

# THE ANATOMY OF VIOLENT GROUPS ONE YEAR SINCE THE EVENTS OF JULY 5



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## ONE YEAR SINCE THE EVENTS OF JULY 5

**Author:** Ani Kistauri

**Editor:** Tamar Kintsurashvili

**Design:** Mako Tsutskiridze

## Introduction

One year has passed since the violent actions of July 5, 2021, led against the "March of Dignity" planned within the Tbilisi Pride Week. In order to disperse the rally, violent groups held a counter-demonstration on Rustaveli Avenue, raiding the offices of civil activists organization "Shame Movement" and "Tbilisi Pride", as well as the opposition tents placed in front of the parliament. On July 6, the participants of the protest [took down](#) the flag of the European Union erected next to the flag of Georgia in front of the parliament and [burned](#) it. Violent groups physically assaulted [53 journalists](#) and deliberately [damaged](#) their equipment. According to the information of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 31 people were initially [arrested](#) on the facts of threats of violence, illegal obstruction, persecution with violence and threats of violence, as well as group violence. However, according to the Media Advocacy Coalition, the law enforcement officers did not take any [measures](#) against the organizers of the violence.

A significant part of the participants of the violent counter-demonstration came from different regions of Georgia, namely: Svaneti, Imereti, Kakheti, Rustavi, Samegrelo, and Adjara, and predominantly consisted of the supporters of Levan Vasadze's party "Ertoba, Raoba, Imedi" [Unity, Essence, Hope] and the "Georgian March". Through the analysis of the open source data, including images, distributed on social media, "Myth Detector" managed to identify the persons participating in the violent action and determine their connections (see Appendix 1). Groups that work in different directions or in several directions at the same time have been identified. These are the following:

1. Persons engaged in physical training to preserve Georgian nationality and traditional gender identity;
2. Persons involved in the "Crusade Movement" and affiliated with the "Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate";
3. Persons involved in the campaign against Namakhvani HPP and various other activities;
4. Persons involved in anti-vaxx campaigns.

The counter-demonstration was organized and ideologically supported, including the cultivation of violence as a means to achieve the goal, by the founders and anchors of TV Alt-Info, which later transformed into a political party - the Conservative Movement. In turn, the mentioned group is linked to the far-right Russian philosopher and founder of the Eurasianist movement, Aleksandr Dugin.

The following report aimed to study those groups that appeared most vividly in the public arena as a result of violent protests and organized violence against journalists during the Tbilisi Pride Week on July 5, 2021. The first part of the report will be devoted to the profiles of the participants of the rally, and the second part will cover Alt-Info, which has transformed into a political party and entered the political arena with the agenda of changing the country's pro-Western foreign policy course and resolving relations with Russia, including military cooperation.

## KEY FINDINGS

The participants in the violent counter-demonstration of the "March of Dignity" of July 5-6, 2021, are involved in various activities:

- Some portray physical training in sports centers as a way of preserving national and traditional gender identity. Some of the coaches are former members of the Kremlin-affiliated "Georgian March."
- Others, including those who are engaged in the physical training of young people, are also engaged in the rituals of erecting crosses in different parts of Georgia, the so-called "Crusade Movement" or are connected to the "Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate". The latter has broadcasted the events of July 5 live on Facebook.
- The "Crusade Movement" aims "to wrap precious Georgia with a belt of crosses." According to the movement, the border of Georgia is 1970 km long; hence they intend to erect 1970 crosses, for which they are mobilizing their fellow citizens.
- The vast majority of the participants were involved in the protests against the Namakhvani HPP, while some of them even sought to mobilize like-minded people and pursue crowdfunding.
- The participants of the counter-demonstration became actively involved in anti-vaxx activities, which on the one hand was aimed at maintaining the negative charge around the critical topic, and on the other hand, was linked to the arrival of US government aid.
- Among the organizers of the July 5 events were the founders and hosts of Alt-Info, a television company connected to Levan Vasadze. They stressed that aggression had to become a standard of political and ideological battle, while the burning of Western symbols (flags) had to become a mundane reality.
- Alt-Info hosts denoted the need to clean the information environment from critical TV channels and planned the replacement of liberalism with Christian-conservative governance and ruling the country together with the mother church.
- The violent events in Tbilisi, including the vandalic calls to burn the EU flag and related actions, were supported by the Russian philosopher, the founder of the Eurasianist movement, Aleksandr Dugin, who appeared on Alt-Info programs with anti-Western sentiments even before July 5.
- After the demonstration of violence on July 5, the TV channel transformed into a political party on November 20, 2021, and opened 62 offices across the country.
- In addition to the support towards the violent demonstration of July 5, selected clergymen of the GOC even consecrated the newly-opened offices of the 'Conservative Movement' and showed clear support to the party, including: Archpriest Spiridon, the leader of the Vardigori cathedral; Father Archil, the head of the David Agmashenebeli Cathedral in Borjomi; Father Vakhtang (Tokhadze), the leader of the Makvaneti Church of the Creator's Diocese; Genadi Gogilashvili, priest of Telavi Virgin Mary Monastery and Giorgi Pavlov, the leader of the Virgin Mary Cathedral in the village of Giorgitsminda..
- Konstantine Morgoshia, one of the organizers of the violent counter-demonstration, was linked to the pro-Kremlin political parties like the "Alliance of Patriots of Georgia" and the "Georgian March" before. Zurab Makharadze, the host of Alt-Info and one of the leaders of the 'Conservative Movement' used to produce programs on pro-government PostTV and publish articles on [European.ge](https://www.european.ge), a platform affiliated with the left-wing of the Georgian Dream, where he spoke about the reality when Georgia will be left alone in the face of Russia due to the global retreat of the U.S. Makharadze also claimed that "the destruction of the West as an icon of absolute goodness and the only political landmark" in the public consciousness is inevitable and that the era marked by Zurab Zhvania's famous words (I am Georgian and therefore I am European) was coming to an end.

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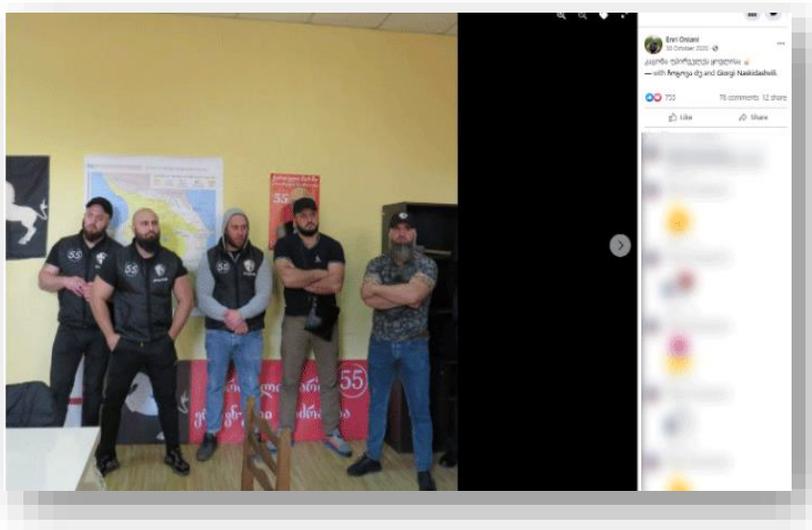
## I. VARIOUS GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN VIOLENT ACTIONS

### 1.1. Persons engaged in physical training to preserve national and traditional gender identities

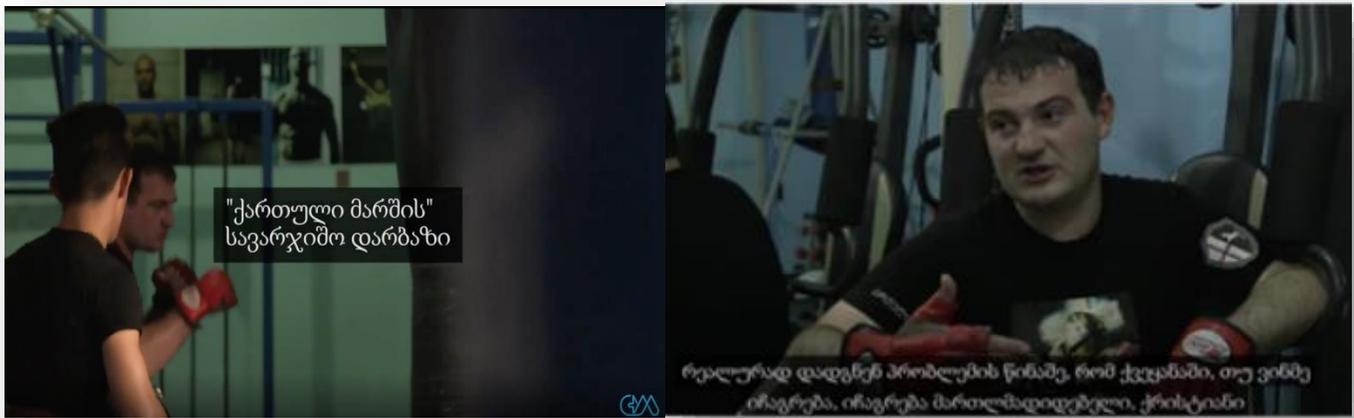
A section of the protesters has also been identified, who see physical training in sports centers as a way to maintain national and traditional gender identity. These include:

- [Ermile Nemsadze](#), a former military who was the majoritarian candidate of the Kremlin-affiliated far-right 'Georgian March' party in the 2020 parliamentary elections;
- Enri Oniani, who was [nominated](#) as the 21st member of the party list of the "Georgian March" in the 2020 parliamentary elections.
- Jarji Noneshvili, a coach at "MMA group Mdzlevari-Samtsevrisi."

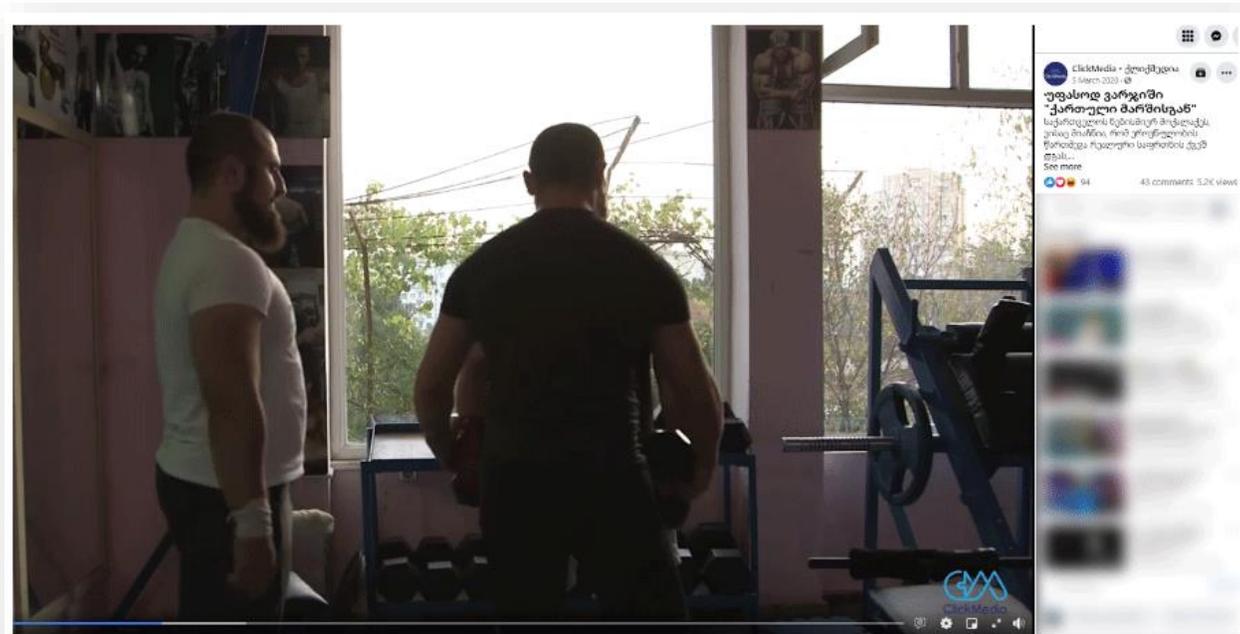
Together with the above-mentioned persons, [Lasha Lekiasvili](#), [Rati Nizharadze](#) and [Giorgi Naskidashvili](#) have also appeared in sports venues and took part in the July 5 rally.



In March 2020, [ClickMedia](#) produced a film called "[Free Training from the Georgian March](#)", showing that the far-right group "Georgian March" was training its supporters for free in various venues. Ermile Nemsadze invited people who thought that the loss of national identity was a real threat and that the main enemy of Georgia was the Soros Foundation and organizations with Western values. In the film, Ermile Nemsadze also spoke about the prospect of turning the "Georgian March" into a political party, saying that they represent the opinion of the majority and underscored that in Orthodox Georgia, Christians and ethnic Georgians were the ones who are truly oppressed.



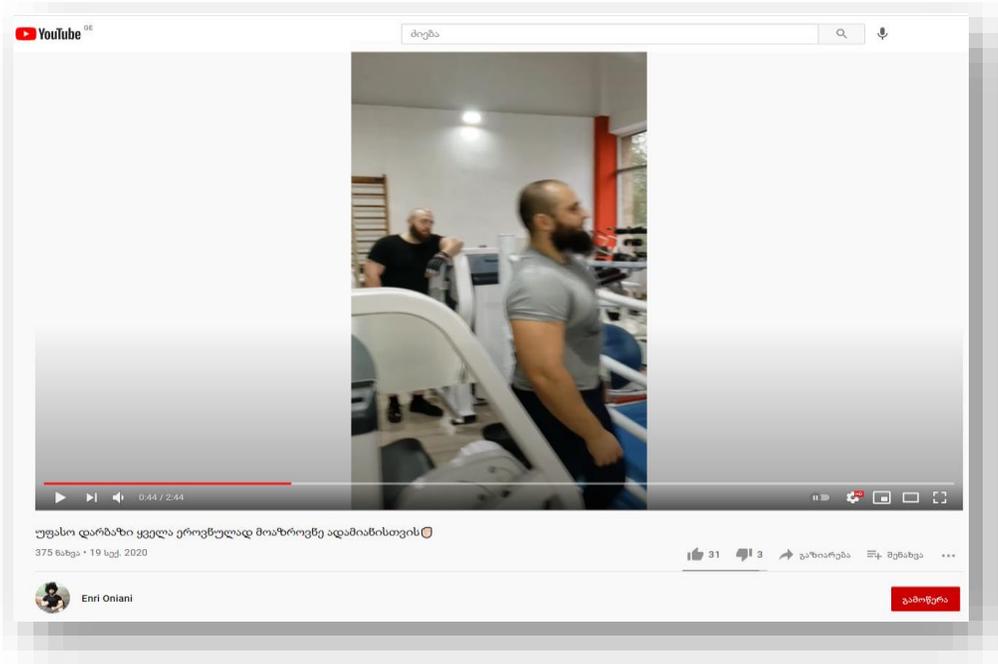
Notably, the film prepared by [ClickMedia](#) features Enri Oniani as well, who is a participant of the violent July 5 rally and a companion of Ermile Nemsadze.



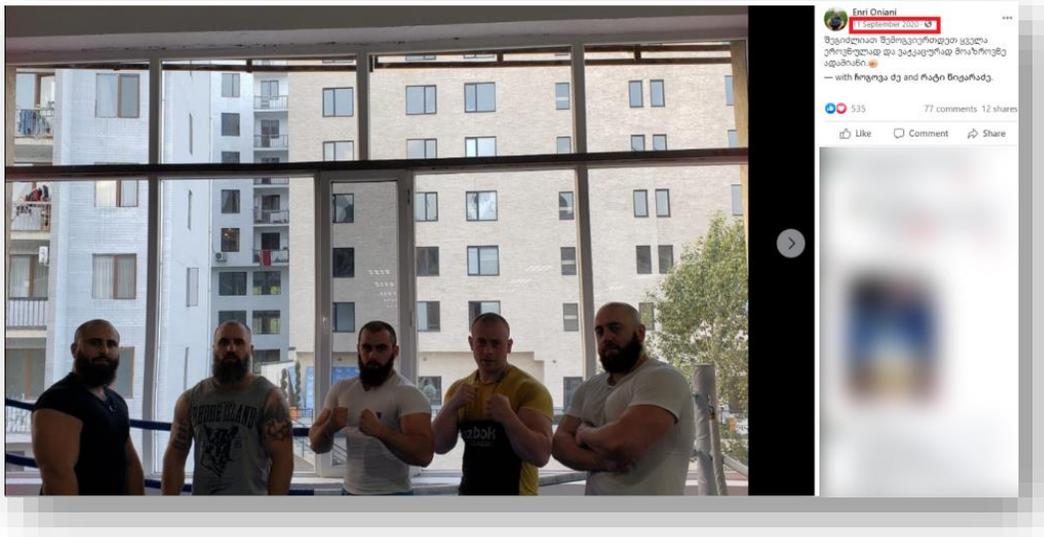
*Enri Oniani (On the left)*

In a [story](#) prepared by TV Pirveli in June 2020, Sandro Bregadze, the leader of the Georgian March, confirmed that the movement provided physical training to young people who felt that their national interests needed to be protected physically. In addition, Bregadze noted that it was difficult for those wishing to come to the suburbs for training and; therefore, they had to move the hall to the city center.

In September 2020, Enri Oniani uploaded a [video](#) on his personal YouTube channel with the following headline: "Free gym for all national-minded people 🙌🇧🇪"



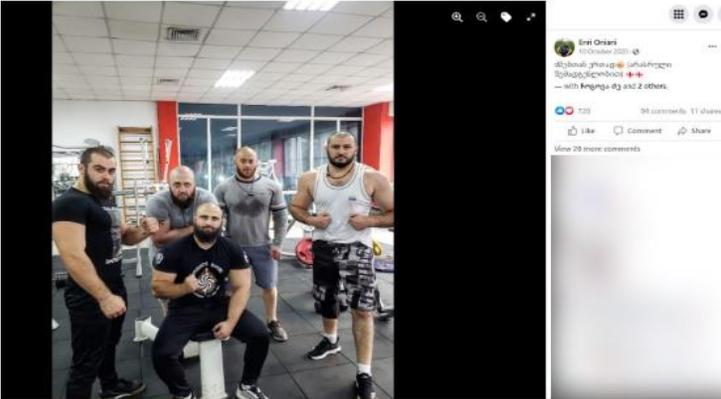
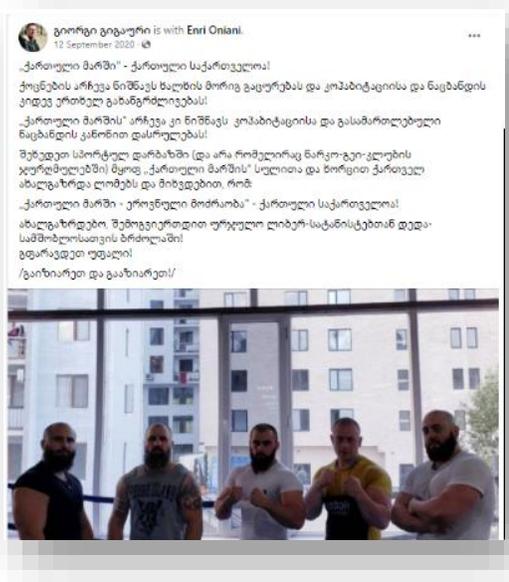
In the [photos](#) posted by Enri Oniani on Facebook and in the [video](#) uploaded on YouTube, we see that the interior of the gym has already changed in the fall of 2020, and they are likely to train in another gym. From September 2020, the supporters of "Georgian March" also [trained](#) in the sports complex "Arena."



*Enri Oniani (On the left), Rati Nizharadze (in the middle)*

On September 12, 2020, Giorgi Gigauri, the author of the extremist newspaper Asaval-Dasavali and the then [deputy chairman](#) of the Georgian March party, posted a photo of the party's youth members with the following [comment](#):

“Take a look at the young Georgian lions with the spirit and flesh from the "Georgian March" in the gym (and not in the depths of a drug-gay club) and you will realize that: the "Georgian March - National Movement" is a Georgian Georgia!”



Rati Nizharadze on the left, Enri Oniani (sitting), Giorgi Naskidzashvili (First on from the right)

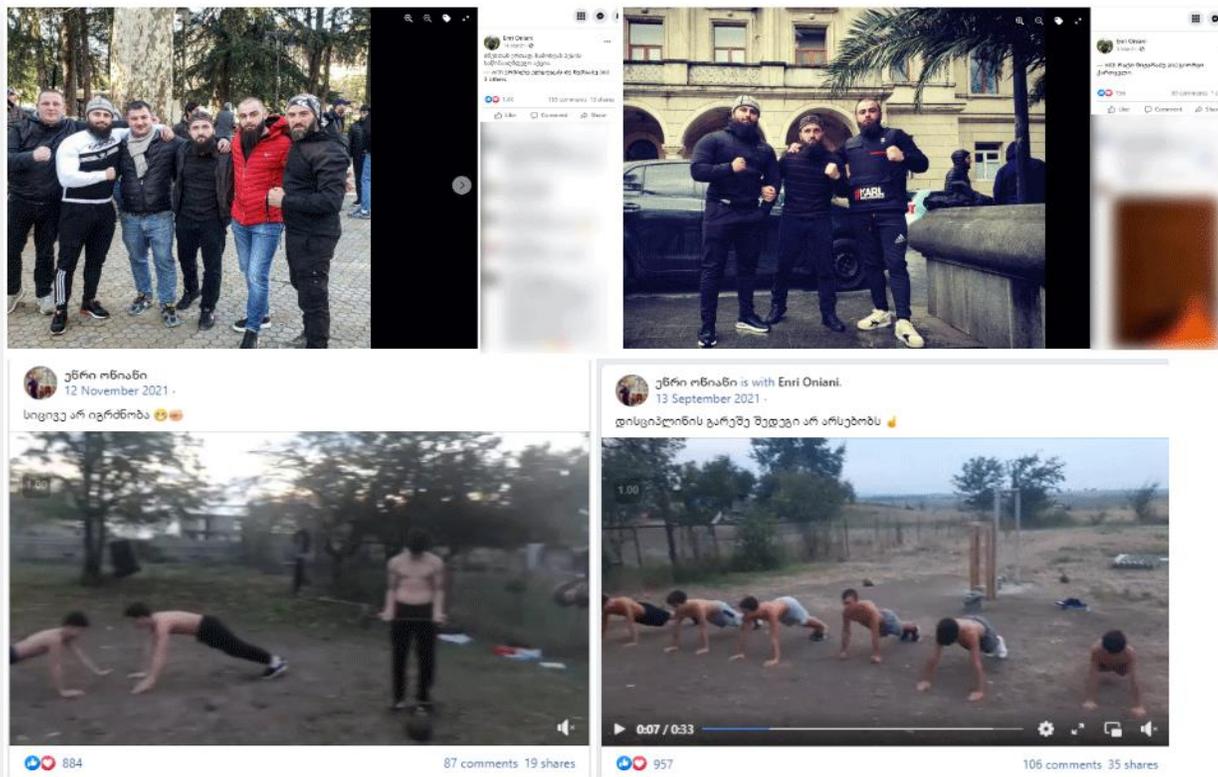


From the left: Enri Oniani, Giorgi Naskidashvili (in the front)

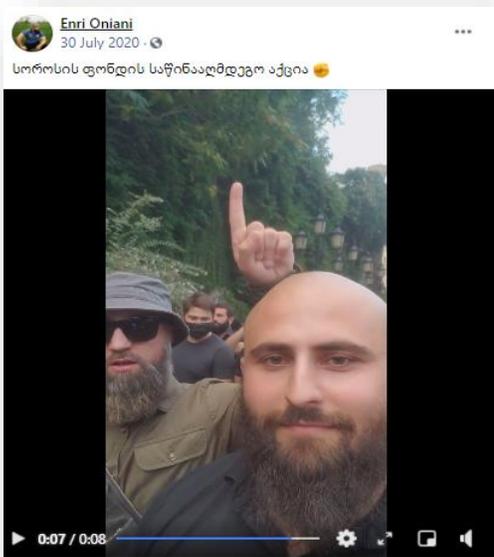


From the left: Giorgi Digmelashvili, Giorgi Naskidashvili. First on from the right- Enri Oniani.

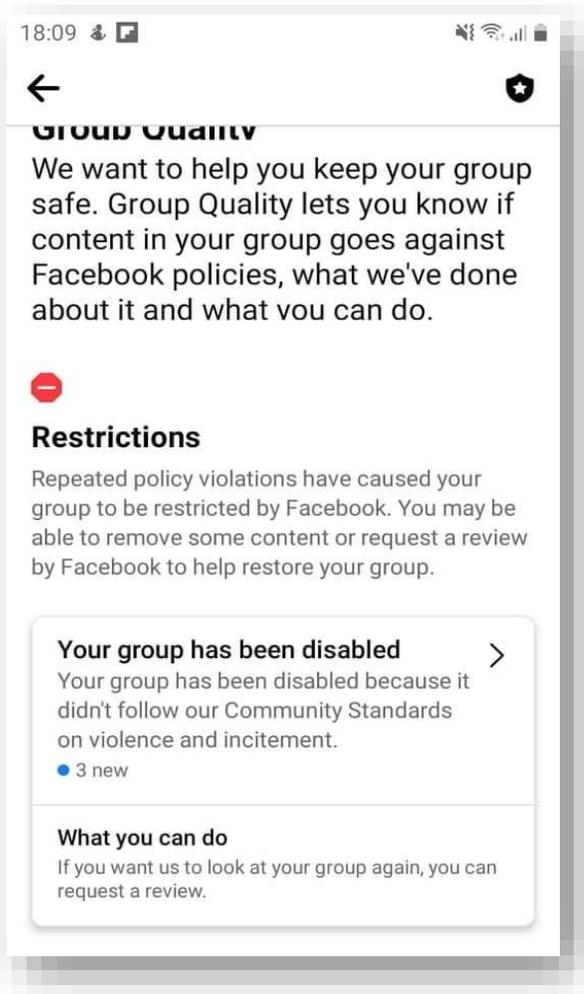
From 2021, Enri Oniani [started](#) training children in the village of Marabda. At the same time, [together](#) with Ermile Nemsadze, he was involved in the rallies against the Namokhvani HPP.



Enri Oniani also took part in rallies against the Open Society Foundation Georgia in July 2020 and the film "And Then We Danced" in November.



As of June 28, 2022, Oniani has 1 Facebook [page](#) (personal blog) and two accounts: [ენრი ონიანი](#) and [Enri Oniani](#). Oniani also managed the Facebook group Georgian Brotherhood, which was blocked on June 25.



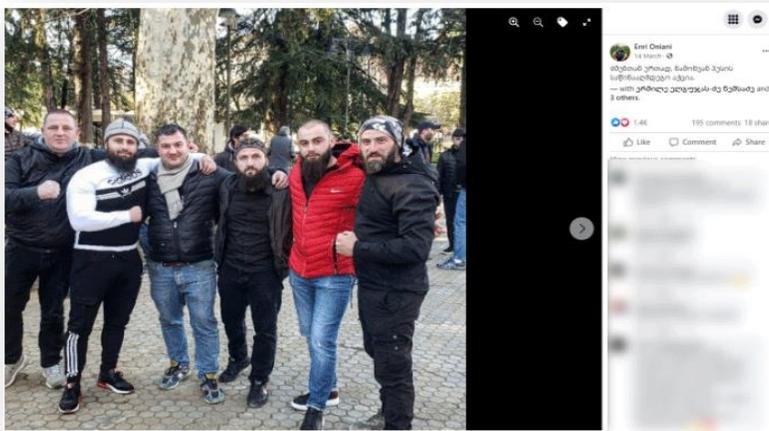
Oniani was [present](#) at the violent anti-Pride rally on July 5 with [Jarji Noneshvili](#), who has a youth training club in the village of Samtsevrisi in Kvemo Kartli.



Jarji Noneshvili operates a free sports school in the village of Samtsverisi, where he trains local children in mixed martial arts. According to the [post](#) published on the Facebook page of the [MMA Group](#), the goal of the sports club is to "introduce a healthy lifestyle to children and young people, to prevent the next generation from acquiring deadly and bad habits (drugs, alcohol, tobacco...), and to help them to form a moral and masculine identity (Georgian-Caucasian). In one of the video addresses, Shukiauri explains what type of boys is not good for the development of the country (feminine boys) and what role physical training plays in raising them properly.

**Jarji Noneshvili, Coach at "MMA group Mdzlevari":** "Unfortunately, there is a tendency of raising feminine boys, which is not good for the development of the country, for the strength of the country."

Jarji Noneshvili and Enri Oniani often met with Ermile Nemsadze and other participants of the July 5-6 rally. Ermile Nemsadze announced live on his Facebook account on February 15 that he was [leaving](#) Georgia. A few days after leaving, Ermile Nemsadze [mentioned](#) in one of the live shows that he had gone to work in Poland.

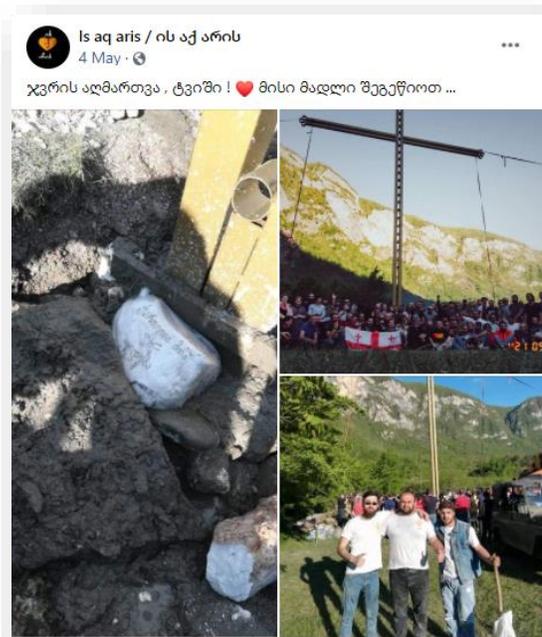


## 1.2 Persons Involved in the “Crusade Movement” and Affiliated with the “Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate”

In addition to the clergy's [rhetoric](#) encouraging violence, which preceded the violent events of July 5, and the [participation](#) of clergy in the action of violent groups, the analysis of the profiles of the participants of the violent action revealed the following:

- a) Part of the participants of the demonstration, including those who are involved in the physical training of young people, took part in the so-called “Crusade Movement” - rituals of erecting crosses in different parts of Georgia.;
- b) Part of these people are linked to the "Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate".

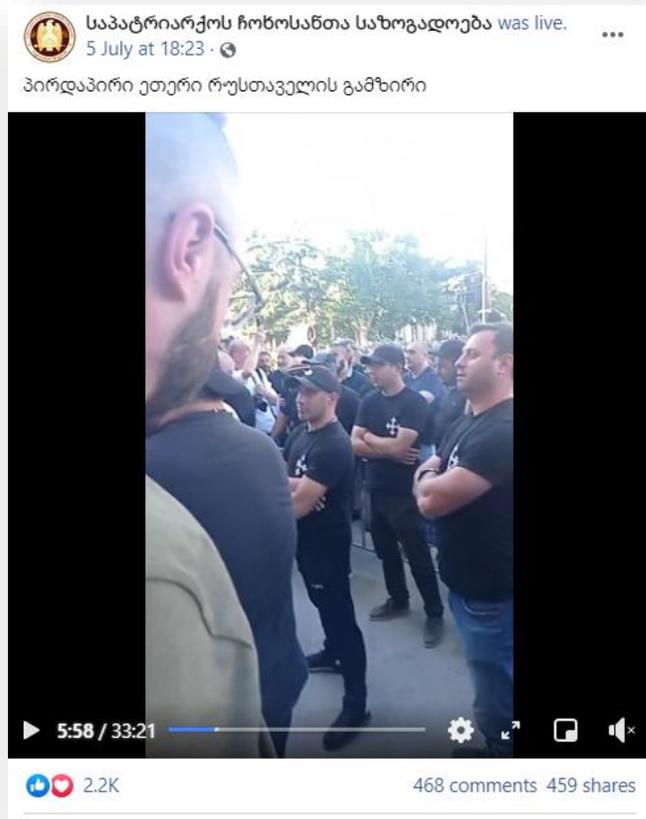
**The Crusade Movement.** In May 2021, in the village of Tvishi, the association "Is Aq Aris" of Dato Kutaladze, accused of violence against the deceased TV cameraman Aleksandre Lashkrava, [participated](#) in the [ritual](#) of erecting a cross held by The “[Crusade Movement](#).” According to the [description](#) of the photo posted on the “Crusade’s” Facebook page, the goal of the silent Crusade march is "to wrap precious Georgia with a belt of crosses". According to the [movement](#), the border of Georgia is 1970 km long; hence they intend to erect 1970 crosses, for which they are mobilizing their fellow citizens.



Other participants of the July 5 rally were also involved in the rituals of the "Crusade Movement," including: [Enri Oniani](#), [Jarji Shuliauri](#), [Naskidashvili Levan](#), [Giorgi Naskidashvili](#), [Fido Khizanishvili](#), [Khvicha Amiranashvili](#), [Khvicha Amiranashvili](#), [Giorgi Demetradze](#), [Giorgi Asatiani](#).



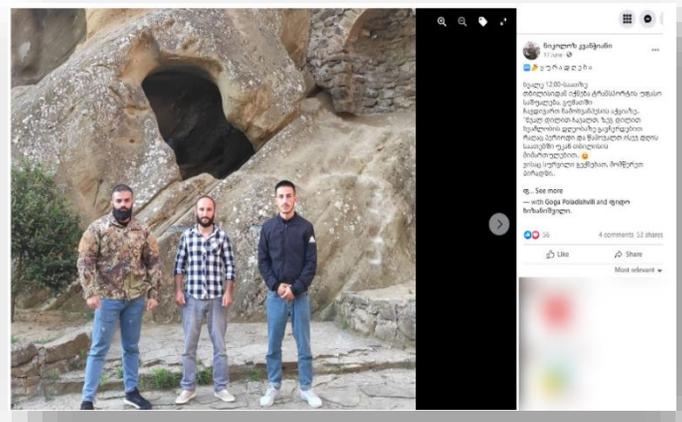
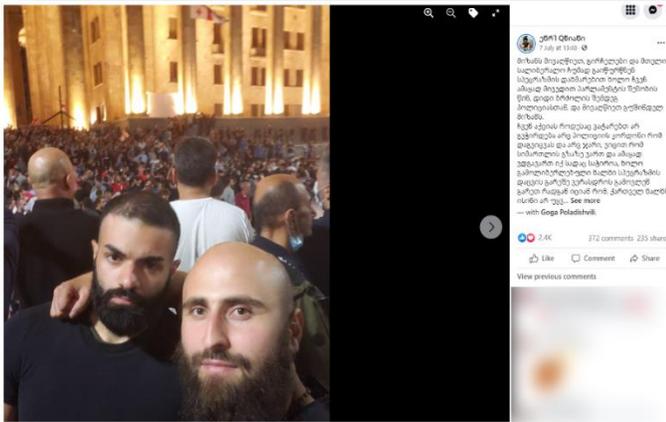
**"The Society of Chokhosans of the Georgian Patriarchate."** The Facebook page of the "[Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate](#)" aired the events against the "Pride March" on July 5 [live](#) and [broadcasted](#) the violent calls of Alt-Info members and supporters.



On July 4, the Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate issued a statement, [announcing](#) to bring children to the counter-demonstration. "The march announced by "Tbilisi-Pride" on July 5 grossly violates both general morality and the interest of children. In addition, the more aggressively they scold our parents, who raise us with religious, national and moral rules and the more they insist on holding Pride, the more they violate our rights." the statement said.

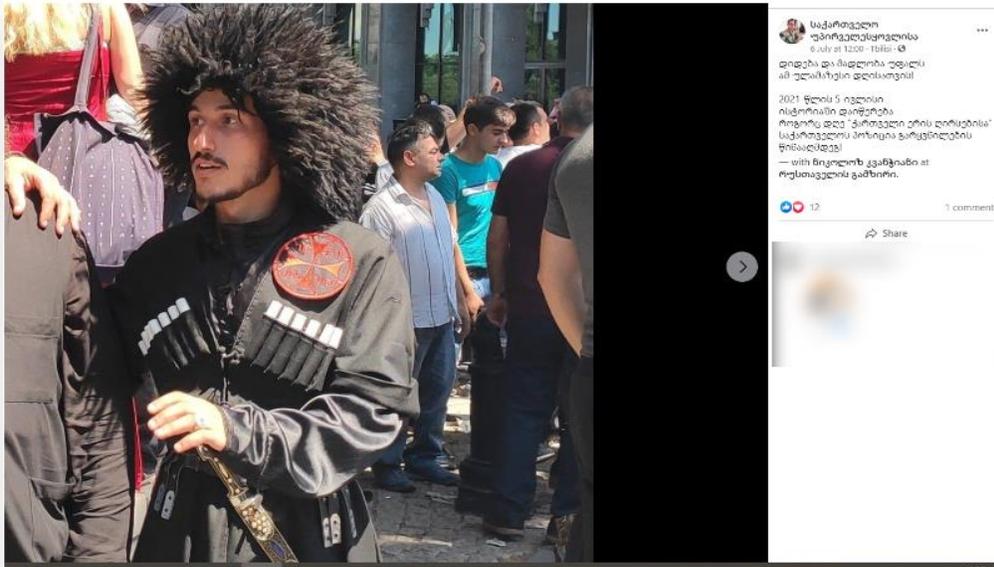
Notably, the Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate was present at the organizational meeting of "Alt-Info" allies on June 24. According to the [research](#) of "Democracy Defenders," on June 24, 2021, at the meeting held in "Gino Wellness" in Mtskheta, the organization "Mamulishvilibi" [Patriots], the Chokhosani Society, the movement "For National Media", the teachers' association "Education and Morality," together with the founders of "Alt-Info," to organize a protest against the LGBTQ+ pride.

Nikoloz Kvanchiani, a member of the "Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate", who is a former soldier, also participated in the violent events of July 5. Kvanchiani [left](#) military service on June 2, 2021, to support the defenders of the Rioni gorge. Kvanchiani took part in the protest against Namokhvan HPP [together](#) with [Goga Folidashvili](#). The latter was present at the counter-demonstration with [Enri Oniani](#).



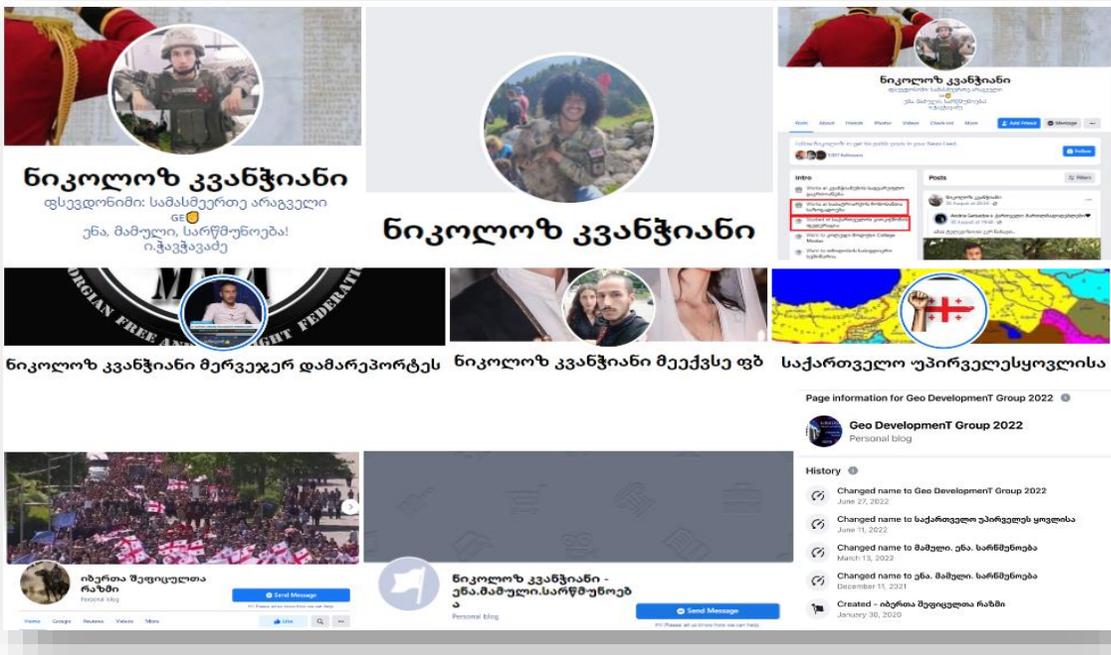
On July 3, on a [Facebook live](#), Kvanchiani said that on July 5, LGBT people were planning to go naked and painted on Rustaveli Avenue, claiming that this information was provided to him by the State Security Service and other agencies.

**Nikoloz Kvanchiani, member of the "Chokhosani Society of the Georgian Patriarchate:** "These pedarasts, LGBTs are going to come out naked and paint themselves in LGBT colours with the help of the police, the internal affairs in general. And not only the internal affairs will be involved in this, but the State Security Service too. The defence forces could also be added if they do not have the resources. Full mobilization has been announced throughout Georgia, I have many relatives in all government bodies, and many have told me that full mobilization has been announced and the entire nation must come out on July 5 at Rustaveli."



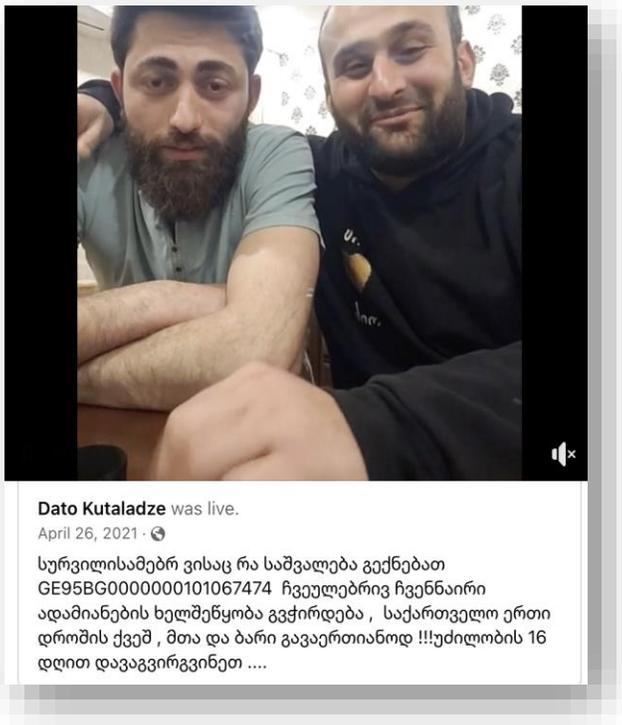
"I have reached the level that I can't speak anymore. I'm going berserk, I'm completely berserk. I can hardly stop myself from taking any resource, whether it is a weapon or something else, and shoot them, these inhumans. Because they are the debauchers of the nation."

As of June 27, Nikoloz Kvanchiani has 5 Facebook accounts: "[Nikoloz Kvanchiani](#)," "[Georgia First](#)" (deactivated), "[Nikoloz Kvanchiani](#)," "[Nikoloz Kvanchiani Sixth FB](#)," "[Nikoloz Kvanchiani reported for the eighth time](#)" and 2 Facebook pages: "[Iberta Shepiculta Razmi](#)," [The Sworn Squad of the Iberians] which on June 27 was transformed into "[Geo Development Group 2022](#)" and "[Nikoloz Kvanchiani - Ena, Mamuli, Samunoeba](#)," [Language, Land, Religion]" which also changed its name ([Shsbsbsb](#)).



### 1.3. Persons involved in the campaign against Namakhvani HPP and various other activities

Dato Kutaladze, who was [arrested](#) for participating in group violence against "TV Pirveli" cameraman Aleksandre Lashkarava during the counter-demonstration held against "Tbilisi Pride" on July 5, in addition to erecting crosses, collected funds for social assistance (crowdfunding) and distributed aid in different regions, as well as mobilizing people to rally against the construction of the Namakhvan HPP.



**Screenshot:** A post where Davit Kutaladze indicates his bank account in order to mobilize funds

On April 25, 2021, Dato Kutaladze, together with his friend Beka Berishvili created the Facebook page [Is aq aris/ის აქ არის](#). According to the [post](#) published on the page of July 20, 2021, [Is aq aris](#) provides help to socially vulnerable people, which is evidenced by one of Kutaladze's [videos](#) shared on the page, where he demonstrates the food and various household items collected for the purpose of assistance, both from abroad and with local resources. From the first posts shared on the same page, we learn that the goal of the movement initiated by Kutaladze is the unification of all of Georgia under the Georgian flag, more specifically, the gathering of like-minded people against the Namokhvan HPP action.

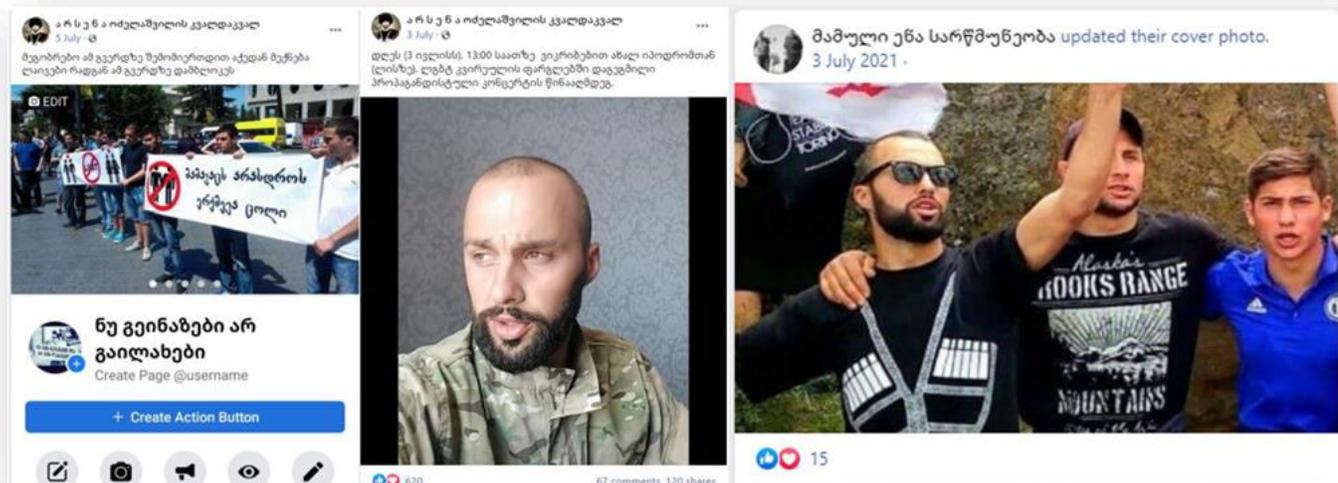


On April 30, 2021, the regional TV channel Rioni [covered](#) the rally of Davit Kutaladze's movement "Is aq aris" in Kutaisi, which gathered for the solidarity of the Defenders of Rioni Gorge, where they exhibited items brought from 12 different cities of Georgia. According to the organizers of the demonstration, they launched a campaign against the Namokhvan HPP in the regions and gathered supporters.



Davit Kutaladze has also uploaded the video showing the mobilization of public opinion against the Namakhvani HPP in different regions of Georgia on his [YouTube](#) channel.

[Giorgi Odzelashvili](#), who was [arrested](#) on the charge of a group attack on the office of "Tbilisi Pride", was also involved in the demonstrations against the [Namakhvani HPP](#), who was also [mobilizing](#) supporters on social networks against the events planned for LGBT week on July 3. Odzelashvili is a former military. Odzelashvili manages the Facebook profile [Giorgi Odzelashvili](#), [The future of Georgia](#) and pages "[In the footsteps of Arsena Odzelashvili](#)," "[Nu Geinazebi, Ar Geilakhebi](#)" and "[Land, Language, Faith](#)."



[Davit Lomsadze](#) was present at the July 5 rally [together](#) with Enri Oniani.



## 1.4. Involvement of the Counter-demonstration Participants in the Anti-vaxx Campaign

After the events of July 5, participants of the counter-demonstration became actively involved in anti-vaxx activities, which on the one hand was aimed at maintaining the negative charge around the critical topic, and on the other hand, was linked to the arrival of US government aid at the end of July, within the framework of which half a million doses of Pfizer/BioNTech of Georgia was [delivered](#) in Georgia. At the anti-vaxx [demonstration](#) held in front of the Parliament on July 24, 2021, some of the participants of the July 5 rally were also mobilized,<sup>1</sup> including Ermile Nemsadze and Beka Vardosanidze, who covered the rally [live](#).



In addition to participating in the demonstration against "green passports" and vaccination, the participants of the violent rally were also actively spreading disinformation about vaccines on social networks: for example, one of the participants of the July 5 rally, Temo Bokelavadze, was [involved](#) in organizing rallies against mandatory vaccination and ["green passports" together](#) with Zviad Tomaradze. At the same time, Temo Bokelavadze manages several Facebook accounts:

Facebook pages	Facebook profiles	Facebook groups
<a href="#">Temo Bokelavadze</a> (Personal Blog)	<a href="#">Ersmen Kong</a> (Temo Bokelavadze)	<a href="#">Civil Protest (Movement)</a>
<a href="#">On the national front line</a>	<a href="#">Temo Bokelavadze</a> (Temo Bokelavadze)	
<a href="#">Temur Bokelavadze</a>	<a href="#">Temo Bokelavadze substitute</a>	
<a href="#">Sindisis Bichebi [Boys of conscience]</a>		
<a href="#">Tanamebrdzoli [Comrade]</a>		

<sup>1</sup> [Sandro Lobzhanidze](#), [Temo Bokelavadze](#), [Nikoloz Kvanchiani](#), [Lasha Menteshashvili](#), [Goga Foladishvili](#), [Davit Lomsadze](#), [Lasha Lekiasvili](#), [Levan Mchedlishvili](#), [Naskidashvili Levani](#), [Ermile Nemsadze](#), [Enri Oniani](#), [Iago Chanturia](#), [Davit Gudashvili](#), [Giorgi Nemsadze](#), [Luka Tchirgadze](#), [Otari Chitishvili](#), [Vazha Gumberidze](#), [Eldar Dadvani](#), [Giorgi Dadvani](#), [Miriani Beridzishvili](#), [Levan Sarjveladze](#), [Lasha Khetsuriani](#), [Gela Gagua](#), [Giorgi Naskidashvili](#), [Davit Gudashvili](#), [Giga Karbelashvili](#), [Davit Lomsadze](#), [Giorgi Aniasvili](#), [Giorgi Aniasvili](#), [Shota Mamulashvili](#), [Giorgi Gulikashvili](#), [Zurab Kobakhidze](#), [Giorgi Kerdekashvili](#), [Giorgi Demetradze](#), [Giorgi Asatiani](#), [Beso Berishvili](#)



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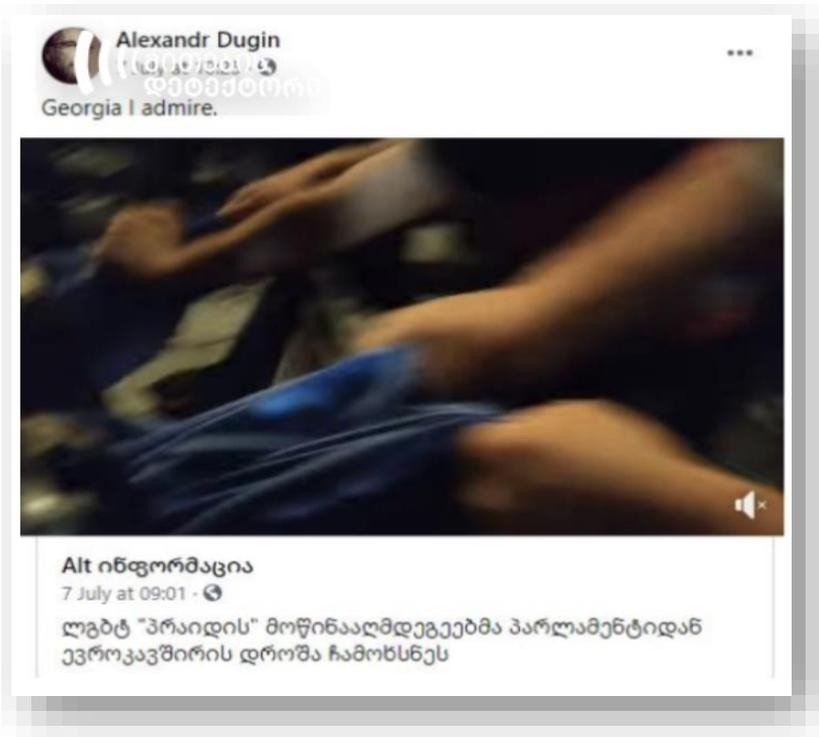


### სამოქალაქო პროტესტი (გადაადგილება)

## II. ORGANIZERS OF VIOLENCE

Among the organizers of the July 5 events were the founders and hosts of Alt-Info, a television company connected to Levan Vasadze at that time, who provided informational and ideological support to the counter-demonstration. Alt-Info often voiced [statements](#) that aggression had to become a standard of political and ideological battle, while the burning of Western symbols (flags) had to become a daily reality. The hosts of Alt-Info have been announcing the radical change of the foreign policy of the country, the conversion of the protest against the "Western colonizers" into a political movement, the replacement of liberalism with Christian-conservative governance and ruling the country together with the mother-church. In order to achieve political goals, they talked about the need to clean the information environment from critical TV channels.

The violent events of July 5, including the [vandalic calls](#) to burn the EU flag and related actions, were supported by the Russian philosopher, the founder of the Eurasianist movement [Aleksandr Dugin](#), who shared the post about burning the EU flag in Tbilisi on his personal Facebook page with the following caption: "Georgia I admire."



Dugin, who has a close relationship with the founder of "Unity, Essence, Hope" [Levan Vasadze](#), often [appeared](#) on the air of "Alt-Info" with anti-Western messages even before the events of July 5.



Aleksandr Dugin on the photo

After the launch of Russia's full-scale military invasion in Ukraine, Alt-Info anchors started [cultivating fears](#) by arguing that if Georgia did not change its foreign policy orientation and normalize relations with Russia, it would face the same fate as Ukraine, as Georgia was being dragged into the war and Euro-Atlantic integration was not worth engaging into a military conflict. This message of the Alt-Info/Conservative movement, which is used to instrumentalise fear, is also [circulated](#) by the Kremlin's propaganda media.

КОМСОМЛЬСКАЯ ПЕРЬЕДА

РОССИЯ | ВИДЕО | ФОТО | СПЕЦОПЕРАЦИИ НА УКРАИНЕ | КОРОНАВИРУС | ПОЛИТИКА | ОБЩЕСТВО | ЭКОНОМИКА | В МИРЕ | ЗВЕЗДЫ | ЗДОРОВЬЕ

В МИРЕ | Эксклюзив кр.ру | 6 июля 2022 19:05

## Организатор митинга против гей-пропаганды в Грузии: Нас пытаются превратить во вторую Украину

Секретарь партии «Консервативное движение» рассказал кр.ру, могут ли Москва и Тбилиси помириться на почве традиционных ценностей

Элвард ЧЕШОКОВ | ПОДПИСАТЬСЯ | ПОДЕЛИТЬСЯ

Myth Detector's monitoring also found that amid the Russia-Ukraine war, Alt-Info and their partisan supporters were [spreading](#) disinformation identical to Kremlin propaganda channels.

["Alt-Info" LLC](#) was registered on January 28, 2019, and its owners were Konstantine Morgoshia's aunt Tsiala Morgoshia (50%), and Shota Martynenko (50%), the host of the program. After the founding of the Conservative Movement, Shota Martynenko is no longer among the owners of the television station, and he was replaced by [Aleksandre Kardava](#). After [Facebook removed](#) accounts associated with Alt-Info in 2020 for coordinated inauthentic behaviour, Alt-Info obtained a broadcast license and began broadcasting in 2021. They [received](#) authorization for broadcasting on November 26, 2020.

According to the amounts declared to the Georgian National Communication Commission (GNCC), Alt-Info's finances have increased since the third quarter of 2021. The TV company added news programs and talk shows, for which it periodically announced vacancies. A large share of the funds are donations from the owner, which means that the channel is mainly subsidiary.

**Table 1.** Declared financial income of TV Alt-Info 2021-2022

2021, I q	2021, II q	2021, III q	2021, IV q	2022, I q
8216	23,489.00	269,447.40	276,864.41	225,927.65

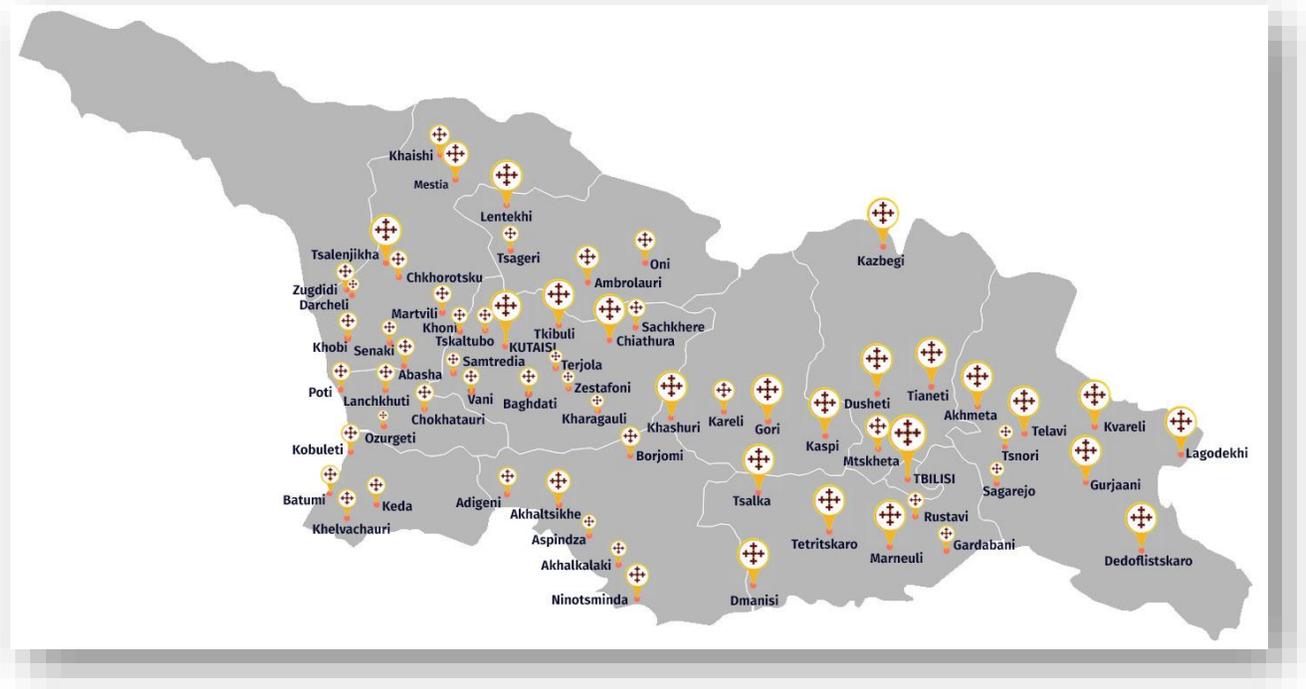
Source: Georgian National Communication Commission

Accounts linked to Alt-Info have been [removed](#) by Facebook several times due to coordinated inauthentic behaviour. As of July 6, the following pages are being used to broadcast Alt-Info's programs: [Alterinfo](#), [Kima's Page](#), and [Punisher](#). Individual accounts of party supporters and various social platforms such as [TikTok](#), [Telegram](#) and [VKontakte](#) are also used for the same purpose.

Another Facebook page that supports Alt-Info and the Conservative Movement and publishes xenophobic, anti-liberal and anti-vaxxer materials is "[Dedakalaki](#)" [The Capital]. Along with Koka Morgoshia's aunt, the founders of "Dedakalaki LLC" are other supporters of the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement - Beka Vardosanidze, [Nino Kavtaradze](#) and [Irakli Antidze](#), who is a former employee of Adjara Public Broadcaster. Beka Vardosanidze, who was a member of the "Georgian March" initiative group in the past, currently manages three Facebook pages: [Beqa Vardosanidze's blog](#), [Beqa Vardosanidze and the society](#), [BeqaNews](#).

**The Transformation of the Broadcaster into a Political Party.** On November 20, 2021, the team of Alt-Info TV held a meeting and presented the new "Conservative Movement" party. The party was officially [registered](#) on December 7, and on January 15, 2022, the first regional office of the "Conservative Movement" was [opened](#) in Zugdidi. As of June 28, 2022, in addition to Tbilisi, the "Conservative Movement" has representation in 60 large and small cities and 2 villages of Georgia. During January, the conservative movement opened offices in 10 municipalities ([Khobi](#), [Martvili](#), [Mestia](#), [Tsalenjikha](#), [Abasha](#), [Zugdidi](#), [Telavi](#), [Lagodekhi](#), [Dmanisi](#), [Rustavi](#)), 33 offices in February ([Akhalkalaki](#), [Ninotsminda](#), [Dusheti](#), [Kareli](#), [Gori](#), [Tkibuli](#), [Baghdati](#), [Terjola](#), [Vani](#), [Khoni](#), [Tskaltubo](#), [Batumi](#), [Kutaisi](#), [Samtredia](#), [Senaki](#), [Poti](#), [Chkhorotsku](#), [Sachkhere](#), [Chiathura](#), [Zestafoni](#), [Akhmeta](#), [Kvareli](#), [Tsnori](#), [Borjomi](#), [Akhaltzikhe](#), [Gardabani](#), [Tetrtskaro](#), [Khashuri](#), [Kaspi](#), [Lentekhi](#), [Tsageri](#), [Oni](#), [Ambrolauri](#)), 13 in march ([Sagarejo](#), [Gurjaani](#), [Dedoflistskaro](#), [Kharagauli](#), [Tianeti](#), [Mtskheta](#), [Lanchkhuti](#),

[Ozurgeti](#), [Chokhatauri](#), [Kobuleti](#), [Keda](#), [Khelvachauri](#), [Adigeni](#), [Marneuli](#)), and in 3 municipalities in April ([Tsalka](#), [Aspindza](#), [Kazbegi](#)). In March, two additional offices were opened in [Khaishi](#) village of Mestia municipality and [Darcheli](#) village of Zugdidi municipality.



### **Offices of Alt-Info/Conservative Movement in Georgia**

The conservative movement has opened 62 offices in different regions of Georgia since November 20. Offices in 4 cities were blessed by local clergy.

#	Regional offices, their Facebook pages, groups and accounts of Alt-Info Conservative Movement	Participation of clergy in the consecration of party offices
1	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Ozurgeti</a>	On April 12, Priest Vakhtang Tokhadze <a href="#">consecrated</a> the office of the Ozurgeti Conservative Movement.
2	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Borjomi</a>	On March 24, the office was consecrated by the priests of the Borjom-Bakuriani diocese, <a href="#">one of them</a> being Father Archil, the head of the David Agmashenebeli Cathedral in Borjomi.
3	<a href="#">Conservative Movement/Telavi</a>	On January 31, the priest of Telavi Monastery of the Virgin Mary, Gennady Gogilashvili, <a href="#">attended</a> the opening of the "Conservative Movement" office in Telavi.
4	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Sagarejo</a>	On April 3, Father Giorgi Pavlovna <a href="#">consecrated</a> the Sagarejo office of the Conservative Movement.
5	<a href="#">Conservative Movement - Tianeti</a>	
6	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Adigeni</a>	
7	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Gori</a>	
8	<a href="#">Conservative Movement / Gurjaani</a>	
9	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Rustavi</a>	
10	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Samtredia</a>	
11	<a href="#">კონსერვატიული მოძრაობა ბათუმში / Conservative movement in Batumi</a>	
12	<a href="#">კონსერვატიული მოძრაობა კასპში, Conservative Movement Kaspi (2)</a>	

13	<a href="#">კონსერვატიული მოძრაობა ქობულეთი / Conservative Movement Kobuleti</a>
14	<a href="#">Conservative movement Chkhorotsku</a>
15	<a href="#">კონსერვატიული მოძრაობა ქედა / Conservative movement Keda</a>
16	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Senaki</a>
17	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Khelvachauri</a>
18	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Zestafoni</a>
19	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Dedoplistskaro (Group)</a>
20	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Kareli</a>
21	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Terjola</a>
22	<a href="#">Conservative Movement - Lagodekhi Organization</a>
23	<a href="#">Conservative Movement-Abasha (Group)</a>
24	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Martvili (Group)</a>
25	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Tsnori (Group)</a>
26	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Akhmeta (Group)</a>
27	<a href="#">Conservative Movement - Chiatura (Group)</a>
28	<a href="#">Conservative Movement - Dmanisi (Group)</a>
29	<a href="#">Conservative Movement of Tetrtskaro (Group)</a>
30	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Gardabani (Group)</a>
31	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Akhaltsikhe</a>
32	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Kvareli</a>
33	<a href="#">Conservative movement - Kharagauli</a>
34	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Marneuli</a>
35	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Khobi</a>
36	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Mestia</a>
37	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Chokhatauri</a>
38	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Sachkhere</a>
39	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Poti</a>
40	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Kutaisi Organization</a>
41	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Tskaltubo</a>
42	<a href="#">Conservative Movement of Khoni</a>
43	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Tkibuli</a>
44	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Dusheti</a>
45	<a href="#">Conservative Movement - Lanchkhuti</a>
46	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Zugdidi</a>
47	<a href="#">Conservative Movement of Mtskheta</a>
48	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Tsalenjikha</a>
49	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Ambrolauri</a>
50	<a href="#">Conservative Movement of Lentekhi</a>
51	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Tsageri</a>
52	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Oni</a>
53	<a href="#">Conservative Movement in Khashuri</a>
54	<a href="#">Tsalka - Conservative Movement (Group)</a>
55	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Khaishi</a>
56	<a href="#">Conservative Movement Darcheli</a>
57	<a href="#">Bagdati (As of June 27, FB account is deleted)</a>
58	Vani
59	Ninotsminda
60	Akhalkalaki
61	Aspindza
62	Kazbegi

As of June 27, the offices of the Conservative Movement were not officially opened in Bolnisi and Signagi, while the party was [denied](#) to rent an office in Khulo and Shuakhevi. Notably, despite the non-existence of the offices, the Facebook group under the name [Conservative Movement - Bolnisi](#) and Facebook page [Conservative Movement Khulo](#) still exist.

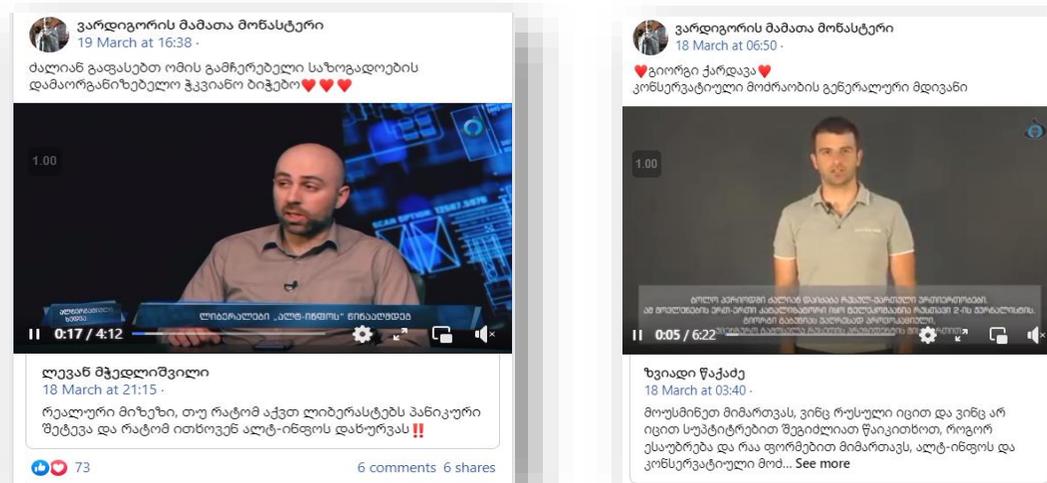
In June, the State Audit Office [fined](#) the Conservative Movement for undeclared income. The audit appealed to the court due to incorrect presentation of the party's 2021 declaration and concealment of donations and demanded a fine of 217,482 GEL.

**The connection of the clergy with the "Conservative Movement".** The connection of the clergy with "Alt-Info" was revealed even prior to the July 5 anti-Tbilisi Pride demonstration. Hate groups engaged in an anti-Pride campaign on traditional and social media a month before Pride, [circulating](#) homophobic slurs and calls for violence. According to the [investigation](#) of "iFact", 26 clergymen were present at the violent rally on July 5. Some of them continued to support "Alt-Info" even after its transformation into a political party, for example, deacon Spiridon Tskifurishvili is a frequent guest of "Alt-Info" programs and shares the pro-Kremlin positions of the "Conservative Movement" amidst the Russia-Ukraine war.

Archpriest Spirodon Tskifurishvili, an active supporter of the "Conservative Movement", who was also present at the anti-Tbilisi Pride rally held on July 5, addressed the hate groups from the tribune with the following [words](#): "Not that you should say no to violence, quite the opposite, you are obliged to use violence for your homeland and its sanctity!". Archpriest Spiridon, the frequent guest of "Alt-Info", thinks that supporting Ukraine is unacceptable, since Zelensky is a "gay activist".



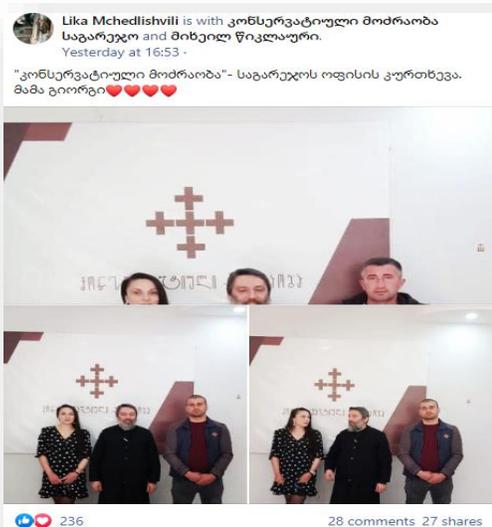
Spiridon Tskifurishvili, the archpriest of the Vardigori Fathers' Monastery, is actively [engaged](#) in the distribution of "Alt-Info's" materials and [considers](#) the stopping of the war to be their merit.



On March 24, the office of the "Conservative Movement" in Borjomi was consecrated by the priests of the Borjomi-Bakuriani diocese, [one of whom](#) is Father Archil, the head of the Borjomi Davit Agmashenebeli Cathedral. The photos of the consecration were [distributed](#) on social media by the local representatives of the party.



On April 3, Giorgi Pavlov, the leader of the Virgin Mary Cathedral in the village of Giorgitsminda, Sagarejo region, [consecrated](#) the Sagarejo office of the Conservative Movement. The photos were distributed by the representatives of the [Conservative Movement Sagarejo](#) on social media. Father Giorgi Pavlov was also [present](#) at the July 5 violent rally.



On March 12, according to the [party](#), the office of the "Conservative Movement" was opened in Ozurgeti. Before the opening of the party, "Guriis Moambe" [reported](#) that Father Vakhtang (Tokhadze), the leader of the Makvaneti Church of the Creator's Diocese, participated in the establishment of the office and selected staff for the organization, which was also confirmed by the cleric in a comment with TV Pirveli. [Vakhtang Tokhadze, clergyman](#): "We help all of the national forces - Vasadze and Tarkhan-Mouravi as well. I help those boys too." It should be noted that on April 12, Tokhadze consecrated the office of the Ozurgeti Conservative Movement. After the consecration, the cleric told the reporters that "connection with Russia is necessary", Putin has nothing to do with it, and women and children are raped in every war."

On January 31, the opening of the "Conservative Movement" office in Telavi was [attended](#) by a clergyman, priest of Telavi Virgin Mary Monastery, Genadi Gogilashvili.



## KONSTANTINE MORGOSHIA

One of the leaders of the Conservative Party, Konstantine Morgoshia, made statements encouraging violence even [before the rally](#), while on July 5, he was [directing](#) 500-600 counter rally participants to the office of the "Shame Movement" where "Tbilisi Pride" organizers were. It was in the office of the "Shame Movement" that Lekso Lashkarava, the cameraman of TV Pirveli, was attacked and severely beaten.

Konstantine Morgoshia is the [founder](#) of the organization "Alternative for Georgia", while Giorgi Kardava, a Russian-Georgian dual citizen, is the founder of the "[Youth Alternative](#)" and is also the host of Alt-Info. As mentioned above, the share of "[Alt-Info](#)" Ltd is signed under the name of his aunt Tsiala Morgoshia.

After the emergence of Vasadze's ERI party, Morgoshia started actively supporting the party and even [announced](#) a partnership with it. Before Vasadze, in 2016, Morgoshia [ran](#) as the Mtskheta majoritarian candidate of another pro-Russian party, "The Alliance of Patriots of Georgia", and since 2017, he joined "Georgian March" and was the organizer of a number of homophobic, xenophobic and anti-Western demonstrations organized by it.



After leaving the "Georgian March", Morgoshia became a member of Levan Vasadze's "Unity, Essence, Hope - ERI" party and on July 5-6, 2021, he led the protest against "Tbilisi Pride" together with the hosts of "Alt-Info".



Konstantine Morgoshia is the co-owner of two companies "[Magnus Design](#)" LLC" and "[Kem Construction](#)" LLC. According to the [investigation](#) by iFact, in 2015, the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories of Georgia paid 82,000 GEL to "Magnus Design" LLC. The Ministry signed contracts with the company [directly](#), without competition.

## ZURAB MAKHARADZE

In addition to the joint [photo](#) taken with the founder of the "Georgian Dream," Bidzina Ivanishvili, the past connections of Zura Makharadze, one of the leaders of the Conservative Movement party and the host of TV

"Alt Info", with government groups can also be confirmed by his cooperation with the pro-governmental PostTV.



In 2017, Makharadze [led](#) a program on PostTV called "Zura Makharadze's Recipe," in which his author monologues focused mainly on liberals and the ways of combating the marginalization of the conservative groups, including using the tools used by liberal groups themselves. ([Zurab Makharadze](#): "Why are there no NGOs protecting the conservative agenda? Where is the position of our civil society?").



In 2016-2017, Makharadze used to publish articles on [European.ge](#), a platform affiliated with the left-wing of the Georgian Dream, where in one of his publications, he focused on Georgia's geopolitical choices in turbulent realities. In the 2016 [publication](#) "Are We Ready for a Changed Geopolitical Scenario?" Makharadze spoke about the reality when Georgia will be left alone in the face of Russia due to the global retreat of the U.S.:

“

"If after Ukraine and Syria the Caucasus were to once again become the point of clarification of relations, will Georgia withstand all this in its current state? I think it is time to ask the people in charge of decision-making in our country if there is any plan for a scenario where we are left completely alone with Russia because of America's global retreat, or for a scenario where in the new world redistribution process war knocks on our door again?"

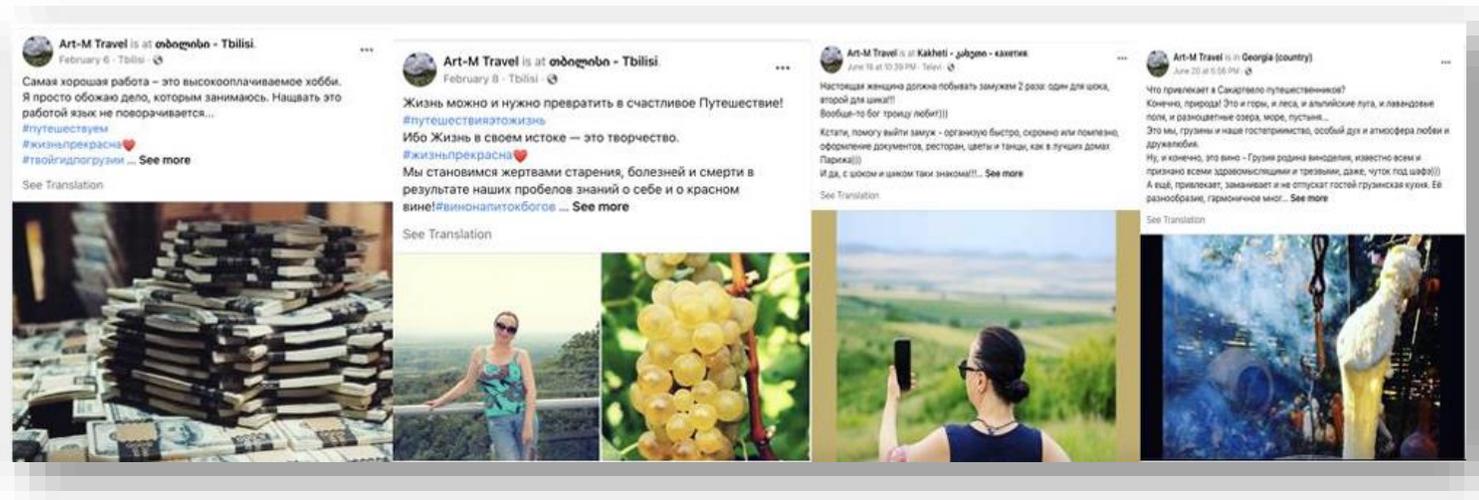
In 2016 Makharadze also [argued](#) that "the destruction of the West as an icon of absolute goodness and the only political landmark" in the public consciousness is inevitable and that the era marked by Zurab Zhvania's famous words (I am Georgian and therefore I am European) is coming to an end. ”

In 2019, Makharadze was present at a protest rally in front of Rustavi 2, which followed the act of swearing at Russian President Vladimir Putin by the Georgian TV host Giorgi Gabunia. The photos from the archives of the Kremlin propaganda publication [Sputnik](#) and other Russian news agencies ([express-novosti.ru](#), [newizv.ru](#), [news-rbk.ru](#)) allow us to see Zura Makharadze among the protesters. Gabunia’s actions were [followed](#) by a statement from the Russian Foreign Ministry, in which the journalist's actions were assessed as provocative and Russophobic, aimed at disrupting the normalization of Russian-Georgian relations.

The image is a collage of four news snippets from Russian media. The top-left snippet is from Sputnik Georgia, featuring a photo of protesters and a headline in Georgian. The top-right snippet is from Novye Izvestiya, with a headline in Russian and a text block describing a protest in Tbilisi. The bottom-left snippet is from Lenta.ru, with a headline in Russian and a photo of a man shouting into a megaphone. The bottom-right snippet is also from Lenta.ru, with a headline in Russian and a photo of the Rustavi-2 building.



Art-M Travel is a travel company which, judging by [Facebook](#), is mainly aimed at Russian-speaking tourists.



Makharadze also [worked](#) in the contract military service of the Georgian Defense Forces in the past.



## Appendix 1. Persons present at the violent counter-demonstration of July 5

	Arrested persons	Participants
1.	Alik Alazov <a href="#">Jaki Alazovi</a>	<a href="#">Enri Oniani</a>
2.	Tedo Burduli	<a href="#">Temo Boklevadze</a>
3.	Ivane Burduli	<a href="#">Lasha Lekiasvili</a>
4.	<a href="#">Tornike Gabliani</a>	<a href="#">Sandro Lobzhanidze</a>
5.	Otar Gelashvili	<a href="#">Goga Poladishvili</a>
6.	Gia Giguashvili	<a href="#">Nikoloz Kvanchiani</a>
7.	Geno Germanishvili	<a href="#">Fido Khizanishvili</a>
8.	Nikoloz Guledani	<a href="#">Davit Gudashvili</a>
9.	<a href="#">Mukhran Dadvani</a>	<a href="#">Jarji Shukiauri</a>
10.	Ushangi Datunashvili (Released)	<a href="#">Khvicha Amiranashvili</a>
11.	<a href="#">Tornike Davlasheridze</a>	<a href="#">Otari Chitishvili</a>
12.	Murad Devlarishvili	<a href="#">Vazha Gumberidze</a>
13.	Giorgi Elisbarashvili	<a href="#">Ermile Nemsadze</a>
14.	Romeo Kekutia	<a href="#">Giorgi Kartveli</a>
15.	<a href="#">Dato Kutaladze</a>	<a href="#">Beka Berishvili</a>
16.	Bakar Maisuradze	<a href="#">Giga Chakvetadze</a>
17.	<a href="#">Zaza Mchedlidze</a>	<a href="#">Dato Kviciani</a>
18.	Giorgi Magradze	<a href="#">Davit Lomsadze</a>
19.	Akaki Nakashidze	<a href="#">Temo Khajba</a>
20.	<a href="#">Giorgi Naskidashvili</a>	<a href="#">Giorgi Kerdekashvili</a>
21.	<a href="#">Giorgi Odzelashvili</a>	<a href="#">Iago Chanturia</a>
22.	Ilia Keadze	<a href="#">Bichiko Antidze</a>
23.	<a href="#">Irakli Kavlashvili</a>	<a href="#">Misho Gamrekelashvili</a>
24.	Davit Kochiashvili	<a href="#">Chogova Dze</a>
25.	Zaza Tchaava	<a href="#">Rati Nizharadze</a>
26.	Temuri Kharauli	<a href="#">Zurab Kobakhidze</a>
27.	Irakli Tsignadze	<a href="#">Shako Kerelashvili</a>
28.	Giorgi Tsaruashvili	<a href="#">Beso Berishvili</a>
29.	<a href="#">Tsotne Chikhladze</a>	<a href="#">Koba Ciskadze</a>
30.		<a href="#">Gio Menteshashvili</a>
31.		<a href="#">Usho Matiashvili</a>
32.		<a href="#">Beka Mikaia</a>
33.		<a href="#">Bako Zedginidze</a>
34.		<a href="#">Levan Mchedlishvili</a>
35.		<a href="#">Lela Gagua</a>
36.		<a href="#">Lasha Khetsuriani</a>
37.		<a href="#">Gega Giorgi Khvedelidze</a>
38.		<a href="#">Levan Sarjveladze</a>
39.		<a href="#">Diego Shamatava</a>
40.		<a href="#">Luka Chirgadze</a>
41.		<a href="#">Miriani Berdenishvili</a>
42.		<a href="#">Giorgi Dadvani</a>
43.		<a href="#">Nodar Gigani</a>
44.		<a href="#">Giga Karbelashvili</a>
45.		<a href="#">Zuka Otashvili</a>
46.		<a href="#">Oto Zukakishvili</a>
47.		<a href="#">Zura Aniashvili</a>
48.		<a href="#">Giorgi Aniashvili</a>
49.		<a href="#">Shota Mamulashvili</a>
50.		<a href="#">Giorgi Demetradze</a>
51.		<a href="#">Giorgi Asatiani</a>