

RESULTS OF OBSERVING A FAR-RIGHT POLITICAL GROUP “CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ ALT-INFO”



2021 /
2022

DEMOCRACY RESEARCH INSTITUTE



Report is prepared by the Democracy Research Institute (DRI) within the project Prevention of Far-Right Extremism in Georgia.

The project is supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Georgia. The positions and opinions expressed in the publication are those of the project team and should not be perceived as an official position of the Donor.



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INTRODUCTION

The Democracy Research Institute (hereinafter the “DRI”) has been monitoring the activities of far-right radical groups in Georgia since 2019. During this period, far-right groups have undergone significant transformations. The newly formed political party Conservative Movement/Alt-Info has attracted a great deal of public interest due to its express pro-Russian orientation.

This report presents the results of monitoring the activities of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info from the day it was founded to September 2022. In developing the report, the project team relied on the information provided by both the official and other media as well as sources of the DRI. This Information has been verified through alternative means.

Conservative Movement is the political formation of the far-right media outlet Alt-Info, which is openly pro-Russian. Through Conservative Movement, Alt-Info – a far-right group that initially emerged in the form of a television channel in the public sphere – is trying to become a part of the mainstream political life of the country. The party's political council includes Irakli Martynenko, Irakli Morgoshia, Giorgi Kardava, and Vasil Gvalia. The leaders of Conservative Movement are the organisers of the mass violence that took place on 5 July 2021. However, they have not been held accountable through criminal proceedings to this day.

On 20 November 2021, at the party conference, the party founders openly announced the pro-Russian and anti-Western foreign policy of Conservative Movement. Zura Makharadze declared that the party aimed to put an end to “liberal dictatorship” and establish “Christian democracy” in Georgia.¹

According to the public registry records, Conservative Movement was [registered](#) on 7 December 2021. Zurab Makharadze was initially the chairperson and Giorgi Kardava was the secretary-general.² Both of them are the faces of Alt-Info.

Conservative Movement applied to the Public Registry for party registration as early as November 2021. However, the application was rejected and the [registration procedure was suspended](#). One of the reasons for the rejection was that the list of members submitted to the registry by Alt-Info did not contain their ID numbers. Furthermore, there were following relevant shortcomings precluding the registration:

- The sketch of the emblem submitted for registration did not meet the requirements determined by the statute of the political association of citizens;
- The statute submitted for the registration of the party did not determine the party conference as the governing body and the audit commission was not referred to in uniform terms;
- The statute provided for the appointment, instead of electing, the party's political council, audit commission and party chairman;
- The statute did not provide for the regulation of the use of party property; and
- Two articles of the statute were contradictory.

Alt-Info was given a [deadline](#) of 10 days to correct the existing deficiency and it was officially registered as a party after the shortcomings were rectified.

According to the [amendments](#) registered in the register of political associations of citizens in April 2022, the party was named Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. Giorgi Kardava was appointed the chairperson of the party and Shota Martynenko as its general secretary.³

¹ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FaAe5H5qjk>.

² Radio Liberty, 2021, *The Public Registry Registered Alt-Info as a Party*, available at: <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/31597491.html>.

³ The amended registration [certificate](#) of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, a political association of citizens.



1. EXPANSION OF THE PARTY AND ITS FIRST STEPS

Having been registered as a party, since January 2022, the Alt-Info group actively started opening offices across Georgia. According to the [statement](#) made by Konstantine Morgoshia, the number of party offices would be 80 by the end of March 2022 and later they would be opening offices abroad.

In February 2022, 25 offices were opened across the country, covering the regions of Kakheti and Samtskhe-Javakheti, Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti and western Georgia. Such rapid expansion has raised questions about the party's financial resources.

According to a source of the DRI, the monthly rent for each office is around GEL 1,500-2,500. However, in some regions, the rent for an office exceeds this amount. In addition to this cost, salaries have to be paid to those who have been employed by the party in its local offices. There are 5-6 employees allocated for each such office. Their remuneration is confidential. According to a source of the DRI, most employees receive their salaries not by bank transfers but in cash, which gives rise to more suspicions about the source and the amount of the party's funding.

Information about the finances of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info has not been available for a long time, although, according to [statements](#) of the party's founders, their funding is fully transparent and comes from businesspersons living in Georgia or other post-Soviet countries, who have “virtually no connection” with Georgia.⁴

By the end of February 2022, information about the sponsors of Conservative Movement was posted on the page of political finance monitoring.

Since December 2021, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info has opened up to 64 regional offices (see Annex 1). Most of these offices are located in the city centres, which must entail large expenses.

After critical media started asking questions about the party's funding, the number of donations officially declared by the political union almost tripled in a few days. As the DRI wrote in its [report](#), the total amount of officially declared donations of Conservative Movement was GEL 36,675 on 16 March 2022 and it became, according to the State Audit Office, GEL 90,935 by 22 March 2022. The reason for the almost tripling of the officially declared donations might be the increased public interest in Conservative Movement. The party had to declare the funds to dispel suspicions. However, the question remains how a newly formed movement with no previous experience managed to open up to 60 offices with GEL 36,675. As of 16 March, the party had already opened 59 offices almost throughout Georgia.

⁴ Radio Liberty, 2021, *It Is Necessary to Prepare – Why Does Alt-Info Group Form a Party?*, the [article](#) is available at the Radio Liberty website.



2. PARTY DONORS

According to [official data](#), the officially declared amount donated to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info from its foundation⁵ as of 15 September 2022 is GEL 391,656. The amount of monthly donations received in 2022 is given in the table below:

Month 2022	Amount of Donation (GEL)
February	47,775
March	86,810
April	61,633
May	49,186
June	62,470
July	60,827
August	22,665
1-15 September	30,915

According to the DRI, donors of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info donate money in the same periods, mostly on the same date of the month. August and September 2022 are the exceptions:

Date	Amount of Donation	Received Money (GEL)
16-17 February 2022	41	46,400
16-17 March 2022	47	7,835
15 April 2022	44	49,993
16 May 2022	42	34,400
15-16 June 2022	51	44,305
12-18 July 2022	60	57,442
4-17 August 2022	5	14,1065
5-13 September 2022	21	28,090

The majority of the party's donors are the [heads of the party's regional offices](#). Most of them have donated money to the party several times. According to present data,⁶ in total, the party received 370 donations from 94 individuals. Out of 94 donors, 21 people donated money to the party only once. The remaining 73 donors

⁵ According to violation report no. 000086 received from the State Audit Office, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, despite having a financial turnover in 2021, submitted information to the State Audit Office about the lack of financial turnover, for which it was fined.

⁶ As of September 2022.



have donated several times. For example, one person donated money to the party nine times, three persons donated eight times, fourteen persons donated seven times, twelve persons donated six times, fourteen donated five times, ten persons donated four times, seven persons donated three times and twelve persons donated money twice.

- [Jimsher Bukhachauri](#), the head of the Akhmeta regional office of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, has donated money to the party 9 times. The total amount of donations made by him is GEL 3,900.
- [Gia Gulua](#), the head of the party's Zugdidi regional office, has donated money to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info 8 times. He has donated GEL 7,850 to the party.
- [Gocha Khutsidze](#) has also donated money 8 times. The amount of money donated by him is GEL 4,000. There is no immovable property registered in Khutsidze's name. He is not the head of the regional office either.
- [Simon Eghiashvili](#), who is the head of the Akhaltsikhe office, donated money to the party 8 times. The total amount donated by him is GEL 6,000.

[Zurab Kobakhidze](#) is the largest donor to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. He has [donated](#) a total of GEL 33,723 to the party. Zurab Kobakhidze is not the head of the party's regional office. No immovable property is registered in his name. According to Konstantine Morgoshia, Kobakhidze is the party's supporter:

*"I am Konstantine Morgoshia; there is nothing registered in my name either, no? Maybe this is the case with them too. I know Zurab Kobakhidze. His family has certain benefits, and GEL 11,000 is USD 3,000 or USD 4,000; why act so surprised? Phones cost that much."*⁷

[Sofiko Abzianidze, the wife of Zurab Kobakhidze](#) is also a donor to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. She donated GEL [1,510](#). No immovable property is registered in her name.

After Zurab Kobakhidze, the following are the largest donors:

- [Kakhaber Elizbarashvili](#) – The total amount donated by him is GEL 25,210. Kakhaber Elizbarashvili is not the head of the regional office, although immovable is registered in his name. He also owns a 50% stake in [Dabo Ltd.](#)
- [Merab Gigani](#) takes third place among the donors. He is the head of the party's Rustavi office. Gigani donated a total of GEL 14,675 to the party. Merab Gigani is Alexander Kardava's business partner. Alexander Kardava is the brother of Giorgi Kardava, one of the leaders of Alt-Info. Each owns a 25 per cent share in [Victoria+ Ltd.](#)
- [Goga Tukhareli](#) is in fourth place. He has donated GEL 14,500 to the party. No information is available about this donor. He is not the head of any regional office and he does not own immovable property.
- The fifth-largest donor is [Giorgi Sulakadze](#). He has donated GEL 11,400. He donated money to the party six times, GEL 1,900 each time. No immovable property is registered in the public register in his name.

Among the largest donors of the party, **only two donors - Merab Gigani and Kakhaber Elizbarashvili** own immovable property.

⁷ An interview of the DRI researcher with Konstantine Morgoshia.



2.1. WHETHER KONSTANTINE MORGOSHIA FUNDS CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO

According to Giorgi Kardava, both Alt-Info and Conservative Movement are largely financed by Konstantine Morgoshia. Konstantine Morgoshia confirmed this information in his Radio Liberty interview.⁸

“[The party's donors] are mainly me and businessmen associated with me. They work in post-Soviet countries and have no ties with Georgia. They are Georgians – some are in Kazakhstan, some are in Russia, and some are in Uzbekistan.”

According to the officially available information, only Georgian citizens donate to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. While, according to Morgoshia, he finances the party, his name is nowhere to be found on the list of the party's official donors.

On 12 April 2022, the DRI applied to the State Audit Office about possible illegal donations made to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. Since Konstantine Morgoshia claimed to be the main donor of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, the DRI made an enquiry with the State Audit Office about whether it had any information about Konstantine Morgoshia's donations to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info.

In letters dated 20 April 2022, 23 May 2022 and 8 June 2022, the State Audit Office responded that administrative proceedings have been instituted into the legality of the financial activities of the political party Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. The basis of the administrative proceedings was the statement submitted by the political association of citizens Conservative Movement on 31 January 2022 that the party had no financial turnover in 2021.

According to the letter of the State Audit Office, as a result of the inquiry carried out by the office, it revealed two violations in the financial activities of the party under Article 34.1 and Article 34.4 of the Organic Law of Georgia on Political Associations of Citizens, based on which the administrative violation reports were drawn up on 17 May 2022 (see Annexes 2 and 3). The cases were referred to the Section of Administrative Cases of the Tbilisi City Court.

According to the reports of administrative violations provided by the State Audit Office, it is established that the party had a financial turnover in 2021; however, it hid the information and informed the State Audit Office that it did not have a financial turnover in 2021. Furthermore, from 14 December 2021 to 15 May 2022, the party received non-monetary donations totalling GEL 72,494 at different times and from different persons. The party hid this information and did not submit it to the State Audit Office.

2.2. BUSINESS INTERESTS OF THE DONORS OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO AND THEIR TIES WITH THE AUTHORITIES

According to official data, the donors of Conservative Movement are mainly heads of the party's regional offices. Most of them do not have any property registered in their names and they usually do not engage in any business activities. However, there are exceptions. The DRI researchers studied some of the donors' business interests.

[Zezva Chankseliani](#) is one of the largest donors of the party. He [donated](#) GEL 8,000 to the party on 10 March

⁸ Radio Liberty, 17 November 2021, *It is Necessary to Get Ready, Why is the Alt-Info Group Forming a Party?*, the [article](#) is available on the Radio Liberty website.



2022. Later, on 18 July, he [transferred](#) an additional GEL 625. In 2018, during the presidential elections, Zezva Chankseliani [donated](#) GEL 1,000 in favour of Salome Zourabichvili, the presidential candidate openly supported by the government.

Zezva Chankseliani is the son of Murad Chankseliani, the deputy chairperson of Georgian Dream's faction of Lentekhi *Sakrebulo*. According to Murad Chankseliani's assets [declaration](#), Zezva Chankseliani and he have shared property.

Several companies are [registered](#) in the name of Zezva Chankseliani. As a result of their close inspection, attention is drawn to Mshenebeli 2006 Ltd. The company operates in Ambrolauri and specialises construction work. During the research process, it was revealed that, by 2015, Ambrolauri municipality was utilising the allocated funds as much as possible, although most of the projects remained unfinished. Mshenebeli 2006 Ltd received GEL 980,000 through a simplified purchase, without a tender, to restore the infrastructure destroyed by a natural disaster on 24 August 2014. Regarding this fact, Gocha Kereselidze, a member of the Ambrolauri *Sakrebulo* from the opposition, stated the following in an interview given to the media:

"[The company] has had no experience of such activities. Moreover, it had not even participated in any construction tender. The company does not have its own equipment, and it is not clear on what grounds the Ambrolauri Municipality Board selected it to perform these works."

Despite the assumed responsibility, the company did not fulfil its obligations and abandoned the work halfway. However, according to the survey respondent, the local government did not react properly to this failure. The company was not fined either. At the time, the local municipality also made a statement regarding this incident:

"Mshenebeli 2006 Ltd was selected and the Gamgebeli of the municipality addressed the Ambrolauri Municipality Sakrebulo with the relevant proposal. During the discussion of the issue, the representative of the company, Zezva Chankseliani, was invited to the session of the Sakrebulo, where, after a long Q&A session, he presented the company Mshenebeli 2006 as competent and reliable that had performed a number of similar works and emphasised that one of the conditions of the contract to be concluded was a 3-year guarantee on the completed works. Only after that consent was given on the works concerning the natural disaster."⁹

During the research, it was found out that Mshenebeli 2006 Ltd is [connected](#) with Gia Gazdeliani, the candidate for Tsageri majoritarian deputy of Georgian Dream. He also held the post of chairperson of Lentekhi Municipality Sakrebulo.¹⁰ Before the 2016 elections, Gazdeliani [transferred](#) the company to Aluda Chankseliani free of charge. Today the manager of the company is Aluda's brother, [Zezva Chankseliani](#).

Among the companies owned by Zezva Chankseliani, [Kolkhidmsheni 2011](#) Ltd is worth mentioning. This company has participated in governmental tenders, although it won only one out of three tenders. In this case, the buyer was Lentekhi municipality, and the estimated cost of the service was GEL 187,882.¹¹

In addition to these companies, in the past, Zezva Chankseliani was a [shareholder](#) of Sports Club Duchi and owned a 50% share. Dilar Khabuliani, who is a member of the United National Movement and also a [Member](#) of the 10th Parliament of Georgia, owned a 50% share of the company. Chankseliani surrendered his share in his company in 2015.

⁹ Info 9, 8.07.2016, available at: <https://info9.ge/politika/150698-ambrolauris-municipaliteti-nacionalur-modzraobas-pasukhobs.html?> [accessed 7.04.2022].

¹⁰ National Association of Local Authorities of Georgia, available at: <http://nala.ge/post/242256-lentekhis-municipaliteti-> [accessed 7.04.2022].

¹¹ Tender Monitor, available at: <https://tendermonitor.ge/ge/organization/17217> [accessed 7.04.2022].



[Gia Gotua](#), the former Lanchkhuti *Gamgebeli* and businessperson, is noteworthy among the donors of Conservative Movement. He was appointed the head of the office. According to a DRI source, he is a close friend of the father of Irakli Kobakhidze, the president of the ruling party Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia, and enjoys great influence in the region. He [donated](#) GEL 3,750 to the party in total. While this is not a large sum, in this case, his activities and governmental ties were noteworthy.

When studying Gia Gotua's assets, it was revealed that he owns [Iveria 7](#), which participates actively in governmental tenders. Since 2012, the company has won contracts worth a total of GEL [11,299,642.33](#). The purchasers of its services within these contracts were Georgian Gas Transportation Company, Mtskheta Municipality Board, Social Services Agency, Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia and others. In addition, within the framework of five simplified purchases, the company has accumulated contracts worth GEL 403,779.59. Out of 77 tenders won, Iveria 7 Ltd was represented in 44 tenders without competition.¹²

Iveria 7 has participated in the [tender](#) announced by the State Security Service and [cooperated](#) with the Ministry of Correction and Probation of Georgia, which implies that Gotua has close ties with government agencies.

Among the donors of Conservative Movement is [Nika Kometiani](#), who donated GEL 625 to the party 7 times (GEL 4,375 in total). Nika Kometiani had had a political career. During 2020-21, he was a [member](#) of the Tsageri Regional Commission and later District Commission on behalf of Georgian Dream. In 2018, he held the post of the chairperson of the Ertoba faction in the Tsageri Municipality *Sakrebulo*, according to his [asset declaration](#).

3. REGIONAL OFFICES OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO AND PUBLIC PROTESTS

3.1. REGIONAL OFFICES OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO AND THEIR MANAGERS

This section presents information about the regional offices of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info and their managers. The locations of the regional offices are also noteworthy. Some of them are located in the central parts of regional cities. The spaces that Conservative Movement/Alt-Info rents as offices, in some cases, are owned by persons close to Georgian Dream.

Since December 2021, Conservative Movement has been opening party offices, starting with Samegrelo. The party opened its [last office](#) in Kazbegi on 9 April 2022.¹³

Usually, the names of the managers of the regional offices tell nothing to the public. The verification shows that most of them do not have any kind of previous political career. However, there are some exceptions.

The first office was opened in Zugdidi on 27 December 2021. The head of the office is [Gia Gulua](#). As mentioned above, he donated money to the party 8 times. After Zugdidi, an office was opened in Khobi. It is [headed](#) by [Rostom Kilasonia](#). Rostom Kilasonia had been an acting *Gamgebeli* of Khobi in 2013. However, he left the Georgian Dream coalition and joined Nino Burjanadze in 2013. According to his [statement](#), the

¹² Tender Monitor, available at: <https://tendermonitor.ge/ge/organization/30239?page=1> [accessed 11.04.2022].

¹³ As of September 2022.



reason for this change was the “cohabitation” of Georgian Dream with the United National Movement.

[Otar Danelia](#) was appointed as the head of Conservative Movement’s office in Martvili and [Giorgi Nachkebia](#) in Tsalenjikha. The Abasha office is headed by [Zurab Tsomaia](#).

Expansion of the party continued with the opening of offices in Borjomi and Akhaltsikhe. The office in Borjomi Municipality is located at 1 St. Nino Street and is headed by Shoren Kobidze. Shoren Kobidze is a frequent guest on Alt-Info TV programmes. The Akhaltsikhe office of Conservative Movement is located at 1 Niko Ketskhoveli Street, and Simon Eghiashvili and Akaki Jelia head it.¹⁴ As mentioned above, Simon Eghiashvili has donated a total of GEL 6,000 to the party.

At a later stage, the party opened offices in Sachkhere, Tchiatura and Zestaponi. Lasha Gomarteli is the head of the Sachkhere office. [Giorgi Lobzhanidze](#) and [Zaur Modebadze](#) are co-heads of the Conservative Movement office in Tchiatura. As for the [Zestaponi office](#), it will be headed by Davit Chumbadze and Besik Leonidze.

Offices have also been opened in the Zemo Svaneti region. Yuri (Khuta) Ratiani owns the building in the centre of Mestia, at 16 King Tamar Street, where the regional organisation of Conservative Movement is now located. He is the former [General Director](#) of the Democratic Governance Development Fund of the Mestia Administrative Unit of Mestia Municipality. In 2018-2019, Yuri Ratiani was the Vice President of *Sakrebulo* Faction [Bakradze, Ugulava – European Georgia](#). On 2 October 2021, he again ran for office as a [fourth candidate on the same party list](#), however, this time, unsuccessfully. It should be noted that the Mestia Regional Election Commission is located in the same building.

Unlike the managers of other regional offices opened throughout Georgia, whose names do not indicate anything, [Giorgi Ratiani](#) is the chairperson of the regional organisation of the pro-Russian party in Mestia. He had been an employee of the Counterintelligence Department of the State Security Service of Georgia in Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti since 2017 and supervised the municipality of Mestia. According to official data, from September 2021, Ratiani is no longer an employee of the State Security Service. The initiative group [nominated](#) him as a candidate for the mayor of Mestia in the local elections of 2 October 2021. There are suspicions that Ratiani ran for mayor of Mestia on the instructions of the State Security Service – to poach a certain number of votes from the mayoral candidates nominated from the parties of Giorgi Gakharia and Ana Dolidze. Giorgi Ratiani denied these allegations. In the first round of the elections, the candidate of the governmental party won with 64.34% votes. Giorgi Ratiani [got](#) 9.01% of votes (412 votes).

Similar to Ratiani, the head of the office in Dmanisi, [Giorgi Arghvliani](#), has also formerly worked in law-enforcement agencies. In 2013, he was the Deputy Head of the Mestia Regional Unit of the Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti Main Regional Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia.¹⁵ In the past, the head of the Dusheti office of Conservative Movement, [Marine Lapanashvili](#), engaged in political activities. She was running as a candidate of the Alliance of Patriots.¹⁶

As we mentioned above, the former *Gamgebeli* of Lanchkhuti and businessman [Gia Gotua](#) was appointed the head of the office of Conservative Movement in Lanchkhuti. [After](#) this appointment, Gia Gotua's company received purchases worth GEL 144,000 from various public agencies.

In Telavi, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info opened an [office](#) in the centre of the city, near the building of the city hall and the governor's administration. [Ilia Megrelishvili](#) and [Gia Karchauli](#) were appointed the

¹⁴ Shota Martynenko’s Facebook post, dated 13 February 2022, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/100074583109872/videos/4767769213260158/> [accessed 18/03/2022].

¹⁵ Available at: <https://declaration.gov.ge/Home/DownloadPdf/11062> [accessed 18.09.2022].

¹⁶ Ivote.ge, available at: <http://www.ivote.ge/chvens-shesakheb/23738-dushethi-partiuli-sia.html?lang=ka-GE> [accessed 18.09.2022].



chairpersons of the Conservative Movement office in Telavi. Gia Karchauli is a former [member](#) of the National Forum. According to the DRI respondent, Iliia Megrelishvili had been providing legal assistance to persons charged with violent attacks of 5 July.

In Akhmeta, the party's office is located in the centre, opposite the City Hall. The building where the office space was rented belongs to the family of Kakha Mamulashvili, a Georgian Dream member of Akhmeta Municipality *Sakrebulo* and the President of the Finance and Budget Commission. However, according to him, he has no ties with Conservative Movement and he only rented the place to them.

The Tskaltubo office space, in which Conservative Movement was located, is owned by Revaz Mkheidze, the son of Avtandil Mkheidze, the majoritarian deputy of Georgian Dream of the Tskaltubo *Sakrebulo*. Avtandil Mkheidze became a deputy of the Sakrebulo as a result of the elections of 2 October 2021. He won in the very first round of elections in Tskaltubo no. 3 majoritarian district with 51% of the votes. The co-owner of this space, according to the excerpt from the public register record, is a Russian citizen Akaki Lortkipanidze. Furthermore, both are co-owners of Mercury-2011 Ltd. Interestingly, a family member of the ruling party member has rented the property to a rival political force that is preparing to contest the 2024 elections.

In some cases, the heads of regional offices of Conservative Movement and members of the party are employed in various structures of municipal city halls. For example, the head of the Khoni office, [Gia Managadze](#), is an employee of the community service centre under the authority of Khoni City Hall. This information was confirmed by the director of the service centre, [Akaki Gopodze](#).

According to the information of the DRI respondent, [Emzar Mikava](#), the head of the Chkhorotsku regional office, was also connected with the local mayor's office. He was employed as a security specialist in the centre of mechanisation, cleaning, infrastructure and maintenance of cemeteries of Chkhorotsku municipality; however, according to the Chkhorotsku mayor Davit Gogua, he resigned:

*"Emzar Mikava worked in the cleaning service. As far as I know, he submitted his resignation and left the job on his own accord. The resignation was received on 1 April. Nobody told me anything about it. Emzar Mikava did not come to me either and I gave instructions to nobody."*¹⁷

According to the DRI respondent, [Manuchar Shengelia](#) is another employee of the fire service of Chkhorotsku City Hall. He is a representative of the Conservative Movement office opened in Chkhorotsku.

Among the new party members appointed as managers of regional offices is the head of the Rustavi office Merab Gigani, who is discussed above. He [took part](#) in the violent assaults carried out on 5 July 2021 and controlled the events from a distance.

3.2. PUBLIC BACKLASH AGAINST REGIONAL OFFICES OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO

On 2 March 2022, a rally in support of Ukraine was held [in Mestia](#), where it was voiced that pro-Russian parties and TV stations should not be allowed to exist in Georgia. Later, the demonstrators moved to the newly opened office of Conservative Movement and demanded its closure. The action escalated into a physical altercation. After the confrontation between the residents and the party representatives, eventually, the owner of the office space promised the rally participants that the party would [vacate](#) the office as soon as possible.

¹⁷ Radio Atinati, 08.04.2022, available at: <https://www.radioatinati.ge/regioni/article/79186-chkhorotsyus-meri-alt-infos-ofisis-khelmdzghvaneli-aaip-shi-aghar-mushaobs.html> [accessed 18.09.2022].



Before the Mestia incident, a similar confrontation between locals and representatives of Conservative Movement took place in **Ambrolauri** on 27 February 2022. Ambrolauri residents announced even larger-scale rallies, which, according to them, would continue until the party left Ratcha.¹⁸ In the Ajara region, namely, **Khulo** and **Shuakhevi**, residents protested against the opening of the party's regional offices. The offices were closed the next day due to the protests. In this regard, the following statement was posted on the party's official Facebook page:

“As for the Khulo office, before the conclusion of the lease agreement, the owner of the office space was pressured by forces led by liberal Nazis and Wahhabis which had resulted in a temporary closure of the Khulo office.”¹⁹

There was a backlash following the opening of the **Sagarejo** office as well. On 14 March 2022, residents protested the party's expansion into the Kakheti region.²⁰ In this regard, one of the leaders of the party, Konstantine Morgoshia, stated that such a reaction was a good sign and protests indicated that the party was going in the right direction:

“We have opened up to 60 branches. These days we are planning to open more offices. Every single day we stick to our agenda and goal... This shows us that we are moving in the right direction because there are protests. This [protest] makes us, on the contrary, happy because it means we are taking the right steps. There are 64 regions and these four regional offices will open in a few days and we will add a few more offices.”²¹

The opening of the office was followed by a confrontation between locals and party representatives in **Ozurgeti** as well. On 13-14 March 2022, locals protested against the expansion of pro-Russian forces in the Guria region. It was reported in the media that Conservative Movement was supported by **Vakhtang Tokhadze**, a priest and a member of the Shemokmedi Eparchy in Ozurgeti. In this regard, Metropolitan Ioseb of the Eparchy stated that, if the information were confirmed, Rev. Vakhtang would be **suspended** from the priesthood. On 12 April when priest Vakhtang Tokhadze blessed the Ozurgeti office of Conservative Movement and said about the Russia-Ukraine war that violence against women and children is natural during the war. Following this statement, the Metropolitan of Shemokmedi suspended his status.²²

Initially, the party planned to open an office in Ozurgeti at 17, Guria Street, which was obvious as the exterior facade of the building was defaced with party symbols. However, due to the opposition of the locals, they left the office even before its opening. According to the extract from the public register, **Mariana Dolidze-Kechakmadze** is one of the owners of the space located at 17, Guria Street. She is the wife of Ilia Kechakmadze. The latter holds the position of the **director** of Kakhi Kaladze's company Kala Capital. Later, the office of the party in Ozurgeti was given the space that is owned by the City Hall and rented by Georgian

¹⁸ Publika, 2022, *What Happened in Mestia, Is our Motivation, We Will See them Off From Here Too – Protesting Alt-Info in Regions*, available at: <https://publika.ge/alt-info-regionebi/?fbclid=IwAR0JA88jydvikXvTCItf2DbVePSmG25gCybWPCvufFdaE-0-uJP-8XUjNaA>.

¹⁹ Facebook page of Conservative Movement, a post of 8 March 2022, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/conservative.movement.official/posts/132283789324549>.

²⁰ Radio Liberty Facebook page, 14 March 2022, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/radiotavisupleba/posts/10160149601817360>.

²¹ Publika, 3 March 2022, *What Happened in Mestia, Is Our Motivation, We Will See them Off From Here Too – Protesting Alt-Info in Regions*.

²² Publika.ge, 13.04.2022, available at: https://publika.ge/prorusuli-partiis-ofisis-kurtkhevis-shemdeg-vakhtang-tokhadzes-mghvdelmsakhureba-sheucherda/?fbclid=IwAR2N9DScRDj4JkOpYwYGKQOQs38n5VGcZaPa1mvi2arRUi1i2k9qk_GPY7po [accessed 14.04.2022].



Dream in the pre-election period. However, on 16 March, the party was forced to [close](#) its office due to the protests of the local population. After that, on 13 April, the party tried to open an office in Ozurgeti in the house of one of the citizens. The local population, who protested the opening of the office once again, was confronted by party activists from Svaneti. Among them was Bakar Dolidze, an employee of a non-commercial entity under the Ozurgeti City Hall, working in the position of a specialist in the transport department. He is also the [assistant](#) of the mayor's representative in the administrative unit of Dablatsikhe.²³

After rallies in Guria, the anti-Alt-Info protests took place in **Marneuli** where, on 14 March 2022, Samira Bairamova, a civil activist, painted the facade of the office that had been opened in the centre of Marneuli, in the colours of Ukrainian and EU flags, stating that Conservative Movement is a pro-Russian power which is intolerant towards ethnic minorities and is a threat to Georgian statehood.²⁴

The opening of the party office in **Kobuleti** was also met with [protests](#). The local office opened on 12 March 2022. The opening of the office of Conservative Movement took place on 20 March in **Akhaltzikhe** against the backdrop of protests. Demonstrations against Conservative Movement were also held in **Gori**, where party members verbally insulted civil activists who demanded the closure of the office.²⁵ Residents in **Khashuri** decorated the exterior facade of the Conservative Movement office with the inscription Mother Russia Is Calling You!²⁶ Locals protested the opening of the office in **Khoni**, where residents and representatives of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info clashed.²⁷

Despite facing such backlash from the public in various regions, on 14 March 2022, Konstantine Morgoshia, one of the leaders of Conservative Movement, said in his interview given to the media that the party would further expand for this very reason. The party's leaders are travelling to **Russia to hold meetings with politicians** willing to get the [relations](#) between the two countries "cooled down". In a statement to the media, Konstantine Morgoshia noted that there were political actors in Russia who were ready to contribute to Conservative Movement [financially](#) to make it more viable. According to him, "soon they will be financially strong, because there are people, including those from Russia, who will support them."

Considering the fact that Conservative Movement has been only recently founded, and has no political past and, at this point, its prospects are unclear, the desire of Russian political actors to cooperate with it raises questions. It is also noteworthy that, presently, politics in Russia is strictly limited to the Kremlin ruling party.

²³ TV Pirveli, 13.04.2022, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/tvpirveli/videos/1091949694724617> [accessed 14.04.2022].

²⁴ Radio Liberty, 14 March 2022, [*The Marneuli Office of Conservative Movement was Painted Over in the Colours of the Ukrainian Flag*](#)

²⁵ TV Pirveli, 20.03.2022 available at: <https://www.facebook.com/tvpirveli/videos/2001535813390705> [accessed 18.09.2022].

²⁶ TV Pirveli, 19.03.2022 available at: <https://www.facebook.com/tvpirveli/photos/a.396809063811740/2261040940721867/> [accessed 18.09.2022].

²⁷ TV Mtavari, 20.03.2022 available at: <https://www.facebook.com/TvMtavari/videos/1018791802049893/> [accessed 18.09.2022].



4. POSSIBLE TIES OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO WITH RUSSIA

After the founding of Conservative Movement by openly pro-Russian Alt-Info, suspicions arose that the organisation might receive funding from Russian sources. Given that Alt-Info and its political product openly support the idea of Georgia maintaining close ties with Russia, the aforementioned doubts seem well-founded. The assumption is corroborated by the fact that the party leaders kept the identity of the donors a secret for a long time. According to them, the party functioned based on donations. Donations mainly came from Konstantine Morgoshia and businessperson related to him, some of whom have [businesses](#) abroad.

Public interest in the party's finances increased further after Konstantine Morgoshia made a statement about going to pursue negotiations in Russia and seek financial resources from people living in post-Soviet countries.²⁸ Morgoshia's announcement was preceded by an interview with Zurab Makharadze, one of the faces and leaders of the party, that he is leaving Georgia to work there and will no longer be in live broadcasts.²⁹

Suspicious about Russian ties were deepened by the [statement](#) made by the Embezzlement Detector that the host of the official website of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info is in Russia. Given the host's location, the data on the party's site is stored near Red Square in Moscow.

Morgoshia denies the information regarding Russian funding. During an interview with a DRI researcher, he said:

"We do not receive funding from Russia. There are many non-governmental organisations like you in this country; there are many media outlets, independent journalists, and special services, why don't you investigate, why don't you apply to the prosecutor's office, the security service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs?"

According to the official Facebook page of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, in January 2022, a joint [conference](#) of Russian Duma deputies and Conservative Movement was held on Georgia-Russia relations. [Artem Viktorovich Turov](#), who is a deputy of the State Duma and the deputy chairperson of the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots, took part in the conference. [Kazbek Taysaev](#) – a deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation and First Deputy Chairperson of the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots, also participated in the conference.³⁰

On 11 March 2022, Kazbek Taysaev was put on the list of individuals sanctioned by the US.³¹ According to various [sources](#), he is in charge of Alt-Info and lobbies for it. He often held video conferences with Georgian politicians, including [members](#) of Conservative Movement and the European Socialists party.

²⁸ Formula TV, 14.03.22, available at: https://formulanews.ge/News/66554?fbclid=IwAR3K_Oy0rA_XABUFdUyEWpV8brO5WmYZcE1osWsWr2BvM17igbOJaMXmJnM [accessed 7.04.22].

²⁹ Mtavari Arkhi, 13.03.22, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/TvMtavari/videos/984103585589869> [accessed 7.04.2022]; According to the survey respondent, Zura Makharadze may have gone to Belarus on a special mission – to improve the television infrastructure of Alt-Info and broadcast from Minsk.

³⁰ Conservative Movement 21.01.2022, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/conservative.movement.official/videos/353098136349803> [accessed 7.04.22].

³¹ Information of US Department of the Treasury, available at: <https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/financial-sanctions/recent-actions/20220311> [accessed 07.04.22].



According to Russian media, it turns out that Taysaev and his family members own a large number of immovable properties. Some of the properties are in Moscow. Since 2019, Taysaev's son has been employed in a high position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Taysaev himself is a person close to the highest authorities of Russia and vested with their trust. According to Taysaev's 2020 asset declaration, his income amounted to 5.5 million roubles. It can be assumed that, apart from the officially declared property, he owns much larger assets.³²

As for Artem Turov, he started political activity in 2008, when he was elected a deputy of the Smolensk Regional Duma. Since 2015, he has held the position of Deputy Chairperson of the State Duma Committee of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.³³ At a very young age, Turov succeeded in getting closer to the Russian authorities. According to the survey informant, he is also engaged in business activities and unofficially owns a large amount of property. According to the 2020 asset declaration, Turov owns 5.6 million roubles.³⁴ Issues related to Georgia are his area of interest. On 30 March 2022, the so-called president of South Ossetia, Anatoly Bibilov, stated that the so-called South Ossetia was taking legal steps to join Russia. Artem Turov welcomed this proposal:

“This decision gives us the right to self-identification, the ability to determine our future as well as the course of development. And for us, this is a very important moment, because, in 2008, Russia began to resist openly the joint pressure of the West. Of course, this is a historic event. I think that both the Russian and Ossetian people will support this decision.”³⁵

According to the survey informant, Turov and Taysaev have close ties with Conservative Movement/Alt-Info and finance it.

According to the DRI source, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info was tied with another Russian official called Sergey Beseda. According to the source, human resources changes in the party are related to him and his work. According to the extract from the public register records, the chairperson of the party, Zura Makharadze, left office in March 2022, and his place was taken by the former general secretary of the party, Giorgi Kardava. After that, the media started speculations about a possible confrontation between Konstantine Morgoshia and Zura Makharadze over possible embezzlement of money transferred from Russia by Makharadze. Zura Makharadze did not confirm the split within the party and [explained](#) his resignation owing to personal issues.

The DRI respondent links the above changes to the arrest of Sergey Beseda in Russia in March 2022. Beseda is the head of the Service of Operational Information and International Relations of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB). He was considered to be in charge of pro-Russian parties in Russia and cooperated with parties supporting the Russian ideology in Georgia and Ukraine. According to reports, Beseda and his deputy are accused of embezzling funds allocated for intelligence and providing incorrect intelligence-operational information.

According to the information of the DRI respondent, Beseda's arrest coincides with the deterioration of the situation of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info in Georgia, which was also manifested in the internal party conflict and the slowing down of opening of the regional offices. The DRI was unable to verify through alternative sources the connection between Conservative Movement/Alt-Info and General Beseda.

³² Yugopolis, 18.02.2022, available at: <https://www.yugopolis.ru/news/russkaya-sluzhba-bi-bi-si-nashla-u-deputata-gosdumy-dopustivshego-otkaz-rossiyan-ot-chasti-dohodov-radi-donbassa-imushestvo-bolee-chem-na-100-millionov-rublej-146440> [accessed 7.04.2022].

³³ Единая Россия, available at: <https://er.ru/person/65c40e41-84e2-4ff5-a2fb-b0dd56f3df45> [accessed 7.04.2022].

³⁴ Ruper.org, available at: <https://rupep.org/ru/person/5878> [accessed 7.04.2022].

³⁵ Pia.ge, 31.03.2022, available at: <https://pia.ge/news/konfliktebi/rusetisa-da-samkhret-osetis-mosakhleoba-mkhars-dauchers-respublikis-rusettan-sheertebis-gadatskvitilebas-artem-turovi> [accessed 7.04.2022].



ANNEX NO. 1

OFFICES OF CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

1. Tbilisi – II Exit, 11a Saakadze Str.
2. Zugdidi – 32 Gamsakhurdia Str., Gia Gulua, the Head.
3. Khobi – 2 Gamsakhurdia Str., Rostom Kilasonia, the Head.
4. Abasha – 17 Freedom Str., Zurab Tsomaia, the Head.
5. Tsalenjikha – 2 Gamsakhurdia Str., Giorgi Nachkebia, the Head.
6. Martvili – 12a Freedom Str., Otari Danelia, the Head.
7. Mestia – 19 King Tamar Str., Giorgi Ratiani, the Head.
8. Dmanisi – 52, 9 April Str., Giorgi Arghvliani, the Head.
9. Rustavi – 21 Zhiuli Shartava Str., Merab Gigani, the Head.
10. Telavi – 2 Goderdzi Chokheli Str., Ilia Megrelishvili and Gia Karchauli, the Co-Heads.
11. Lagodekhi – 26 Qiziki Str., Vakho Barbakadze, the Head.
12. Kaspi – 6 Eprem II Str., Giga Karbelashvili, the Head.
13. Khashuri – 7 Galaktion Tabidze Str. Giorgi Kiknadze and Ramaz Nozadze, the Co-Heads.
14. Tetrtskaro – 1 Merab Kostava Str., Anton Tamliani and Tamaz Beqauri, the Co-Heads.
15. Gardabani – 64 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Giorgi Dadvani, the Head.
16. Borjomi – 1 St. Nino Str., Shorena Kobidze, the Head.
17. Akhaltsikhe – 1 Niko Ketskaveli Str., Simon Eghiasvili and Akaki Jelia, the Co-Heads.
18. Akhmeta – 1 Bakhtrioni Str., Jimsher Bukhachauri, the Head.
19. Kvareli – 111 Ilia Chavchavadze Str., Gocha Kekenadze, the Head.
20. Tsnori – 5 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Giorgi Khatiasvili, the Head.
21. Sachkhere – 8 Ivane Gomarteli Str., Lasha Gomarteli, the Head.
22. Tchiatura – 23 Egnate Ninoshvili Str., Giorgi Lobzhanidze and Zaur Modebadze, the Co-Heads.
23. Zestaponi – 27 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Davit Chumbadze and Besik Leonidze, the Co-Heads.
24. Samtredia – 28 Ilia Chavchavadze Str., Gia Vashakidze, the Head.
25. Senaki – 95 Ilia Chavchavadze Str., Giorgi Bokuchava, the Head.
26. Poti – 9 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Davit Dvalishvili, the Head.
27. Chkhorotsku – 14 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Beqa Gabedava and Emzar Miqava, the Co-Heads.
28. Batumi – 127 Vakhtang Gorgasali Str., Gogi Qadidze, the Head.
29. Kutaisi – 40 King Tamar Str., Giga Sulakadze, the Head.
30. Vani – Jvari Square, Revaz Pashkuridze, the Head.
31. Khoni – 3 Freedom Square, Gia Managadze, the Head.
32. Tskaltubo – 13 Galaktion Tabidze Str., Zaza Museliani, the Head.
33. Tkibuli – 30 Gamsakhurdia Str., Arsen Popkhadze, the Head.
34. Baghdati – 19 Shota Rustaveli Str., Mamuka Kvetenadze, the Head.
35. Terjola – 68, Shota Rustaveli Str., Zaur Oboladze, the Head.
36. Dusheti – Adjacent to Restaurant Aragvi, Abo Samkharadze and Marine Lapanashvili, the Co-Heads.
37. Qareli – 2 Egnate Ninoshvili Str., Mariam Miqadze and Estate Khosruashvili, the Co-Heads.
38. Gori – 18, Stalin Str., Gela Megrelishvili, the Head.
39. Akhalkalaki – 31 Mesrop Mashtots Str., Ararat Qamalian, the Head.
40. Ninotsminda – 1 Teriani Str., Iurik Mghdesian, the Head.
41. Lentekhi – 15 King Tamar Str., Aleko Bendeliani and Lasha Liparteliani, the Co-Heads.
42. Tsageri – 27 Merab Kostava Str., Nikoloz Liparteliani and Giorgi Kenchadze, the Co-Heads.
43. Oni – 17 Kakhbridze Str., Giorgi Lobzhanidze, the Head.
44. Ambrolauri – 1 Bratislava-Ratcha Str., Gocha Khurtsidze, the Head.
45. Sagarejo – 74 Erekle II Str., Mikheil Titvelashvili, the Head.



46. Gurjaani – 21 Shota Rustaveli Str., Nodar Chakvetadze, the Head.
47. Dedoplistskaro – 35 Hereti Str., Demna Karatieli, the Head.
48. Kharagauli – 7 King Solomon Str., Giorgi (Gogi) Latsabidze, the Head.
49. Tianeti – 20 Shota Rustaveli Str., Lado Arabuli and Zurab Mokverashvili, the Co-Heads.
50. Mtskheta – 12 Antioqia Str., Tengiz Veshaguri, the Head.
51. Lanchkhuti – 1 Tbilisi Str., Gia Gotua, the Head.
52. Ozurgeti – 12 Ilia Chavchavadze Str., Misha Andghuladze, the Head.
53. Chokhatauri – 4 Shota Rustaveli Str., Roman Gogiberidze, the Head.
54. Qobuleti – 152 Davit Aghmashenebeli Str., Ilia Benidze, the Co-Head.
55. Qeda – 1, 9 April Str., Roman Beridze, the Co-Head.
56. Khelvachauri – 350 Pridon Khalvashi, Giorgi Sahabidze da Mirza Makharadze, the Co-Heads.
57. Khulo – Cancelled.
58. Shuakhevi – Cancelled.
59. Adigeni – 10 Shota Rustaveli Str., Besik Zaridze and Shalva Zaridze, the Co-Heads.
60. Mestia – the village of Khaishi, Nino Chkadua, the Head.
61. Zugdidi – the village of Darcheli. Reno Kukava and Mate Marshania, the Co-Heads.
62. Tsalka – 55a Ateni Str. Girshel Butskhrikidze and Mikheil Beridze, the Co-Heads.
63. Aspindza – 2 King Tamar Str. Alexander Nadibaidze and Vano Chokheli, the Co-Heads.
64. Kazbegi – Gogia Ghudushauri and Guram Papiashvili, the Co-Heads.

ANNEX NO. 3

State Audit Office, administrative violation report no. 000087

სახელმწიფო აუდიტის სამსახური
ადმინისტრაციული სამართალდარღვევის

ოქმი N 000087

19.05.2022
(თარიღი)

სსიპ-ის (ოქმის შედგენის ადგილი)

სსიპ-ის შემდგენლის თანამდებობა, სახელი, მამის სახელი, გვარი
სსიპ-ის ხელმძღვანელი

სამართალდამრღვევი:
სსიპ-ის ხელმძღვანელი
(მონაცემები სამართალდამრღვევი ფიზიკური პირის შესახებ: სახელი, გვარი, პირადი ნომერი, მისამართი)

მისამართი: *ქ. თბილისი, ვ. აბაშიძის ქ. N 3, კორპუსი N 1, კვარტალი N 141030530, კვარტალი*
(მონაცემები სამართალდამრღვევი იურიდიული პირის შესახებ: იურიდიული პირის სახელწოდება, იურიდიული მისამართი, გადასახადის გადამხდელის საიდენტიფიკაციო ნომერი)

სამართალდარღვევის ჩადენის ადგილი, დრო და არსი: *სსიპ-ის ხელმძღვანელი*
სსიპ-ის ხელმძღვანელის მიერ

ნორმატიული აქტი, რომელიც ვითარისწინებს პასუხისმგებლობას ამ სამართალდარღვევისათვის: *სსიპ-ის ხელმძღვანელი*

(ნორმატიული აქტის დასახელება, მუხლი, პუნქტი/წილი, ქვეპუნქტი)

სამართალდამრღვევის განმარტა საქართველოს ადმინისტრაციულ სამართალდარღვევათა კოდექსის 252-ე მუხლით გათვალისწინებული უფლებები და მოვალეობები: ადმინისტრაციულ პასუხისმგებლობაში მყოფი პირის უფლება აქვს: გაცემოს საქმის მასალები, მოსცეს ახსნა-განმარტებანი, წარადგინოს მტკიცებულებანი, განაცხადოს შეზღუდვითა და საქმის განხილვისას ისარგებლოს ადვოკატის იურიდიული დახმარებით; გამოვიდეს შრომობრუნებაზე და თუ არ იყის მიმდინარე წარმოების ენა, ისარგებლოს თარჯიმნის მომსახურებით გაასაჩივროს საქმის გამო მიღებული დადგენილება.

სამართალდამრღვევის ახსნა-განმარტება:

მონაცემები მოწმის შესახებ (თუ არის):
(მოწმის სახელი, გვარი, პირადი ნომერი, მისამართი)

საქმის გადასაწყვეტად საჭირო სხვა ცნობები:

20 (ოქმის შემდგენლის ხელმოწერა) (სამართალდამრღვევის ხელმოწერა, ხელმოწერაზე ან ოქმის ჩაბარებაზე უარის აღნიშვნა) (მოწმის ხელმოწერა)