







ჩვენი აზრით, ყოველივე ეს ერთ მიზანს ემსახურება: საყოველთაო დაბნეულობის, უიმედობის ფონზე კონფორმისტული განწყობილების შექმნას და ხალხის დარწმუნებას, რომ ქვეყნის შველა მხოლოდ ახალი, „კარგი“ ხელისუფლების არჩევითაა შესაძლებელი.

ଓ পৰ্যাপ্তিসৰ দুর্বলগুৰুত্ব কৈলৈ শুভ্ৰত্বদ্বাৰা তাৰকামূল  
কেন্দ্ৰসৰীসৰ প্ৰিপোজগুৰুত্বদ্বাৰা, মাৰাণ্ডিলমাধু, কি কানুৰুচিৰূপীসৰ  
চৰণসৰীলৈ গুৰুত্বকৈলৈ, রংখ শ্ৰীগুৰুগুৰুব্ৰহ্মৰ মৰণুলোক  
অৱশ্যকৰুচৰ্যুৎ, কৈলৈ দুষ্টুৰুচেৰুন দুষ্টুৰুচেৰুৰুণৰুণৰুণৰুণ  
পৰিমাণব্ৰহ্মৰ তাৰকামূল কৈলুণৰুণ গুৰুত্বকৈলৈ, সৰীকৰিতাৰ  
সুগুৰুত্বৰ মুগুত্বমার্যোপীসৰ পিৰোপোৰ মুগুৰুত্বৰ সুগুৰুত্বৰ  
সুগুৰুত্বৰ পৰ্যুৱা শ্ৰীগুৰুগুৰুব্ৰহ্মৰ মুগুত্বৰ সুগুৰুত্বৰ

დორასანდელ პირობებში აგიტატორ-  
ებად ხალხისთვის უფრო “სანდო” პი-  
რებს ირჩევენ, აგიტაციის საშუალებ-  
ებიც ამ შემთხვევისთვის უფრო “სა-  
იმედოა“ - არა ტელევიზია, რომლის  
მიმართ უნდობლობა თავად ძუტჩისტ-  
ურ საზოგადოებას მოეძალა, არამედ  
ხალხში საუბრები, ჭორები, ფსევდო-  
ეროვნული ძალების დარაზმა, სპექ-  
ტლიორება პრეზიდენტის სახელით, მი-  
მართვებით, პორტრეტებით...

ՀԱ 043 ՑՎՑՈՒՑ

არქეოლოგიურ მონაცილეობის აუცილებლივიას სხვადასხვა ძალებით თითქმის ერთი და მასზე მოტივიებით სხვადასხვა გამოჩენის მიზანით თითქმის გადასახვა მთავარ არქეოლოგიურ ფრენებს ზოგად გამსახურდის პოლიტიკურ პრაქტიკას;

- უძირველეს კოვლისა, ვიდრე ზე-  
იად გამსახურდია და მის გარშემო შე-  
მოკრებილი ეროვნულ-პოლიტიკური ძა-  
ლები მონაწილეობას მიიღებდნენ პო-  
მენისტური უძალელები საბჭოს მიერ და-  
ნიშნულ არჩევნებში, მათ საქართვე-  
ლოს მთელ ტერიტორიაზე მოახდინეს  
მოსახლეობის მოძილიზება და ეროვ-  
ნული სახელმწიფო ორგანიზაციების აღდგენი-  
სთვის საერთო სახალხო მოძრაობის  
აღზევება. ეს იყო იმდენად მასობრივი  
და ყოვლისმომცველი პოლიტიკის, რომ

შვენელოვან ნაწილზე. ამდენად, არჩევნების ჩატარება დარჩენილ ტერიტორიაზე ნიშნავს ფაქტობრივი ვითარების იურიდიულ გაფორმებას. ამ შემთხვევაში სოხუმსა და ცხინვალში არსებული რუსეთის მარიონეტული რეჟიმების მიერ კონტროლირებად ტერიტორიებზე განხორციელებული ნებისმიერი პლებისციტი იძენს იურიდიულ ძალას, ვინაიდან ორივე მხარე (ერთ შემთხვევაში, ქართულ-ოსური, მეორეში - ქართულ-აფხაზური) უტყვია შეთანხმებით აფხაზიორებს მათი იურისდიქციის გავრცელების არეალს. მომავალში ეს გარემოება სეპარატისტული რეჟიმების მმართველთათვის, შესაძლოა, საერთაშორისო დონეზეც კი მყარ იურიდიულ არგუმენტად იქცებ.

მეორე პირობას საქართველოში არსებული ფაქტობრივი ხელისუფლების არალეგატიზმითმა, უსანონობა, ოყონებდ ჩემი ზუსტად და კონკრეტულად უნდა განვსახვეროთ ამ უკანონობის მხასიათებლები. ეს ხელისუფლება უკანონობა, კინიდებ:

- იგი დაკვირვებულ კონტენტზე ხელისუფლების შეარაღებული გზით განვითაროს შემდგარი;
- იგი საბართოდამტექილრეა უკანონო “საბ-ხედრო საბჭოთა” და “სახელმწიფო საბჭოთა”;
- 1992 წლის ორჩერზები დანიშნული და ჩატარდა

დური ზეწოდის მრავალრიცხვანი ფაქტი;  
- არჩევნები არ ჩატარებულა ქვეყნის ტერიტორიის მნიშვნელოვან საწილე და მას ბოიკოტი

გამოცხადა მოსახლეობის ურაველებობაში.  
მაგრამ ეს დაცულებები ცხადყოფს არსებული  
ხელისუფლების უკანონობის მხოლოდ ერთ, ასე

კოქათ, მის ძველისშიდა ასევეტს. მეორეა ის,  
რომ არსებული ხელისუფლება დამკიდრდა უცხა  
ძველის, რესერის სამსარიზ ძალის დახმარებით,

ମିଳି ମ୍ୟାରିକାଫ୍ଲେଗ୍‌ରୋଟ ମାରିତୀଙ୍ଗା ରୁ ମାରିତୀଙ୍ଗା କେବ୍ରାନ୍ଦା,  
ର୍ୟଙ୍ଗେବେ ର୍ୟଙ୍ଗେଟୀଙ୍କ ଲାକ୍ଷ୍ୟରେ ମାଲ୍ଯାବ ରାଜୀନା ମାଲ୍ଯା-  
ଚାଲୁଣ୍ଡବୀଙ୍କ ବାନ୍ଦାଶମ୍ପାର୍କ୍‌ଲ୍ଲାଙ୍କ, ଏହାରମ୍ଭେବେ ମାନୀଙ୍କ

ქაუკინის ინტერესების წილადმდეგ მიმართულ დო-  
კლომატიურ ურთიერთობებსა და სახელშეკრუ-  
ლებო პოლიტიკას, ინტეგრირებულია მისი პოლი-

ტიური და სამხედრო-სტრატეგიული ონტერიენტის  
სიცოცვის, ოკლს სკოპის და არ აძლევს შესაბამის  
შეასაბამის რესუსთის სეარაგებულებას მასების მოქან  
საქართველოს ამა თუ იმ ტერიტორიაზე, სკა-  
რატისტებულ რეგიონებზე დაყრდნობის, განხორციე-  
ლებულ სამხედრო აგრესის, რასაც შევეხად  
მოჰყავ ქვეყნის ტერიტორიული მოღანინობის ხელ-  
ყოფა, ამ რეგიონებიდან ქართული მოსახლეობის

ჭაქტობრივად, არსებული მმართველობა წარმოადგენს რესერის სამხედროად.







# TAVISUPALI SAKARTVELO (FREE GEORGIA)

## N8 (1995) in brief

### Why We Do Not Recognize the Junta's Elections

Will or will not the future elections be held in Georgia at all? Nobody in Georgia can answer this question: it is quite possible that the existing regime will refuse to use this method of authorities formation especially as it is evident for everybody that the present authorities are not going to loose the power and since their actual rating is measured by the negative figures of the scale, they can maintain the reins of government only via falsified, preliminary bought elections.

Another version is also possible: tired with everlasting hubbub and claims of the deputies Shevardnadze will dismiss the Parliament. The masked wish of such action he has already expressed in the interview given after the Parliament session of March 22.

Irrespective of this everybody is speaking about elections. Everybody is preparing for elections. Even more: attitude towards elections became the tool for double-sided speculations and sometimes for psychological terror. Some political forces actually have already joined in pre-election company. The second part remains faithful to the idea of boycotting of elections. Though there are people who are hesitating or do not express their position and people who though declaring their refusal to make a compromise nevertheless do not define the pernicious effect of participation in elections. Neither do they take any effective measures to grow the boycott from the narrow circle principle into the national insubordination.

That is why however preliminary it may seem we consider it our responsibility to clearly and unambiguously define why we do not recognize the Junta's elections.

Necessity to participate in elections various political forces explain nearly by one and the same motives. However, almost everybody use political practice of Zviad Gamsakhurdia as an argument: he also participated in Communist elections and even won them.

First of all, before Zviad Gamsakhurdia and other national-political forces supporting him participated in the elections appointed by the Communist Supreme Council, they had managed to mobilize the population on the whole territory of Georgia and to rise the national movement for restoration of national statehood.

Thus it would be more precise to say that national movement had won the elections much earlier than these elections were held as a result of awakening of the nation and upbringing the feeling of its civic responsibility. And the people, the degree of their freedom were the guarantors of this victory, and without exaggeration it can be said that all this was achieved thanks to everyday, tireless efforts of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. On October 28, 1990 the result of this titanic work was only juridically registered.

After boycotting and falling to grounds of purely Communist, single-party elections of March 25 (which so far remains as a painful thorn in the flesh of many pseudo democrats) Zviad Gamsakhurdia made the Gumaridze Government to recognize the fact of 1921 occupation and annexation of Georgia and define the subsequent 70 year period as the state of occupied country; to appoint national multi-party elections; to adopt democratic election Law which gave chance to all more or less significant forces to gain the adequate place in the Parliament under the equal conditions of elections.

And finally, by 1990, Laws of Georgia as well as the authorities exiled as a result of 1921 occupation and annexation have not existed any more which practically made restoration of status quo impossible.

Present day situation offers absolutely

different conditions and consequently prompts completely different decisions.

First and most important condition to be considered by any political force is the fact that territorial integrity of Georgia is impaired, the jurisdiction of Georgia (whether we consider the Tbilisi authorities legal or not) does not affect the significant part of the country. Thus, to hold elections on the remaining territory of the country means juridical registration of factual situation. In this case any plebiscite carried out on the territories controlled by the puppet regimes of Tskhinvali and Sukhumi acquires the juridical force since both parties (on the one hand Georgian-Ossetian and on the other hand Georgian-Abkhazian) under tacit consent fix the areas of their jurisdiction. In future this circumstance can turn into stable juridical argument for the authorities of separatist regimes at the international level.

The second condition is illegitimacy, unlawfulness of the actual authorities of Georgia. Only we have to precisely specify the features of this unlawfulness.

These authorities are illegal since:

- They came to power as a result of armed overthrow of lawful authorities
- They are juridical successors of "Military Council" and "State Council";
- Elections of 1992 were appointed and held in accordance with antidemocratic election Law by the illegal body, "Military Council" during the declared state of emergency under the conditions of suppression of people's will and terror. International observers and parties participating in elections fixed the cases of rough violation of this election Law, numerous facts of falsification and pressure exerted on population of Georgia;

Elections were not held on the significant part of the territory of the country and they were boycotted by the majority of population. However, these statements manifest only one, so to say domestic aspect of illegitimacy of the existing authorities. Another aspect is the fact that the existing authorities established themselves with the help of the military forces of foreign country, Russia, and governed and are governing the country with their active support. Besides they are using Russian military forces to strengthen their power and are establishing such diplomatic relations with Russia and carrying out treaty policy which are directed against the interests of the country.

Factually the existing power represents puppet occupational regime established as a result of Russian military aggression and thus participation in elections appointed by these authorities makes any political force juridical successor of these authorities and their policy.

Now we shall try to substantiate the uselessness of participation in elections by realistic estimation of the situation. First of all, one should take into consideration the specificity of forces dominating in ruling circles. Today Georgia is controlled not by some political force (even if it were the Citizens' Union of Shevardnadze) but by the system of sometimes opposed clans interrelated with money interests, or in other words - by Mafia, for which the problem of power is not a question of prestige and salvation of statehood. The power for this conglomerate is the lever to achieve and strengthen its own financial interests and it will get into alliance with any domestic or foreign force which will provide the functioning of this lever in its favor. That is why the Mafia tries to gain victory in any election company or get the posts in governing bodies by means of lobby negotiations. Such is generalized formula which under conditions of Georgia is distinguished only by specific

peculiarities.

The only alternative to such practice of dividing of power is a national movement based on civic activity when the voters charged with a strong feeling of responsibility are the guarantors of justice and objectivity. Real competitor of Mafia are only people, their will! That is why holding elections and participation in them in the country where the absolute majority of people is placed under political or social press is of formal nature only.

Such elections will win the group or groups masked under the name of political parties which are controlled by the Mafia since real control over the country, over all its regions and nearly over any social layers is provided by corrupted criminal structure which under the conditions of reigning repressive regime is able to organize falsification of any range. That is why participation in the elections under the pretense of their winning and saving the country is a political utopia which will have no practical results but one: we shall integrate ourselves with Mafia.

That is why it is absolutely unacceptable for us to participate in the elections of the existing regime and we believe that the above mentioned conditions will be sufficient to make the necessity of active boycotting of the Junta's elections convincing.

Involved into the dirty process of dividing of power we shall become the hostages of our own shameful compromise and it may happen so, that we shall become even more powerless than those who are so hated by people today.

*Written by A. Chavchavadze*

### What Happened to the Guards

On June 13, 1992 on the territory of the armored division units of the former Soviet Army located in Gori took place a skirmish between these units and detachment of the Guards subordinated to the State Council. In subsequent days the planned operation of seizing Tskhinvali fell to the ground. On June 24 Shevardnadze and Eltsin signed in Dagomis the Peace-Making Agreement about settling Georgian-Ossetian conflict, according to which Russian Army was sent into Shida Kartli region with the status of peace-making forces.

This news shuddered us, since it became evident that this tragic incident is the beginning of the extermination of Georgian Army which had been restored with such difficulty. It also shuddered us perhaps because irrespective of foreboding of evil we had failed to imagine the true range of this single episode.

We then believed that the authorities would act more elaborately, that they would scatter already strongly scared Guards using more masked methods and with purely administrative methods would gradually vanish the very notion of the Guards. And not a single soul would try to defend them since some were using it as an instrument to achieve personal goals and as soon as the arms in the hands of the Guards threatened their safety they would without any hesitation get rid of it (as actually has happened); others were considering the Guards as their rival, while still others considered it not so much dangerous as simply useless and uncontrolled force; meanwhile people considered it as a ruiner of the country. This scattered, undisciplined, unprofessional armed formation having ill reputation among its own people and being opposed to other armed formations was everybody headache.

Gori tragedy of June 13 served as a plot which underlay the scenario of all subsequent bloody performances and already then it used all classic elements of Russian-Georgian alliance: promise to get help from the Russian party, receiving payment for the promised help, breaking the promise, tricked and shot down Georgians whom even their compatriots considered as criminals. As a result of the planned military operation in Samachablo fell to the ground and everything was passed under protection of ever right Russia and its ally Ossetians. This scheme is known since Tolstoy times.

Basically the same repeated at all stages of Abkhazian conflict, only on much larger and more horrifying scale. The leaders of Georgian party have never

been tricked out, on the contrary they themselves were one of the active participants of this bloody farce. Appeals to fight for the territorial integrity of the country, playing on patriotic feelings of population and warriors provided a favorable background to the war which was a priori doomed to failure. In the course of this strange war the Supreme Commanders-in-Chief used to periodically meet with each other to sign piece-making agreements. At all stages of this conflict Tbilisi authorities set illusive goals and thousands of Georgian peaceful population was sacrificed to their achievement. Initially it was the guarantee of unhindered reaching the Psou river, then returning of Gagra in accordance with September 3 Agreement, then salvation of Sukhumi by making Agreement of May 14, then ending the war by July 27 Agreement etc. Today, at the expense of locating Russian military bases on the territory of Georgia we are promised to have the help of Russia in establishment of Georgian Army which they so effectively had exterminated in past, and which is most important in returning of Shida Kartli and Abkhazia.

The next stage in Abkhazia failure was getting rid of the active and former commanders of the Guards. As we can see, the Gori scheme can well match in this case too - one of the first victims from the leadership of the Guards was B. Kutateladze killed during the Gori incident. G. Karkashvili was spared then may be because he had to fulfill his mission in Abkhazia, which started from the ritual drinking of the Psou river water and ended with surrendering Sukhumi.

Everyone remembers the acute reaction which followed after conversation of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and one of the military leaders of the Transcaucasia Headquarters of the Soviet Army which was transmitted by TV before the elections of October 28, 1990. In this conversation Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia explained the position of national movement in relation to the Soviet Army which meant juridical definition of the status of the Soviet Army located on the territory of Georgia, definition of the terms of its staying and leaving Georgia basing on the interstate agreement. At the same time he offered the Russian service men to stay in Georgia after the Soviet troops leave the country to help to train military personnel of Georgian Army with adequate monetary remuneration of their efforts, provided they would have such wish.

We should also keep in mind that the USSR was still existing in those days and such bold statements were considered as aggressive separatism even by Moscow democrats. It is noteworthy that both the apologists of "perestroika" socialism and ultra radical members of National Congress in Georgia perceived this program as blasphemy. Was not it evident that at this stage the program of Zviad Gamsakhurdia was the only right way of peaceful solving of Russia-Georgia military relationships? To leave everything aside, Samachablo was ours then as well as Abkhazia and we had nothing to entreat Russia about.

*Today Georgian Army does not exist.*

Certainly the Army as such did not exist when the newly born Guards was swearing allegiance to the first President of Georgia; nor it existed when one part of the Guards was firing at the other, as well as it did not exist when the Guards was enthusiastically moving to Leselidze. However there still existed the understanding of necessity to have Georgian Army.

During the post-coup years as a result of purposeful corruption and christianization of armed forces and youth in general the vicious idea that Georgia does not need any Army at all or that Georgian men cannot be trusted to be have arms was planted among the significant part of population. Ideology impregnated with cynicism and lies suppresses national and political will of people. The same and even more severe methods are used to eradicate the ideal of Georgian warrior, fighter, the idea of struggle in general as the only way of salvation. In such way is exterminated the foundation of Statehood of Georgia.

Once more armed enemy enters Georgia under the mask of a friend and ally.

*Written by R. Saginashvili*

### Chechen Republic -

#### Another Test for the World

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It is more than 6 months already that Chechen people are with dignity fighting against the Russia Empire.

"Blitzkrieg" of Russian army in Chechen Republic was a complete failure. This failure was so evident and hard that caused considerable confusion not only in Russia but all over the world.

It should be mentioned that Russia surprisingly easily overcame this crisis. It was enough for Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev to simply officially declare that the war with Chechen Republic was not as easy as it was initially thought of for Russian Army to transfer to the tactics of sustained war.

As for the democratic forces of the world and in Russia their resentment towards the Russian imperialistic aggression seems to be intended only for the "blitzkrieg" and did not envisage such a long resistance of the Caucasians. This probably explains the fact that the world almost has forgotten the Chechen war and genocide of the whole nation, though this genocide is still continuing. "Vesti" and "Novosti" TV news so calmly inform about bombardment of Gudermes, Shali or other Chechen towns as if in mass slaughtering of peaceful population is nothing alarming or inadmissible.

Now one can often hear that irrespective of everything Russia still must be allotted financial support not to hinder the ongoing reforms. Russia seems to succeed in receiving permission from the Western countries to swallow up Chechen Republic of course in exchange or at the expense of something. What was the price Russia paid for the silence of the West will probably once come to the daylight. So far we can only suppose that all threats to use sanctions and other measures against Russia will stay on the paper. Following their Western colleagues Russian democrats also switched their attention to their personal or inter party problems. We do not hear any more dashing speeches of Javlinskies, Gaidars and Kovalevs. This latter even does not consider it necessary to hide his close relations with one of the ideologists of Chechen war, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia Mr. Andrei Kozyrev. He is now having tea parties with him and prefers generalized speculations.

Their standing on diametrically opposite positions was undoubtedly strongly exaggerated. Both parties eventually are like-minded persons. They are unanimous in their imperial striving. Dissatisfaction of the one party was simply caused by the methods used and quality of military operations rather than the essence of the ongoing events as such, which is violent depression of the will of the whole nation using rough military force. Neither the rest of the world should be expected to provide actual resistance - in case of necessity all together will turn the blind eye to the fact of trampling down of independence of Chechen Republic whatever inhuman methods are used to implement this military-and-political action.

As for the results of Russia - Chechen war, it should be emphasized that at this stage the Caucasians have achieved such military success of which many strong states would not dream to boast of.

This success is not of episodic nature or occasional. It is a logical result of military talent and heroism. With time one thing becomes more and more evident: if in this unequal war Chechen Republic is defeated this will not be their personal failure. Chechen people, every single individual from little children to their President will spare no efforts to gain the victory and provided Chechen Republic nonetheless is defeated, it will be the failure of that world and that ideology which hiding behind the false slogans envisages tolerant approach to rough violence thus becoming the participant of this violence. It is a dying world without future which by its conformist attitude towards violence literally pronounced its own sentence. Johar Dudaev probably appealed to this very world in his interview with "Washington Post" phou reporter when he said: "The whole world including Moslem countries are afraid of Russia. Do not be afraid of Russia. We shall serve you the example of courage".

*Written by T. Rekhviashvili*