomly interviewed by phone on 23-25 April 2009 in Tbilisi. Standard methodology was used.

Purpose of the survey was to study social opinion in regard with the ongoing political

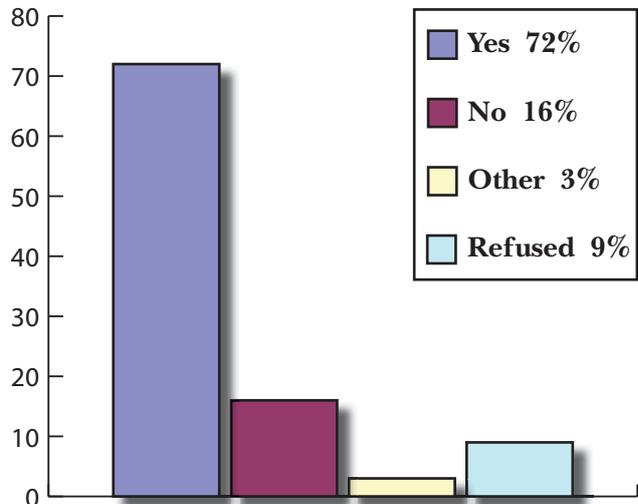
events in the country i.e. in relation to the protest manifestations started as from April 9. In this concrete case, subject of the research was the necessity of a dialogue, also possibilities and preconditions for the conversation between the government and the opposition. In other words, conducting the survey would have given us a chance to study opinion of the population living in the capital on the issue of the political crisis that could have been overcome by the means of a dialogue.

Total number of respondents	500
Women	74%
Men	26%

The questions included in the questionnaire were made after a small pilot survey (with 20 respondents) had been conducted. 500 respondents in total participated in the survey. This number is representative for the population residing in Tbilisi. Respondents were selected randomly. Interval (170) was selected by anonymous telephone reference book of Tbilisi population.

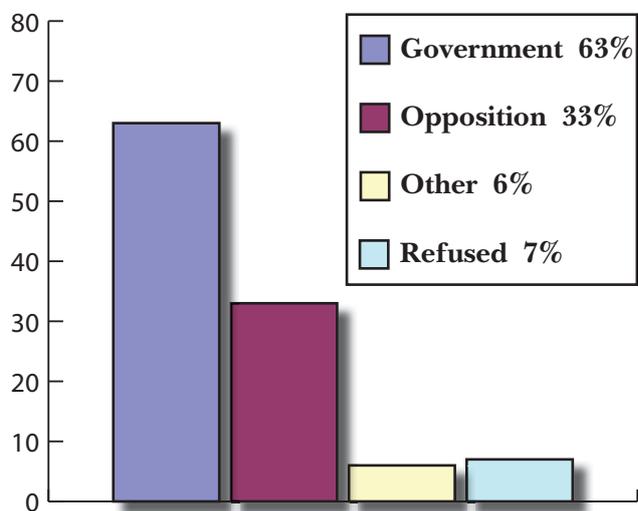
Principle of multiple choice was used while asking the questions to the respondents (s/he had possibility of choosing more than one answer for the asked queries or could have offered his/her own version). Therefore, after having summarized the percentage of the given results (except the first query), total number of the answers were more than 100%.

**1. Is a dialogue necessary for overcoming existing political crisis?**



1. Is a dialogue necessary for overcoming existing political crisis?

**2. Who has to make first step towards the dialogue?**



2. Who has to make first step towards the dialogue?

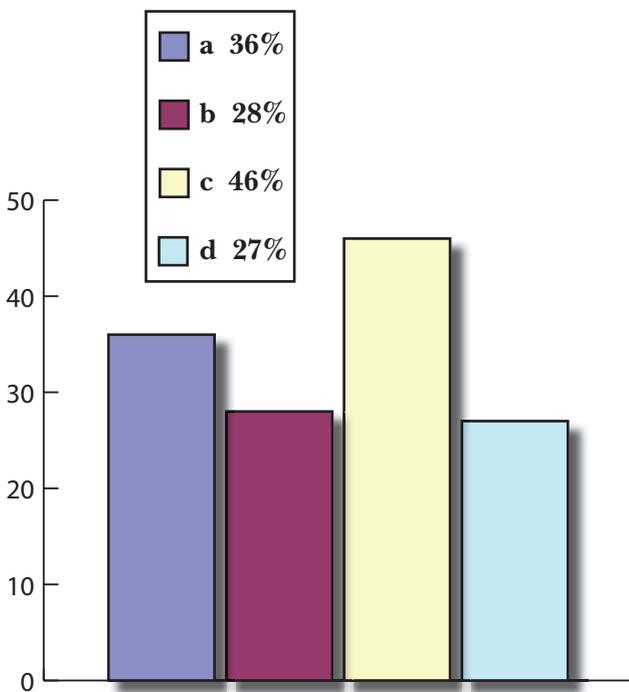
Under the category of the answer "other" the main approach of the people questioned was to start dialogue by the both parties or to involve the well-known figures in the process since the factor of trust is lost in the society.

### 3. What could be a precondition for the dialogue?

From the side of the Government:

- a. To unseat lawenforcers 36%;
- b. To unseat head of the Supreme Court 28%;
- c. To give 50% of the broadcasting time to the opposition on the channel of the public broadcast 46%;
- d. Other 27%.

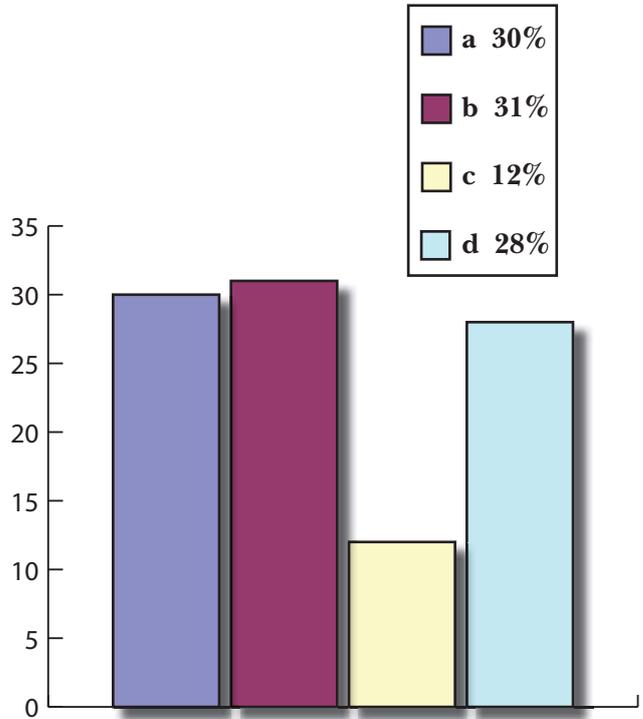
In the answer – "other" the following phrases were prevailing: "Misha should leave", "I wish Georgia could won", "Resignation of the president would not change anything", "The opposition should stop their demonstrations", "Debates should start in live broadcasting", "Commander-in-chief should leave", "Government should resign", "Saakashvili along with his ministers should resign", "Head of election committee should resign", "constitutional changes should take place", "The president should resign", "New election should be organized", "Misha along with the government should unseat", "murderers should be imprisoned".



A precondition from the Government for the dialogue

### 2. From the side of the Opposition:

- a. On certain territory blockades should be removed – 30%
- b. Demonstrations have to be extended till the dialogue takes place – 31%
- c. Number of cells should be reduced – 12%
- d. Other – 28%



A precondition from the Government for the dialogue

On the question "Other" the following phrases are given: "Demonstrations should be stopped for some time" "All this should have some kind of end", "Movement in the city is hampered", "Cells should be removed", "More novelty should be added to the demonstrations", "We need new forms of demonstration", "Population feels discomfort while walking in the street", "Garbage should be taken away".

Tbilisi Residents Polled to Evaluate Public Broadcasting – I TV Channel  
2 May 2009

After three weeks of the protests started on 9th of April in the capital of Georgia, on twenty third day of the protest rally Georgian NGO initiative ‘Civil Manifesto’ conducted phone polling on the current situation.

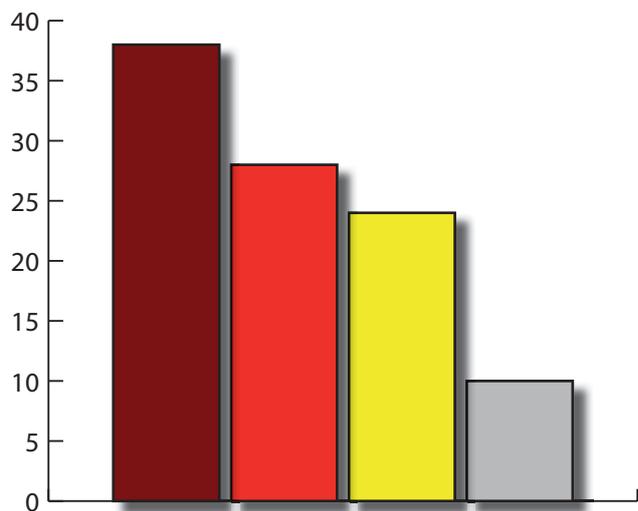
495 Tbilisi residents were randomly interviewed by phone on 30 April – 1 May 2009 in Tbilisi. Standard methodology was used.

The aim of the phone polling was to register the Tbilisi residents’ opinion on public broadcasting – I Channel TV – to let them evaluate broadcasting objectiveness related on current political crisis and the situation through the I TV Channel (Public Broadcasting).

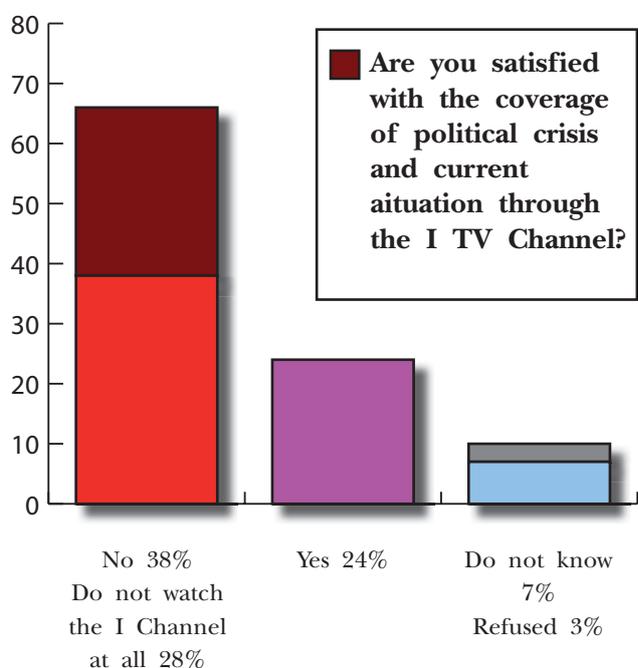
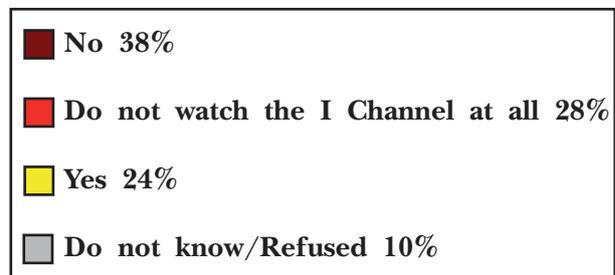
All	Women among them	Men among them
(495 respondents) 100%	70	30

**1. Are you satisfied with the coverage of political crisis and current situation through the I TV Channel?**

- a. No 38%;
- b. Do not watch the I Channel at all 28%;
- c. Yes 24%;
- d. Do not know/Refused 10%.

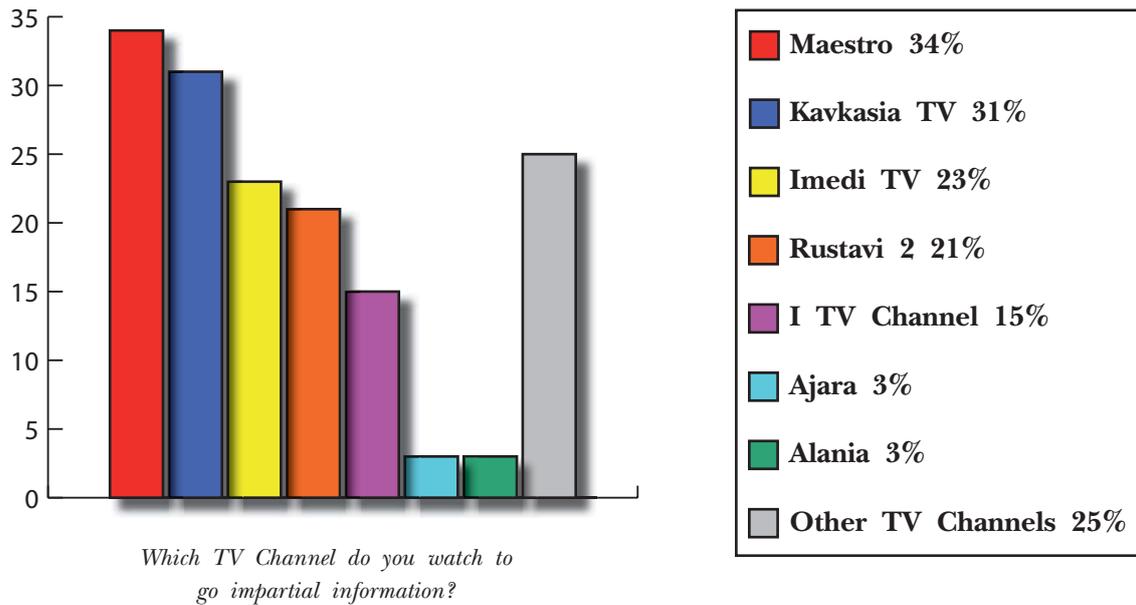


*Are you satisfied with the coverage of political crisis and current situation through the I TV Channel?*



2. Which TV Channel do you watch to get impartial information?

- a. I TV Channel (Public Broadcasting) 15%
- b. Imedi TV 23%
- c. Maestro 34%
- d. Kavkasia TV 31%
- e. Rustavi 2 – 21%
- f. Ajara TV – 3%
- g. Alania – 3%
- h. Other TV Channels – 25%



In the answer – "other" the following phrases were prevailing: other TV channels, from other sources, no one, none of them, RTVI , have no time to watch, Russian channels, none of them are impartial.

# Other Analytical Materials

*Evaluation of the Military and Security issues Experts*  
*April 23, 2009*

The protest meetings and manifestations commenced on 9th April 2009 still go on. Special machinery was mobilized to protect the state institutions from 9th April up to present.

The society has numerous questions of what was the quantity, purpose and volume of the mobilized machinery and personal staff. To answer this question we addressed the military and security experts.

Vakhtang Maisaia, the expert, states that these were the Cobras, the special police vehicles, manufactured in Turkey, armored vehicles, patrol aviation – the helicopter, the shields, batons. It is not known, whether the special troops had the grenades with the chemical substances elements. In addition, there was mobilized the patrol police (four members in the group, when, at a time of ordinary duties two-member groups are obligatory). Or, the police operated in the extraordinary mode. However, in the expert's opinion, existence of the militarized formations, which, supposedly, should belong to the so called "security sector", within the Ministry of Internal Affairs apparently is beyond the constitutional regulations. Georgian militarized teams, or "Georgian Ton-ton Mankuts" shall be disarmed – states the Expert.

Irakli Sesiashvili, the Expert, states that there were taken preventive measures, what could be expressed in strengthening of the security measures within the certain perimeter. At the same time, there was the case, when the special departments have information about

the expected attack in advance and they take additional security measures. In such cases, allocation of the special machinery necessarily requires argumentation, stating, for avoiding of what kind of danger these were mobilized. When the grounded information about such danger is not provided to the society there is the doubt that such power demonstration is a simple attempt of frightening, to abstain the public from coming into the streets to express their protest.

Irakli Sesiashvili, the Expert, also emphasizes that there should be relevant order on mobilization of the machinery and such order shall be registered and shall be adequately grounded. Such order shall not exist without any grounding. Part of the order shall be open and the government shall provide explanations to the public. Otherwise, without grounded preconditions and only for prevention, such mobilization could be regarded as abused. Moreover, in the opinion of Sesiashvili, paralyzing of the Parliament is absolutely inadmissible. Parliament shall operate even at a time of hostilities. It is absolutely unclear, why the journalists were not allowed to enter into the Parliament building. The public shall obtain detailed information of what danger was prevented by mean of such actions.

As Vakhtang Maisaia stated, existence of such machinery in the civilized countries is reasonable, though, the main thing is to strictly regulate the rules of their use by means of the entire legislative packages and special control shall be imposed on their use.

Tornike Sharashenidze, the Expert, regards that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is excessively militarized and the phenomenon of the "internal

troops" of Shevardnadze's times were revoked only formally. Militarization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is explained by the fact that this department is the main thing to rely on, for the governing regime and it is intended not only for ensuring the public order

Irakli Sesiashvili states that these armored police vehicles are very expensive. Price of each of them varies from \$100'000 to \$300'000. The Expert is interested of what is the necessity to purchase such expensive police equipment, what there is the heaviest socioeconomic situation in the country. Purpose of this machinery is dispelling of the demonstrations. For this purpose, the police can use the cheaper means (e.g. the modernized fire extinguishing vehicles. Availability of such expensive machinery shows that the government is able to pay any price for maintaining its power.

Tornike Sharashenidze thinks that the government, which has come to the power through coup d'état, is always afraid of becoming the victim of the other coup.

Vakhtang Maisaia regards that there is no reason for mobilization of such quantity of the special groups in the Parliament and other governmental institutions. Moreover, the facts that the Parliament building was sealed, activities of the Parliament were suspended and such forces of social purposes were dislocated there, is the step against Constitution and the power usurpation took place by the executive power. Where in the country there actually does not exist the judicial sector of the government, such actions caused creation of so called "Police Vertical" – within all three sectors of the government by the certain police group and full domination of the executive power at all levels of territorial structure of the country (federal, regional and local). Currently, the ruling political force has "recovered" the situation and restored operation of the Parliament.

Irakli Sesiashvili thinks that the government should see the way out of the crisis in dialogue and not in mobilization of the machinery and special task teams. It would be acceptable to protect the energy entities, finance institutions, hospitals, bread producing entities, even the Ministry of Internal Affairs itself, but how it is possible to speak about dialogue, at a time of political crisis, with the special task team in the Parliament and the Parliament, the organ expressing the public will does not function?! – states Sesiashvili.

In addition, the experts emphasize that existence of certain groups, physically impacting the manifestation participants is absolutely inadmissible. The experts are surprised by absence of any actions from the side of the police. Irakli Sesiashvili states that the police shall perform its obligations provided by the law and it shall not expect any special directives from anyone.

## **Media Experts' Assessments of Problems of Media and Public Broadcasting – 1st Channel**

May 13, 2009

Ia Antadze, independent expert: problems existing today around the public broadcasting have accumulated not only today, but during the past years mainly due to the essence of the public broadcasting. This is a television financed from the state budget; it belongs to the society and should advocate interests of the society. What is the interest of the society generally and especially when the political process is tense. Of course, this is not getting real information about the processes developed in our country.

Regrettably, public broadcasting could never report real information, neither when it was the state channel and named "Pirveli Arkhi" (First Channel), or somewhat, I don't remember, and nor now, when it has formally become real public broadcasting. Legally this is the television of the society and not that of the state or government; however, it still cannot provide real information to the society. Why? Because the government is mostly interested in controlling the entire information, particularly policy of the News in all major televisions broadcasting all over Georgia, in public broadcasting among them, and controlling the mechanism. During the election of the board of trustees many mistakes were made by all sides and the society as well. Thus the board was not balanced in whole and as a result they elected a Director who presumably always served and would serve the interests of the government, the one at the head in that moment. This concerns the government of Eduard Shevardnadze, as well as the government of Mikheil Saakashvili. Today we often say that the television was far better under the previous management, meaning Tamar Kintsurashvili when there was a Public Board, though it was very formal, more formal than today. It is true that the earlier television was more self-respecting than today. In spring of 2007, we were doing the research in the frameworks of a project; we hired media-researchers who studied information policy in detail. We found out that information policy of the public broadcasting was more balanced than that of "Kurier" and "Rustavi 2", but less balanced than that of "Imedi" and "Chronika", it means that "Chronika" was more balanced during Tamar Kintsurashvili than "Moambe" wholly in the public broadcasting. Though I would not say that we had very good television then and it is bad now. This television was never seriously prepared to broadcast real information about current processes.

Answer to the question "what the public broadcasting should be like" is very simple and any person watching the TV knows it. Public broadcasting should actually serve the interests of the society; this should not be a television for entertainment, because, if the entertainment is the request of the society private television companies will do this very well too.

Public Broadcasting should endeavor to determine the interests of various categories of the society and try to meet the interests of the society to the extent possible. As for information policy, it is unambiguous and clear, that information policy should be very fair and faithful. This is the essence of public broadcasting and this is its appeal. It cannot be otherwise because this is our television, of all us and when the public broadcasting will be truly fair and working faithfully, particularly its information policy, other televisions – private televisions – will be obliged to not be such unbalanced as they are today. This is why the government is obliged to control all televisions. As soon as really balanced and professionally accurate information policy appears in any television, this will render worthless propagandas flowing from other televisions. That is why it was very important that the opposition not yield public broadcasting and when the request of the society, to take control of this television in their hands, was sincere, the opposition should not retreat and not agree to the development of the board where 5 of 9 members would be controlled by the government and get the situation we have today. I mean that the person like Levan Kubaneishvili "should not receive" 5 votes... "This should not have happened"...

Mamuka Areshidze, independent expert: judges the work of public broadcasting biased

and unlawful. According to him the reason for the bias of public broadcasting is improper policy of the management of the First Channel. The problem is aggravated by the circumstance that

the policy of public broadcasting is conducted by people who should not have an immediate contact with the television at first view (political leadership of the country, political leadership of the city). Important moment in the list of problems is a lack of professionalism of journalists affecting the quality of the work of public broadcasting and its rating in the society.

According to Mamuka Areshidze, the management of public broadcasting expressly and intentionally violates Georgian law on press and mass media and generally Georgian legislation. For example, interests of all categories and members of the society must be taken into account by the public broadcasting and nobody's opinion should be ignored according to the law. This is purposefully not observed by information media of the First Channel.

Fundamental reforms must be carried out for systemic changes of the public broadcasting. Legislation about mass media and the code of ethics of public broadcasting should be also reviewed.

Lasha Tughushi, independent expert: reasons for problems developed around public broadcasting is profound, these are mainly political reasons, for the first. I mean that the government, unfortunately, gravely interferes with the activity of the media, they send the journalists to the "frontline", this is of course a frontline is a conditional meaning and this aggression has been accumulating for long towards them. As a result we get very unpleasant picture and we must fight the reasons for the first. The reason is that the government should not interfere with the management and not participate in cases which do not concern them and is not their business. I am sure that when non-interference in media activity will be ensured, such incidents will not happen.

For the first, public broadcasting must be independent and this independency must be ensured by structural factors – system of management must be changed, apparently it is necessary to form functionally more flexible management system inside the television where selection will be made on the basis of various (not only politic) consensuses, by means of wider participation of the society which itself ensures protection in decisions while carrying out of editorial policy. Second: probably it is necessary as well to devise more flexible financial system promoting relations between the media and the society. For the first I mean a direct financing by the society. In cooperation I meant monitoring, financial transparency, more precise and fair form of financing. If all these will be ensured, public broadcasting will be better than other televisions. If we speak of their particular activity, there are complaints regarding their information policy, of course. Their news programs cannot stand critics, often do not reflect the situation in the country. This happens due to interference as well, to my mind.

Keti Bokhua, independent expert: during the last two decades all the poor sides of the Georgian journalism have become evident on the background of the confrontation between the government and Georgian political opposition together with the majority of the society. Tendencies of "self-censoring" of journalists, dictating to them, bringing them forcibly under control have especially been revealed. Thus we received "agitators" in a mantle of media having appeared as a side in the form of various media. During the last five years caste of journalists

"filtered" and selected on the basis of the principle "ours" was formed, it is not even necessary for the government to suppress them – they know themselves how to please the government, how

to close eye on the reality created on one side and how to highlight the reality within

the frames of their conjuncture on the other side, how not to consider professional ethics and codes of journalists, how to tell lies or semi-lies before the audience or readers, how to enter in conflict with the respondent or make political statements and win hearts of the respondents desired. Therefore, we have a situation in which the media emptied of professionals is interested neither in the reasons of the mistakes made by the government, nor preconditions of determination of the opposition, search of the roots of mercilessness of the society or the opinion of one part of the society having turned vicious towards journalists. Due to these reasons genres of the journalism, such as journalistic research and analytical

programs have disappeared in Georgian press and electronic media. Instead, young boys and girls eagerly rush with the microphones in their hands in order to blindfold, the trust of the society towards them decreases step by step. It follows that Georgian journalism is seriously ill, broken off from its main function of "guarding sheepdog" and developed into bipolar branch, journalism of government-opposition.

Prestige of Georgian journalism is on the edge of full degradation. This situation has only one solution: media should return its lost, fair and objective tribune of the fourth government and perform its role of mediator between the society, opposition and the government.

## სამოქალაქო მანიფესტი

- ✎ განიცდით ინფორმაციის ნაკლებობას? პოლიტიკურ დევნას?
- ✎ ირღვევა თქვენი სიტყვის, გამოსატვის, შეკრებისა და მანიფესტაციის უფლებები?
- ✎ გსურთ მონაწილეობდეთ მიმდინარე პროცესებში?
- ✎ გნებავთ გავლენა მოახდინოთ პოლიტიკურ პროცესებზე?

**დარეკეთ ჩვენთან:  
922 561; 922 566**

მოგვაწოდეთ თქვენი წინადადება, თუ როგორ ხედავთ დღევანდელი პოლიტიკური კრიზისიდან გამოსავალს.

დღეს საქართველოში პოლიტიკური კრიზისია, სიტუაცია ჩინშია შესული, სამოქალაქო მანიფესტი მიზნად ისახავს, ხელი შეუწყოს და აქტიურად ჩართოს საზოგადოების ფართო სპექტრი პოლიტიკური კრიზისიდან გამოსვლის გზების ძიებაში.

# სამოქალაქო მანიფესტი

ვიცოდეთ

მივიღოთ მონაწილეობა

მოვასდინოთ გავლენა

**დაგვიკავშირდით:**

**922 561; 922 566**

თქვენი წინადადებები რეგულარურად მიეწოდება ყველა მხარეს.

გადაეცემა როგორც ადგილობრივ, ისე საერთაშორისო ინსტიტუტებს.

გავრცელდება საინფორმაციო საშუალებებით.

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სამოქალაქო მანიფესტი

საქართველოს არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციათა ინიციატივა

საკონტაქტო ტელ.: 922 561; 922 566;

მისამართი: მიტროფანე ლაღიძის 3, ქ.თბილისი

ელ.ფოსტა: [civilmanifesto@gmail.com](mailto:civilmanifesto@gmail.com)

### Reportet by Civil Manifesto

21 april, 2009

Third wave of this Rallies in Tbilisi. The Protest takes new forms. Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia – the main artery Rustaveli Avenue fills with numbered cells where protesters are detaiming themselves until President Saakashvili steps down. The strategically located Freedom Square is also blocked, encircled by cells.

All might till dawn of 22<sup>nd</sup> April the Maestro TV (local city cabel TV who was deprived of it's license by the government for many months) was broadcasting live what was happening in the streets. Public Defender's Office and NGO groups have been monitoring the situation on a 24-hour basis.

See photos taken on site from 18:00 to 22:00 of 21<sup>st</sup> April, 2009.



სამოქალაქო მანიფესტი საქართველოს არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციათა ინიციატივა

საკონტაქტო ტელეფონები: 922 561; 922 566

მისამართი: თბილისი, მიტროფანე ლაღიძის 3.

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