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ANALYSIS

OF RESPONSES AND PUBLIC
STATEMENTS REGARDING THE
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
COMMITTED DURING THE
ONGOING PROTESTS



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(November 28, 2024 – September 28, 2025) – Monitoring Report

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INTRODUCTION

The denial of the ruling party *Georgian Dream* of the human rights violations committed in the context of the protest rallies, as well as its failure to take appropriate measures in response, has turned into an **established practice within the protests that began on November 28, 2024**. However, neither in 2023 nor in 2024, during the protests against the so-called “*Russian Law*,” has any individual been held accountable or charged for the arbitrary and targeted use of special means¹, unlawful detentions, violence accompanying arrests, including torture and inhuman or degrading treatment², *or for other types of violations³ committed against protesters⁴*.

It is noteworthy that during both the 2023 and 2024 protests⁵ against the so-called “*Russian Law*,” the ruling party *Georgian Dream* either launched investigations only *formally* or, in some cases, *failed to initiate them at all*, despite evident instances of

¹ Human Rights Center (2023), “Monitoring of Gatherings and Demonstrations (Summary Report),” p. 18. [See link](#) [26.09.2025].

² Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association (2023), “People Against the Russian Law – Assessment of the Dispersal of the 7–9 March Protest and Related Human Rights Violations,” p. 43. [See link](#) [26.09.2025]. Also see: [World Organisation Against Torture \(OMCT\), “Briefing note Torture and Ill-Treatment During Protests and Suppression of Political Dissent in Georgia in November-December 2024”, March 2025, see link](#) [26.09.2025].

³ *Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association (2024), “Georgia: Human Rights Confronting the Russian Law,” pp. 19–20. See link* [26.09.2025].

⁴ “Human Rights Crisis in Georgia After the 2024 Parliamentary Elections – 28 November 2024 to 28 February 2025,” p. 143. [See link](#) [26.09.2025].

⁵ NEWS.On.ge. “The Investigative Service Has Launched an Investigation into Possible Abuse of Authority by MIA Officers,” 08.03.2023. [See link](#); “Investigative Service Received 80 Reports of Excessive Force at Protests,” *Netgazeti*, 07.05.2024. [See link](#) [26.09.2025].

excessive use of force and abuse of authority by law enforcement officers. *The Georgian Dream*, in 2024, also 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*⁶, 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.”

Since the beginning of the protests on November 28, 2024, *alongside the increase in the number and forms of human rights violations*, there has also been a broadening of the circle of individuals subjected to such violations without any ensuing legal response.



RESPONSE TO PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST PROTEST PARTICIPANTS AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES

On November 28, 2024, a statement by Irakli Kobakhidze⁷ regarding the postponement of negotiations with the European Union until 2028, was followed by mass protests. During these peaceful demonstrations, the rights and freedoms of protesters were systematically violated **through verbal and physical abuse, physical violence, disproportionate use of special means, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment treatment, and unlawful detentions**⁸ carried out by the Special Tasks Department (STD), Patrol Police and informal violent groups directly or indirectly encouraged by the Georgian Dream. Between November 29 and December 2, 2024, 79.5% of those detained reported about **ill-treatment**. Out of the 25 individuals detained on February 2, 2025 at Tbilisi Mall, 22 (88%)⁹ reported similar ill-treatment. Despite the scale of violations against protesters, no law enforcement officer was held accountable in 2024 for crimes committed in the line of duty.

⁶Radio 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].

⁷ “Prime Minister of Georgia”

⁸ *Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association, News Section, “10 Days of Terror Against Peaceful Protest,” December 8, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].*

⁹ *Public Defender of Georgia (2025). Report of the Public Defender of Georgia on the Situation of Human Rights and Freedoms in Georgia, p. 77. See [link](#) [September 29, 2025].*

Members of Georgian Dream in their public statements primarily focused on *“aggressive attacks” by protesters, stone-throwing*, use of pyrotechnics, setting fires, *constructing barricades and provoking police with “particular cruelty” or attempts to unbalance them*¹⁰. They did not address the cases of using tear gas, water cannons, and so-called pepper spray independently or in combination in ways **that endangered life and health of protesters**¹¹, nor the targeted violence by law enforcement officers, including torture and inhuman treatment, which they portrayed as *“appropriate responses”* to protesters’ actions.¹² Notably, members of Georgian Dream also cited the alleged throwing of Molotov cocktails by protesters, which, in fact, did not occur during the protests that began on November 28, 2024. **Irakli Kobakhidze**, a party member, described the serious crimes committed by the STD against protesters, including torture, beatings, and inhuman treatment, as merely *“regrettable incidents”*,¹³ claiming they were not systemic. Kakha Kaladze¹⁴ referred to incidents of physical violence against protesters as *“isolated incidents”*, **Nino Tsilosani**¹⁵ described them as *“misuse of force”* or *“minor excesses in the use of force”*, and **Shalva Papuashvili** called them *“a few excesses.”*¹⁶

On November 30, 2024, at dawn, one of the protesters, **Zviad Maisashvili**, was physically assaulted by the police¹⁷. In the circulated video footage¹⁸, members of the Special Task Unit are seen *repeatedly kicking Zviad Maisashvili in the face* while he is lying on the pavement. **Irakli Kobakhidze described the incident as an “isolated case,”** stating at a press conference that a specific *police officer had exceeded his authority*¹⁹. Although *Georgian Dream* formally initiated an investigation into the physical assault against Zviad Maisashvili, it was merely procedural - the perpetrators have still not been

¹⁰ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Aleksandre Darakhvelidze, November 29, 2024; see [link](#); statement by Kakha Kaladze, November 30, 2024; see [link](#); statement by Dimitri Khundadze, November 30, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹¹ Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association, News Section, “10 Days of Terror Against Peaceful Protest,” December 8, 2024. see [link](#) [01.10.2025].

¹² Public Broadcasting, First Channel, “Kakha Kaladze – No one has the right to approach a police officer, provoke them, and throw bottles or stones; such actions will always be met with an appropriate response,” November 29, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹³ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, November 29, 2024; see [link](#); statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, November 30, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹⁴ “Tbilisi CityMayor”

¹⁵ “Deputy Chairperson of the Parliament of Georgia”

¹⁶ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Kakha Kaladze, November 30, 2024; see [link](#); statement by Nino Tsilosani, November 30, 2024; see [link](#); statement by Shalva Papuashvili, December 1, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹⁷ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “He has a concussion, his nose was broken – What (don’t) the Maisashvili brothers’ parents know about their children,” November 30, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹⁸ Social network “Instagram,” video posted on the page “tavisupleba,” November 30, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

¹⁹ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “Prime Minister: We observed police ‘isolated incidents’ and protesters’ ‘systemic violence,’” November 30, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

identified. About half a year later, Irakli Kobakhidze announced that there had been *“problems with evidence and identification,” claiming that “these individuals are unidentifiable,”* which, according to him, prevented the investigation of the violence²⁰. It is also noteworthy that, despite the publicly available video footage, Zviad Maisashvili was officially recognized as a victim only eight months after the incident.²¹

On December 3, 2024, during the disproportionate and violent dispersal of the rally by the MIA units, a tear gas capsule allegedly hit 21-year-old **Aleksandre Tirkia** in the face, as a result of which he received serious injuries, was in the intensive care unit, was on mechanical ventilation, and is still undergoing rehabilitation. In his statement, Georgian Dream member **Mamuka Mdinardze**²² spread a version about the injured young man, as if, according to Aleksandre Tirkia, he was hit by a part of the so-called "fireworks", which was questioned by doctors.²³ Georgian Dream has not yet identified the MIA representative whose actions caused severe injuries of Aleksandre Tirkia.

Since November 28, 2024, during the ongoing protests, both protesters and **journalists** have been subjected to targeted physical violence, torture and inhuman treatment by various units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and informal violent groups. On November 29, 2024, at dawn, during a live broadcast, a member of the Special Task Unit attacked *Formula TV* journalist **Guram Rogava**, *striking him multiple times in the head with his fist.* As a result, Guram Rogava sustained facial bone fractures and a cervical vertebra injury²⁴. When asked about the identification of the person who attacked Guram Rogava, former STD (Special Tasks Department) director **Zviad Kharazishvili** (known as “Khareba”) replied to a journalist: “What Guram Rogava... I don’t know who that is, why do you keep bringing up this Guram Rogava?”²⁵ On February 12, 2025, inside the Georgian Parliament building, Guram Rogava put question to the *Georgian Dream*

²⁰ “TV Pirveli,” News Section, “Kobakhidze acknowledges incidents of violence against citizens but claims the case cannot be investigated,” August 1, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²¹ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “After 8 months, Zviad Maisashvili, who was beaten by special forces at the protest, was recognized as a victim,” August 13, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²² “Head of the State Security Service” (until September 3, 2025 – “Member of the Parliament of Georgia”).

²³ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “‘I don’t understand how we survived’ – when police shoot gas canisters and you end up in a crush,” December 3, 2024; see [link](#); “First Channel,” “At Ingorokva Clinic, it is reported that 21-year-old Aleksandre Tirkia has been taken off the ventilator, but the patient’s condition remains serious and critical,” December 10, 2025; see [link](#); Imedinews.ge, “Mamuka Mdinardze on the 22-year-old injured at the protest,” December 3, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²⁴ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “Formula journalist Guram Rogava was beaten by special forces,” November 29, 2024; see [link](#); “Journalist Guram Rogava has fractures to his facial bones and cervical vertebra,” November 29, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²⁵ “Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “‘The special forces officer does not get tired’ – sanctioned special forces commander ‘Khareba’,” December 4, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

MP **Nino Tsilosani** about the violence committed against him. Ms. Tsilosani referred to the attack on the journalist as an “[unfortunate incident](#)” and described Rogava himself as “a completely wrong person,” claiming that “*this small incident, someone’s mistake,*” gave the journalist the right to “ask some meaningless questions.”²⁶ According to Guram Rogava, even 18 days after the assault, the Special Investigation Service [had not questioned anyone](#) and had not obtained surveillance camera footage.²⁷ In December 2024, Mr. Rogava was granted victim status, yet the *individual responsible for the criminal offense against him has still not been identified*.

On December 7, 2024, during a live broadcast, a masked violent group - the so-called “*titushkas*” - attacked TV Pirveli journalist **Maka Chikhladze** and her cameraman, **Giorgi Shetsiruli**.²⁸ It is important to note that *two patrol police units* were present at the scene but did not respond to the act of violence.²⁹ That same night, another patrol crew showed indifference toward the physical assault on *actor Giorgi Makharadze*, which, according to the actor, was witnessed by the police officers themselves.³⁰ Commenting on the physical attack against Maka Chikhladze and her cameraman, the *Georgian Dream* MP **Mamuka Mdinardze** claimed that the incident was “*99% likely a deliberate provocation aimed at reigniting the fading tension and stirring up at least a week’s worth of new unrest.*”³¹ *Georgian Dream* MP **Nino Tsilosani** also linked the attack on Maka Chikhladze and Giorgi Shetsiruli to protesters, stating that such an act “*could only have been carried out by someone seeking to disrupt the protests and provoke violence.*”³² Similar statements were made by the *Member of Parliament* Vladimir Bozhadze and the *Tbilisi City Council member* Zurab Kadagidze.³³

²⁶“Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “‘You are the wrong person’ – Tsilosani calls the attack on Rogava a ‘regrettable incident,’” February 12, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²⁷“Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “‘18 days have passed, no one has questioned him yet’ – Guram Rogava was recognized as a victim,” December 16, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²⁸“Netgazeti,” “TV Pirveli journalists were attacked by ‘titushki,’” December 7, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

²⁹“TV Pirveli,” “Confirmed: the patrol stood by passively while ‘titushki’ attacked the TV Pirveli team,” December 7, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³⁰“Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty,” “Actor Giorgi Makharadze was attacked and assaulted,” December 7, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³¹Imedinews.ge, Mamuka Mdinardze on the attack on TV Pirveli journalist and cameraman: “An attack on a journalist, and especially in this form, is immoral. I urge the investigative authorities to determine all of this promptly,” December 7, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³²Imedinews.ge, Nino Tsilosani: “The attack on the TV Pirveli journalist and cameraman is captured in extremely severe footage; only someone seeking to provoke violence would do this. I hope the perpetrator will be held appropriately accountable,” December 8, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³³Imedinews.ge, Vladimir Bozhadze on the attack on the TV Pirveli journalist and cameraman: “This is a provocation carried out by someone seeking even greater radicalization and confrontation – the state will act in accordance with the law,” December 7, 2024; see [link](#); Zurab Kadagidze on the attack on the TV Pirveli journalist and cameraman: “At a time

The above-mentioned narrative was also spread across social media by *Georgian Dream*'s so-called "troll-bot" network.³⁴ **Irakli Kobakhidze** did not comment on the violence against Maka Chikhladze and Giorgi Shetsiruli. Moreover, at a press conference, when a journalist asked him why he had not condemned the attack, he responded: "*Shut up, otherwise I will expel you, stop babbling.*"³⁵

Maka Chikhladze and Giorgi Shetsiruli were officially recognized as victims in December 2024. The Special Investigation Service launched an investigation into the incident; however, as with other similar cases, it was largely *formal*. According to Maka Chikhladze, she herself instructed the investigator to remove the surveillance video recordings from specific streets and, in her opinion, "if they wanted to investigate the case, they should have done it 8 months ago, *before the evidence was destroyed.*"³⁶ *To this day*, no one has been held criminally accountable for the violence committed against Maka Chikhladze and Giorgi Shetsiruli. This raises a reasonable suspicion that the crime against them was either encouraged or directly/indirectly supported by the *Georgian Dream* party. This assumption is reinforced by publicly available video footage showing coordination between the police and the so-called "titushkas" just minutes before the attack.³⁷

Between November 28 and December 10, 2024, the Special Investigation Service launched an investigation into at least 297 cases of ill-treatment committed by representatives of various units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs against protest participants. All of these incidents are being investigated under a single criminal case.³⁸ To date, not a single law-enforcement officer has been held accountable for these human rights violations.

when processes should calm down, an extremely severe and brutal crime occurs live on air – such a crime serves the country's enemy!" December 7, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³⁴ "TV Pirveli," "Georgian Dream has begun to cover up the case of assaulted journalists – troll bots got involved in the case," December 8, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³⁵ "TV Pirveli," "Prime Minister's courtesy: 'Be quiet, stop babbling,'" December 8, 2024; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³⁶ "TV Pirveli," "The stories being told now could be told to Khatia Sichinava and the husband of Sofo Bedia' – Maka Chikhladze," August 1, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

³⁷ Platform „X“, page of the „Civil.ge“, "Footage, taken minutes before titushky (government paid thugs) raided opposition Coalition for Change office, and attacked its members and TV Pirveli journalist and cameraman, shows smooth coordination between the police and titushky.", 08.12.2024; see [link](#) [01.10.2025].

³⁸ Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA), Human Rights Center (HRC), Democracy Research Institute (DRI), et al. (2025). Human Rights Crisis in Georgia Following the 2024 Parliamentary Elections – November 28, 2024 to February 28, 2025, pp. 137. See [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

On February 2, 2025, during a protest near *Tbilisi Mall*, in one publicly circulated video³⁹ the perpetrator is clearly identifiable: former STD director **Zviad Kharazishvili**, who is seen kicking a protester. However, instead of taking appropriate legal measures against him, *Zviad Kharazishvili* was granted the status of a victim⁴⁰ based on claims by Special Task Unit officers regarding the loss or damage of various equipment.

In the context of the ongoing protests, in addition *to ignoring and trivializing the cases of physical violence against demonstrators* by various units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it is noteworthy that the *Georgian Dream* party not only fails to investigate these acts of police violence but **has also awarded the Order of Honor to individuals responsible for the torture and inhuman treatment of protesters** - including Zviad Kharazishvili, former Minister of Internal Affairs Vakhtang Gomelauri, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Aleksandre Darakhvelidze, and others.⁴¹

- **DOUBLE STANDARDS OF JUSTICE**

It is important to highlight the *double standards in justice* practiced by the *Georgian Dream* party - the approaches and response mechanisms it applies differently to individuals directly or indirectly associated with the party versus protest participants. On December 16, 2024, in the Tbilisi Metro, *masked so-called "titushkas" physically and verbally harassed passengers on train cars and escalators*. Patrol police officers did not respond, claiming that *"no one was breaking anything" and "no one was damaging anything"* in the metro stations. The masked individuals later moved to Rustaveli Avenue, where they continued to harass protest participants. A patrol police unit did detain these individuals on Rustaveli Avenue; however, they were released a few days later after paying a 2,000 GEL bail.⁴² Beyond this incident, protesters were repeatedly targeted by informal violent groups. For example, on December 7, 2024, protesters on the right bank of the Mtkvari River were attacked by so-called *"titushkas"*, one of **whom was armed and threatened them**. On the same night, Maka Chikhladze and Giorgi Shetsiruli, actor Giorgi Makharadze, were attacked, as well as Koba Khabazi **was**

³⁹ Social network "Facebook," "Netgazeti" page, "Zviad Kharazishvili (Khareba) kicks a citizen at the moment of arrest," February 2, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

⁴⁰ "TV Pirveli," "The regime recognized 'Khareba' as a victim," March 22, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁴¹ "Formula," "Kavelashvili, appointed as president, awarded sanctioned high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs," January 30, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁴² "TV Pirveli," "'Titushki' appeared in the Tbilisi metro – masked individuals physically and verbally harass young people," December 16, 2024, see [link](#); December 19, 2024, see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

physically assaulted at the “Coalition for Changes” office.⁴³ On December 17, 2024, during the protest, Giorgi Vashadze **was attacked with a cold weapon** and injured; despite multiple complaints, the police neither arrested the perpetrator nor confiscated the weapon.⁴⁴ On December 25, 2024, during the *Women’s March*, a so-called “*titushka*” verbally harassed participants and **punched Ketevan Meskhi in the face**. Officers from the Tbilisi City Hall Security Service were present at the scene but did not intervene.⁴⁵

Violent groups **repeatedly attacked** demonstrators participating in various marches and strikes.⁴⁶ On February 21, 2025, two individuals - Nikoloz Chkuaseli and Andro Siradze - attacked a march moving from the former building of the Public Broadcaster toward Rustaveli Avenue. They were reportedly armed **with a truncheon and a sharp object**, likely a *machete*. The court issued a verbal warning to Nikoloz Chkuaseli and fined Andro Siradze 500 GEL.⁴⁷ Individuals involved in protests in various capacities also became targets of **physical retaliation and verbal or physical harassment** by *titushkas*. Examples include actor and singer Vaniko Tarkhnishvili, musician Kordz, Georgia’s fifth President Salome Zurbashvili, and other participants in the demonstrations.⁴⁸

On May 5, 2025, during a protest, participants Nutsa Makharadze, Ketij Jajanishvili, and Salome Sarishvili were verbally harassed by an individual near a building elevator. Inside the elevator cabin, the same person sprayed them with **so-called pepper spray and Brilliant Green**, resulting in facial burns. For the purposes of the investigation, law

⁴³“TV Pirveli,” “‘Armed ‘titushki’ were sent to the protesters on the shore,’” December 7, 2024, see [link](#); see [link](#); “‘Titushki’ attacked Koba Khabaz and physically assaulted him,” December 7, 2024, see [link](#) [October 3, 2025].

⁴⁴“Formula,” “‘Giorgi Vashadze was attacked at the protest,’” December 17, 2024, see [link](#); “TV Pirveli,” “‘Death brigades in Tbilisi and unpunished perpetrators – TV Pirveli revealed the identities of the ‘titushki,’” December 18, 2024, see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁴⁵“TV Pirveli,” “‘First interview with the woman who was attacked and beaten by ‘Georgian Dream’ titushki,’” December 26, 2024, see [link](#), see [link](#); December 27, 2024, see [link](#) [October 3, 2025].

⁴⁶“TV Pirveli,” “‘At Nakhalovka, march participants were attacked by titushki armed with eggs,’” January 11, 2025, see [link](#); “‘Titushki physically assaulted citizens on strike at Dolidze (video),” January 15, 2025, see [link](#); January 16, 2025, see [link](#); “‘Series of attacks by ‘Georgian Dream’ propagandists – Gomelauri’s police do not respond,’” April 6, 2025, see [link](#); “‘Clashes at the Unity March – march participants were presumably attacked by titushki,’” June 10, 2025, see [link](#); “‘Titushki attackers of protest participants were sheltered by ‘Pharma Depo,’” July 19, 2025, see [link](#) [October 4, 2025].

⁴⁷ Social network “Facebook,” “‘Publika” page, June 11, 2025; see [link](#) [October 4, 2025].

⁴⁸“TV Pirveli,” “‘Attack on Vaniko Tarkhnishvili – will another brutal retribution case be stored to the shelf?,’” July 7, 2025, see [link](#); “‘Attack on the president – two attackers identified in new footage (video),” February 20, 2025, see [link](#); February 27, 2025, see [link](#); “‘A citizen reports that titushki attacked him in Sololaki,’” April 13, 2025, see [link](#); “‘An activist reports that titushki attacked him, and his friend required surgery due to injuries,’” April 14, 2025, see [link](#); “Radio Liberty,” “‘Another musician, Kordz, who performed ‘Ole Ola,’ was attacked,’” July 9, 2025, see [link](#).

enforcement did not confiscate the bottle used to spray the activists.⁴⁹ It is important to note that the *Georgian Dream* party applies lenient sanctions - such as verbal warnings or **small fines** - when *titushkas* are detained. In contrast, protest participants are often unlawfully and arbitrarily fined 4,000–5,000 GEL or subjected to imprisonment on various grounds, which indicates *double standards in justice*.

On September 3, 2025, during a protest held on Petre Melikishvili Avenue for opening of Kakha Kaladze’s campaign headquarters, both demonstrators and media representatives were subjected to physical and verbal harassment by the *Georgian Dream* members and their supporters.⁵⁰ The *Georgian Dream* member and former MP Beka Odisharia insulted journalists and citizens⁵¹, while Giorgi Volski⁵² made the sign of the cross over them. Notably, the *Georgian Dream* members only responded to a phrase reportedly *directed at Beka Odisharia* by a protest participant⁵³, and did not comment on the verbal or physical harassment experienced by the demonstrators and journalists.

On September 8, 2025, during a protest held near Kakha Kaladze’s election headquarters, supporters of the ruling party *Georgian Dream* physically assaulted demonstrators and media representatives. The police officers present at the scene did not detain the perpetrators.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that these violent groups included both members of Kaladze’s campaign staff and *employees of various departments within the Tbilisi City Hall*.⁵⁵ The Ministry of Internal Affairs launched an investigation under the article of gang violence, however, the two arrested perpetrators, one of whom slapped a female protester in the face and the other who hit a protester with a baton and told the police officer that he was "one of them", *were released within two days* on the grounds that "the victims did not cooperate with the investigation", which was not true.

⁴⁹ "Radio Liberty," "Attack with green dye – Nutsa Makharadze recounts how she and three friends were sprayed green in the elevator," May 8, 2025, see [link](#); "TV Pirveli," "Attack on female activists – victims suffered first-degree burns," May 6, 2025, see [link](#) [October 4, 2025].

⁵⁰ "Publika," "The Charter: We strongly condemn the violence against a Publika journalist and call on the Prosecutor's Office to investigate the incident promptly," September 4, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁵¹ "Radio Liberty," News section, "Natnaures khar,' 'kis mona' – Beka Odisharia insulted a journalist and citizens," September 3, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁵² "First Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Georgia."

⁵³ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Guram Macharashvili, September 5, 2025; see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, September 4, 2025; see [link](#); Statement by Nino Tsilosani, September 4, 2025; see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, September 5, 2025; see [link](#); Statement by Sozar Subari, September 3, 2025; see [link](#) [October 1, 2025].

⁵⁴ "Radio Liberty," "There was again a confrontation at Kaladze’s campaign office – police do not detain the aggressors, there are injured citizens," September 8, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁵⁵ "TV Pirveli," "Who attacked the protesters at Kaladze’s campaign office? – 'Dream' party’s so-called titushki identified," September 9, 2025; see [link](#); "According to activists, some employees of the City Hall are also among the ranks of the 'Dream' party’s so-called titushki," September 20, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁵⁶ It is noteworthy that **no legal action was taken in response** to either of the aforementioned rights violations, nor against other perpetrators identified in publicly available video footage, who were seen assaulting multiple demonstrators and subjecting them to physical and verbal abuse. ⁵⁷ In contrast, a **student, Megi Diasamidze**, was arrested on criminal charges of *destruction or damage to another person's property* after she wrote "Russian Dream" on Kakha Kaladze's campaign banner during the protest on September 9, 2025. In reference to this incident, Kakha Kaladze stated that "*she chose prison for herself*," while Irakli Kobakhidze referred to her as a "*UNM activist and a titkushka*."⁵⁸ As a preventive measure, the court imposed bail in the amount of 2,000 GEL on Megi Diasamidze, after which she was released from the courtroom. However, **Elene Khoshtaria**, who made the same inscription on Kaladze's banner in solidarity with Diasamidze, remains in detention due to her refusal to pay bail.⁵⁹

In their public statements⁶⁰ regarding the September 8 protest, members of the *Georgian Dream* once again focused exclusively on the alleged **actions of the demonstrators**, referring to "bottle throwing," "verbal insults," and "phone seizing." Member of Parliament **Nino Tsilosani** stated that "*violent individuals engaged in fascist activism, including women*," should not be portrayed as victims, asserting that they were not victims but rather the perpetrators.⁶¹

The *Georgian Dream* party not only applies double standards toward protest participants but **also holds them accountable for** the abuses committed by the perpetrators. On August 1, 2025, the *Georgian Dream* supporter and former football

⁵⁶ "Radio Liberty," "Two people detained for violence against protesters, one protester for damaging a banner," September 10, 2025; see [link](#); "They claim we did not cooperate with the investigation, which is absurd – a citizen struck by a 'Dream' supporter," September 12, 2025; see [link](#); "What do the citizens beaten at Kaladze's campaign office say about the confrontation and the perpetrators released after two days?" September 14, 2025; see [link](#) [October 2, 2025].

⁵⁷ "Radio Liberty," "An 'Imedi' journalist also participated in the confrontation at Kaladze's campaign office – who was beating the citizens," September 9, 2025; see [link](#) [accessed October 2, 2025].

⁵⁸ "Netgazeti," "Did I sacrifice myself for prison, or did she sacrifice herself? – Kaladze on Megi Diasamidze," September 11, 2025; see [link](#); "Publika," "Irakli Kobakhidze called Megi Diasamidze a 'Nazi activist, titkushka,'" September 11, 2025; see [link](#) [accessed October 4, 2025].

⁵⁹ "Publika," "Elene Khoshtaria was assigned a 5,000 GEL bail – she will remain in custody until the amount is paid," September 17, 2025; see [link](#) [October 4, 2025].

⁶⁰ Imedinews.ge, Statement of Levan Machavariani, 09.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement of Archil Gorduladze, 09.09.2025, see [link](#); statement by Guram Macharashvili, 09.09.2025, see [link](#); statement by Giorgi Volski, 09.09.2025, see [link](#); TV Pirveli, "Women was not like woman, man was not a man" – Kobakhidze said the protest participants are people "without face", 11.09.2025, see [link](#) [02.10.2025].

⁶¹ Imedinews.ge, "Nino Tsilosani: Women were the ones who insulted our supporters the most aggressively and behaved the most disgracefully; they were not victims but perpetrators – women and men are both fascists," 09.09.2025, see [link](#) [02.10.2025].

player Beka Gotsiridze, who, according to eyewitnesses, was carrying a knife, verbally insulted demonstrators gathered on Rustaveli Avenue, leading to a physical quarrel. Subsequently, on August 16, 2025, activists **Tornike Toshkhua and Mindia Shervashidze** were arrested on charges of violence against Gotsiridze, despite the fact that Gotsiridze himself stated on the social media platform *TikTok* just few minutes after the incident that the protesters had failed to beat him. It is noteworthy that the activists remain in detention,⁶² while Beka Gotsiridze is portrayed by the *Georgian Dream* not as a participant and provocateur of the confrontation, but as a *“victim of group violence.”*

On September 15, 2025, several individuals attacked participants of a march moving from the former building of the Public Broadcaster towards Besiki Street. One of the attackers, who was carrying a firearm, was disarmed and neutralized by **Levan Jobava** and another activist, after which they handed him over to the police. The 16-year-old attacker was released a few days later on the grounds that the weapon was pneumatic, while the authorities launched an investigation under the article of *violence*. The “provocative” questions asked to Levan Jobava both on the spot and during interrogation in court raise suspicions that Levan Jobava could be the object of arrest on charges of violence.⁶³ It is also noteworthy that the TV Company *Imedi* broadcast information based on publicly released surveillance footage, falsely alleging that *“the minor was physically assaulted by Levan Jobava and another participant of the rally.”* Statements made by members of Parliament were also concerning. MP Vladimir Bozhadze stated that Levan Jobava “should have called 112,” while MP Davit Matikashvili claimed that “two men physically assaulted a minor, and now this is being spun as if it happened in an attempt to disarm him.”⁶⁴

On 3 October 2025, near the Europe Square, so-called *“titushkas”* attacked a group of students who had gathered to make a public statement, using metal rods during the assault. As a result, two activists were injured, including Igor Narmania. Following the incident, Irakli Kobakhidze stated that “it was Igor Narmania himself who, together with

⁶² “Radio Liberty,” “Protesters Tornike Toshkhua and Mindia Shervashidze were Remanded in Custody by the Judge,” 06.10.2025, see [link](#); “TV Pirveli,” “Beka Gotsiridze claimed in a video statement that the activists could not have beaten him – what did he write in the complaint?” 17.08.2025, see [link](#) [04.10.2025].

⁶³ “Radio Liberty,” “The Boy Arrested for ‘Threatening’ Protesters with a Weapon Was Released – Another Investigation Opened on Charges of Violence,” 19.09.2025, see [link](#); “Publika,” “‘There Were Provocative Questions’ – Levan Jobava Questioned in Court,” 18.09.2025, see [link](#) [04.10.2025].

⁶⁴ “Footage is circulating showing Levan Jobava and another participant of the rally physically assaulting a minor,” 21.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by David Matikashvili, 21.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 22.09.2025, see [link](#); “TV Pirveli,” “‘He Should Have Called 112’ – Lado Bozhadze Criticizes Levan Jobava for Neutralizing an Armed Titushka,” 22.09.2025, see [link](#) [04.10.2025].

twenty others, attacked two people, and during their attempt to repel the attack, “*he could not even manage to avoid being hit in the head because he’s a ‘Natsi’* (a derogatory term for UNM opposition supporters).”⁶⁵



DISCREDITING CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PROTEST MOVEMENT

Since November 28, 2024, the *Georgian Dream* party has been actively **conducting a campaign to discredit participants of the protest**, both through public statements by party members and via the dissemination of various information by pro-government media outlets.

It is noteworthy that members of the *Georgian Dream* party have referred to the protests as “*NatsMaidan*” (*UNM Maidan*) or “*EuroMaidan*,” events which, according to their statements, their party would not have allowed to take place.⁶⁶ The *Georgian Dream* members continue to describe the protests as “events organized by the radical opposition”, while protesters themselves are labeled as “**violent,” “radical,” or part of the “collective National Movement,”**⁶⁷ language aimed at misleading the public and discrediting participants. It is also significant that television channels *Imedi* and *POSTV*, even independently of statements by party members, have actively used the term “radicals” when disseminating information about protesters. It is important to mention the terms, which are used by the members of the *Georgian Dream* in their statements to conduct a discrediting campaign against the demonstrators, such as “stateless people”, “fascists”, “liberal-fascists”⁶⁸. Notably, following April 9, 2025, public statements regarding protesters included the label “Rodionovs.” Members of *Georgian Dream*, including Shalva Papuashvili and Mamuka Mdinardze, compared the protesters

⁶⁵ “Publika,” “Activists Attacked Near Europe Square – Igor Narmania and a Minor Activist Injured,” 03.10.2025, see [link](#); Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 04.10.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

⁶⁶ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 30.11.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Vladimir Bozhadze, 30.11.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Archil Gorduladze, 30.11.2024, see [link](#) [02.10.2025].

⁶⁷ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Sozar Subari, 29.11.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 01.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 02.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Levan Machavariani, 02.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Rati Ionatamishvili, 02.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Maia Bitadze, 20.03.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Eka Sefashvili, 12.06.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 16.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Levan Makhashvili, 29.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Nino Tsilosani, 30.09.2025, see [link](#) [02.10.2025].

⁶⁸ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Nino Tsilosani, 12.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 06.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 05.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Sozar Subari, 13.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Mamuka Mdinardze, 13.12.2024, see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Zarkua, 23.01.2025, 21.03.2025, see [link](#), see [link](#); Statement by Levan Machavariani, 29.04.2025, see [link](#) [02.10.2025].

to Igor Rodionov, under whose orders peaceful demonstrators on Rustaveli Avenue were brutally and violently killed on 9 April 1989.⁶⁹ The *Georgian Dream* party has also actively used terms such as “agents,” “foreign agents,” “agents of external enemies,” “orcs,” and “akatsukis”⁷⁰ in reference to protesters. These terms carry negative connotations and serve to discredit the participants of the protests.

On September 3, 2025, during the opening of Kakha Kaladze’s election campaign office, party members did not comment on the physical or verbal abuse of protesters by *Georgian Dream* members and supporters. Instead, Irakli Kobakhidze and Shalva Papuashvili accused the demonstrators of violence, referring to them as “Natsi orcs,” “Natsi titushkas,” and “disoriented individuals”, stating that they “need treatment if they subject to all of this.”⁷¹ Kakha Kaladze also referred to the protesters as “titushkas” and added that *“if Michael Jackson were alive, he would probably have re-shot **Thriller** with their involvement; there would have been no need for makeup artists, hairstylists, or costumes.”*⁷²

On September 8, 2025, following the physical assault on protesters and media representatives near Kakha Kaladze’s election campaign office, the *Georgian Dream* members responded with discriminatory and discrediting language. Kakha Kaladze referred to the assault on female protesters by stating that *“none of them were women; they were some other breed.”* He also called the demonstrators “30 akatsukis” and questioned what these individuals wanted at the campaign office.⁷³ Female protesters were similarly insulted by the Member of Parliament Irakli Zarkua, who called them “witches,” and by MP Nino Tsilosani, who referred to them as “fascist women.”⁷⁴

It is important to note that in some cases, the target of Georgian Dream’s discrediting efforts is not the protest movement collectively, but individual protesters. For example,

⁶⁹ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Mamuka Mdinaradze, 09.04.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 10.04.2025, 12.04.2025, see [link](#), see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷⁰ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Mamuka Mdinaradze, 23.06.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Kakha Kaladze, 18.08.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Rati Ionatamishvili, 10.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Sozar Subari, 27.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 27.09.2025, see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷¹ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 04.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 04.09.2025, see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷² Social Network “Facebook,” “Publika” page, “The Mayor of Tbilisi, Kakha Kaladze, responded to the rally held yesterday on Melikishvili Avenue, where citizens gathered alongside the opening of Kaladze’s campaign office,” 04.09.2025; see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷³ “Radio Liberty,” “‘It wasn’t women, but ‘some other kind’ who took part in the confrontation,’ says Kaladze, near whose campaign office women were beaten yesterday,” 09.09.2025; see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷⁴ “TV Pirveli,” “Zarkua Insults Female Activists: ‘Where Did You See Women? It Wasn’t Women, It Was Scoundrels,’” 09.09.2025, see [link](#); “Nino Tsilosani Declared Beaten Women as ‘Perpetrators,’” 09.09.2025, see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

on September 2, 2025, during a protest, Anuki Chrdileli, the daughter of the *Georgian Dream* member and candidate for the Tbilisi City Assembly, Otar Chrdileli, was arrested along with approximately 25 other activists. Following her arrest, individuals affiliated with the *Georgian Dream* launched a disinformation and discrediting campaign against her, spreading false claims that she had mental health problems and that “radicals were manipulating her.”⁷⁵

It is noteworthy that members of the *Georgian Dream* had been using derogatory terms to discredit participants of protests even before the demonstrations that began on November 28, 2024. Such terms include: “radicals,” “stateless,” “fascists,” among others. It is also significant that among party members, there appears to be a division of responsibility regarding which derogatory terms are used in public statements. For example, the term “stateless” is most frequently used by Irakli Zarkua, “akatsukis” - by Kakha Kaladze, and “orcs” - by Shalva Papuashvili and Irakli Kobakhidze.

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.”⁷⁶ Kobakhidze and Shalva Papuashvili have also referred to individuals detained on political grounds as “perpetrators of conscience.”⁷⁷ Members of *Georgian Dream* further disregard the existence of political prisoners in Georgia⁷⁸; in Kakha Kaladze’s view, Georgia does not have political prisoners, but rather “politicians who are guilty in specific cases.”

⁷⁵ “Radio Liberty,” “I Will Definitely Sue’ – The Son of a ‘Georgian Dream’ MP Against a Woman Who Tried to Discredit Him,” 04.09.2025, see [link](#); Imedinews.ge, Statement by Tamta Megrelishvili, 02.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Gia Abashidze, 02.09.2025, see [link](#) [03.10.2025].

⁷⁶ 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].

⁷⁷ Imedinews.ge, Statement by Irakli Kobakhidze, 30.09.2025, see [link](#); Statement by Shalva Papuashvili, 01.10.2025, see [link](#) [05.10.2025].

⁷⁸ 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].

LEGAL ANALYSIS

The principle of rule of law implies *the state's obligation to protect universally recognized human rights and freedoms as inalienable and supreme human values*.⁷⁹ The **Constitution of Georgia** guarantees the inviolability of human dignity, the right to life and physical integrity, the right to liberty, the right to freedom of assembly and expression, as well as other rights and freedoms, the inviolable protection of which forms the foundation of a democratic and rule of law state. The state, on the one hand, **has positive obligations** to protect and ensure the above-mentioned rights and freedoms. On the other hand, it has **negative obligations** to refrain from violating them. Negative obligations also include ensuring the *effective protection of rights that have been violated*.⁸⁰

Since November 28, 2024, in the context of ongoing protests, the Georgian Dream party, firstly, has failed to ensure the protection of the right to life, dignity, freedom of assembly and expression, and the inviolability of personal freedom for participants in peaceful assemblies; secondly, it itself violates these rights *through physical violence, torture and inhumane treatment* of demonstrators. On the other hand, it does not

⁷⁹ Constitution of Georgia, Article 4, Paragraph 2, see [link](#) [08.10.2025].

⁸⁰ Korkelia, K., *Towards the Integration of European Standards: The European Convention on Human Rights and Georgia's Experience*, Tbilisi, LLC "Petiti," 2007, pp. 13–14, see [link](#) [08.10.2025].

provide effective protection of the rights of protesters that have been violated, which is also manifested in violations of *the right to a fair trial*.

The European Convention on Human Rights defines the positive obligation of the state parties to ensure the rights and freedoms protected by the Convention for everyone.⁸¹ The right to liberty and security, guaranteed by Article 5 of the Convention, considers the deprivation of liberty of a person unlawful, except in cases defined by the Convention, for example, *when there is a reasonable suspicion that the person might commit an offense*. It is important to note that the Georgian Dream party continues to unlawfully detain/arrest participants of the protests and uses deprivation of liberty not to respond to or prevent the commission of offenses, but to **suppress the protests and persecute those involved in them**. In doing so, it simultaneously violates the *freedoms of expression and assembly* guaranteed by the Articles 10 and 11 of the Convention, as well as *the limits on restrictions of rights established* by the Article 18. When considering the proportionality of measures used against demonstrators, it is important to also take into account the potential “chilling effect,” as the arrest, *detention, and/or subsequent administrative sanctions against participants* may discourage participation in similar assemblies.⁸² For this reason, the nature and severity of the sanction or punishment are key factors in assessing the proportionality of interference with the freedoms of assembly and expression. Notably, the violation of negative obligations by the Georgian Dream party is accompanied by the effective denial of remedies for protesters. Since June 2025, court sessions have been prohibited from being covered by the media, which limits the *principle of publicity* in judicial proceedings. The court, in most cases, recognizes protest participants as violators in cases of “artificial roadblocking”, petty hooliganism and other administrative cases, while it issues guilty verdicts in criminal cases, which indicates the absence of an impartial and independent court and a massive violation of the *right to a fair trial*.

The negative obligation to respect human rights is further reinforced by the **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**, which requires the States Parties to provide effective legal remedies to any individual, whose rights and freedoms have been violated, including in cases, *where such violations are committed by officials*

⁸¹ *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, Article 1, see [link](#) [08.10.2025].

⁸² *Mzhavanadze and Rukhadze v. Georgia*, nos. 29760/21 and 33931/21, § 81, 15 July 2025, see [link](#) [09.10.2025].

acting in an official capacity.⁸³ The Article 9 of the ICCPR safeguards individual liberty and prohibits *arbitrary arrest* or detention. It guarantees that any person within a State Party has the right *to a fair and public hearing* before an independent and impartial tribunal - a right that the Georgian Dream party has systematically violated in the context of the protests that began in November 2024. Furthermore, According to the Article 14 of the International Covenant, a person in a criminal case has the right *to be presumed innocent* until their guilt is proven in accordance with the law. It is important to note that members of the Georgian Dream continue to systematically violate this principle in their public statements - the *presumption of innocence* of individuals arrested on political grounds. It is also noteworthy that the Georgian Dream, through the physical violence, torture and inhuman treatment carried out against the detained individuals, violates the Article 10 of the International Covenant, which affirms the right of persons deprived of liberty to be *treated humanely and with respect for their dignity*. The International Covenant, as well as the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**⁸⁴ and all other legal documents operating at the international level for the protection of human rights, *prohibit torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment*, these are the serious violations that the Georgian Dream fails to investigate and instead refers to as “isolated incidents.”

The State has a positive obligation to protect the right to life and to safeguard individuals from *inhuman or degrading treatment in all contexts of assembly*, regardless of whether the assembly falls within the scope of the right to peaceful assembly.⁸⁵ Any dispersal of assemblies or use of force by law enforcement officials must always be limited and restrained. The use of force to disperse a gathering should be a *measure of last resort*, preceded by reasonable, less aggressive efforts by law enforcement *to manage tense situations and preserve* the peaceful nature of the assembly.⁸⁶ It is crucial to emphasize that the use of force by police should occur only in exceptional circumstances, with minimal necessity, and in strict compliance with the principles of *restraint, proportionality, harm minimization, and preservation of life*. Such force must always be preceded by a clear and unequivocal warning, allowing demonstrators sufficient time to

⁸³ United Nations (UN), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 2, Paragraph 3, Subparagraph (a), see [link](#) [09.10.2025].

⁸⁴ Ibid, Article 5

⁸⁵ Venice Commission and OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2020), *Guidelines on the Freedom of Peaceful Assembly*, 3rd edition, Paragraph 175, p. 67, see [link](#) [09.10.2025].

⁸⁶ Ibid., Paragraphs 176, 179.

leave the area. Significantly, the Georgian Dream party did not adhere to these principles during the protests that began on November 28, 2024. Instead, it arbitrarily conducted violent and disproportionate dispersals of peaceful demonstrators. Together with the unjustified arrests of participants, *these actions constitute a mechanism of repression by the Georgian Dream* that systematically infringes upon the freedoms of assembly and expression.

Under the international law, the State is responsible for the actions and omissions of its law enforcement authorities. To prevent violations, the States must continuously foster a culture of accountability among law enforcement officials in the context of assemblies.⁸⁷ **The States have an obligation to investigate, effectively, impartially and promptly,** any allegation or reasonable suspicion of abuse of authority, excessive use of force, or other violations committed by law enforcement officials in the context of assemblies. Both intentional acts and acts of negligence or omission may constitute human rights violations, and victims must have access to effective remedies to restore the rights that have been violated.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ UN Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 37 (2020) on the Right of Peaceful Assembly (Article 21), p. 15, Paragraph 89, see [link](#) [09.10.2025].

⁸⁸ Ibid., Paragraph 90.

CONCLUSION

Since November 28, 2024, the *Georgian Dream* has engaged in the coordinated and systemic persecution of individuals participating in or otherwise connected to the ongoing protest. This persecution has been carried out both through action and inaction. The government's actions *have demonstrated* in the use of physical violence, torture, and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment against demonstrators and media representatives; in the arbitrary imposition of fines and arrests; and in the adoption and enforcement of repressive legislation targeting civil society organizations, among other measures. In regard to inaction, **no objective investigations have been initiated** (or in some cases, even opened) to identify and hold those responsible accountable for violations committed against participants in the protest. Consequently, to date, no perpetrators of physical assaults on demonstrators or journalists have been brought to justice. The *Georgian Dream* has, on the one hand, fostered a climate of impunity for perpetrators and, on the other hand, encouraged the persecution of protesters through *its direct or indirect support for informal violent groups*.

Members of the Georgian Dream explain the failure to investigate the cases of injured demonstrators by the inability to identify the attackers, while even demonstrators with face masks are fined through surveillance cameras on the unjust grounds of “artificially blocking the road.” Such practices clearly indicate *the application of selective justice standards*.

The Georgian Dream applies **double standards** even in cases where the attackers on protest participants can be clearly identified. *The party* also responds to human rights violations committed against various groups of protest participants through **stigmatizing** and **discrediting campaigns**. In public statements and via pro-government media outlets, demonstrators are portrayed as “*radicals,*” “*violent offenders,*” “*fascists,*” “*unpatriotic,*” and other negativeterms aimed at misleading the public and delegitimizing the protest movement. Women protesters are frequently singled out as particular targets of such attacks by members of the ruling party. 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*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

▼ To the United Nations *High Commissioner for Human Rights* (Volker Türk):

- Call on the political party *Georgian Dream* to cease persecution of individuals participating in the ongoing protests in any form (including attacks, physical and verbal abuse, illegal detention, fines, or imprisonment) and to ensure appropriate legal response. Such response should be based on the *principles of objectivity, effectiveness, and comprehensive investigation*, in order to examine cases of physical violence committed by various subdivisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and by informal violent groups against demonstrators during the ongoing protests.

▼ To the United Nations *Human Rights Council*:

To monitor the implementation of the recommendations issued by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to Georgia and, within the framework of its mandate, to take measures aimed at responding to the failure of the Georgian Dream party to fulfill its international obligations.

▼ To the *Special Rapporteurs* of the United Nations:

- **To the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment** (Alice Jill Edwards):

Call on the political party Georgian Dream to investigate, in accordance with the principle of objectivity, the possible cases of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment committed against protest participants by various units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or informal violent groups during the demonstrations starting from 28 November 2024, and to take appropriate legal action against those responsible.

- **To the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association** (Gina Romero):

Call on the political party Georgian Dream to cease restriction of freedom of assembly of protest participants as a means of intimidation and persecution - such as fining or arresting participants for exercising their right to peaceful assembly; and to ensure identification of those responsible for violations of the right to peaceful assembly and take appropriate legal action against them.

- **To the Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers** (Margaret Satterthwaite):

Call on the political party Georgian Dream to ensure the independence, fairness and impartiality of judges handling the cases of protest participants since November 28, 2024; and to take appropriate legal action against any judges, who have issued ungrounded or unjust decisions against participants in the ongoing protests.

- ▼ *To the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe* (Michael O’Flaherty):

- Call on the political party Georgian Dream to implement the recommendations issued in the Memorandum of March 26, 2025 and to monitor their compliance by the party.
- Call on the political party Georgian Dream to ensure the identification of those responsible for violations of the rights of protest participants and to take appropriate legal actions against them.

- ▼ *To the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe* (OSCE):

- Call on the political party Georgian Dream to provide detailed information on the issues raised in the letter sent under the “Vienna Mechanism.”
- Activate the “Moscow Mechanism” in relation to human rights violations that have occurred during the protests since November 28, 2024.

- ▼ *To the European Commission for democracy through Law of the council of Europe* (Venice Commission)

o Call on the political party Georgian Dream to implement the opinion issued by the Commission on October 15, 2025 regarding the laws concerning “foreign influence.”

Authorities/persons responsible for performing various functions at the local level

▼ *To the members of the political party Georgian Dream:*

Stop spreading disinformation and conducting discrediting campaigns about protest participants.

▼ *To the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia:*

Cease arbitrary and unlawful actions against protest participants (unfounded arrests, fines) and the use of double standards; and take appropriate legal actions against those who assault, physically or verbally abuse, or threaten demonstrators.

▼ *To the Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia:*

Investigate fully and objectively the incidents of physical violence, possible torture and inhuman treatment committed against protest participants by the Ministry of Internal Affairs or informal violent groups, based on a prompt, effective, and comprehensive examination of rights violations.

▼ *To the Common Courts of Georgia:*

Ensure objective, thorough and effective administration of justice in cases filed both against protest participants and by individuals involved in protests in various capacities.

▼ *To the Public Defender (Ombudsman) of Georgia:*

Examine the cases of rights violations committed against protest participants by the political party Georgian Dream and issue corresponding recommendations.