## **DEMOCRACY RESEARCH CENTRE**

# PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF FAR-RIGHT POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE 2024 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

MEDIA MONITORING REPORT
2024



## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

INTRODUCTION	3
1. POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND THE PRE-ELECTION AGENDA OF THE FAR-RIGHT	ALLIANCE 5
2. PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND REGIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE FAR-RIGHT AL	. <b>LIANCE</b> 8
3. FINANCIAL SANCTIONS AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO	D LEADERS12
4. ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN THE FAR-RIGHT PRISM AND THE DISCONTINUED	
BROADCASTING OF ALT-INFO	15
5. INSTEAD OF SUMMARY	16



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The parties coming under the umbrella of the Union of Patriots of Georgia will participate in the elections of 26 October 2024 within the list of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia. The name of our party - Alliance of Patriots of Georgia and election number 8 will be presented on the election ballot.



პატრიოტთა ალიანსი და ალტ-ინფო გაერთიანდნენ

## INTRODUCTION

Against the background of the electoral threshold having been increased to 5% for the parliamentary elections of 26 October 2024, openly pro-Russian, far-right and conservative parties decided to unite and create an alternative to Georgian Dream and National Movement in the parliamentary elections. According to the information published on 10 July 2024 on the Facebook page of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia, it became known to the public that Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Georgian Idea, Georgian Mission, Conservative-Monarchist Party, Christian-Democratic Movement and National Unity would take part in the parliamentary elections of October 26, 2024 in affiliation with Alliance of Patriots of Georgia and within the party list of the latter. On 26 June 2024, the leaders of 18 conservative parties and public organisations signed the Declaration of Unification of Georgian Patriots. The speakers at the joint press conference noted: "The nine-year regime of National Movement and the 12-year rule of Georgian Dream had an extremely negative impact on society as a whole. Therefore, the current situation obliges us to unite. Most of the voters demand the consolidation of patriotic, conservative, and national forces."

The pre-election consolidation of the pro-Russian forces was preceded by the decision of the National Public Registry Agency invalidating the registration of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info.<sup>3</sup> The information about the invalidation of the registration of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info became known on 8 April 2024. According to the Minister of Justice, Rati Bregadze,<sup>4</sup> the examination of the legality of the party's registration was requested by the Anti-Corruption Bureau, and the final decision was made by the Public Registry. In accordance with the Public

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Facebook page of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia,

available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1036027807891598&set=a.275206863973700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> YouTube, *Multimedia, Alliance of Patriots, and Alt-Info Have United,* available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBYqgAV0e5k

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See the Decision of the National Agency of Public Registry "Regarding the Annulment of the Decision on Registration", available at: <a href="https://bit.ly/4cyv7ey">https://bit.ly/4cyv7ey</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Radio Liberty, 10 April 2024, "Vanishing Party of Alt-Info and a 'Dangerous Precedent' for Others," available at: <a href="https://tinyurl.com/y9zfbtfp">https://tinyurl.com/y9zfbtfp</a>.

Registry's decision, a number of breaches in the documents submitted for the registration were revealed during the proceedings. It is, however, unclear why these breaches had not hindered the registration of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info by the public registry years ago, at the material time.

In response to the decision of the Public Registry, on 13 April 2024, Alt-Info held a rally near Georgian Dream's headquarters in Tbilisi.<sup>5</sup> The leader of the party, Zurab Makharadze, announced at the rally that they would participate in the elections in the name of Georgian Idea. However, by the decision of 25 April 2024, the Central Election Commission suspended the examination of the election registration procedures of Georgian Idea. Georgian Idea had been registered as a political association in 2014. Its pro-Russian and homophobic statements distinguish it.<sup>6</sup>

In response, far-right leaders and their supporters launched a *No to Dream's Feudal Regime* campaign on social media.<sup>7</sup> Hundreds of videos where Conservative Movement/Alt-Info supporters were burning flags and T-shirts of Georgian Dream were posted. One of the leaders of the party, Konstantine Morgoshia referred to the invalidation of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info party as "political suicide" committed by Georgian Dream. According to him, "this will end very badly for the government."

The above-mentioned tense political processes preceded the affiliation of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info with Alliance of Patriots. Alliance of Patriots was the only pro-Russian and far-right electoral entity that passed the electoral threshold and, therefore, did not need to collect voters' signatures to participate in the 2024 elections.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Radio Liberty, 13 April 2024, "The Sanapiro Road, Near the Peace Bridge is Blocked Due to the Alt-Info Rally", available at: https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32903879.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Radio Liberty, 26 April 2024, "The Central Electoral Commission Suspended the Electoral Registration of the New Party Alt-Info", available at: https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32921684.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Facebook page of Conservative Movement in Gori,

available at: https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=368457158987906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Vide supra, footnote 4.

## 1. POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND THE PRE-ELECTION AGENDA OF THE FAR-RIGHT ALLIANCE

The openly pro-Russian Alliance of Patriots has a history of participating in elections. Therefore, the consolidation of openly pro-Russian, far-right political parties and organisations around it was considered a logical step. In 2016, Alliance of Patriots received 5.01% of the votes (with the electoral threshold being 5%), and in 2020 - 3.14% of the votes (with the electoral threshold being 1%). Georgian Idea (led by Levan Chachua) also has political experience of participating in elections. It participated in the parliamentary elections in 2020, although it could not overcome the threshold.

The leading political force of the far-right alliance was Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, which had been founded<sup>10</sup> as a result of the congress held on 20 November 2021 and had been registered on 7 December 2021. The main reason for the consolidation of the far-right pro-Russian forces for the 2024 parliamentary elections was to create an alternative to Georgian Dream and National Movement. The members of the alliance are in favour of resolving relations with Russia and claim that the government had conspired with National Movement before the elections.

In the parliamentary elections of 2024, the far-right forces came out with the election number ("8") of Alliance of Patriots. Alliance of Patriots led the united party list and the top ten leaders of the list included former Conservative Movement/Alt-Info leaders, among them, Zurab Makharadze, Giorgi Kardava, Shota Martinenko, Irakli Morgoshia, and Irakli Martinenko. 11 Merab Gigani, one of the largest donors of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info and the head of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Radio Liberty, "Parliamentary Elections", available at: https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32903879.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Netgazeti, 20 November 2021, "Conservative Movement/Alt-Info Founds a Party", available at: https://netgazeti.ge/news/577294/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Radio Liberty, 26 September 2024, "First Twenty Candidates on the Party List of Alliance of Patriots Are Known", available at: https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33136260.html.

the Rustavi regional office, was also among the first twenty leaders of the party list.<sup>12</sup> The leader of Georgian Idea, Levan Chachua, struck off from the registration by the Central Election Commission, was in ninth place on the Alliance of Patriots party list.

- 1. Irma Inashvili Secretary General of Alliance of Patriots, former vice-speaker of the parliament;
- Giorgi Lomia Member of Alliance of Patriots, former MP:
- 3. Gocha Tevdoradze Member of Alliance of Patriots, former MP:
- 4. Grigol Khurtsidze;
- 5. Giorgi Kardava TV Company Alt-Info anchor;
- 6. Zurab Makharadze TV Company Alt-Info anchor;
- 7. Irakli Morgoshia;

- 8. Irakli Martinenko TV Company Alt-Info anchor;
- 9. Levan Chachua Former President of Georgian Idea;
- 10. Giorgi Korkotashvili actor;
- 11. Gocha Jojua former MP;
- 12. Shota Martinenko TV Company Alt-Info anchor;
- 13. Malkhaz Topuria Member of Alliance of Patriots;
- 14. Jaba Kutalia:
- 15. Otar Chitanava.



The Alt-Info founder, Konstantine Morgoshia informed the public in a 16 September 2024 Facebook post that he would not be on the electoral list: "I want to destroy once and for all this stereotype that all businessmen who finance any political activity necessarily do so for personal gain."<sup>13</sup>





Konstantine Morgoshia/ კონსტანტინე მორგოშია

v'e been enjoying a lot of love and support from people for years, which makes me very happy and it is a great responsibility for me. 26 September 2024 is the deadline for the submission of party lists to Cesko, and I don't want the public to suddenly hear this news or be asking questions.

I, Konstantine Morgoshia, have been the founder of Alt-Info and Conservative Movement since 2017. God is the witness and the guys know well that for years I have been funding from my own pocket this pol...See

The political agenda of the far-right political alliance includes education, agriculture, regional development, healthcare and social security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Democracy Research Institute, 2023, "The Income of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info Might be Far More than Officially Declared", available at: <a href="https://www.democracyresearch.org/geo/1296/">https://www.democracyresearch.org/geo/1296/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Facebook page of Konstantine Morgoshia is presently blocked (a screenshot of the post).



The determining factors of foreign policy are, on the one hand, the need to start a direct dialogue with Russi a and, on the other hand, removing the obligation to join NATO and the European Union from the Constitution of Georgia. In terms of economic development, the farright coalition proposed to the voters the creation of a state fund to provide low-interest loans and to receive tax benefits for Georgian products in the markets of Russia and the Eurasian Union countries. The political agenda was based on religious-national sentiments and promised voters the introduction of the principles of national-patriotic education in the education system, bringing back religious lessons in school curricula and the implementation of anti-abortion propaganda. In order to develop agriculture, attention was focused on tightening the sale of agricultural land to foreigners.



# 2. PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND REGIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE FAR-RIGHT ALLIANCE

According to Democracy Research Centre, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, as an independent political entity, was one of the first to start preparing for the 2024 parliamentary elections a year earlier, in October 2023. During 2023, Alt-Info held meetings in seven cities: Telavi, Gori, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Mtskheta, Batumi and Zugdidi. The first meeting was held in Telavi on 1 October 2023, in the Telavi State Professional Drama Theatre named after Vazha-Pshavela. The theatre is a legal entity under public law and is financed from the state budget. In addition to regional visits, since January 2024, Conservative Movement/Alt-Info leaders have been actively holding daily meetings with their supporters at the central office in Tbilisi. Under the auspices of Great National Unity Alliance, the leaders of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, together with the members of Georgian Idea and Alliance of Patriots, actively started the pre-election campaign in August 2024.

The leaders of the far-right coalition met with their supporters in August-October 2024 in: Rustavi, Batumi, Gori, Oni, Tsageri, Ambrolauri, Kutaisi, Zestaponi, Terjola, Baghdati, Samtredia, Ozurgeti, Sagarejo, Dedoplistskaro, Tsnori, Lagodekhi, Kareli, Khashuri, Borjomi, Akhaltsikhe,

Adigheni, Zugdidi, Sachkhere, Martvili, Abasha and Chiatura. In total, the leaders of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info held 26 meetings in the regions and 11 meetings in Tbilisi with other leaders of Great National Unity in August 2024-October 2024.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Facebook page of Conservative Movement, available at: https://www.facebook.com/Conservativemovement1/videos/527121069610361/.

## PRE-ELECTION REGIONAL MEETINGS SCHEDULE OF ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS/CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

DATE	REGION	VENUE
3.08.2024	Tbilisi	Mushtaidi Garden
4.08.2024	Rustavi	Behind the Justice House
25.08.2024	Batumi	Central Park Entrance (Colonnades)
1.09.2024	Gori	Opposite Gori Theatre
7.09.2024	Oni	Chala Acidic Water Garden
7.09.2024	Tsageri	9 April Garden
7.09.2024	Ambrolauri	Vazha Pshavela Street Restaurant Gharistskali
8.09.2024	Kutaisi	By the Hundred-Step Staircase
14.09.2024	Zestaponi	Irene's Garden
14.09.2024	Terjola	Behind the Town Hall
14.09.2024	Baghdati	In Front of the Culture Centre
14.09.2024	Samtredia	In front of Eros Manjgaladze Culture Centre
14.09.2024	Ozurgeti	Plane Tree Garden, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary
15.09.2024	Tbilisi	Kikvidze Garden
21.09.2024	Sagarejo	no. 96 Rustaveli Str.
21.09.2024	Dedoplistskaro	King Tamar Park
21.09.2024	Tsnori	St. Ilia Right Church
21.09.2024	Lagodekhi	no. 25 Kizikhi Str.
22.09.2024	Tbilisi	Metro Station Tsereteli
22.09.2024	Tbilisi	Metro Station Isani
28.09.2024	Kareli	no. 22 King Tamar Str.
28.09.2024	Khashuri	no. 1 Kostava Str. (Gamgeoba)
28.09.2024	Borjomi	Old Cinema
28.09.2024	Akhaltsikhe	Old Post Office
28.09.2024	Adigheni	King Tamar Garden
29.09.2024	Tbilisi	no. 4 Nutsubidze Plateau
29.09.2024	Tbilisi	Philharmonia
5.10.2024	Tbilisi	Krtsanisi, 300 Aragveli Memorial
5.10.2024	Tbilisi	Railway Workers' House
5.10.2024	Tbilisi	Vazha Pshavela Monument
5.10.2024	Sachkhere	Merab Kostava Monument
5.10.2024	Tchiatura	Victory Park
5.10.2024	Abasha	no. 77 Liberty Str.
5.10.2024	Martvili	Martvili Alley
6.10.2024	Zugdidi	Boulevard
6.10.2024	Tbilisi	Behind Kashveti Church
6.10.2024	Tbilisi	Behind Bethlehem Church

Source: <a href="https://tinyurl.com/4hd9wzwe">https://tinyurl.com/4hd9wzwe</a>



Under the auspices of Great National Unity, far-right groups actively started opening regional offices throughout the country before the elections. According to Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, their supporters provided the funds for the opening/maintenance of the offices. Pressure on party leaders from the government

was cited as the reason. For the elections, 16 regional offices of Great National Unity were functioning in the following cities: Telavi, Terjola, Akhmeta, Batumi, Tsalenjikha, Sagarejo, Sighnaghi, Gori, Borjomi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Chiatura, Khoni, Chokhatauri, Lanchkhuti and Baghdati.

REGION/CITY(TOWN)

REGIONAL OFFICES OF ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS/ CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ ALT-INFO



#### Telavi Rustaveli N73 Terjola Rustaveli N119 Akhmeta Cholokashvili N34 **Batumi** I. Andronikashvili N3 Tsalenjikha Gamsakhurdia N7 Sagarejo Aghmashenebeli N24 Sighnaghi Settlement Tsnori, Aghmashenebeli N5 Gori Jorbenadze N4 Borjomi Saakadze N2 Rustavi Meskhisvili N14 Kutaisi Aghmashenebeli Avenue 3/5 Chiatura Ninoshvili N9 Khoni Liberty N11 Chokhatauri Rustaveli N13 Lanchkhuti Tbilisi Str. N1

Gubeladze N1

Baghdati

**ADDRESS** 

CONTACT **PERSON** Giorgi Karchauli Zaur Oboladze Zaza Mebaghishvili Mirza Tevtidze Ramaz Khulordaya Dato Natsvlishvili Giorgi Khatiashvili Giorgi Aniashvili Ucha Gogoladze Merab Gigani Merab Mikeladze/ Nino Gognashvili Zurab Modebadze Gia Managadze Roman Gogiberidze Gia Gotua Nino Gumberidze

The majority of the heads of regional organisations of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info are not distinguished by their political activities. However, some of them had been actively involved in violent activities organised by Alt-Info. Furthermore, some of them had been members of other political parties. Some of them are engaged in business activities.

## Namely:

- Merab Gigani<sup>15</sup> heads the Rustavi regional office and is engaged in business activities. Two companies are registered in his name, Technometals Ltd. and Gigani-007 Ltd. Gigani also owned a 25% share in Victoria+ Ltd., where his business partner was Aleksandre Kardava, the brother of the general secretary of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Giorgi Kardava. Under the auspices of this company, Merab Gigani won a state tender<sup>16</sup> in 2014.
- Giorgi Karchauli, <sup>17</sup> who heads a regional office of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, actively participated in the raid of Tushi youths in Akhmeta in May 2022, who had demanded the closure of the Akhmeta office of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info. Giorgi Karchauli was also involved in the protest against Levan Berdzenishvili in Telavi. 18
- Gia Gotua, 19 who heads the Lanchkhuti regional office, is engaged in business activities. He is the founder of Iveria 7 Ltd, under whose auspices he has won many tenders, without competition or at the expense of disqualified competitors. 20 Gia Gotua also has a political experience; he took part in the parliamentary elections of 21 May 2008 as a majority candidate of Traditionalists in Lanchkhuti.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Democracy Research Institute, "The Income of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info Might be Far More than Officially Declared", available at: https://www.democracyresearch.org/geo/1296/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Minutes of the Tender Commission Meeting, available at: https://rb.gv/n3vd5z.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Reginfo, "Tushi Youths in Akhmeta Demanded the Closure of Alt-Info Office",

available at: https://reginfo.ge/people/item/26236-axmetashi-tushma-axalgazrdebma-.

<sup>18</sup> Reginfo, "Glory to the King!" - Rally of Public Officials and Alt-Info in Telavi", available at: https://shorturl.at/6VGNO

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Alia, "After Being Appointed as the Head of Alt-Info Office, Gia Gotua's Company Received a Tender Worth 144,000 GEL from the Public Agency", available at: https://www.alia.ge/tag/gia-gothua/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Facebook page of "Waste Detector", available at: https://shorturl.at/ISK7H.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Civil.ge. "List of Candidates for Majority MPs", available at: https://old.civil.ge/geo/article.php?id=17974.

# 3. FINANCIAL SANCTIONS AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT/ALT-INFO LEADERS

During the pre-election period, on 16 September 2024, the US Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctioned the leaders of the pro-Russian Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Konstantine Morgoshia and Zurab Makharadze.<sup>22</sup> According to the US Treasury Department, these individuals were involved in violent gatherings in 2021 and 2023, resulting in the use of physical force against citizens and violating their freedom of expression. These individuals were sanctioned by the US under the Global Magnitsky Act, which determines full-scale financial sanctions and freezes all assets.

The sanctions caused immediate backlash from the far-right leaders. Konstantine Morgoshia said that this fact was uncomfortable for him and stressed, "When you don't have accounts, there will be no activities in the companies, there will of course be a problem, but it was always expected."<sup>23</sup>

Zura Makharadze, the leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, did not see an issue with the financial sanctions. He told the media "it is a great honour for him to be sanctioned for protecting the interests of the country and for the LGBT Pride that was disrupted in the city centre."<sup>24</sup> Regarding financial issues, he mentioned that he only uses his Cartu Bank account and, if necessary, he will make transfers in the name of another person.

Conversely, Irakli Martinenko, another leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, assessed sanctioning as a significant problem and a barrier. From his point of view, the sanctions are a serious blow to the party as a whole and they will lead to a "severe corner-cutting" of Alt-Info resources in general. "Koka Morgoshia is a businessman and what he operates Alt-Info operates pretty much the same from a financial point of view. These sanctions are not simply

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> US Embassy in Georgia, "Promoting Accountability for Serious Human Rights Abuse and Anti-democratic Actions in Georgia", available at: https://tinyurl.com/22ehz64s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Tabula, "Morgoshia on Sanctions: It's Not Comfortable When You Don't Have Accounts, No Activities in Companies", available at: https://tabula.ge/ge/news/723098-morgoshia-sanktsiebze-komportuli-ar-aris-rotsa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> TV Pirveli, "Zura Makharadze Sanctioned by the US Uses Cartu Bank Services", available at: https://tinyurl.com/5b8aafnt.

a visa ban. These are some of the most severe forms of sanctions. Any firm or organisation owned by them will be at risk of sanctions. Any bank that serves them will find itself at risk of sanctions," – said Irakli Martinenko.<sup>25</sup>

Konstantine Morgoshia, who is known to the public as the founder of Alt-Info, is also actively involved in business activities. According to the business register, he owns shares in the following companies:

- Grande Group Georgia Ltd. (director);<sup>26</sup>
- ♦ Magnus Design Ltd. (51% share);<sup>27</sup> and
- Kem Construction Ltd. (100% share).<sup>28</sup>

As for another sanctioned leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Zura Makharadze, according to the business register, his business assets are recorded in the following companies:

- Art-M Travel Ltd. (20% share);<sup>29</sup> and
- ♦ Caucasus Export Company Ltd. (25% share).<sup>30</sup>

On 16 September 2024, the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the United States Department of the Treasury for the activities undermining fundamental human rights and interfering with freedom of expression, in addition to the leaders of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, also sanctioned the Head of the Department of Special Tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Zviad Kharazishvili (Khareba) and his deputy Milleri Lagazauri.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Georgian News "Martinenko – The US Sanctions Are a Serious Financial Blow, Not Something to Sneer At", available at: https://tinyurl.com/2u3xdpne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities, available at: https://tinyurl.com/564hnh7w.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities, available at: <a href="https://tinyurl.com/469hh96k">https://tinyurl.com/469hh96k</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> ifact, "An Alternative for Morgoshia – In Whose Name Is His Property Registered", available at: https://tinyurl.com/2emvax95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities, available at: <a href="https://tinyurl.com/4x4ythys">https://tinyurl.com/4x4ythys</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities, available at: https://tinyurl.com/2s4n8bf7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Georgia Today: "The US Sanctions "Khareba", Milleri Lagazauri, Konstantine Morgoshia and Zurab Makharadze", available at: https://tinyurl.com/2ytxsrau.

Similar to Zurab Makharadze, the government representatives tried to downplay the sanctions as insignificant and unserious. Irakli Kobakhidze called the new US sanctions "unserious" and "regrettable". Shalva Papuashvili assessed the decision of the United States Treasury Department regarding sanctions as an attempt to interfere in the country's internal affairs: "No one could see the evidence of the claims against them [sanctioned], they were not given the right to a fair trial, and they were not allowed to defend themselves. None of the facts or claims, if any, have been made public by the US. Therefore, it was a typical closed-door decision with no legal basis." 33

Mamuka Mdinaradze, the general secretary of Georgian Dream, assessed this fact as an attempt to attack from outside: "They sanctioned one of the heads of special tasks, mingled him up deliberately with the Alt-Info lot to create an impression we act together. What changed? The only thing is that the elections are coming. The closer the elections are, the more attempts will be there at disinformation, false accusations and attacks from outside."<sup>34</sup>

Unlike Mamuka Mdinaradze, Zura Makharadze presented the joint sanctioning of Alt-Info leaders and high-ranking officials of the Department of Special Tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in a positive context: "America, on the one hand, sanctioned the organisers of the disruption of LGBT Pride and, on the other hand, the law-enforcement officers who prevented the storming of the parliament." <sup>35</sup>



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Formula, "Kobakhidze About Sanctions: *American Institutions Need the Deoligarchisation*", available at: https://tinyurl.com/2sj6unza.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Radio Liberty, "Would Have Been Kicked Out of the Country – Dream Confronts the Ambassador", available at: https://tinyurl.com/44k3mt6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Pirveli Channel, "Mamuka Mdinaradze – *The Main Question is, What Changed After the First Sanctions?*", available at: https://tinyurl.com/2w9sw26p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Girchi TV, "Free Market - American Sanctions", available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=5NzPRhbvU2o.

## 4. ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN THE FAR-RIGHT PRISM AND THE DISCONTINUED BROADCASTING OF ALT-INFO

Two days after the parliamentary elections, on 28 October 2024, the openly pro-Russian, farright media platform Alt-Info made a decision to discontinue broadcasting. The founders of the channel talked about this decision in their last broadcast. The leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Shota Martinenko, linked the decision to stop broadcasting to the defeat of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia in the parliamentary elections: "We reached the elections in such a way that we had put everything we had, everything we had at stake, and we cut our way back from the beginning to the end. Therefore, we must understand that this failure is very hard for us."<sup>36</sup>

Another leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, Zura Makharadze, linked the decision to discontinue broadcasting to the disappointing election results: "The fact is that we could not get the result that was needed. The truth must be told. Thanks to everyone with whom we fought together." He admitted defeat in the elections and assessed the preliminary results of the CEC as a personal and party failure: "If we had succeeded and convinced more people of our truth, the result would have been different. Therefore, the responsibility for this result is on us." 38

In addition to political factors, the leaders of Alt-Info explained the decision to stop broadcasting citing financial problems:

"In general, our party infrastructure exists and has existed with the donations and funds of ordinary people, our viewers, comrades-in-arms. Obviously, we cannot tell and call upon our viewers and comrades to keep supporting such a large television channel on a permanent basis; it is very difficult and purely from the financial viewpoint, depending on the resources, it is unimaginable. Therefore, we will have to do some reorganisation and change the broadcasting",— said Giorgi Kardava, the leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Alt-Info. 28 October 2024, Special Edition, available at: https://shorturl.at/LudKh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Facebook page of Georgian Conservative, available at: https://tinyurl.com/5bmjd732.

<sup>38</sup> Telegram Channel, Zurab Makharadze, available at: https://t.me/s/crossroadwar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Facebook page of Georgian Conservative, available at: https://rb.gy/z7yq8u.

#### 5. INSTEAD OF SUMMARY

Post-election suspension of openly pro-Russian broadcasters of one of the main far-right agendas raises reasonable suspicion that the authorities no longer need additional satellite actors to pursue ultra-conservative policies since it has transformed itself into a major political force of the far-right platform. This conclusion is reinforced by the invalidation of the registration of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info on 8 April 2024.

It is significant that the leaders of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info in the pre-election period were prominently critical of the policies pursued by Georgian Dream. This pattern became especially noticeable a few days before the elections when the founder of Alt-Info, Konstantine Morgoshia, openly accused Georgian Dream of trying to falsify the elections. According to him, the coordinators of Georgian Dream took away the personal numbers from the citizens and registered them as supporters of the ruling party on their lists. <sup>40</sup> As proof of this, Morgoshia referred to the incident involving his brothers, who, according to him, were put on the list of supporters of Georgian Dream by the party coordinators.

Konstantine Morgoshia also criticised the pre-election campaign of the government: "People are forced to go to their meetings but they don't want to listen to even Bidzina and all of them are doing a runner. Besides, the whole lot of them are doing that. I can see it everywhere; I can't even count that many; they are just having a laugh at their expense. People are just making money off these yokels." <sup>41</sup>

Zura Makharadze, the leader of Conservative Movement/Alt-Info, also spoke on *Special Edition* of 28 October 2024 about the government's recruitment of voters with ultra-conservative sentiments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Netgazeti, "Who and Why Takes Away Voters' ID Cards", available at: <a href="https://shorturl.at/ys7W5">https://shorturl.at/ys7W5</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Netgazeti, "Morgoshia – *Dream's Coordinators Included My Brothers on Their Supporters' List*", available at: https://netgazeti.ge/news/746681/.

Makharadze noted that on Election Day, their supporters sold out and voted for Georgian Dream. He cited the changed rhetoric of the government as the reason for this: "For 5 years, we've turned the people we talked to into an organised force. This year, Dream told them that they now turned conservative and our voters decided to go to the side of the government."<sup>42</sup>



Our television will not be able to continue working in this format, and we are already working on what format we will return with to the political front in the future.



! It is a fact that we could not achieve the result that was needed. The truth must be told.

Thanks to everyone who fought for our cause. You are the people because of whom I hope for Georgia.





At this stage, it is not known in what format Conservative Movement/Alt-Info will continue its political activities. However, the very fact that the far-right actor vanished from the political scene clearly indicates that the government had completely absorbed the ultra-conservative wing and they were able to poach the far-right supporters in the elections.

According to the summary report of the results of the elections of the Parliament of Georgia of 26 October 2024,<sup>43</sup> the far-right wing united under the umbrella of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia showed a result of 2.44% and received a total of 50,599 votes.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Alt-Info, 28 October 2024, Special Edition,

available at: https://vkvideo.ru/video-211896348 456253985?pid=211896348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The civil society of Georgia, the opposition and the country's strategic partners do not recognise the election results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The summary report of the results of the elections of the Parliament of Georgia of 26 October 2024, available at: <a href="https://www.matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/6309474?publication=0">https://www.matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/6309474?publication=0</a>.