



**Analysis of Public Statements Made**  
Regarding Public Servants, Human Rights  
Defenders and Individuals Detained on  
Political Grounds  
(Additional Monitoring Report)

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### Introduction

Within the context of the ongoing protest, the *Georgian Dream* has used the dismissal of **public servants** as a mechanism to respond to the exercise of the right to freedom of expression and opinion. Notably, during November–December 2024, members of the *Georgian Dream* reacted with hostility and threats to statements made by employees of public institutions, characterizing their actions as acts of “sabotage” or as “*acting against the state.*”

*Georgian Dream* continues to carry out multifaceted persecution against **civil society organizations**, media outlets and human rights defenders. This includes conducting active stigmatization and discreditation campaigns, as well as *adopting and enforcing repressive legislative changes* aimed at obstructing their activities and silencing critical voices.

It is also noteworthy that the *Georgian Dream* actively engages in the discreditation of **individuals detained or imprisoned on political grounds**, spreading disinformation about them and violating the presumption of innocence. To this end, the party utilizes both official public statements and the social media platforms of pro-government outlets such as *Imedi* and *POSTV-Analitika*.

The disregard for human rights violations committed against protest participants *has become an explicit component of the Georgian Dream’s approach and policy*. Members of the ruling party continue to pursue this policy in a coordinated manner - through public statements, direct and indirect support of informal violent groups, the dissemination of disinformation via pro-government

media outlets, and the orchestration of discreditation campaigns - **all of which remain actively ongoing.**

## ▼ Response to Violations of the Rights of Civil Society Organizations

**Civil society organizations** and human rights defenders have always been among the targets of the *Georgian Dream* party. However, they became subjects of particularly intense persecution and stigmatization in 2023, following the attempt to adopt the so-called “*Russian Law*,” in 2024 with the adoption of that law, and in 2025 through passing the so-called “*FARA*” and amendments to the *Law of Georgia on Grants*.

*The Georgian Dream*, in 2024, failed to respond to such incidents. Instead, the party itself - through the direct involvement and/or organization of certain party representatives - actively used *telephone threats, physical violence, damage to private property*<sup>1</sup>, and *incitement to violence as tools of intimidation and persecution* against civil activists, human rights defenders, journalists, politicians, and other opponents of the “Russian Law.”

An organized campaign of **telephone calls** containing threats, insults, and other degrading or humiliating remarks directed at protest participants and their family members (including minors) began on May 7, 2024.<sup>2</sup> Dimitri Samkharadze, a Member of the Parliament of Georgia and a member of the ruling Georgian Dream party, was directly involved in this campaign.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that, based on complaints filed by the recipients of these calls, the *Personal Data Protection Service* launched an investigation, however, the examination was terminated on the grounds of *the existence of possible criminal elements*, without investigating whether the data had been obtained through unauthorized access to a state database. The received complaints were subsequently forwarded to the Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia for further action<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Hundreds Received Threatening Calls – Personal Data Protection Service,” 24.05.2024. See [link](#); Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Investigation into 8 May Attacks Launched Under Violence Charges,” 09.05.2024. See [link](#); Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Posters on Offices and Homes, Writings on Cars – New Hate Campaign Begins in Tbilisi,” 09.05.2024. See [link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>2</sup>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Opponents of the ‘Agents Law’ Are Still Being Called, But Now from Georgian Numbers,” 08.05.2024. Accessed at [link](#); Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “Calls to 11-Year-Old Lile, 16-Year-Old Keso, 13-Year-Old Girl, 10-Year-Old Boy – Why Are Children Being Called?” 10.05.2024. See [link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>3</sup>Formula, “Dream Party Deputy Samkharadze Calls, Insults, and Threatens Young People,” 10.05.2024. See [link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>4</sup>Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association (2024), “Georgia: Human Rights Confronting the Russian Law,” p. 19. Accessed at [link](#); Personal Data Protection Service, Statements Field, “Statement on Conducting Telephone Calls with Citizens,” 24.05.2024. See [link](#) [01.10.2025].

Similar to the case of the telephone threats, **other forms of persecution targeting civil society organizations**<sup>5</sup> and media representatives were not investigated<sup>6</sup>. These included the placement of offensive posters, inscriptions, and so-called stencils on the facades of homes and offices as well as on vehicles<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, in some instances, members of the ruling Georgian Dream party themselves were directly involved in *organizing these campaigns*. On May 31, 2024, *Dimitri Samkharadze*<sup>8</sup>, a member of Georgian Dream, posted on the social network Facebook videos depicting the damage to the offices of civil society organizations and political parties, accompanied by a threatening caption<sup>9</sup>. Such incidents, along with other openly conducted acts of persecution, were left without any appropriate legal response by the *Georgian Dream*.

On 11<sup>th</sup> of June 2024, *Shalva Papuashvili*<sup>10</sup>, a member of the Georgian Dream and the Speaker of Parliament, publicly accused the civil activist Zuka Berdzenishvili of conducting an “organized and politically motivated campaign of terror.” *Approximately one hour after Papuashvili’s public post on social media, Berdzenishvili was physically assaulted*<sup>11</sup>. This incident, firstly, *illustrates the direct incitement of violence by the members of Georgian Dream*, and, secondly, raises reasonable suspicion about the causal link between *Papuashvili’s post* and the attackers’ actions, as well as about the party’s broader support for and connection with informal violent groups.

*The Georgian Dream* also failed to respond to the incidents of physical violence, expulsion, threats, and/or pressure against election observers that occurred **on the day of the 2024 parliamentary elections**. On the contrary, through the involvement of its party coordinators and representatives, public officials, observers from fake monitoring organizations and other unauthorized individuals<sup>12</sup>, the party committed and facilitated various forms of electoral violations, including voting on behalf of others, multiple voting, violation of the marking procedure, voting with an improper identification document, breaches of ballot secrecy, etc.

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<sup>5</sup> International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), Statement, “Georgia : Serious deterioration of the situation of human rights defenders”, 26.06.2024; see [link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>6</sup> Public Defender (Ombudsman) of Georgia (2025), Public Defender’s Report “On the State of Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Georgia,” p. 79. [See link](#) [27.09.2025].

<sup>7</sup> Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “‘They Might Physically Attack Us’ – Threatening Writings Reappear on NGO Offices,” 31.05.2024. [See link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>8</sup> Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “‘There Is Evidence That Dimitri Samkharadze Is Behind These Actions’ – Chair of the GYLA,” 31.05.2024. [See link](#) [01.10.2025].

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Social network “Facebook,” page “Shalva Papuashvili • Shalva Papuashvili,” post dated June 11, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

<sup>11</sup> “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “Civil activist Zuka Berdzenishvili was attacked,” June 11, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

<sup>12</sup> International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (2025). *Final Report on the Monitoring of the 2024 Parliamentary Elections of Georgia*, pp. 43–46. See [link](#) [September 28, 2025].

The *Georgian Dream* has been conducting a *discrediting campaign* against civil society organizations, which primarily involves their stigmatization, the use of insulting rhetoric and dissemination of disinformation.

Members of the *Georgian Dream* refer to non-governmental organizations as “*allies of the radical opposition*” and “*agents*.” According to their statements, these organizations allegedly use funds to “*overthrow legitimately elected governments*,” to “carry out revolutionary attempts,” “organize violent demonstrations,” “incite hatred and civil discord,” and “*encourage violence*,” claiming they are “*acting on the orders of a specific country*.”<sup>13</sup> Such narratives are aimed at misleading the public and discrediting civil society organizations. It is noteworthy that since 2023, the *Georgian Dream* has been using the term “*agent*” in reference to the representatives of civil society organizations - a term that, during the Soviet era, was used to label individuals accused of connections with so-called “enemies of people,” many of whom later became victims of repression.

On March 17, 2025, the bank accounts of several civil society organizations and charitable foundations were frozen within the framework of an investigation launched on charges of sabotage. On April 29, **arbitrary investigative actions** were carried out in the homes and offices of representatives of these organizations.<sup>14</sup> According to a statement issued by the Prosecutor’s Office regarding **the freezing of bank accounts**, the majority of the funds collected by the foundations had allegedly been used to provide financial assistance to individuals charged with organizing and participating in group violence, as well as *to support their family members and to finance violent acts*. Commenting on the issue, Mamuka Mdinardze stated that the purpose of the foundations was to *incite violence* and to “abolish the functions of the state,” describing it as “a campaign against the homeland under the so-called “moral” cover.” Nino Tsilosani claimed that the frozen organizations and foundations were “plotting revolutions under the name of charity,” while Kakha Kaladze stated that the organizations’ funds were being spent on “*destroying the country and creating problems for the state*.”<sup>15</sup> Other members of the *Georgian Dream* made similar statements, while the television channel *Imedi* actively participated in discrediting the civil society organizations and foundations, referring to them as “*sponsors of radicalism*.”

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<sup>13</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 03.02.2025, see [link](#); 24.02.2025, see [link](#); 14.04.2025, see [link](#); see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 08.04.2025, see [link](#); 01.10.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Zarkua, 20.06.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>14</sup> “Media Institute (2025), ‘Persecution of Human Rights Defenders through Arbitrary Investigative Actions,’ p. 3. See [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>15</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Statement by the Prosecutor’s Office, 17.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Mamuka Mdinardze, 17.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Nino Tsilosani, 18.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 20.03.2025, see [link](#); ‘Charity-Disguised Funds: Bank Accounts Frozen for Sponsors of Radicalism,’ 23.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Davit Matikashvili, 18.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Eka Seferashvili, 18.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Vladimer Bozhadze, 19.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Archil Gorduladze, 20.03.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

The investigative actions conducted in the homes and offices of representatives of civil society organizations and foundations *were carried out in violation of numerous procedural norms*.<sup>16</sup> Despite this, Shalva Papuashvili stated that the searches were conducted “in accordance with legal procedures.” Aleksandre Darakhvelidze described the investigative actions against the civil society organizations and foundations as a “legal obligation” and noted that “*the police were mobilized in the amount necessary to ensure the safe implementation of this operation*.” According to the *Georgian Dream* member and “Leader of the Parliamentary Majority” Irakli Kirtzkhalia, the “*so-called foundations and so-called non-governmental organizations*”, where the searches and seizures took place *were financing the burning of police officers, buildings and a coup*. In one of his interviews, “Member of the Parliament” Levan Makhashvili stated that the activities of the foundations were directly linked to *the assistance and incitement of criminal acts*; therefore, it was not surprising that the state institutions took corresponding actions against them<sup>17</sup>. It is noteworthy that the *Georgian Dream* party has not yet taken appropriate legal action against those individuals, who were involved in violating procedural norms while conducting arbitrary investigative actions.

From June 17 to 19, 2025, the *Head of the Anti-Corruption Bureau*, Razhden Kuprashvili, by court order, requested the submission of *legal, personal, financial and technical information* from **seven civil society organizations** (and on June 23, from the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy - ISFED), thereby initiating the enforcement of the arbitrary legislative amendments against civil society. According to Razhden Kuprashvili, the financial and legal documentation requested from the NGOs *did not exceed the limits established by law* and was “aimed solely at examining the purposefulness of activities of *grant-receiving or politically active organizations*.”<sup>18</sup> Irakli Zarkua stated that they had “*reasonable suspicion that these NGOs serve not the interests of the people or society, but the agenda of a specific country*.”<sup>19</sup> Notably, **the Court of Appeal did not satisfy the lawsuits** filed by civil society organizations challenging the aforementioned court orders, which indicates a coordinated persecution of civil society by members of the *Georgian Dream*, Razhden Kuprashvili and the court.

From August 15 to 20, 2025, *Georgian Dream* continued persecution against civil society organizations **under the repressive pretext of violating the so-called FARA law**, sending letters to

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<sup>16</sup> “Media Institute (2025), ‘Persecution of Human Rights Defenders through Arbitrary Investigative Actions,’ p. 4. See [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>17</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 29.04.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Aleksandre Darakhvelidze, 30.04.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Kirtzkhalia, 29.04.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Levan Makhashvili, 30.04.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>18</sup> “Publika, ‘ISFED: The Bureau Is Requesting Information on Beneficiaries from Fair Elections as Well – We Will Use All Legal Mechanisms,’ 23.06.2025, see [link](#); ‘According to Kuprashvili, Information Was Requested from Organizations to Identify Declared Political Subjects,’ 18.06.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>19</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Statement by Irakli Zarkua, 20.06.2025, see [link](#); ‘Kronika’ report, 21.06.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

organizations and threatening them with criminal liability. It is noteworthy that the *Georgian Dream* simultaneously employs several repressive mechanisms to target human rights organizations. On August 27, 2025, **the bank accounts of seven civil society organizations were frozen** in connection with the investigation of the so-called “face masks” case, concerning the purchase of *bandages, medical alcohol, raincoats, masks and respirators*. Subsequently, the heads of these organizations were summoned for questioning<sup>20</sup>.

Regarding the freezing of the organizations’ accounts, members of the *Georgian Dream* continue to actively spread **disinformation** and carry out a discrediting campaign. According to the *Parliament member* Levan Machavariani, the NGOs were allegedly supplying protest participants with equipments: *flammable substances, pyrotechnics and “Molotov cocktails,”* which, in his view, constitute clear signs of sabotage. Irakli Zarkua stated that the finances of civil society organizations were used for the “*implementation of a revolutionary scenario*” and to “*purchase equipment for violent acts.*” Kakha Kaladze added that “all this could not be covered up by purchasing masks and glasses alone,” since “*the attempt to cause unrest in the country, the financing of extremism, the financing of the division of society, and the financing of confrontation*” came from outside through the frozen organizations. According to Davit Matikashvili, the civil society organization allegedly needed “pepper spray” to use “against a police officer or a specific government official,” and the goal of all this was “*destruction, collapsing the government and the return of espionage.*” *Parliament member* Tengiz Sharmanashvili stated that NGOs “*purchased various equipments, distributed them to protesters, and incited them to carry out violent actions even against government representatives and buildings.*” Levan Makhashvili added that it was regrettable that the organizations, instead of doing work important for the society, were “*directly involved in political, revolutionary processes.*”<sup>21</sup>

*Georgian Dream* continues to actively persecute civil society on the basis of various repressive legislative changes. From September 8 to September 26, **around 35 civil society organizations received letters** regarding the monitoring of grants they had received.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, ‘The Anti-Corruption Bureau Has Sent Another Letter to Non-Governmental Organizations,’ 15.08.2025, see [link](#); ‘Bank Accounts of Seven Civil Organizations Have Been Frozen,’ 27.08.2025, see [link](#); 28.08.2025, see [link](#); Publika, ‘According to the Prosecutor’s Office, NGO Leaders Summoned for Questioning in the “Face Masks Case”,’ 01.09.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].”

<sup>21</sup> Imedinews.ge, Prosecutor’s Office statement, see [link](#); Levan Machavariani’s statement, 27.08.2025, see [link](#); Irakli Zarkua’s statement, see [link](#); Tengiz Sharmanashvili’s statement, see [link](#); Davit Matikashvili’s statement, 28.08.2025, see [link](#); Kakha Kaladze’s statement, 02.09.2025, see [link](#); Levan Makhashvili’s statement, 03.09.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>22</sup> Publika, “NGOs: ‘Georgian Dream’ Initiated a New Stage of Repression via the Anti-Corruption Bureau Against Up to 30 Georgian Organizations”, 22.09.2025, see [link](#); Netgazeti, “‘We Are Not Surprised That Our Existence Is a Threat to the Regime’ – GrizWave Received a Letter from the Anti-Corruption Bureau”, 24.09.2025, see [link](#); Radio Free Europe, “Platform ‘Salami’: The Anti-Corruption Bureau Has Started Implementing a Repressive Law Against Us”, 25.09.2025, see [link](#); TV Pirveli, “Razhden Kuprashvili Requests Documents from ‘Mountain Stories’”, 26.09.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

## ▼ Responding to freedom of expression of persons employed in the public sector

The wave of protests that began on November 28, 2024, also involved individuals employed in the public sector. On November 29-30, joint statements by **employees of various public institutions** circulated on social media, in which the signatories condemned Irakli Kobakhidze's statements and the unlawful, disproportionate dispersal of peaceful protests. The exercise of freedom of speech and expression by public servants *became a basis for their persecution*, both through repressive amendments to the Law of Georgia on "Public Service" and through mass dismissals.

On November 30, 2024, a group of employees of the **Tbilisi City Hall** published a joint statement, which Kakha Kaladze described as "*self-illustration*." He noted that a reorganization had been announced in the City Hall, and that many changes and staff relocations were planned. Later, Kaladze referred to the statements issued by public sector employees as an "*attempt to undermine state institutions through sabotage by public officials*," that would not remain unpunished; while MP Irakli Kadagishvili described it as "*disruption of the functioning of public and state institutions*."<sup>23</sup> Kakha Kaladze and Mamuka Mdinardze propagated the narrative that employees were being subjected to "*blackmail and bullying to force them to either sign or not sign certain statement*." Kaladze also stated that the *ongoing reorganization in the Tbilisi City Hall was not related to political processes*, as it had been announced beforehand.<sup>24</sup> On December 25, 2024, the City Hall began dismissal of employees, who had signed the publicly circulated statement and actively participated in protest actions. Kaladze described politically motivated dismissals as "*lies and ordinary speculation*," while collective expressions of opinion<sup>25</sup> on behalf of public service were considered "very serious and *categorically unacceptable*." In various statements, Kaladze also emphasized that "everyone who was deserved dismissal, would be dismissed." Significantly, following these statements, numerous employees were dismissed from the City Hall under the pretexts of arbitrary reorganization or termination of employment contracts.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Imedinews.ge, "Kakha Kaladze on the statement by some City Hall employees: It's their decision – may God bless everyone on their own path," 01.12.2024, see [link](#); "Kakha Kaladze: There was an attempt to undermine state institutions through the sabotage of public servants," 04.12.2024, see [link](#); statement by Irakli Kadagishvili, 10.12.2024, see [link](#) [06.10.2025].

<sup>24</sup> Imedinews.ge, "Kakha Kaladze: The planned reorganization at Tbilisi City Hall is not connected to political processes, as it was announced beforehand," 11.12.2024, see [link](#); "Mamuka Mdinardze to public servants: We do not dismiss people on political grounds. If you can't handle bullying, why do you want a position of responsibility?! And don't be afraid of them either — we will protect you," 05.12.2024, see [link](#) [06.10.2025].

<sup>25</sup> Imedinews.ge, "Kakha Kaladze on the dismissal of Giga Sofromadze: The claim that someone was dismissed on political grounds is a lie and speculation," 27.12.2024, see [link](#) [06.10.2025].

<sup>26</sup> Imedinews.ge, "Kakha Kaladze: When have you ever heard of someone being dismissed for attending a protest? We do not discriminate against the public, and especially employees, on any political grounds," 13.01.2025, see [link](#); Media Institute (2025), "Persecution Against Employees in the Public Sector," p. 7, see [link](#) [06.10.2025].

On December 26, 2024, the **National Probation Agency** responded to the politically motivated dismissals of employees, calling the claims disinformation. The agency noted that the employment contracts of the dismissed employees were set to expire on December 31, and that there was no “*legal obligation to automatically extend this term.*”<sup>27</sup>

On January 21, 2025, the director of the **LEPL Parliamentary Research Center** informed the staff that the center would be liquidated due to the public activism of its five employees; and the employees of the Research Center responded to this fact with a statement on the same day. Mamuka Mdinardze commented on the matter, stating that *he could not imagine someone taking a salary while simultaneously opposing the institution from which they receive that salary*. He described it as immoral for an employee to work in the building all day and then “*fight against the parliament during the rally.*” In his view, such an employee should be advised to quit such an “*uncomfortable job*” voluntarily.<sup>28</sup> MP Guram Macharashvili also reacted to the liquidation of the research center and stated that *when “a public official acts against the state,” it is neither a political nor a non-political issue,*” because, in his opinion, “*a public official has no right to come out and make anti-state statements.*”<sup>29</sup> Notably, Shalva Papuashvili explained the liquidation of the Research Center as a result of the Center’s failure to fulfill its original purpose.<sup>30</sup> Similar to the Parliamentary Research Center, the Georgian Dream party also used the mechanism of liquidation in relation to the **LEPL Civil Service Bureau**. According to the former employees of the Public Service Bureau, its liquidation aimed to suppress critical voices within the public sector. The Press Office of the Government of Georgia explained the liquidation as a measure *to rationalize management, optimize expenditures and eliminate several functions previously carried out by the Bureau.*<sup>31</sup>

Nino Tsilosani responded to the joint statement issued by employees of the **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, referring to them as “*so-called diplomats sworn to the European Union*” and advising them to resign from their positions. Maka Bochorishvili<sup>32</sup> stated that *the process which began in the autumn (the spreading of joint statements) aimed to undermine Georgia’s public service and the foreign affairs system*. In her view, it is undesirable for public officials to speak publicly on many topics; therefore, the ongoing reorganization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was a “*very correct*”

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 5; *Imedinews.ge*, “On the alleged politically motivated dismissal of employees by the National Probation Agency: This information is not accurate. Individual employees were informed from the outset that their contracts would expire on December 31,” 27.12.2024, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>28</sup> *Civil.ge*, “Employees of the Parliamentary Research Center speak about political retaliation,” 22.01.2025, see [link](#); *Imedinews.ge*, “Mamuka Mdinardze on the dismissal of employees of the Parliamentary Research Center,” see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>29</sup> “Interpressnews,” “Guram Macharashvili – When a public servant acts against the state, this is neither a political nor a non-political issue,” 22.01.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>30</sup> “Interpressnews,” “From March 10, the Parliamentary Research Center will be liquidated,” 03.02.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>31</sup> “Netgazeti,” “The liquidation of the Public Service Bureau is planned – Bureau employees,” 03.02.2025, see [link](#); *Imedinews.ge*, “By government decision, the Public Service Bureau will no longer exist as a legal entity under public law,” 03.02.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>32</sup> “Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.”

and “*necessary*” process to ensure that the ministry’s personnel is composed of individuals, *who are committed to protect Georgia’s national interests*. It is important to note that, as a result of the reorganization that began on May 1 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *numerous employees*, who had signed the joint public, statement were dismissed. In addition, the *Information Center on NATO and the European Union* was liquidated. Maka Bochorishvili described the reports about the “*loss of the center’s functions*” as speculation stating that those functions would be assumed by the Department of European Integration, while the liquidation aimed to create an “*efficient department of a strong foreign ministry*” capable of implementing Georgia’s foreign policy objectives more effectively.<sup>33</sup>

On December 16, 2024, a reorganization process also began within the **Election Administration**. According to the statement of the *International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy* (ISFED), mainly those employees, who had publicly expressed their position regarding the events taking place in the country since November 28, 2024, were dismissed from their positions. The Central Election Commission (CEC) responded to this statement, asserting that the structural reorganization carried out was “*clearly based on existing needs and challenges*” and that ISFED had used the issue to “mislead the public and discredit the institution.”<sup>34</sup>

Irakli Kobakhidze commented on the arbitrary reorganization processes in public institutions, stating that the reorganization and optimization carried out within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the Government Administration had saved millions of lari. According to him, these savings would contribute to further improving the efficiency and effectiveness of their operations.<sup>35</sup>

Statements made by members of the *Georgian Dream* party regarding the freedom of expression of public servants demonstrate that the party *opposes* the expression of differing opinions by individuals employed in the public sector, portraying such actions as “*sabotage*” or as “*acts against the state*.” It is also noteworthy that the *Georgian Dream’s* response to the exercise of freedom of expression by public servants is not limited to the dismissal of critically minded employees. The violation of the rights of dismissed individuals continues through various means, including *delays in*

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<sup>33</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Nino Tsilosani, 29.11.2024, see [link](#); statement by Maka Bochorishvili, 10.07.2025, see [link](#); statement by Maka Bochorishvili, 05.06.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>34</sup> Euronews Georgia, “ISFED will file a lawsuit in court regarding the six employees dismissed from CEC,” see [link](#); Imedinews.ge, “CEC: ‘ISFED’ is using the structural reorganization in the election administration to discredit the institution,” 23.01.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

<sup>35</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Prime Minister: As a result of optimization in state institutions and enterprises, we were able to save several million lari, and this amount will be allocated to projects aimed at accelerating the pace of economic growth,” 08.09.2025, see [link](#) [07.10.2025].

*the examination of their cases* by the common courts and the Public Defender of Georgia, refusals to satisfy their claims, and other forms of obstruction.

### ▼ Statements Regarding Individuals Detained on Political Grounds

Within the protests that began on November 28, 2024, approximately 70 individuals have been detained or imprisoned on political grounds; these individuals are commonly referred to by society as “prisoners of conscience.” The *Georgian Dream*, through both statements by its members and propagandistic media outlets, continues to actively conduct a discrediting campaign against these individuals, primarily involving the dissemination of disinformation and the violation of the presumption of innocence. According to Irakli Kobakhidze, those referred to as “prisoners of conscience” are “actually under specific charges due to conscienceless acts.”<sup>36</sup> Kobakhidze and Shalva Papuashvili have also referred to individuals detained on political grounds as “perpetrators of conscience.”<sup>37</sup> Members of *Georgian Dream* further disregard the existence of political prisoners in Georgia<sup>38</sup>; in Kakha Kaladze’s view, Georgia does not have political prisoners, but rather “politicians who are guilty in specific cases.”

Members of the *Georgian Dream* have also made various discrediting statements targeting specific political prisoners. For example, Mamuka Mdinardze called actor Andro Chichinadze “financed by Russia, like his cousin Elene Khoshtaria,” and offered to stand surety which, according to him, **is not needed by innocent person**. The presumption of innocence for Andro Chichinadze was later further violated by Irakli Kobakhidze, who accused the actor of involvement in an assault and, like Mdinardze, drew attention to his participation in a Russian film - a component of a disinformation campaign propagated by the *Georgian Dream*-affiliated media.<sup>39</sup> The presumption of innocence for Andro Chichinadze and other individuals detained on political grounds and accused of group violence was also violated by Mamuka Mdinardze by stating that - “*if you kill a person at a protest*

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<sup>36</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Irakli Kobakhidze: The prisoners who are called ‘prisoners of conscience’ are, in reality, charged with specific offenses due to conscienceless actions,” 15.08.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>37</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 30.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 01.10.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>38</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Levan Machavariani, 14.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Eka Sefashvili, 12.06.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 03.10.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>39</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Mamuka Mdinardze, 20.01.2025, see [link](#); 22.01.2025, see [link](#); “Giorgi Gamsakhurdia Writes About the Russian Film ‘Nina’ with Andro Chichinadze,” 20.01.2025, see [link](#); “Formula,” “Chichinadze to Kobakhidze: Can you repeat with me in person what you did yesterday? I don’t think so,” 17.04.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

*and I help you, am I not guilty just because I do not know you?”* - saying this, he accused the political prisoners of **committing organized crime**, complicity, and other potential offenses.<sup>40</sup>

The Georgian Dream party continues to actively conduct a discrediting campaign against **Mzia Amaghlobeli**, the founder of *Batumelebi* and *Netgazeti*, who is currently a political prisoner. Members of the Georgian Dream have circulated both *false information* about the reasons for her detention and systematically violated the *presumption of innocence* regarding Mzia Amaghlobeli. With the aim of misleading the public and discrediting Mzia Amaghlobeli, Sozar Subari,<sup>41</sup> Mamuka Mdinardze, Irakli Kobakhidze, Irakli Zarkua and other party members disseminated statements and interviews claiming that Mzia Amaghlobeli had **placed a sticker on a police officer’s back**, which supposedly led to her administrative detention - a claim that does not correspond to the truth.<sup>42</sup> Both members of the Georgian Dream and propagandist television channels, as well as various social media pages<sup>43</sup>, characterized Mzia **Amaghlobeli’s slap directed at the head of Batumi Police, Irakli Dgebuadze, as an attack on a police officer and “a step against the state.”** This characterization may have had the dual purpose of, on the one hand, influencing public opinion, and on the other hand, justifying the charges brought against her. For example, according to Giorgi Volski, Mzia Amaghlobeli “inflicted humiliation on the police officer not only for personal revenge but with a specific purpose,” and in a tense situation, “slapping a senior police officer could not be considered only under the hooliganism article.”<sup>44</sup> Statements made by members of the Georgian Dream regarding **Mzia Amaghlobeli’s hunger strike** also served to discredit her. In these statements, her refusal to take food was referred to as a “*Mikheil Saakashvili-style hunger strike*” and a “*weapon of blackmail against the authorities*,” and it was claimed that the collective United National Movement was encouraging the journalist to continue her hunger strike “*for the purpose of creating a victim.*”<sup>45</sup> Notably, members of the Georgian Dream also violated Mzia Amaghlobeli’s **presumption of innocence**. According to Mamuka Mdinardze, Mzia Amaghlobeli was “acting on instructions,” a claim later repeated on *Rustavi 2* television by Irakli Kobakhidze. Furthermore, Nino Tsilosani added false details to the narrative of Mzia Amaghlobeli “acting on instructions,” asserting that the journalist was operating “*by order, with payment, hiring and within the framework of*

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<sup>40</sup> “Publika,” “‘I Will Give You a Few Tips’ – Andro Chichinadze Responds to Mamuka Mdinardze,” 08.08.2025; see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>41</sup> “Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Georgia.”

<sup>42</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Zarkua, 01.02.2025, see [link](#); Statement by David Matikashvili, see [link](#); “Batumelebi,” “‘Mzia Amaghlobeli Stuck a Sticker on a Policeman’s Back’ – Sozar Subari,” 12.02.2025, see [link](#); “Radio Liberty,” “Mzia Amaghlobeli Sues Kobakhidze, Mdinardze, and Subari for Defamation,” 07.05.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>43</sup> Myth Detector (2025), “Mzia Amaghlobeli – the target of Georgian Dream, pro-government media, and other anti-Western actors,” see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>44</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Archil Gorduladze, 12.01.2025, see [link](#); statement by Tornike Rijvadze, 20.01.2025, see [link](#); statement by Kakha Kaladze, 29.01.2025, see [link](#); statement by Giorgi Volski, 14.01.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>45</sup> Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 30.01.2025, see [link](#); statement by Davit Matikashvili, see [link](#); statement by Sozar Subari, 02.02.2025, see [link](#); statement by Mamuka Mdinardze, see [link](#); statement by Levan Machavariani, 04.02.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

*espionage activities.*” It is **significant** to note that a motion submitted by Mzia Amaglobeli’s lawyers during the court hearing, requesting that Nino Tsilosani and Irakli Kobakhidze be summoned for questioning, was not satisfied by Judge Nino Sakhelashvili.<sup>46</sup>

The Georgian Dream party targeted teacher and activist **Nino Datashvili** for discreditation. She was detained on June 20, 2025, by the court marshal on charges of “assault.” In its attempts to discredit Nino Datashvili, the Georgian Dream primarily focused on her health, emphasizing the alleged “necessity” of a mental examination. According to Davit Matikashvili, the actions witnessed by the public, both inside and outside the courtroom, “*left a certain impression on society*,” effectively underlining the supposed “necessity” of conducting a psychiatric examination of Nino Datashvili.<sup>47</sup>

It is important to note that individuals detained on political grounds (*and their family members*) continued to be targets of discreditation and disinformation by TV channels affiliated with the Georgian Dream, individuals and social media pages/groups even after their verdicts were announced. For example,<sup>48</sup> following the announcement of **Mate Devdize’s verdict**, video footage circulated with identical captions reading, “How Mate Devdize attacks the police with a truncheon.” The TV channels *Imedi* and *POSTV* posted a video on their Facebook pages allegedly showing political prisoner Saba Jikia *attacking a police officer with a knife*, which is not true - the prosecution had accused **Saba Jikia** only of kicking a police officer. Along with the aforementioned falsified video, “POSTV-Analytical” also distributed an illustration generated by artificial intelligence, where Saba Jikia is depicted with a knife. A similar illustration was disseminated showing political prisoner **Anri Kvaratskhelia** holding a so-called “Molotov cocktail.”

Notably, the Georgian Dream used the parliamentary investigative commission as a mechanism for the detention of **opposition-leaning political party leaders**. Despite the political motives behind their imprisonment, members of the Georgian Dream do not recognize Zura Japaridze, Nika Gvaramia, Nika Melia and Giorgi Vashadze as political prisoners, arguing that they “*deliberately did not appear before the commission*” and “*deliberately committed the offense*.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Mamuka Mdinardze on Mzia Amaglobeli: Let’s not portray as a hero a woman who acted on orders,” 03.02.2025, see [link](#); *Batumelebi*, “Irakli Kobakhidze violates Mzia Amaglobeli’s presumption of innocence – lawyer,” 17.04.2025, see [link](#); *Publika*, “The judge did not grant Amaglobeli’s lawyers’ motions to have Kobakhidze and Tsilosani questioned,” 14.07.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>47</sup> Imedinews.ge, “Davit Matikashvili on Nino Datashvili’s examination: All of this is the responsibility of the investigative authorities, and everything is proceeding in accordance with the rules established by the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code,” 06.08.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>48</sup> International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (2025), “Propagandist media, ‘experts,’ and trolls associated with Georgian Dream against those imprisoned on political grounds,” see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

<sup>49</sup> “Radio Liberty,” “Behind Bars – How Opposition Politicians Ended Up in Prison (This Time),” 02.07.2025, see [link](#); *Imedinews.ge*, statement by Mamuka Mdinardze, 28.05.2025, see [link](#); 17.07.2025, see [link](#); statement by Nino Tsilosani, 01.07.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].