



JULY 5

RUSSIAN MARCH AGAINST THE WEST



JULY 5,
RUSSIAN MARCH
AGAINST THE WEST

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to review the events that took place in Tbilisi on July 5 and 6, 2021, and the pre-organizational period of these events; to evaluate the government's actions in protecting the rights of the LGBTQ + community, media representatives and civil activists.

The report consists of three parts. **The first part** reviews the events before July 5 - the process of organizing the counter-Pride rally and related issues; **The second part** is dedicated to the persons involved in organizing, participating in and supporting violence, their activities and connections. **The third part** chronologically restores the events of July 5-6, evaluates them within legal terms and examines the tactics of action of radical groups.

Several photo/video materials obtained from the manifestation were processed during the preparation of the document. While researching the events, the information disseminated by the media, and the international and local legal framework have been used.

MAIN FINDINGS

- ▶ *Hate groups started organizing violence and mobilizing supporters almost a month before;*
- ▶ *The Government did not protect LGBTQ + members and supporters, civil activists and members of the media from violence against them on July 5;*
- ▶ *Instead of protecting members and supporters of the March of Dignity, the government itself has encouraged violent groups to use violence against civilians through homophobic and anti-democratic statements;*
- ▶ *The Government did not allow LGBTQ + members, their supporters, and civil society activists to hold a "March of Dignity" and violated their constitutionally guaranteed freedom of assembly;*
- ▶ *Statements made by the Patriarchate to some extent facilitated the mobilization of people at the counter-Pride rally on July 5;*
- ▶ *Simultaneously, some clergymen were actively calling their parishioners for violence;*

CHAPTER I – HOW WE CAME TO JULY 5

1.1 HOW THE PROCESSES WERE PLANNED

On June 4, 2021, Tbilisi Pride announced the Pride Week and conducting of the "March of Dignity" on July 5. Shortly after the announcement, homophobic groups announced counter-Pride rallies. The violent protests of July 5-6 were preceded by almost a month of organizational actions, which eventually culminated in attacks on the media and NGOs.

The planning of July 5 processes was led by the organization "Alt-Info". The members of Alt-Info: Zurab Makharadze, Irakli Kizilashvili, Giorgi Kardava and Shota Martinenko announced on the tv

show "Alt-Analytics" that they would not allow the Pride Week to be held in Georgia and would start organizing meetings to disrupt the "March of Dignity".¹ The first organizational meeting was held on June 19, in Vake, Mziuri Park.

The issues of mobilization and transportation of supporters from the regions were discussed at the June 19 organizational meeting, positions regarding the primary action plan were agreed upon with partner organizations. An counter-Pride campaign was planned through social networks and the "Alt-Info" TV space.² The campaign was distinguished with anti-liberal, anti-Western, homophobic, and violent calls.³

To plan a large-scale, so-called "punitive operation", "Alt-Info" offered cooperation to other anti-liberal NGOs and political movements. On June 21, Zurab Makharadze announced⁴ another organizational meeting through tv show "Alt-Analytics". According to him, the meeting would have been attended by Jondi Baghaturia, Childrens' Rights Organization, Georgian Idea, Georgian Mission, Levan Vasadze's political movement "Nation", Zviad Tomaradze, Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Guram Palavandishvili. Makharadze was waiting for the confirmation of attendance at the meeting from the "Patriots Alliance" and the defenders of Rioni gorge.

On June 24, an organizational meeting and a press conference were held at Gino Wellness in Mtskheta.⁵ According to "Alt-Info", they agreed with the allied forces to organize a rally against the LGBTQ + Pride scheduled for July 5. The agreement was joined by: organization "Mamulishvilebi" (in English "patriots"), Chokhosani Society, Movement "for National Media", Teachers' Association "Education and Morality", Business Association "Solidarity", Society "Davitiani", Media Union "Alt-Info", "Georgian Idea", "Georgian Mission", Public Movement "Nation", Jondi Baghaturia, Dimitri Lortkipanidze, and Zviad Tomaradze. The purpose of the organizational meeting was to discuss the action strategy and agree on common positions. At the press conference, Zurab Makharadze named the probable moving locations of the July 5 rally.⁶

"All the organizations presented here declare, that no LGBTQ + propaganda, debauchery propaganda parade will be held on Rustaveli Avenue. We call on all self-respecting Georgians, to mobilize at 10 am on July 5, behind Kashueti, on April 9 Garden, and from there we will occupy the entire Rustaveli Avenue. Starting from the Rustaveli monument to Freedom Square, there will be no location left that we will not control. And no debauchery normalizing march will take place. "

Along with the organizational meetings, the planning of the July 5 rally was influenced by the information campaign. Members of "Alt-Info", together with supporters, through social networks and media, called on people to come to the rally and use violent force.

"Oh, I am distancing myself from violence. How could it be, it was terrible to see how they were chased, no, it is not possible... yes, that's possible! it can be even worse, and

1 TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/PYyJ6mz>

2 Media report. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/hYyKpOq>

3 TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/xYyKjCM>

4 TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/FYyKCjF>

5 Press Conference video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/0YyK9j8>

6 Ibid.

if they don't keep "one-party" in one place, it would be worse. Let's break the parade of these pidarasts together on 5th " - Zurab Makharadze.

On July 4, Zurab Makharadze posted a video address on Tik-Tok's personal page. According to him, all the organizational meetings held by the organizers were "successful".⁷

When discussing the planning of the July 5 events, we should mention the involvement of the Georgian Patriarchate. Their first statement, demanding the cancellation of the Pride Week, was addressed to the organizers of the Tbilisi Pride and the Embassies accredited in Georgia.⁸ However, since "Tbilisi Pride" did not cancel the "March of Honor" and other events planned for the week, the Patriarchate issued another statement,⁹ according to which, the Patriarchate planned to hold a prayer service at the Kashueti Cathedral on July 5 and called on the public to protest the "March of Dignity" with "peaceful methods".

"Let us offer our prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary and show the world that we respect our dignity and that any attempt to degenerate, which is pressed upon, is unacceptable to us."

The clergymen personally took part in the mobilization of the abusers on July 5, which can be clearly seen from the videos posted on the Facebook page of the Society for the Protection of the Childrens' Rights,¹⁰ which was created on June 23, 2017, and it belongs to the organization of the same name, whose board is headed by Guram Palavandishvili.¹¹

"Alt-Info" together with the Youth Center "Morality" and the "Society for the Protection of the Childrens' Rights" actively participated in the planning of events before and after July 5, organizing rallies in front of the US Embassy and the EU Delegation premises.

1.2 THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS

The announcement of Pride Week and the "March of Dignity" by "Tbilisi Pride" members was followed by aggressive and threatening statements by homophobic groups on social networks and media outlets against the LGBTQ + community and their supporters. The radical steps taken by the anti-liberal wing eventually led to the violent events of July 5th. As a result of the investigation of the factual circumstances, it became possible to chronologically recover the events before July 5.

After the statement of "Tbilisi Pride", the members of "Alt-Info", "Society for the Protection of Childrens' Rights" and "Georgian Mission" were particularly aggressive. However, along with them, Levan Vasadze, a businessman and the founder of the political movement "Nation" was distinguished with his homophobic statements. He issued an ultimatum to the authorities – giving the Georgian Dream 10 days to cancel the march and pass a law banning "debauchery propaganda".¹²

7 Zurab Makharadze's video address. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/hYyLwhR>

8 Statement of the Patriarchate of Georgia. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/RYYLcfX>

9 Media report. Available at: <https://formulanews.ge/News/52943>

10 The statement. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/UYyLUTA>

11 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/hYyLJff>

12 Levan Vasadze's statement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/LYyLBN6>

"Cancel the announced so-called Pride, so as not to give an excuse for the development of escalation and controversy in the country," - Levan Vasadze. (June 15, 2021)

June 17 and 18, 2021

On June 17-18, counter-Pride rallies were announced on the tv program "Alt-Analytics":¹³

"We have to gether there as many, that not even the police, no matter who they bring there, it just will not make sense to do anything against us" - Giorgi Kardava

"People will have to mobilize from July 1," Shota Martinenko

As for the constitutional right of Pride supporters to exercise the right of assembly and demonstration, Giorgi Kardava told Alt-Analytics that he did not recognize the constitution as a legal document with the highest legal force - *"This constitution means anything. The Constitution means nothing to us. Appealing to it is childish performances."*

As for the constitutional right of Pride supporters to exercise the right of assembly and demonstration, Giorgi Kardava stated on the "Alt-Analytics" show, that he did not recognize the constitution as a legal document with the highest legal force - "As if this constitution means anything. The Constitution means nothing to us. Appealing to it is a childish imagination"¹⁴ ¹⁵

June 19, 2021

"Alt-Info", together with supporters and partner groups, held an organizing meeting of the counter-Pride rally.¹⁶

June 21, 2021

"Alt-Info" announced another organizational meeting and press conference on June 24.¹⁷ Zurab Makharadze stated on live tv show, that he not even distanced himself from the violence, but also supported it and called on others to do the same.

"Who distances himself/herself [from violence] is not a human." - Irakli Martinenko

Members of "Alt-Info" called on their supporters not to distance themselves from violence, but on the contrary, called them on violence. "Oh, he/she is an abuser and I'm not with him/her, no one should say such a nonsense. Those people who are going to distance themselves are not with us."¹⁸

June 22, 2021

The Society "for the Protection of Childrens' Rights" disseminated the address of Reverend Spiridon.

¹³ TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/BYyZg6w>

¹⁴ TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/pYyZnFh>

¹⁵ Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/sYyZPhd>

¹⁶ Footage from the organizational meeting. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/UYyZBe9> TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available at: <https://cutt.ly/qYyZ3yn>

¹⁷ TV show "Alt-Analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/UYyXy19>

¹⁸ Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/3YyXzuZ>

The Reverend called on the parishioners to protest against the Pride, "A man per hat¹⁹ should come out so that the protest does not take place."

June 24, 2021

Another organizational meeting and press conference were held. Zurab Makharadze stated, that no one would be allowed to hold the parade on Rustaveli. Together with the Allies, they would control the entire territory from Rustaveli Avenue to Freedom Square.²⁰

June 28, 2021

The Society "for the Protection of Childrens' Rights" announced the setting of tents. Guram Palavandishvili, Aleksandre Palavandishvili, Ilia Margvelani and Dimitri Lortkipanidze disseminated the statement, that they would set up tents near the Rustaveli metro station from the evening of July 4. The purpose of setting up the tents was to disrupt the so-called "March of Dignity" on July 5. Rallies were also planned in front of the EU Delegation and the US Embassy premises.²¹

June 29, 2021

Statement of the Georgian Patriarchate

The statement of the Georgian Patriarchate focused on several factors. First of all, the Patriarchate believed that the "March of Dignity" promoted an unconventional lifestyle, contained signs of provocation, conflicted with socially recognized moral norms, and undermined the child's psyche and best interests. On the other hand, the Patriarchate stated, that such activities contributed to the receipt of certain dividends for a small group and the artificial emergence of aggression against these groups in society.

The Patriarchate addressed the 30 members of the European Parliament working on LGBTQ + issues, the heads of Embassies accredited in Georgia and the organizers of Tbilisi Pride with the demand to cancel their planned activities.

Another press conference

The Society "for the Protection of Childrens' Rights" held a press conference at 11:30 in the press club "Kvira" regarding the rallies planned by them.²²

Zurab Makharadze's aggressive call

On the same day, Zurab Makharadze posted video calls on Tik-Tok's personal page and called on people to resort to violence.

"On July 5, it is not decided whether 10 pidarasts will walk on Rustaveli Avenue or not, on July 5 it will be decided whose rules apply in this country! Betrayed politicians, NGOs, media outlets, and most importantly, their foreign patrons, or - ours. They call us abusers and yes, I am an abuser! I can and am going to defend my own values, including

19 Georgian proverb.

20 Video address. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/nYyXT8N>

21 The statement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/YyXDFM>

22 Press Conference. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/lYy1i1q>

*by using force. If my child has to grow up in this hell created by them, I am ready to act against it by using force. On July 5, at 10 am, my brothers and I will go and stand behind Kashueti, in the April 9 garden, from there we will occupy the whole Rustaveli avenue and show these “inapts” whose country is Georgia. If you have not lost your sense of elemental dignity, come out, stand by us and fight for what is valuable and important. On July 5, from 10 am, behind Kashueti! There’s no way that they will hold a parade of debauchery”.*²³

*"On July 5, from 10 am, behind Kashueti, in the April 9 garden - let's fuck up LGBTQ+ Pride together."*²⁴

June 30, 2021

A protest rally was held in front of the EU Delegation premises.

According to the participants, this was a rally "against Western diplomats who are forcing the Georgian nation to Sodomy." The rally was organized by the youth center "Zneoba" and the "Society for the Protection of Childrens' Rights". Protesters demanded a meeting with Ambassador Karl Hartzel, and they were characterized by homophobic/anti-Western statements and banners.²⁵

A protest rally in from of the premises of the Embassy of the United States of America

Alexander and Guram Palavandishvili, together with their supporters, held a rally in front of the US Embassy. The protesters demanded the expulsion of Ambassador Kelly Degnan from Georgia. According to Alexander Palavandishvili, they were protesting against the activities of Kelly Degnan - "We came to Kelly Degnan, who is one of the aggressors forcing us to Sodomy, parades, children debauchery. US Ambassador, LGBTQ + aggressor to be expelled from Georgia!"²⁶

Statements of the organizers of the counter-Pride rally²⁷

Shota Martinenko, a member of “Alt-Info” and one of the organizers of the counter-“March of Dignity”, announced on June 30 that he had been summoned for questioning, but stated, that he was not distancing from violence and was ready for anything. The hosts of "Alt-Analytics" talked in advance about the plans for July 5, and said that the members of the organizing group would mobilize their companions. On July 5, from 10 am, they would gather in the April 9 Garden, occupy the whole Rustaveli avenue, all the locations, and not allow a gay parade to take place.

Levan Vasadze also made a statement - *"We will stand up for this. It is the duty of all traditional people not to allow these enemies to break the moral code of Georgia in the backbone".*

July 1, 2021

Rally in front of the club "Khidi"²⁸

23 Statement of Zurab Makharadze. Available in Georgian at:<https://cutt.ly/YYy1zOu>

24 Statement of Zurab Makharadze. Available in Georgian at:<https://cutt.ly/dYy1mhZ>

25 Media report. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/TYy1YvT>

26 Media report. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/FYy1F8g>

27 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/RYy1VgD>

28 Media Reports. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/5Yy0yCc>; <https://youtu.be/SYMrVlhjRT4>; <https://cutt.ly/oYy134A>

Violent groups held a rally against the LGBTQ + Pride under the Vakhushti Bridge, near the club "Khidi" (gathering at the location started from 5 pm).

The rally was attended by "Alt-Info" members and main organizers: Zura Makharadze (who was interrogated before the rally), Irakli Martinenko, Koka Morgoshia, Emre Kuchuk, etc. Gia Korkotashvili, Sandro Bregadze, Guram and Alexander Palavandishvili also appeared at the rally.

The situation near the Vakhushti Bridge has been tense, with physical confrontations, violent calls and attempts to break into private property illegally. In parallel, the representatives of the "Alt-Info" group covered the events live and called on the viewers to take part in the violent action. Opponents of Pride tried to block the road when law enforcers detained Zurab Makharadze along with several protesters. The detainees were soon released.

July 2, 2021

Zurab Makharadze's call

On July 2, Zurab Makharadze published a call on his Tik-Tok account: "On July 5, the Pride would be fucked up. On July 5, at 10 am, come out behind Kashueti to fuck up the army of Pidarasts."²⁹

July 3, 2021

Assembly at Lisi Lake

Alexander and Guram Palavandishvili gathered at the new hippodrome (Lisi Lake Area) together with their supporters. The purpose of the gathering was to disrupt the concert planned within the framework of LGBTQ + Week.³⁰

Statement of the Georgian Patriarchate

The Patriarchate has criticized the Embassies and the Members of the European Parliament for supporting Pride, neglecting the choice of the vast majority of the public and for sharply interfering in the public and spiritual life of Georgian citizens. "This is an abuse of their authority," states the statement.

In addition, the Patriarchate planned a counter-rally on July 5 in parallel with the "March of Dignity" and called on the public to come out to express a "peaceful protest." The Patriarchate imposed the whole responsibility on the possible threats to organizers of the Pride.³¹

July 4, 2021

Alexander Palavandishvili, together with supporters set up tents near the Rustaveli metro station (about 10 tents).

Guram Palavandishvili assessed July 5 as the second "Didgori"³² and did not exclude the existence

29 Statement of Zurab Makharadze. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/7Yy0hy4>

30 Media Reports. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/NYy0nac>; <https://cutt.ly/GYy0TZY>

31 Statement of the Patriarchate of Georgia. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/mYy0FNk>

32 The Battle of Didgori was fought between the armies of the Kingdom of Georgia and the declining Great Seljuq Empire at the place of Didgori, 40 km west of Tbilisi, on August 12, 1121. The battle resulted in King David IV of Georgia's decisive victory over a Seljuk invasion army under Ilghazi and the subsequent reconquest of a Muslim-held Tbilisi, which became the royal capital. The victory at Didgori

of victims - "there may be victims. I am announcing this. If the government still brings out these unspeakable abusers."

"We will combine the role of the police. This is not violence. This is the use of force. We will use adequate and humane force against this propaganda. But in the midst of so many crowds and immorality, no one is safe from being victimized".³³

July 5, 2021

The Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Gharibashvili declared ahead of a government meeting on July 5, that the "March of Pride" announced by Tbilisi Pride on Rustaveli Avenue was inappropriate and that the "radical opposition" was behind the rally led by Mikheil Saakashvili.

Irakli Gharibashvili's accusations against the "March of Dignity" and opposition political parties were noteworthy. According to him, the radical opposition, which organized the "March", wanted to bring "civil unrest and chaos" in the country.³⁴

1.3 WHAT WERE THE INCENTIVES OF THE VIOLENT GROUPS?

According to the analyses of the statements and actions of the violent groups, it seemed that their main goal was to disrupt Pride Week. They believed that the "March of Honor" violated the moral norms of the society and served to propagate the "non-traditional way of life" in the state. Violent and pro-Russian groups have chosen violent methods of protest from the very beginning.

About a month before July 5, an aggressive campaign was launched against the LGBTQ + community and its supporters. Members of the "Alt-Info" called on supporters not to distance themselves from violence, but on the contrary, to use violent force against them. Each of their statements was aimed at polarizing society - *"whoever distances himself/herself from [violence] is not human"* (Irakli Martinenko); *"Oh, he/she is an abuser and I'm not with him/her, no one should say such a nonsense. Those people who are going to distance themselves are not with us"*³⁵. The groups participating in the violent events of July 5 wanted to punish the organizers of "Tbilisi Pride" and their supporters. *"Do you know what 2021 should be like? 2013 should not be remembered by anyone, (implies the events of May 17, 2013) 2021 should be the worst nightmare for them,"* - Zurab Makharadze.³⁶

Although at first glance, the counter-Pride rallies were directed against the LGBTQ + community, the rally organizers' goals were far more than just ruining Pride Week. The campaign, with its essence, was directed against liberal ideology and the state's Euro-Atlantic course. This is evidenced by: the attack on the House of Human Rights, protest rallies in front of the US Embassy and the EU Delegation premises. The rally was organized by groups that have been making anti-Western and pro-Russian statements since their foundation. *"This is not just Pride just for Pride. This is another*

inaugurated the medieval Georgian Golden Age and is celebrated in the Georgian chronicles as a "miraculous victory".

33 Statement of Guram Palavandishvili. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/rYy0BqS>

34 Statement of PM Irakli Gharibashvili. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/AYy2eCp>

35 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/sYy2pRh> (from 29:35).

36 Tv show "Alt- analytics". Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/YYy2j00> (30:44).

form of political attack at a time when liberal globalism is in serious crisis and Western influences are dying in the region."(the statement was made in the tv show "Alt-Analytics"). Given the political ideology of the organizers, their activities and their worldview, it is not surprising that another target group for abusers was the non-governmental sector. The aggressive campaign against the NGOs has not been continued for months. The violent campaign based on so-called "fake news" ended on July 5 with the attacks on the offices of several NGOs (including the office of the Shame Movement).

Particular aggression was directed to the opposition political parties and their supporters, which intensified when 15 political parties (European Georgia, National Movement, Lelo Movement, Girchi - More Freedom, etc.) signed a memorandum showing solidarity to the minority rights.³⁷ In addition to the July 5 statements, retaliation against political parties was also evidenced by the events of July 5 - aggressive groups, after Zurab Makharadze's calls, raided the protest tents set up by the above-mentioned parties on Rustaveli Avenue. *"Take it out, take this garbage out of here"* (Zurab Makharadze).

The statement made by Shota Martinenko on June 30 is also noteworthy. He noted that everything was going according to the plan. The Conservative spark would have been converted into a political movement, specific demands would have been announced on the rally, that would eventually set a new political agenda.³⁸ *"On the Pride debris, there will start the first, so to speak, formation of the Conservative wing as a political force that would ***** this system - everything is going according to plan."*

Some clergymen of the Orthodox Church have also made certain contributions to encouraging aggression against opposition parties and their supporters. For example, on June 22, Reverend Spiridon, on the one hand, called on the public to engage in violent actions and, on the other hand, banned the communion of the members of pro-LGBTQ + political parties in his Diocese.³⁹

"The people who are in this sin and those who support them, nothing can save them - if they do not repent, of course, their communion is not possible. Homosexuality is literally a religion today, a religion of Satan, and their adherents are Satanic worshipers, so I, by God-given power, categorically forbid you the communion of those who are members of the party that has signed the act of alliance with homosexuals, they must repent, they must leave those parties".

It is well known that the events of July 5 took place with the mass attacks on journalists. More than 50 journalists were injured. The statement made by Zurab Makharadze on "Alt Analytics" on June 19 gives us a logical reason to believe that the other target groups of the violent groups were the media and that the attack on the journalists was pre-planned and orchestrated.⁴⁰

a) "Isn't it permissible to kick such journalists?" I just ask questions, the regulator to hear, (implies the Communication Commission) I just ask questions. Isn't that the right policy to drag them on asphalt with their faces?"⁴¹

37 An-nouncement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/WYy2R0n>

38 Announcement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/SYy2Dzw>

39 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/JYy2Lac>

40 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/bYy28nm> (1:14:52).

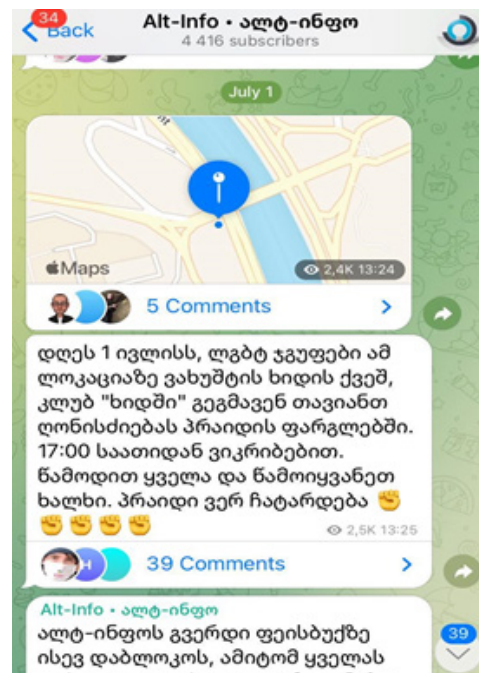
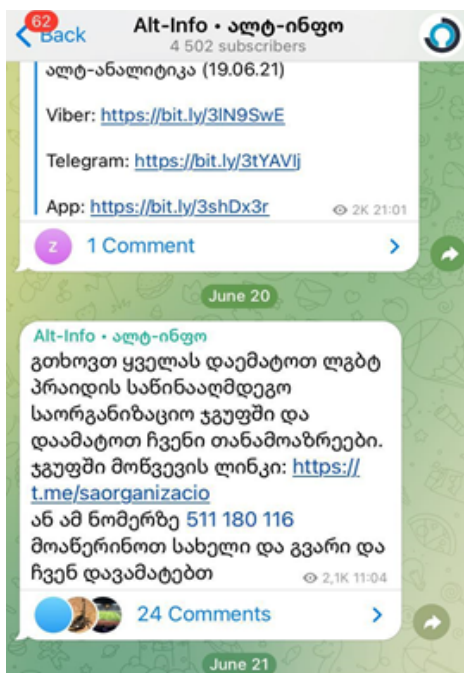
41 Ibid.

*b) "I will introduce such a method here from today. Someone not to imagine that we are propagandizing illegal actions, I will ask questions from now on, whether it is not necessary, for example, to **** Nika Gvaramia"⁴²*

To sum up, the counter-Pride rally, which allegedly aimed to disrupt the LGBTQ + community's "March of Honor", actually served not only to ruin Pride Week, but also to launch an organized attack against other target groups. Observations of the facts revealed that the main organizers of the violent groups were resorting the aggression not only against the LGBTQ + community and its supporters but also to the opposition political parties, non-governmental organizations, members of the media and the pro-Western course of the state in general. They tried to polarize society, on the one hand, as their own supporters and, on the other hand, as their enemies.

1.4 HOW THEY MANAGED TO MOBILIZE AND CONSOLIDATE SUPPORTERS

The main "tool" of the organizers for mobilization is an organization "Alt-Info" registered by Konstantine Morgoshia, through which the program "Alt-Analytics" writes and publishes videos every week. Its main core/anchors are Zura Makharadze, Shota Martinenko, Irakli Martinenko and Giorgi Kardava. They have repeatedly called on the audience to engage in and participate in a violent rally via live broadcast. From June 17-19, they called on the to call or text⁴³ on the cell phone number: 511 180 116, indicating their first and last name so that they could form a unified organizing team for quick response. This group was indeed created, like other, relatively large groups in the Telegram and Viber applications.



42 Ibid.

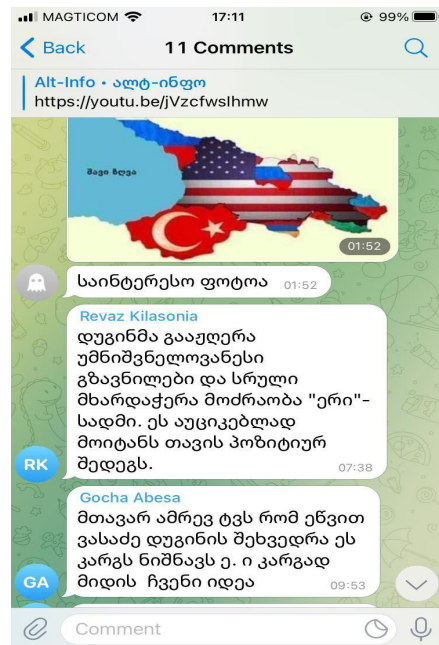
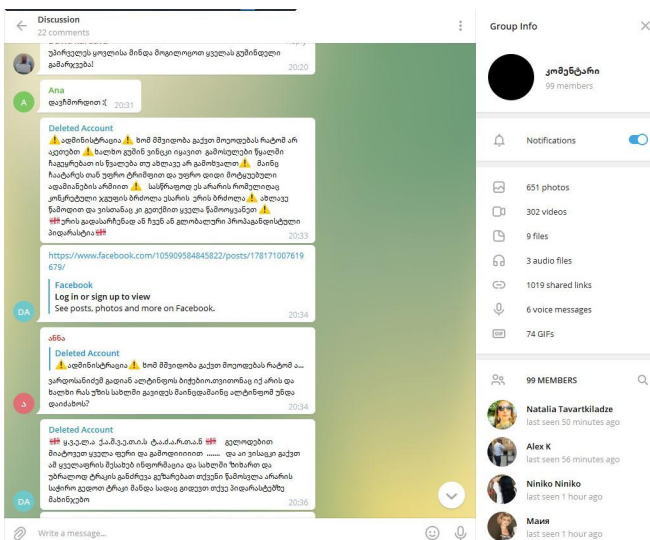
43 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/wYy9iWY> (from 6:00).

Violent groups also actively use the Youtube channel, broadcast live on it, and allow their followers to ask questions and leave a comment. As it is known, the Facebook administration blocks Alt-Info and other related pages, both private and public accounts, which is why they do not use this particular social network as actively as, for example, Telegram, Youtube and Viber applications.

could watch and hear their statements.

Before and after the violent protests, these 4 specific social networks/apps of "Alt-Info" are actively used.

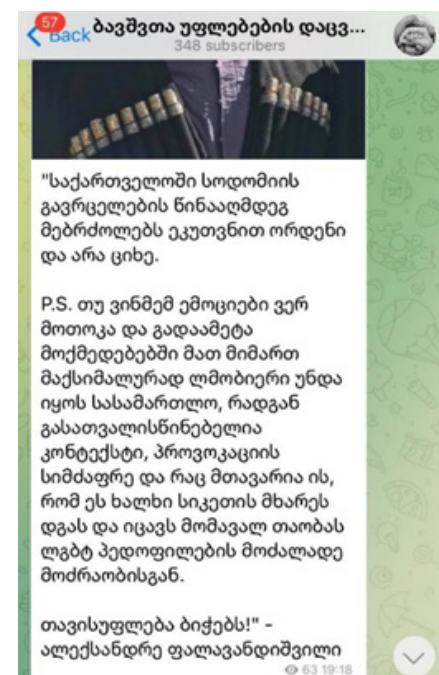
Along with the Facebook application, the Telegram chat was also used by the Society "for the Protection of Childrens' Rights".



Recently, the organizers started using the Tik-Tok application, through which, for example, Zurab Makharadze published several announcements on his account.⁴⁴

As it is known, "Alt-Info" does not have the form of TV outlet yet, so for their followers to watch the recordings, they have to post their programs on Facebook and Youtube channels. Mostly they still use the Youtube channel because, as we mentioned, the Facebook administration often blocks and cancels their Facebook pages.

After posting the video on the Youtube channel, they transfer the materials in already created Viber and Telegram groups so that the followers



44 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/xYy9W0V>

CHAPTER II – WHO WAS INVOLVED IN JULY 5 EVENTS

2.1 ORGANIZERS OF THE VIOLENT GROUPS AND THEIR CONNECTIONS

Among the organizers of the July 5 violent rally were “Alt-Info”, the Society “for the Protection of Childrens' Rights”, Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Zviad Tomaradze, “Georgian Idea”. Exactly these groups were the main organizers who planned and committed the July 5 violence.

The connections of all these individuals and organizations with each other, with the current government of Georgia and the Russian Federation are noteworthy. Such connections between them raise suspicions that all these processes were planned and facilitated by the Russian Federation and the current government. Especially if we recall the statements of the government officials, which coincided with the statements of the organizers of the violence: *"I have my attitude towards this issue and I think that given the full context, these people should be refused to hold this event" - Irakli Kobakhidze*

For example, **Shota Martinenko** and **Tsiala Morgoshia** own 50-50% shares of “Alt-Info”. Shota Martinenko is the anchor of "Alt-Info" programs. He distinguishes with anti-Western and homophobic rhetoric, for example - *"There is no somewhat European future in Georgia. There is either a version of Islamization or a zone of Russian influence - you have to choose. Only these two powers (Russia and Turkey) will decide everything that will happen in Georgia. The West will simply not be able to even get involved".*⁴⁵

Shota Martinenko is a relative of the pro-Russian party leader Irma Inashvili and its active supporter. He was also a member of Koba Davitashvili's initiative group in 2019.

Tsiala Morgoshia is the aunt of businessman **Konstantine Morgoshia**, under whose name he formally registers⁴⁶ organizations and companies. Morgoshia has a close tie to the Georgian government. He has got real estate worth hundreds of thousands of GEL from the state at a symbolic price. Konstantin Morgoshia was arrested on charges of misappropriation of state property and fraud during the previous government. Morgoshia was a lawyer and one of the leaders of the majority, Mamuka Mdinaradze, defended his rights.

In 2016, when he was a majoritarian candidate of the pro-Russian party "Alliance of Patriots" in Mtskheta, he donated⁴⁷ 91,000 GEL to the party on behalf of his wife and brother. After that, he left the party and financed the "Georgian March" in 2018, which was revealed by the Estonian intelligence service in 2020 to receive funding from Russia.⁴⁸ Later he left the Georgian March and founded the organizations "Alternative for Georgia" and "Alt-Info", which were the main organizers of the July 5 rally. As a result of exactly Morgoshia's call, the office of "Shame Movement" was raided and the cameraman - Lekso Lashkarava was beaten, who died in 5 days.

As for one of the anchors and the main face of „Alt-Info“, **Zurab Makharadze**, who was particularly

45 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/DYcOh3I>

46 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/fYcOQ1j>

47 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/nYcOYi0>

48 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/pYcODQO>

aggressive and active during the July 5 events, he first appeared in public in 2012, when he met Bidzina Ivanishvili and took a memorable photo⁴⁹ with him together with other members of the organization – “Georgian Martial Arts Federation – Shavparosnebi”.

In 2014, Makharadze donated 200 GEL to the Georgian Dream.⁵⁰ 200 GEL was donated to the ruling party by his partner **Irakli Kokosadze** too, with whom Makharadze appears in 4 different companies: “Caucasus Export Company” Ltd; “Youth Organization Shavparosnebi”; “Georgian Martial Arts Federation - Shavparosnebi” and “Art-M Travel” Ltd.

In 2019, Makharadze was a member of the initiative group⁵¹ nominating majoritarian candidate Koba Davitashvili in Mtatsminda district by-elections.

As for **Irakli Kizilashvili**, he is the brother of Shota Martinenko, who also hosts the program on “Alt-Info”, where he makes Eurosceptic and pro-Russian statements. He, like his brother, is a relative of pro-Russian party leader Irma Inashvili.

As for another anchor on “Alt-Info”, **Giorgi Kardava**, he is a dual citizen⁵² of Russia and Georgia and, like his co-hosts, actively voices anti-Western and pro-Russian calls. He stated that *“The only country that organically and catastrophically will not be satisfied with the disappearance of Georgia is Russia”*.

Another organizer of the July 5 rally was **Dimitri Lortkipanidze**. He was a member of Nino Burjanadze's political party “Democratic Movement” for years. In 2018, he left the party and became the director of the Primakov Foundation.⁵³

In turn, this fund was established in Georgia in 2013, and one of its founders was the **Gorchakov Foundation** operating in Ukraine. The Gorchakov Foundation was later banned from operating in Ukraine because it was considered a threat to Ukraine's security (the Gorchakov Foundation was established in 2010 by order of the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev by the Russian Foreign Ministry). The Primakov Foundation is a typical representative of the Russian soft power in Georgia, which tries to inspire sentimentality towards Russia among young people and stir up anti-Western narratives.

Another organizer of the rally was **Zviad Tomaradze**, who co-authored a number of petitions⁵⁴ with the people allied with Russia: **Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Sandro Bregadze and Levan Vasadze**. For example, he, together with Dimitri Lortkipanidze filed a petition against the introduction of the subject “Me and Society” in the study curricula, together with Sandro Bregadze was the initiator of the referendum regarding the definition of “marriage”, and together with Levan Vasadze he was the co-author of the petition against Kazantip. He actively cooperated with the pro-Russian party MP, Emzar Kvitsiani, with whom he prepared 3 legislative initiatives. It also deliberately spread disinformation⁵⁵ to discredit the West and carry pro-Russian narratives. On June 25, he also attended the meeting of

49 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/dYcOKFQ>

50 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/WYcO0aW>

51 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/yYcO4pL>

52 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/dYcPqPF>

53 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/JYcPotY>

54 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/2YcPhPQ>

55 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/vYcPbsj>

the organizers of the July 5 rally in one of the hotels in Mtskheta and was actively involved in the organizing process.

Father-son, Guram and Alexander Palavandishvili took a prominent place among the organizers of the rally. They are actively engaged in anti-Western, homophobic and xenophobic propaganda on behalf of two organizations, the “Georgian Idea” and the Society “for the Protection of Childrens’ Rights”. The days before July 5, it was Guram Palavandishvili who announced the possible existence of victims on July 5.

Their connection with Nino Burjanadze's party is noteworthy. In 2016, Alexander Palavandishvili donated up to GEL 4,000⁵⁶ to Nino Burjanadze's party, and in 2020 - GEL 8,300 to the party “Georgian Idea”, where his father was number one in the party’s membership list and he himself was number 6 on the list.

On July 16, 2021, police conducted an investigation into the flats of individuals involved in organizing a homophobic rally on July 5. On the same day, the organizers of the rally: **Zurab Makharadze, Shota Martinenko, Irakli Kizilashvili, Konstantine Morgoshia, Alexander Palavandishvili, Guram Palavandishvili, Giorgi Kardava, Temur Bokelavadze, Ramaz Gagnidze, Beka Berishvili, Levan Chichua, Giga Gimzeridze, Onise Bregvadze, Elgudja Iashagashvili, Giorgi Makharashvili, Onise Beradze, Beka Bregvadze and Zura Arveladze** were interrogated at the police station. However, despite a number of video evidence where the rally organizers directly called for violence against citizens, the Ministry of Internal Affairs had no other reaction so far.

CONCLUSION:

Finally, it is clear that all the main organizers of the July 5 rally have some kind of connection with the Russian Federation, pro-Russian groups operating in Georgia or the current ruling party.

The existence of such connections may explain why none of them are currently detained, why the police were virtually inactive on July 5, and why they were broadcast live on Russian television during the violent July 5 rally.⁵⁷

2.2 MEMBERS OF THE VIOLENT GROUPS

The events of July 5, 2021, along with authors, had performers. About a month before the rally, the organizers started to form groups from different regions of Georgia in order to mobilize supporters and effectively coordinate the rally. The groups from Svaneti and Imereti were especially active (their representatives, for example: **Enri Oniani, Goga Poladishvili, Lasha Lekiasvili, Giorgi Shukiauri, Giorgi Gakhokidze, Davit Kutaladze, Beka Berishvili, Zurab Arveladze, Davit Lomsadze, Ermile Nemsadze, Vazha Gumbuzhanidze, Robi Gugunishvili, Nikoloz Kvanchiani and others**, were characterized by homophobic/anti-Western calls and/or violence).

However, groups from Kakheti, Rustavi, Samegrelo, Adjara, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Guria participated with them, and they were led by “Alt-Info” regional leaders. The members of “Alternative for Georgia” as well as the supporters of the political movement “Nation” were particularly aggressive. The

56 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/mYcPQMa>

57 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/cYy9MTf>

majority of the participants went to Kashueti Church and in front of the legislature at the demand of the church. The rally was also joined by the defenders of "Rioni gorge" and the members of "Chokhosani⁵⁸ club".

In the process of processing the spread photo-video material and researching social networks, it became possible to identify a number of people involved in the violent rally.

Nino Chkareuli was involved in coordinating the July 5 rally. She is currently conducting anti-vaccination propaganda through her personal Facebook page.

Beka Vardosanidze, an active supporter of the political movement "Ertoba, Raoba, Imedi", was also present at the rally. He is known for his homophobic, anti-Western statements and hate speech on his Facebook page and blog.

The following persons participated in the rally, disseminated fake news and/or were engaged in anti-Western and homophobic propaganda: **Tsotne Chkheidze, Levan Mchedlishvili, Giorgi Khvedelidze, Lasha Khetsuriani, Gela Gagua, Diego Shamatava, Levan Sarjveladze, Giorgi Menteshashvili, Irakli Antidze, Giga Chakvetadze, Giorgi Makharashvili, Giorgi Khachidze, Vakho Barbakadze, Davit Lomsadze, Luka Chirgadze, Davit Abzhanidze, Giorgi Gogia, Beka Tskhadadze. Also, members of "Alternative for Georgia": Sandro Kardava, Emre Kuchuki (Suren Daneliani), Tamuna Kacharava, Irma Gabrichidze, Irakli Antidze, Giga Karbelashvili, Zuka Zukakishvili, Oto Zukakishvili, Arsen Popkhadze, Luka Macharadze, Ramaz Katamadze, Giorgi Dadvani, Eldar Dadvani, Giorgi Kutelia, Temo Pirveli, Giorgi Aniashvili, Zura Aniashvili, Mate Peradze, Irakli Chukhua, Giorgi Kopadze, Davit Sartani, Mate Giglemiani, Merab Gigani, Mirian Beridzishvili, Shako Qerelashvili.**

Pavle Amirejibi intruded in the office of "Shame Movement" and was caught on camera by Lekso Lashkarava. The Ministry of Internal Affairs did not detain him and, as far as it is known, he was not even summoned for questioning. He was recognized by a witness of TV Formula. The witness confirmed during the conversation with TV Formula, that he/she noticed Pavle Amirejibi in Trinity and Didube Church.

As far as it is known to the public, at this stage, 31 people were arrested during the rallies held on July 5-6, on charges of unlawful interference with the journalist's professional activities under the threats of violence, persecution under violence, or threat of violence and group violence. Namely:

- ▶ *Tsotne Chikhladze*
- ▶ *David Kutaladze*
- ▶ *Giorgi Maghradze*
- ▶ *Akaki Nakashidze*
- ▶ *Murad Devlarishvili*
- ▶ *Temur Kharauli*
- ▶ *Ilia Keadze*
- ▶ *Romeo Kekutia*
- ▶ *Gia Giguashvili*
- ▶ *Giorgi Kakhiani*
- ▶ *Tedo Burduli*
- ▶ *Giorgi Tsaruashvili*
- ▶ *Nikoloz Guledani*
- ▶ *Irakli Kavlashvili*

58 Traditional male dress of peoples of the Caucasus.

- ▶ *Zaza Chaava*
- ▶ *Zaza Mchedlidze*
- ▶ *Tornike Davlasheridze*
- ▶ *Alika Alazov*
- ▶ *Giorgi Naskidashvili*
- ▶ *Giorgi Odzelashvili*
- ▶ *Giorgi Elizbarashvili*
- ▶ *Irakli Tsignadze*
- ▶ *Mukhran Dadvani*
- ▶ *Tornike Gabliani*
- ▶ *Bakar Maisuradze*
- ▶ *Otar Gelashvili*
- ▶ *David Kochiashvili*
- ▶ *Vano Burduli*
- ▶ *Ushangi Datunashvili*
- ▶ *Geno Germanishvili*

- ▶ *27 individuals have been arrested for unlawful interference with the journalist's professional activities under the threats of violence, persecution under violence, or threat of violence and group violence;*
- ▶ *3 persons have been arrested for raiding the office of "Tbilisi Pride", group violence, persecution under violence or threat of violence and violation of inviolability of domicile or of any other property;*
- ▶ *1 person was arrested by the police for violence perpetrated against a citizen;*
- ▶ *As regards to the G. Sh. (Born in 1965), prosecutors office accuses him of damaging the side windshield of a patrol police car.*

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on July 6, 100 persons have been detained administratively, and 2 persons under criminal law on a counter-rally organized by radical groups against the "Freedom" rally in Tbilisi. Out of 100 people detained under the administrative rule, 68 were released on bail, and 32 remained in the temporary detention isolator (among the administratively detained persons were **Giorgi Asatiani, Giorgi Chelidze, Soso Shaoshvili** (a supporter of the "Nation").

It should be noted that the statements made by the accused persons in court were very similar to each other. Most of the detainees told the court that they had participated in the rally against Pride with the call and blessing of the church. The majority of them told the judge that they had no objections against journalists and the LGBTQ + community. Also, they denied committing any kind of violent act, and some of them attributed the perpetrated violence to the accident. For example, according to Zaza Mchedlidze, he hoisted a flag and accidentally hit the camera.⁵⁹ Zaza Chaava, who is seen in the footage, colliding with⁶⁰ journalists on a motorcycle, said he accidentally took his hand from the motorcycle and lost control,⁶¹ Giorgi Elizbarashvili, who broke into the office of "Tbilisi Pride", stated that while climbing the balcony he hit "the glass" with inertia, because of which he cut

59 Statement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/4Yy3qnW>

60 Statement. Available in Georgian at: https://youtu.be/KG3wdPy3_0

61 Statement. Available in Georgian at: https://youtu.be/KG3wdPy3_0

his hand and entered the office to wash his hands.⁶²

Most of the accused have the status of being unemployed or are socially vulnerable. Some of them arrived in Tbilisi from the region to take part in the rally. As we have learned, two of the detainees have been convicted in the past.⁶³

2.3 SUPPORTERS OF THE VIOLENT GROUPS

The dramatic events of July 5, 2021, were preceded by provocative statements made by a number of politicians and clerics. In this regard, the statement made by the Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Gharibashvili on the morning of July 5 was noteworthy, which was criticized by a number of non-governmental organizations and political parties, and was assessed as “giving green light to the violence”. According to him, “Unfortunately, revanchist radical groups, in particular the radical opposition led by Saakashvili, are still behind the organizers of today's rally. They are involved, and I declare with full responsibility that they are organizing the march and these rallies and their goal is to bring civil unrest and chaos in our country”.⁶⁴

*"It will no longer be the case when the minority has always decided the fate of the majority. When any decision was made in Georgia with their violent signature". (July 12, Irakli Gharibashvili).*⁶⁵

No less important was the statement made by Irakli Kobakhidze on June 18. Irakli Kobakhidze, chairman of the ruling party Georgian Dream, said on TV Pirveli: *"I have my attitude towards this issue and I think that given the full context, these people should be refused to hold this event"*⁶⁶. To the question of TV host Inga Grigolia, whether he is trying to please the church and Levan Vasadze with this statement, Kobakhidze answers, that the church does not need to be pleased.⁶⁷

The leaders of the "Patriots Alliance" also made a statement. According to **David Tarkhan-Mouravi**, the Georgian Orthodox Church is being fought by pseudo-liberal organizations in the United States and Europe. Tarkhan-Mouravi blamed USAID, President Biden's administration and the US State Department for the fight against the church. **Irma Inashvili** assessed the events as a struggle against the church.

Sandro Bregadze, one of the leaders of the Georgian March, called the rally announced by “Tbilisi Pride” an attempt to discredit the church. In his opinion, the "March of Dignity" was artificially planned by the Public Defender - Nino Lomjaria, political parties and the LGBTQ + community.

It is alarming, that the events of July 5 were positively assessed by **Alexander Dugin**, a person close to the Kremlin and the Russian military and a close associate and former counselor of the State Duma Speaker Gennady Seleznyov and a member of the United Russia party, Sergei Naryshkin. Dugin, who was the main inspiration of the National-Bolshevik Party, the National-Bolshevik Front and the Eurasian Party, has friendly relations with the founder of the political movement "Nation",

62 Statement. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/8Yy3u3l>

63 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/aYy3s2v>

64 Statement of PM Irakli Gharibashvili on Government sitting. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/SYy3xxR>

65 Statement of PM Irakli Gharibashvili. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/8Yy3DVe>

66 Interview with Irakli Kobakhidze. Available at: <http://go.on.ge/2alu>

67 Interview with Irakli Kobakhidze. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/YYy3LXo>

Levan Vasadze. He has also been invited with the guest status on “Alt-Info” many times and often shares the statements of “Alt-Info” and their supporters on his Facebook page. Dugin responded to the current events in Georgia in a Facebook post as follows: Georgians, with their heroic actions, are changing the world balance. As for the fact of burning the EU flag, Dugin described it as "Georgia I admire".



The Russian ultranationalist and philosopher also shared a post of **Shota Mamulashvili**, a supporter of "Ertoba, Raoba, Imedi" (who demonstratively burned the EU flag) with the caption - "*July 5 is the day of awakening of the Georgian people.*"



Shortly after the July 5 events, “Alt-Info” interviewed Sergei Glazyev, Minister of the Eurasian Economic Commission. Sergei Glazyev has active ties with Vladimir Putin.⁶⁸

The role of the Patriarchate and its subordinate clergymen in the preparation and implementation of the July 5 violent rally is also noteworthy. As we have already mentioned, on June 29, the Patriarchate issued its first statement, calling on its organizers to cancel the "March of Dignity" and sharply criticizing the position of the Western ambassadors regarding the Pride. As there was no response to this statement, on July 3, the Patriarchate announced a rally in front of Kashueti Church intending to hold a prayer service in parallel with the "March of Dignity". Numerous clergymen under the Patriarchate, along with the rally organizers, were personally involved in the process of mobilizing the people.

Reverend Ioane Gamrekeli - Head of the Kutatel-Gaenati Diocese directly participated in the July 5 rally. TV Formula journalist Rati Tsverava⁶⁹ was physically assaulted in front of him, but in the

68 Interview with Sergey Glaziev at “Alt-Info” Available at: <https://cutt.ly/LYy34KX>

69 TV report. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/8Yy8yyv>

following days he claimed that Rati Tsverava had taken off his shirt and that there had been no violence against the journalist.⁷⁰ Ioane Gamrekeli also threatened Irakli Vachiberidze, a journalist of "Mtavari Arkhi", with physical retaliation, recalling a past incident when he was physically assaulted by the Archbishop of Van and Baghdad, Anthony. It is noteworthy that Reverend Ioane Gamrekeli is distinguished with pro-Russian statements and, according to some theologians, the appointment of Metropolitan Ioane Gamrekeli in one of the main Dioceses of the Orthodox Church was directed to strengthening the pro-Russian sentiments within the church.⁷¹

Deacon Nikoloz Kupreishvili (civilian name - Paata Kupreishvili) - arrived in Tbilisi from Abasha on July 5. According to journalist Miranda Baghaturia, Kupreishvili physically assaulted her at the entrance of the "Shame Movement" office. The deacon was also featured in the footage taken on Rustaveli Avenue. However, he has not been questioned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs so far. Prior to the events on Rustaveli Avenue, Father Nikoloz also opposed the media in the Chkondidi Diocese. During the confrontation, several journalists fell from the second floor of the Reverend's residence. Father Nicholas confronted the journalists even when the clergy were arguing about one of the orthodox feasts. The deacon was questioned by police.

Deacon Spiridon Tskipurishvili - from the Vardigori Fathers' Monastery (Terjola), also participated in a gathering of the parish. On the day of the rally, he openly called on the protesters to resort to violence, due to which the Public Defender demanded launching of the criminal proceedings against him, along with Zurab Makharadze.

Reverend Anton Bulukhia - Head of the Diocese of Van and Baghdad, was an active supporter and encourager of the July 5 violent rally. In the following days, he continued to use hate speech against journalists.⁷²

Archimandrite Kirion Oniani (Davit Gareja's Lavra) was also present at the rally together with Levan Chachua, the chairman of the "Georgian Idea" and one of the organizers of the July 5 rally. **Father Mose Chelidze** (Tbilisi, Archangel Michael Church) stood on the front line together with the leaders of "Alt-Info". Father Mose Chelidze has always been distinguished with his pro-Russian messages ("Georgian nation will meet Christ together with Russians," he said in 2019).

Father Gabriel Chaduneli (Ruis-Urbnisi Diocese, Dzama Valley) also called the parish for gathering through Facebook. He was standing at the rally with the members of "Chokhosani Club" ("No one is harassing you in your own homes. In the street you will never be allowed to propagate filth. A man per hat on July 5").

The fact that a certain part of the clergy of the Orthodox Church was actively involved in the mobilization of the parishioners during the July 5 rally is confirmed by the statement of the head of the Teleti Annunciation Church, Archpriest **Basil Iashagashvili**. During the press conference held at Media Holding "Kvira" Basil Iashagashvili stated *"As far as I know, clergymen are coming from all regions to somehow resist the rally. It will be in peaceful form. Every person has a peculiar inner mood. Maybe someone will come and take their poster, maybe someone will not take it and just stand at the rally. If a person holds a poster of debauchery, and someone comes and takes it away*

70 Video, Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/UYy8nbj>

71 Article. Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/4Yy8g5B>

72 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/FYy8U80>

without beating or hitting him/her, I think this is not violence."

According to the photos disseminated through the social network, that the following persons stood next to the leaders of "Alternative for Georgia" and "Georgian Idea":

- ▶ *Father Saba Chikaidze - Church of the Transfiguration of Savior in Vake, Tbilisi;*
- ▶ *Archpriest Shalva Kekelia - Church of the Transfiguration of the Savior in Vake, Tbilisi;*
- ▶ *Father Davit Rukhadze - Saburtalo Pentecostal Church;*
- ▶ *Archpriest Giorgi Razmadze - St. Ketevan Martyr Church in Tbilisi;*
- ▶ *Reverend Giorgi Jamdeliani - Diocese of Marneuli and Hujab;*
- ▶ *Archimandrite Kirion Oniani - Davit-Gareja Lavra;*
- ▶ *Father Giorgi Pavlov - Sagarejo, Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mother of God;*
- ▶ *Priest-monk Davit Umankoshvili - St. Saba Monastery of Gelati;*
- ▶ *Archpriest Archil Dateshidze - Kutaisi Iveria Church of the Icon of the Holy Mother of God;*
- ▶ *Father Arsen Sadunishvili – Kutaisi Church of Nativity of St. Ioane Baptiser;*
- ▶ *Father Toma Soselia – Kutaisi Churches of Nativity of St. Ioane Baptiser and Apostle St. Thomas;*
- ▶ *Priest Kvirike Robakidze - Kutaisi, Church of the Venerable Ilarion Kartveli;*
- ▶ *Deacon Ioane Mikhelidze - Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Gumati, Zarath's temples of the Transfiguration of St. Kvirike and Ivliita and Jonet;*
- ▶ *Deacon Ilarion Kvimsadze - Kutaisi Church of the Apostle St. Thoma;*
- ▶ *Priest-monk Moses Tskitishvili - Kutaisi Venerable Black Moses Monastery;*
- ▶ *Father Ioane Grigolashvili - Tskaltubo, the church of the village Ukaneti;*
- ▶ *Father Davit Bochorishvili - Tkibuli, Kashuetian St. George's Church;*
- ▶ *Father Giorgi Bediashvili - Tbilisi, St. Demeter the self-sacrificer/St. Dimitri Kipiani Cathedral;*
- ▶ *Father Benjamin Ebralidze - Jikheti Nunnery;*
- ▶ *Father Demetre Katamadze - Bolnisi, Kveshi Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary;*
- ▶ *Father Ioane Sabanadze – Vake, church of St. Andrea the First-Called;*
- ▶ *Father Mirian Pkhakadze - Diocese of Bolnisi, Tandzia Church.*

2.4 FUNDING FOR THE JULY RALLY AND ESTIMATED FINANCIAL SOURCES OF THE ORGANIZERS

It was important to examine the estimated sources of funding for the organizers of the July 5 violent rally. As we already know, 50% of “Alt-Info” is owned by Konstantin Morgoshia (the organization is formally registered on the name of his aunt). Konstantine Morgoshia has been a sponsor of the “Georgian March” in the past, and at this stage he is providing financial support to his company “Alt-Info” and other, in our estimation, violent organizations.

As it was already mentioned, Konstantine⁷³ Morgoshia was the sponsor of the "Georgian March". This is confirmed by Sandro Bregadze's statement, where confirms, says that he and Konstantine Morgoshia were paying the office rent. Real estate and businesses owned by Morgoshia are not registered on his name. The part of his business is registered in his father and aunt. Morgoshia's father passed away a few months ago, however, as far as it is known, the property remains on his name in official documents.

Konstantine Morgoshia is a shareholder in two companies, a director of two companies and a founder/ chairman of two companies. These organizations are: “Grande Group Georgia” Ltd., NNLE “Caucasus”, NNLE “Alternative for Georgia”, “Kem Construction” LTD and “Magnus Design” Ltd. According to him, he is a "case manager" and cooperates with 5-6 companies, where his partners are Georgian businessmen living in different CIS countries and foreign partners related to them.

In addition, the state granted hundreds of acres of land⁷⁴ in the name of Morgoshia's friend's son free of charge or at a symbolic price, and the obligations on this property have not been fully fulfilled.

The second large-scale businessman behind these violent groups is **Levan Vasadze**, who owns a number of businesses⁷⁵ in Georgia and Russia. In 2010, Levan Vasadze's investment company “Prometheus Capital Partners” acquired a controlling stake in a chain of pet stores “Beethoven” and “Zoobum”. According to Russian media, during this period the value of the company was estimated at 5 billion rubles, or about \$ 70 million, and the share of Levan Vasadze's controlling stake in it was estimated at 3-3.5 billion rubles, or \$ 40- \$ 45 million.

From 2016 to June 2017, Levan Vasadze owned and managed the Russian IT consulting firm “AT Consulting”, which, according to the company's website, employed more than 2,500 people during this period. In 2016, the company's revenue was 11.87 billion rubles, which, according to the exchange rate for this period, equals \$ 160 million.

Levan Vasadze’s Georgian Business

Among the assets of Levan Vasadze in Georgia is the largest company producing sparkling wine "Bagrationi 1882". According to the financial report submitted by the company to reportal.ge, in 2019, the joint-stock company "Bagrationi 1882" owns GEL 22,044,135 assets.

Nino Durglishvili, Levan Vasadze’s wife is the General Director of "Bagrationi 1882", The Luxembourg company “Kor Invest”, affiliated with Vasadze, owns 96.82% of the company.

Another business in which Levan Vasadze is involved in Georgia in the field of secondary education.

73 Available in Georgian at: <https://cutt.ly/2YcUeQr>

74 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/CYcUkKU>

75 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/lYcUnye>

His wife, Nino Durglishvili owns 100% of **Iakob Gogebashvili's school** in Kiketi. According to the financial report submitted by the company to reportal, the school's income in 2019 was GEL 978,514, while its net profit was GEL 266,239. The volume of school assets by the end of 2019 amounted to **GEL 1,952,743**.

From 2013 to 2016, Levan Vasadze owned 16% stake in "**GCF Partners**", the management company of the Investment Fund - a "Co-Investment Fund" founded by Bidzina Ivanishvili. In addition, Vasadze said at a presentation of the "Co-Investment Fund" in 2013 that he would be a member of the fund's advisory board.

In addition, it is known that the sister of Levan Vasadze, Tamar Vasadze owns 83% of shares in the national clothing brand "Samoseli Pirveli". According to the Squander Detector,⁷⁶ from 2012 to 2019, the company has participated in 107 simplified procurements and most of the procurers are state-owned. During this period, the store received a total of 135,365 GEL. Among them, in March 2020, 116,000 GEL was given to them by the Ministry of Defense without any tender for sewing "chokhas".

As for another organizer of the rally, the Primakov Foundation of Dimitri Lortkipanidze⁷⁷, "E.M. Primakov named Georgian-Russian Public Center" was established in Georgia in 2013 by the "Gorchakov Foundation" and the Georgian Institute of International Relations.

The "Gorchakov Foundation" was established in 2010 under the order of the President of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. The fund is headed by Leonid Drachevsky. According to the research of the "Transparency International", the Gorchakov Foundation is one of the tools of Russia's soft power deployment, and according to its charter, the foundation aims to promote public opinion abroad favorable to Russia, to advance Russia's intellectual, cultural, scientific and business potential abroad, including financial support for domestic, foreign and international organizations.

The Information Center of "Gorchakov Foundation" was launched in Kyiv in 2013 with the same goal of maintaining Russian-Ukrainian friendship and increasing youth loyalty to Russia. The activities of the fund were considered by the Ukrainian Security Service as a threat to their state and the office was closed within two years.

Primakov Center cooperates with the organization "Russian Club", one of the sponsors of which is the fund "Russian World" created by Putin. Information about the funding of the "Primakov Foundation" is not publicly available, but we must assume from its Russian connections that it's funding also comes from the Russian Federation.

76 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/vYcRIOP>

77 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/1YcRVOi>

CONCLUSION:

In our estimation, businessman **Levan Vasadze** is behind “Alt-Info” and actively participated in organizing the July 5 rally. His businesses in Russia and Georgia are counting tens of millions of dollars, and he must be one of the potential sponsors of the July 5 rally.

Konstantine Morgoshia is also a large-scale businessman like Levan Vasadze, who was actively involved in organizing the July 5 rally. On July 5, Morgoshia directly led the violent protest. He was the one who took the protesters to disperse the office of “Shame Movement”, where they beat Lekso Lashkarava. We do not have access to overseeing bank transfers and cash management processes, but we thoroughly assume that it was his active financial support that covered the organizational costs of the July 5-6 rallies.

And the “Primakov Foundation”, whose director is Dimitri Lortkipanidze, is a direct representative of the Russian soft power in Georgia, actively cooperating with the Russian club, which is funded by the Putin-created foundation “Russian World”. Although the organization's finances are not public, we must assume that the source of funding for the “Primakov Foundation” is the Russian Federation and that one of the possible sources of funding for the July 5 rally came from Russia.

Obviously, this does not exclude the possibility, that the sponsors of the violent rally were other people too, but the above examples show that the organizers of the July 5 violence are either large-scale businessmen themselves, or they are backed by specific foundations and large businesses with close ties to the Russian Federation and current Georgian authorities.

CHAPTER III – THE EVENTS OF JULY 5-6

3.1 CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS OF JULY 5

„Opponents of “Tbilisi Pride” started gathering in the vicinity of the Rustaveli metro station at about 10 am. The police blocked Rustaveli Avenue from 11 am. The main demand of the opponents of “Tbilisi Pride” was to cancel the event. Although the abusers were particularly aggressive towards the media. Nor did they exclude the threat of a clash with the police.

“Violence is LGBTQ + indecency propaganda. Normally, this violent act should be confronted by an adequate police force and they should disperse, seize the posters and withdraw them from the area, but because the police can not do that, because the police have passed the law that LGBTQ + lifestyle is the norm, so many people come to replace the police,” said Guram Palavandishvili.⁷⁸

The morning of July 5

Statement of the Prime Minister of Georgia Irakli Gharibashvili

⁷⁸ Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/HYy8Jpu>

Prior to the government sitting, the Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Gharibashvili, made a statement regarding the "Tbilisi Pride" and noted that a march should not have taken place on Rustaveli Avenue.

"We have a centuries-old history as one of the most ancient nations, where we have many examples of coexistence and no representative of any minority, be it religious or other people, has ever had a problem. Consequently, I would like to say that even today, people who protest and express their position and want to hold certain marches, it is their right. Naturally, we understand this as a given and we understand their wishes, it is their constitutional right."

The march scheduled today carries risks of civic confrontation because the march is unacceptable by the vast majority of the country's population. That is why I believe that the conduct of the march on Rustaveli Avenue is not reasonable. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is in constant contact with the organizers of the march, they explained that their action contains concrete threats and they were given the opportunity to select alternative locations. I want to address to them to take into account our call" - said Irakli Gharibashvili.⁷⁹

Location: vicinity of Rustaveli Metro Station

Shortly after the announcement of the Prime Minister, Guram Palavandishvili made a statement in front of the Rustaveli Metro Station:

"It is of third importance for us whether Mr. Irakli Gharibashvili likes Pride or not. This is ridiculous. Rustaveli Avenue is not the only place we care. Digomi, Temka, Gori, Chiatura, all there are lands of our holy Mother of God. A dirt parade should not be held anywhere. No alternative, only prohibition. This is an unacceptable, dirty form of lifestyle. So if there is announced to hold the "Pride March" somewhere and we hear about it, we will take half of our forces and go. We'll go to disrupt any activity. And I want to warn the Prime Minister - we are not kidding. We are going to physically destroy the march and then we will come to his office if there is violence against the Georgian nation and the monk. Therefore, we are issuing an ultimatum to the Prime Minister, we are ready to fight to the end. And we will not let them pass. If we let them pass, we'll come to his office and he'll have to pay for his alternatives. He should stand by the side of the nation and the monk and do not threaten us with its alternatives."⁸⁰

Location: Behind Kashueti, April 9 Garden

From the early morning, protesters gathered behind Kashueti, in the April 9 Garden. Zurab Makharadze addressed the supporters. The first call for the demolition of tents was voiced here.

"Hello, Georgians. Today is a very important day in Georgia and I want to tell you in two words what day it is. Here, in front of the legislature, are encamped those parties - 15 parties that made such a pidarast signature on some nonsense paper [the LGBTQ + community]. They are holding this Pride."

79 The Statement. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/kYy4peE>

80 The Statement. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/jYy4jmp>

"There is a signature of such parties and we already have a Gen-pride here and I will tell you now what we will do. Now we will go there to the legislature and clean it up of the garbage and then we will talk. let's go".⁸¹

It should be noted that this statement of Zurab Makharadze was almost identical to the statement made by Irakli Kobakhidze in the following hours:

"The real goal of Pride was not to protect someone's rights but has a subjective political interest behind it. I want to remind everyone, that whatever is happening in the streets of Tbilisi is in the interests of the radical opposition – the United National Movement and its partner parties".⁸²

Location: Perimeter of the Legislature of Georgia

By 10:49 am some of the protesters had already gathered in front of the Parliament building. Anti-Western and homophobic calls were made by the speakers. At the same time, Zurab Makharadze called on the protesters to disperse the protest tents set up by the opposition parties, Malkhaz Machalikashvili and the family of Tamar Bachaliashvili.⁸³

"Move this garbage to the other side. Clean the entrances to the Parliament building. This is not the place for pidarasts. Take it out, take this garbage out of here."⁸⁴

Makharadze's call was met with applause by the participants. Although the tents on Rustaveli Avenue had been protesting for months and had nothing to do with the LGBTQ + community, aggressive groups enthusiastically raided the tents for several minutes. The flag of the United States was also burned.

After the tents were demolished, Makharadze called on the participants to move back to Kashueti - *"Le's get back to Kashueti. Take the equipment. This location is ours from this moment. "*

Although the perpetrators illegally raided the tents, the police did not resist them. It can be heard from the Facebook – live of **Makvala Topuria**, a participant of the action: *"Sweet policemen, you are good children. There's no police people! the police stand with us. Do you see any police here? Praise the Lord".⁸⁵*

Approximately from 11:20 am, the situation on Rustaveli Avenue became tense. Radical groups physically assaulted journalists from "TV Formula", "Mtavari Arkhi", "TV Pirveli" and "Palitraneews".

From 11:59 am, Konstantine Morgoshia called on the protesters to move to the office of the "Shame Movement".

"Now we got an information that there is a" Shame Movement's"office on Ingorokva Street, near to the Security Service building, where people who are there, this Makarashvilis and some monkeys are "shame", they put pressure on the organizers of

81 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/zYy4x0s> (2:20).

82 Briefing of Irakli Kobakhidze. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/EYy4mFV>

83 Media report. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/WYy4Yf2>

84 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/sYy4PQv> (2:30).

85 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/4Yy4LiK> (10:46).

*this LGBTQ + Pride to come to Rustaveli. Now without any chaos, let about 500-600 men stand on this side of the street and head to their office. 500 men, don't mix up, follow me to the yard of the first school."*⁸⁶

Zura Makharadze - *"Not everyone follows please, the main mass should stay, no more than 500 people are needed. Hundred people are enough for pidarasts, but at least, 500 is enough.*

Now, as a blessing, there will be a prayer for 12:00 pm. I ask my father to read it, our brothers are going to fight and let God bless them".⁸⁷

Location: Yard of Tbilisi Classical Gymnasium

At 00:04 pm a part of radical groups gathered in the yard of the first school, according to the call.⁸⁸

"We are not afraid of anything, so follow me calmly, lets head to the really" shame "office and show them what shame is" Konstantine Morgoshia addressed those gathered in the yard. Aggressive groups met Morgoshia's call with applause.

Location: Office of the "Shame Movement"/Ingorokva Street^{89 90}

00:07 pm: Protesters arrived at the office of the "Shame Movement". Amid insulting shouts and retorts, violent groups beat the entrance door with sticks. They smashed the windows, broke down the door and entered the hallway. Spread footage shows that during all this time, the police were virtually inactive and did not interfere with the violent groups. There was also a shortage of law enforcement officers - the footage taken by the cameramen shows about 4 policemen.

At 00:08 pm, intruders physically assaulted cameraman Lekso Lashkarava and journalist Miranda Baghaturia.⁹¹

From 00:13 pm, the abusers left the building amid shouts and applause. The police did nothing to stop them. As one of the residents of the building told the media, several people also broke into his apartment.

At 00:20 pm, Konstantine Morgoshia demands the activists of "Shame Movement" to come out of the office with hands up - *"Makarashvili, come out with hands up. You are cool, right? come out and get out of here. "*

Retorts made at 00:24 pm:

The companions advised Konstantine Morgoshia to say - "Praise the Lord".

Morgoshia loudly declares - *"Glory to God, glory to the Lord, glory to the patriarch"* (shouts are heard).

86 Ibid. (3:25).

87 Ibid (3:57).

88 Ibid (4:26).

89 Media Report. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/kYy7s5H> (4:47).

90 Media Report, made by Lekso Lashkarava. Available at: <https://youtu.be/9MDpZeR-1K8>

91 Miranda Bagaturia is remembering how protesters physically abused her. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/cYy7nkF>

The accompanying person addresses Konstantine Morgoshia: *"mother ***, I have to beat two men."*

Morgoshia's reply to the remark: *"ok"*.

At 00:25 pm, Konstantine Morgoshia addressed the police located in front of the office of "Shame Movement" to withdraw the activists located in the office from the area. Otherwise, he is not responsible for the further development of events. There was a shortage of law enforcers on the spot. Spread footage shows the police being virtually inactive.

"The whole Georgian people are coming here. The more time passes; the situation will become more uncontrollable. No one will take on this responsibility. The blame for everything lies with these pidarasts. Therefore, as long as there is a possibility, it is our request and to remove 6-7 pidarasts from this place. "

00:26 pm. Morgoshia's ultimatum to the police - *"We will wait maximum of 15 minutes for the police to remove these useless people, otherwise, we'll get them out of here."*

00:28 pm - Konstantine Morgoshia has communicated with Gela Kurdadze, Deputy Head of the Main Investigation Division of the Tbilisi Police Department. Apparently, Kurdadze informed Morgoshia about the withdrawal of activists from the office of the "Shame Movement", because, later, Morgoshia addressed the people gathered there: *"Boys, brothers and sisters. Three minutes ago, they were taken out from the emergency entrance. But for us to be sure, we go in with one camera, we will see with our own eyes and we will leave."*

It is noteworthy that 4 activists of the "Shame Movement" were in the building at that time. Gela Kurdadze, a high-ranking police official, allowed Konstantine Morgoshia and Irakli Martinenko to visit the office.

The organizers of the rally broadcasted the moment of entering the office via Facebook Live. The voice of Goga Memanishvili, the head of the Mtatsminda district police (who was later promoted to the position of head of the I line-patrol division (Mtatsminda-Krtsanisi) of the Tbilisi Main Division of the Patrol Police Department) is heard there. Memanishvili addresses Morgoshia: *"Kote, there is no one, I would not deceive you."*

Meanwhile, one of the members of "Alt-Info" climbs the staircase (*"Friends, here we go now and see their nest"*) Just at this time, the beaten Lexo Lashkarava is waiting for an ambulance upstairs. After the members of "Alt-Info" saw a journalist on the stairs, they turned off the camera.

00:30 - 00:33, Konstantine Morgoshia addresses the protesters:

"As expected and now, no one will be surprised, like rabbits, they are fleeing from the back exit. Therefore, we will now move again in front of Kashueti or Rustaveli Square and several groups will move to the Philharmonic because the second part is going to gather there. "

Morgoshia thanks the police.

Location: Perimeter of the Legislature of Georgia⁹²

At 00:39 pm, Konstantine Morgoshia returned to the parliament with a group of abusers (Zurab Makharadze to Konstantine Morgoshia: *"So, we took the nest of the Pidarasts, right?"*).

As it became known later, the organizers of "Tbilisi Pride" were planning to march in front of the Philharmonic in parallel, about which it was known to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, the organizers of the counter-Pride rally were informed about the plan too and called on the people gathered in front of the parliament to go to the Philharmonic.

"As for the nest of pidarasts, the creator does not allow them to rest⁹³. Now as the information has arrived, they are planning to march in front of the Philharmonic. Do not confuse. Here, on Rustaveli, part of this action - an asset stands. Out of this, 200-300 men, no more is needed to stand on Freedom Square, because we will control all the locations as promised."

At 00:40 pm, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a statement calling on the organizers of the "Tbilisi Pride" to refuse to hold a "March of Dignity" in the open area. The given reason was the scale of counter-rally of homophobic groups.

At 00:54 pm, Deacon Spiridon Tskipurishvili will address the protesters: *"No no to violence, you are obliged to use force for the homeland. Use force for the country."*

A few minutes before **01:00 pm**, Zurab Makharadze called on the protesters to go to the "Tbilisi Pride" office.⁹⁴

"Brothers, approximately 200 men, please follow Dimitri to Philharmonic. 200-300 men are enough; they will take care of those hens. "

Location: Office of "Tbilisi Pride"⁹⁵

One part of the abusers marched towards the office in an organized manner. **At 13:00 pm** they were already at the office of "Tbilisi Pride". Offensive shouts were heard, *"Take down the flag"* - shouted perpetrators.

Protesters climbed from the balcony of the "Tbilisi Pride" office. They illegally invaded the private property, damaged items and tore down the LGBTQ + flag.

Part of the perpetrators also attacked a citizen who condemned their violent action. It is noteworthy that several police officers arrived on the scene without protective equipment. They did not prevent the protesters from climbing on the balcony.

Location: The Parliament Building

92 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/2Yy72cV> (10:15).

93 Georgian Proverb.

94 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/2Yy72cV> (12:20).

95 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/BYy5iGZ> (13:00).

At about 1:23 pm, in parallel with the attack on the “Tbilisi Pride” office, the abusers physically assaulted TV Formula's journalist Rati Tsverava at the parliament stairs.⁹⁶

"Guys, do not beat, do not beat, what are you doing. There is only one person, let him go". Shouts were heard, however, the perpetrators physically assaulted Rati Tsverava until police removed the journalist from the area.

At 1:40 pm, protesters removed the EU flag in front of the parliament building and installed the metal construction of St. Nino's cross.⁹⁷

At 2:40 pm "Tbilisi Pride" issued a statement on the postponement of the "March of Dignity". The reason was inaction from the government side (to protect the security of the LGBTQ + community).⁹⁸

Location: Human Rights House Tbilisi

At around 3:00 pm, radical groups attacked the Human Rights House Tbilisi (HRHT). The assailants surrounded the office of the Human Rights Center and threw explosive pyrotechnics in the yard. One of the activists of the "Shame Movement" was injured during the explosion of pyrotechnics.⁹⁹

At 4:30 pm, the embassies accredited in Georgia issued a joint statement and called on the Georgian authorities to take immediate action to ensure the safety of citizens.

At 5:00 pm, a prayer service was held in front of Kashueti Church. The Patriarchate called on the participants of the “Tbilisi Pride” counter-rally to gather in front of the Kashueti Church and refrain from violent actions.

At 8:00 pm, aggressive individuals physically and verbally assaulted “Tbilisi Pride” supporters - Natia Chkuaseli and Khatia Akhalaia.

At 10:00 pm, the counter-rally ended.¹⁰⁰

On July 5, during a rally against the "March of Dignity" in Tbilisi, violent groups attacked media representatives and verbally and physically assaulted some of them. More than 50 journalists and cameramen were injured:

a) Journalists:

- ▶ *Tornike Mandaria – “Radio Liberty”;*
- ▶ *Tamuna Chkhareuli – “Radio Liberty”;*
- ▶ *Miranda Baghaturia – TV “Pirveli”;*
- ▶ *Guga Maisuradze – TV “Pirveli”;*

96 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/yYy5JrR> (15:14).

97 Video. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BH6RZ3dFR-E>

98 Statement. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/eYy5NEI>

99 Statement. Available at: <https://fb.watch/9vdNWel2yu/>

100 Zurab Makharadze's address in Tik Tok. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/AYy52Y8>

- ▶ *Tamta Kakhaberidze – “On.ge”;*
- ▶ *Rati Tsverava – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Guga Dvalishvili – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Luka Khachidze – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Giorgi Gabunia – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Nino Vardzelashvili – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Dea Mamiseishvili – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Irakli Bakhtadze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Nino Gazdeliani – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Datuna Akhaladze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Keta Tsitskishvili – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Natia Qoqosadze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Natia Trapaidze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Tako Lekveishvili – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Mako Jabua – “Tabula”;*
- ▶ *Luka Petriashvili – “Netgazeti”;*
- ▶ *Tiko Susareishvili – Adjara Public Broadcaster;*
- ▶ *Merab Tsaava – “Gurianews”;*
- ▶ *Mariam Qumsishvili – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Marika Gotsiridze – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Giorgi Pertia – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Salome Bokuchava – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Dimitri Kirimnishvili – TV “Imedi”*
- ▶ *Ana Fatsia – “Pirveli Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Giga Gelkhvidze – “Cnews”;*
- ▶ *Beka Atabegashvili – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Nikoloz Urushadze – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Alexander Lashkarava – TV “Pirveli”;*
- ▶ *Levan Bregvadze – TV “Pirveli”;*
- ▶ *Anri Jokharidze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Tornike Barnabishvili – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Vazhiko Chkhaidze – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Levan Ablotia – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Levan Kalandia – “Mtavari Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Ilia Tvaliashvili – “Pirveli Arkhi”;*
- ▶ *Rome Tarugishvili – “Palitranews”;*
- ▶ *Giorgi Nikolishvili – “Palitranews”;*
- ▶ *Nikoloz Qaliashvili – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Lekso Khomasuridze – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Zaza Kapanadze – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Giorgi Maisuradze – TV “Formula”;*
- ▶ *Vakho Kareli – TV “Formula” (photographer);*
- ▶ *Shota Kirvalishvili – TV “Imedi”*
- ▶ *Zura Tsertsavdze – “Newsport” (photographer);*

b) Cameramen:

- ▶ *Dato Qoridze – “Radio Liberty”;*
- ▶ *Shota Sikinchalashvili – “Rustavi 2”;*
- ▶ *Zura Managadze – “Rustavi 2”;*

Some of the injured were taken to the hospitals with serious injuries. The perpetrators damaged the equipment of televisions and online publications. TV “Pirveli” cameraman Lekso Lashkarava, who was severely beaten and injured in the Counter-Pride rally on July 5 in the office of the “Shame Movement”, was found dead in his home on the morning of July 11.

3.2 CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS OF JULY 6

5 Following the July 5 mass violence, citizens announced a rally in front of the Parliament Building on July 6. The first who officially announce the time and place of the **silent rally** in front of the Parliament Building on July 6 at 08:00 pm, was Zurab Girchi Japaridze. The party "European Georgia" and the party "Droa" called on their supporters to come to the rally. The event was also joined by "Tbilisi Pride" and other civic groups.

From 6:00 pm, on the evening of July 6,¹⁰¹ citizens began to gather in front of the Parliament Building. Representatives of hate groups also appeared in the vicinity of the parliament, and beat "Palitranevs" journalist at around **6:30 pm**.

About half an hour after the incident, Guram Palavandishvili and members of his gang tried to enter the area near the parliament, where citizens were gathering for a silent rally, after which they were withdrawn by the police.

Representatives of "Tbilisi Pride" joined the rally **at 8:00 pm**. In parallel, contraband groups were gathering near the rally, prompting police to cordon off protesters. At the same time, the violent groups participating in the counter-rally continued gathering in the vicinity of Kashueti and the April 9 Garden. Among them were Zurab Makharadze and other representatives of the "Alt-Info". About half an hour later, violent groups from the Kashueti area broke through a police cordon and marched towards the protesters, although police were able to neutralize them. They then threw stones, bottles and various objects at the protesters.

At 9:00 pm, violent protesters beat a transgender woman on Chitadze Street near the Parliament. About half an hour after this fact, during a silent rally in front of the parliament, the demonstrators unfurled the LGBTQ+ flag, which led to the aggression of the counter-rally participants. Breaking through police cordons became more frequent. The rally took on a completely violent look. Violent groups hurled stones, bottles and blunt objects at the protesters.

At 9:40 pm., the protesters attacked police officers standing in the cordon and used a spray of unknown origin against them. Tbilisi Police Chief Vazha Siradze arrived at the scene soon after. Violent groups surrounded the protesters. Violent groups hurled various blunt objects.

At 10:00 pm, homophobic groups issued an ultimatum to the head of the patrol police. Homophobic groups called on Vazha Siradze to remove LGBTQ+ flags from the rally so that they would not resort to violence.¹⁰²

From 10:00 to 11:00 pm, the participants of the "silent rally" tried to leave the area through Chitadze Street, but due to the lack of police, the safe corridor was repeatedly broken by the participants of the violent rally, as a result of which several people were injured.

It should be noted that the riot police along with water cannon vehicles appeared on Rustaveli Avenue at about **11:00 pm**. However, by this time the rally was already over.

101 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/cYcP48j>

102 Negotiations between Vazha Siradze and Zurab Makharadze. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/8Yy6w6g>

At **00:00 am**, peaceful protesters left the Rustaveli area, while violent groups removed, tore and burned the EU flag.

At around **01:00 am** they attacked a foreign tourist.

3.3 LEGAL ASSESSMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF VIOLENT GROUPS AND THE JULY 5-6 EVENTS

As a result of the monitoring of the events of July 5-6, 2021, a number of legal violations were revealed. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the legal nature of the "Tbilisi Pride" Counter-rally and to answer the questions raised around the topic.

1. SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALLOWED HOLDING OF THE "TBILISI PRIDE" COUNTER-RALLY?

The right to peaceful assembly of people is recognized and protected by Article 21 of the Constitution of Georgia. **Everyone, except those enlisted in the Defence Forces or bodies responsible for state and public security, shall have the right to assemble in public/in private and to collectively defend and express their own interests.** The use of the right of assembly and demonstration is, in most cases, aimed at the protection and realization of other socio-political rights.

As discussed in previous chapters of the report, the organizers of the "March of Dignity" counter-rally openly stated from the outset that their aim was to violently disrupt the peaceful protest, and that they would act not only against the LGBTQ + community but also against journalists, civil activists, Western Ambassadors and opposition political parties.

It is noteworthy, that the propaganda of violence was carried out openly by hate groups, statements containing violent threats were made publicly and, naturally, the state could have foreseen the consequences of July 5. The Constitution of Georgia and the current legislation only protect peaceful assembly, and therefore the state should have taken all possible measures to prevent violent actions. At the same time, the state had a positive obligation to ensure that the participants of the "March of Dignity" could exercise their constitutional right to assembly and demonstration.

The Law of Georgia "on Assemblies and Demonstrations" also considers inadmissible propaganda and incitement of violence when organizing a rally/demonstration. (Article 11(1)). This norm also applies to the ongoing rallies, and although timely measures were not taken to prevent violent rally, the legislation allowed the authorities to terminate rallies against the "Pride" due to its unlawful character. (Constitution of Georgia, Article 21(3)). However, instead of taking into account by the statements made by the parties of the counter-rally before 5 July, and fulfill its positive obligation to prevent or terminate the violent rally and protect the safety of the participants and the media, the Government literally encouraged inhumane, degrading treatment of target groups by perpetrators and violated the Constitution of Georgia.

2. WHAT OTHER VIOLATIONS WERE REVEALED DURING THE JULY 5-6 RALLIES?

In assessing the legal violations identified during July 5-6 rallies, we must recall the judgment¹⁰³ of the European Court of Human Rights of 12 May 2015. The applicants argued before the European Court that on 17 May 2012, due to hate-motivated attacks and police inaction, they were unable to hold a peaceful demonstration. The European Court of Human Rights has ruled that the vulnerability of peaceful demonstrators was in conflict with Articles 3 (prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment) and Articles 14 (prohibition of discrimination). The events of July 5, 2021, in turn, were even more dramatic than of May 17, 2012.

As for the Law of Georgia “on Assemblies and Manifestations”, it was also violated in the part of Article 11 (2), under which the participants of an assembly or demonstration shall be prohibited to carry fire arms, explosive, flammable and radioactive substances, or cold weapons that are or could be used to the detriment of the life and health of the assembly participants and/or other persons. However, according to the released photo-video footage, a group armed with batons and homemade pyrotechnics physically assaulted journalists, cameramen, photographers and supporters of the LGBTQ + community.

On July 5-6, 2021, the participant of the counter-rally committed actions that are punishable under the criminal law of Georgia. For example, on July 5, 2021, the participants of the “March of Dignity” counter-rally committed a crime under Article 154 (2) of the Criminal Code of Georgia, which stipulates unlawful interference with a journalist's professional activities (committed using the threat of violence). The main purpose of committing this crime is to restrict the freedom to receive and impart information recognized and protected under the Constitution of Georgia (Article 17).

According to article 17 of the Constitution of Georgia, Freedom of opinion and the expression of opinion shall be protected. Every person has the right to receive and impart information freely. This article is in line with the freedom of expression enshrined in Article 10 of the European Convention. As an answer to the question, what kind of idea, opinion and/or information can be treated within the framework of freedom of expression, the European Court has an explanation,¹⁰⁴ that *“Subject to Article 10 § 2, the right to impart information freely is applicable not only to “information” or “ideas” that are favourably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also to those that offend, shock or disturb”*. That is why it was a positive obligation of the state to act on July 5 within the framework of the European Convention and the Constitution of Georgia and to protect the freedom of expression of the participants of the “March of Dignity”.

Freedom of the media was not protected during the violent events of July 5 either. Article 17 of the Constitution also emphasizes the freedom of the media, which is one of the foundations of a democratic society. Consequently, interference in the freedom of thought requires great caution. Along with the principle of proportionality, any interference with freedom of thought must be consistent with the principle of determinism. In one of its rulings, the Constitutional Court specifically¹⁰⁵ stated that *“norms restricting freedom of expression should be provided for in a clear and foreseeable,*

103 IDENTOBA AND OTHERS V. GEORGIA № 73235/12; 12.5.2015. Available at: <https://bit.ly/33GWllb>

104 CASE OF UKRAINIAN MEDIA GROUP v. UKRAINE, 29 March 2005. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3qfkhnl>

105 Decision of the Constitutional Court of Georgia, 10 November 2009. “Citizens of Georgia – Giorgi Kipiani and Avtandil Ungiadze V. The parliament of Georgia”.

narrowly targeted law. The right, for protecting which the freedom of expression is restricted, should be clearly underlined". In the same decision, the court focuses on the role of free media in the process of building a successful and independent state. To justify the restriction of constitutional rights, the Constitutional Court also draws attention to the existence of a causal link between a legitimate aim and a restriction of a right in its numerous cases. For example, in the decision of April 11, 2012, in the case "Public Defender of Georgia v. Parliament of Georgia".

The events of July 5 took place in light of mass pressure and violence on the media representatives. There were numerous facts of unlawful interference with the journalist's professional activities. However, the government did not ensure the freedom of media.

Article 11 of the Constitution of Georgia protects the right to equality. All persons are equal before the law. Any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, origin, ethnicity, language, religion, political or other views, social affiliation, property or titular status, place of residence, or on any other grounds shall be prohibited. Article 156 of the Criminal Code of Georgia is a kind of lever for the protection of equality recognized by the Constitution, which was also significantly violated during the July 5 rally. According to this article, persecution of persons because of their speech, opinion, conscience, confession, faith or creed, or political, social, professional, religious or scientific activities is punishable. The objective composition of the crime implies prosecution for the exercise of the given constitutional rights and freedoms. Article 156 (2) stipulates liability if the same act is committed with violence or threat of violence, is committed with the abuse of the official position or which has resulted in considerable damage.

Law enforcers detained a number of protesters during the rally and as part of the investigation, who were charged under Article 156 (2, a) - Persecution of persons because of their professional activities committed with violence or threat of violence.

Personal space and communication are inviolable. No one has the right to enter a dwelling or other property against the will of the owner. This provision is reinforced by Article 15 of the Constitution of Georgia, which was also grossly violated by the protesters by invasion in the office of the "Shame Movement" and the office of the "Tbilisi Pride".

Article 160 of the Criminal Code of Georgia (Violation of inviolability of domicile or of any other property) appears in the legislation as a legal guarantor of Article 15 of the Constitution. The objective composition of a crime involves unlawful entry into an apartment or other property against the will of the owner, unlawful search or other act that violates the inviolability of the apartment or other property. It should be noted that only 3 persons are detained under this article, when the footage taken by the operators allows the identification of more than three persons.

On July 5, one person was arrested by the police for assaulting a citizen. The person was charged under Article 126 of the Criminal Code of Georgia, which stipulates violence and the object of criminal protection is human health.

One person was arrested by the police for damaging the side windshield of a patrol police vehicle. The investigation was launched on the basis of Article 187 of the Criminal Code of Georgia, which stipulates (intentional) damage or destruction of someone else's property.

Aggressive groups resisted law enforcement officials on July 5-6. As a result, under Article 173 of the Code of Administrative Offenses of Georgia, 100 people were detained on charges of disobeying a lawful request of a police officer.

It is noteworthy that on July 5, a shortage of law enforcement officers was observed. According to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Vakhtang Gomelauri, 3200 law enforcers worked first in 3, then in 8 and finally in 20 locations and they did everything to stabilize the situation. However, a number of shots taken at the rally show that the work of law enforcement was not effective. They failed to deter attacks on journalists and “Tbilisi Pride” supporters. The offices of the "Shame Movement", "Tbilisi Pride" and "Human Rights House" were not protected from the attacks.

3. HOW THE ORGANIZING PROCESS SHOULD BE QUALIFIED?

Group violence is an unlawful form of protest and a form of organized crime that threatens public order and security. **Article 225 of the Criminal Code of Georgia criminalizes the organisation, management or participation in group violence.** Although some of the detainees are accused by the prosecutor's office of involvement in group violence under Article 225 of the Criminal Code, no one has been detained for managing and organizing such violence. Such passivity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's Office of Georgia is particularly worrying in light of the fact that a large number of important pieces of evidence for the investigation are accessible on social networks and in the media.

The investigation was neither launched on the basis of Article 161 of the Criminal Code of Georgia, which is a kind of a legal guarantee of the Law of Georgia “on Assembly and Demonstration” adopted on June 12, 1997, and imposes legal liability for violation of this right. Unlawful interference with the exercise of the right to hold or participate in an assembly or demonstration may be manifested through using violence, the threat of violence or official position. The events of July 5 clearly showed the signs of a crime under Article 161 of the Criminal Code. However, law enforcement agencies have not yet launched an investigation for the violation of the right to assembly or demonstration.

The statement of the Public Defender is very important in this regard.¹⁰⁶ Nino Lomjaria stated on the September 6 briefing that she had studied the videos released by the media and believed that the publicly available evidence had reached the standard of substantiated assumption, ie indictment, for committing criminal acts against two persons (Zurab Makharadze and Spiridon Tskipurishvili) for

organizing group violence and publicly calling for violent action.

3.4 COMMUNICATION CHANNELS AND KEY MESSAGES

(COMMUNICATION WITH THE SOCIETY, COMMUNICATION WITH GROUP MEMBERS, COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GROUPS; CHANNELS, WAYS, FACILITIES)

One month before the “Tbilisi Pride” rally, the “Alt-Info” (Alternative Information) and communication networks were actively spreading propaganda statements aimed at changing the pro-Western orientation of the citizens. The “Alt-Info”'s violent rhetoric was gradually becoming more aggressive,

¹⁰⁶ Available at: <https://cutt.ly/OYy6cGK>

targeting primarily the United States and the European Union.

"The West is a force who establishes this dirt. The West is a force that promotes the normalization of pidarasts, it demands the whole country to force the system, to force the government, to break the will and culture of the Georgian people, to break the identity. This is the West. Therefore, the anger of the people, the hatred of the people, should be directed specifically, first of all to the United States and the European Union, which is the creator of this filth in Georgia," - Shota Martinenko.

The anchors tried to present the United States and the European Union as a force that threatened Georgian national identity, traditions and culture. In parallel, pro-Russian forces in Georgia focused on Russian law (eg, the law banning demonstrations for sexual minorities).

The lexical narrative of the counter-rally organizers was noteworthy. In order to create a "desirable reality", radical groups equated homosexuality with crimes such as murder,¹⁰⁷ rape, lewd act, etc.,¹⁰⁸ punishable under the Criminal Code of Georgia. In addition, the organizers in their statements often used the so-called. "Dangerous words", such as the "March of Dignity", were assessed as the establishment of an LGBTQ + **dictatorship** in Georgia, as a **moral occupation** of the nation.

The organizers of the counter-rally against started preparing the background for the violence a month earlier. The "Alt-Info" members tried to convince the public that they would gather on July 5 **to defend the homeland and the church**, and therefore violence would be tantamount **to heroism**. *"A person of our opinion, no matter where he goes, if he fights for the right values, if he even goes to prison, he will be a hero in prison. There is nothing wrong with that."* Naturally, these words again remind us of the Duginian assessment of July 5 ("Georgians, by their heroic action are changing the world balance – touching the scale to our side").

Bondo Mdzinarishvili, a member of the Public Broadcaster's Board of Trustees, also tried to justify the violence. *"I say that no one can be killed, no one can be abused. If someone comes and annoys you and whispers and whispers something to you, it is his responsibility also, why does he do that?! Until you go crazy and hit something in his head, right ?!"*¹¹¹

One of the most effective ways to encourage violence is to associate it with a historic victory of the country, which is then reflected in the public consciousness and, when needed, could be targeted to make an influence on public opinion. In this regard, it was noteworthy that Zurab Makharadze assessed the Battle of Didgori ("miraculous victory ") as the largest, most effective **act of violence**¹¹² in the history of Georgia, we should be proud of.

No less noteworthy was the connection of "Tbilisi Pride" with the very painful issue for Georgians, and political manipulations. The "Alt-Info" members, Levan Vasadze and supporters of the movement "Nation" described the "March of Dignity" as a threat to the return of the lost territories.

107 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/MYy6TcG> (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

108 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/rYy6DTZ> (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

109 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/oYy6JID> (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

110 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/ZYy6MH4> (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

111 Video. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/qYy696T> (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

112 Available at: <https://cutt.ly/iYy65VR>

"If they (the LGBTQ + community) win, we will lose even a miserable chance to talk to our Abkhazian and Ossetian brothers about the idea of a common state, because this is the Caucasus and nobody will speak to a state where the parade of normalizing debauchery is held on its main Avenue" – Zurab Makharadze. ¹¹³

"If we allow holding Pride in the soul of the Caucasus, what should we say to our Abkhazians and Ossetians and separatists?" - Beka Vardosanidze. ¹¹⁴

"Pride threatens our reintegration with Abkhazians and Ossetians, foreign ambassadors, do not interfere in this pride, stay in embassies," - Levan Vasadze. ¹¹⁵

A very large part of the propaganda statements encouraging violence was coming in the name of religion. The organizers of the counter-Pride rally and their affiliates systematically tried to declare the "March of Dignity" in the eyes of the parishioners of the Orthodox Church as a purposeful struggle against the Church and the faith.

A number of Facebook pages were created on social media in connection with the events of July 5, and the existing pages were actively promoting radical groups.

Although the Facebook administration has blocked dozens of pages, a number of accounts are still working actively, which systematically imparted and is still imparting violent, homophobic, anti-Western misinformation. "Myth Detector" actively worked to identify these groups and provided a list of social media pages affiliated with violent groups:

"Unanimity, Brotherhood of Conscience". Available at: https://bit.ly/3eaAc0E	"Angels of the Earth". Available at: https://bit.ly/3J91AdF
"Emigrants, go back to the Homeland". Available at: https://bit.ly/3eaKUEn	"Traditionalist platform". Available at: https://bit.ly/3H0fcpN
"Nationalist Georgia". Available at: https://bit.ly/3eff5dv	"National ideology is non-alternative". Available at: https://bit.ly/3J8GXhB
"Mnews". Available at: https://bit.ly/3H0cS23	"Sarkrazmeli". Available at: https://bit.ly/3GWKMEI
"Judge the National Movement!" Available at: https://bit.ly/3mnl6lz	"ქართული საქართველო Georgia!!" Available at: https://bit.ly/30PNigQ
"Zneoba.ge". Available at: https://bit.ly/3J8ZoTt	"Levan Vasadze Supporters". Available at: https://bit.ly/3EfyjKQ
"Psychiatric Republic of Georgia". Available at: https://bit.ly/33D7vHA	"The way of truth". Available at: https://bit.ly/3yOHAYU
"Sweet Lord". Available at: https://bit.ly/3H0dEvZ	"Supporters of the Alliance of Patriots". Available at: https://bit.ly/3EgSPuu
"Georgian Idea". Available at: https://bit.ly/3J8EZOf	"Orthodoxy". Available at: https://bit.ly/33HrgOd
"No to Gender, LGBT+ propaganda". Available at: https://bit.ly/3mlGuik	"Bidzina Ivanishvili's Friends on Facebook". Available at: https://bit.ly/3yL7IE4

113 Zura Makharadze's address. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/1YuqtX7> (01:40) (MDF - MediaMonitoring).

114 Beka Vardosanidze's address. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/oYUqspO>

115 Levan Vasadze's address. Available at: <https://cutt.ly/RyUqj14>

“Movement - Miraculous Victory”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3spxi0b	“Lustration”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3pe1iKl
“CoronaMafia and Georgia, as an experimental Country”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3qh42q0	“Against debauchery”. Available at: https://bit.ly/32o46vl
“Anti-Masonry. The New World Order of the Antichrist”. Available at: https://bit.ly/32gUblz	“Qaqutsa Cholokashvili Society”. Available at: https://bit.ly/32qqpkD
We love Georgia”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3HiiVPR	“Silent Georgia”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3srZz6v
Georgian Page”. Available at: https://bit.ly/33G9sDa	“National Squad”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3El5AE8
“Patriotic Page”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3Fq7y7j	“Anti – Liberals”. Content not available right now: https://bit.ly/3ElJO3o
“Georgia First”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3msc2Dn	„Conservative “. Content not available right now: https://bit.ly/3sseJJ2
“National Georgia”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3qgbfGD	„Important”. Content not available right now: https://bit.ly/3plTlTT
„National Television, Didgori TV”. Available at: https://bit.ly/3JeqkBd	

Periodically, the “Alt-Info”’s Facebook page was blocked, which led to the re-creation of parallel pages. In addition to Facebook, the “Alt-Info” uses various social networks and channels for communication. For example:

1. On Facebook:

Alt-Info: <https://bit.ly/3Jd5z9e>
(Content not available right now)

Alt-Info Supporters: <https://bit.ly/3Er26Ao>
(Content not available right now)

Alt-Info: <https://bit.ly/3ssfF00>
(Content not available right now)

2. Official web-site of the “Alt-Info”

<https://cutt.ly/WYuwnR6>

3. Alt-Info APP

<https://cutt.ly/eYuwsJv>

4. Youtube.com

Alt-Info - YouTube

5. Telegram

<https://cutt.ly/IYuwl6r>

6. Viber

<https://cutt.ly/7Yuq9ri>

7. Tik Tok

<https://cutt.ly/BYuqXnE>

<https://cutt.ly/YYuqTDd>

<https://cutt.ly/MYuqnHr>

It should be noted that a few weeks ago, the Georgian National Communications Commission Authorized the “Alt-Info” to broadcast throughout Georgia.

CONCLUSION

On July 5, 2021, the protests of radical groups went beyond the margins of the peaceful protest and took an illegal character. Radically-minded protesters physically assaulted their target groups. They damaged media equipment, raided the offices of the "Shame Movement " and "Tbilisi Pride". The Human Rights House was also attacked. The violent rally on July 5 was preceded by an almost month-long aggressive campaign, which in turn raised reasonable doubts about the dramatic development of events.

Despite the threat of physical confrontation, the state has not taken effective measures to defuse tensions and ensure that members of the LGBTQ + community, their supporters, civil society activists and members of the media are protected from attacks. It is unfortunate that a number of high-ranking government officials have used the "March of Dignity" for political speculation against opponents, encouraging the polarization of citizens and violence with homophobic statements.

More than four months have passed since the July events. Even though 31 individuals were arrested as part of the investigation, no one was convicted of organizing the violence despite numerous direct pieces of evidence. A large number of perpetrators are unpunished along with the organizers.

The events of July 5-6, 2021 revealed, that:

- ▶ *Members of the LGBTQ + community were not allowed to fully realize their constitutionally guaranteed basic human rights;*
- ▶ *There have been numerous facts of interference in Media outlets professional activities;*
- ▶ *Violent groups try to jeopardize Georgia's European integration process, which in turn strengthens pro-Russian sentiments in Georgia;*
- ▶ *The government has violated its obligations under the Constitution and international treaties/agreements.*