

დაგით გარეჯის მიმდებარე ტერიტორიაზე განახლდა სამხედრო პოლიგონის ფუნქციონირება. სექტემბრის ბოლოს აღგიღი პქონდა დიდი მასშტაბის მანევრებს, რამაც დავითის ლავრაშიც და უდაბნოს სამონასტრო კომპლექსშიც გამოიწვია ბზარები და ეკლესიაში ჩამოცვივდა ბათქაში. იოანე ნათლისმცემლის მონასტრის ტერიტორიაზე დიდი რღვევები იყო. დაბზარულია უნიკალური ფრესკები. მანევრების დროს გამოიყენეს ავიაცია. ნადიბაიძე აცხადებს, რომ პოლიგონს აქვდან არ გადაიტანს. ხოლო მომავალში რუსეთისა და საქართველოს ჯარების ერთობლივი წვრთნაა დაგეგმილი.

კონსტანტინე გამსახურდია
ზვიად გამსახურდია

დავით გარეჯა ველაშ მოცდის

ხევა თორმელების გრძინა და გრძინა უტკილისის აღმოსავალებით, გარდაბნის მახლობლად მდებარე კლდეობანი უდანოს ერთ-ერთ გამოქვაბულში. ამ რორს სასელი ლიერ წრევები ამბოდნენს, რომ მათ და ვინ დარე ხალა, წავიდა, ვ. ა. „გამოსარტყვადა უდანოს შე თ. ა. დ. ან უ ფირად, საახოვნოდ. „სჯა“ ძეველქართულად აზროვნებასა ნიშავრება. მაგა დავითის სასულიერო გზის სტის დამახასიათებელი იყო დრო ფილოსოფიური აზროვნება, ანუ „შედიტაცია“, რასაც მევლად ეწოდებოდა „გარე სჯა“, ანუ ყოველყო ამსოფლელი რისის გრძინა და გრძინა ფირადი ასხლოებების სულიერ სამართლო. ძევთი „სჯა“, ანუ აზროვნება დაცლილი სულა ყოველი ყოველგვარი მიწიერი შინაარსისაგან, ამისთვის კი საჭირო იყო უდანოს პირობები, სადაც არავითარი ამსოფლეური მიზევები არ წარსტაცებდა გონიერას განვითაროს.

XVIII ს. დავით გარეჯაში, ნათლისმცემლის ედანორში მოდგარეობდა ხანიძი სასულიერო მწვერალი რალი დეკარიონ ბარათა შვილ-ორბელიშვილი — ხაქართველოს კავალერი 1730 წლიდან 1787 წლამდე მაცური პოლუმისტი, მართლმადიდებლობის დამცველი და უქასიშნება მოქალაქე. ძევთ მოდგარეობდა

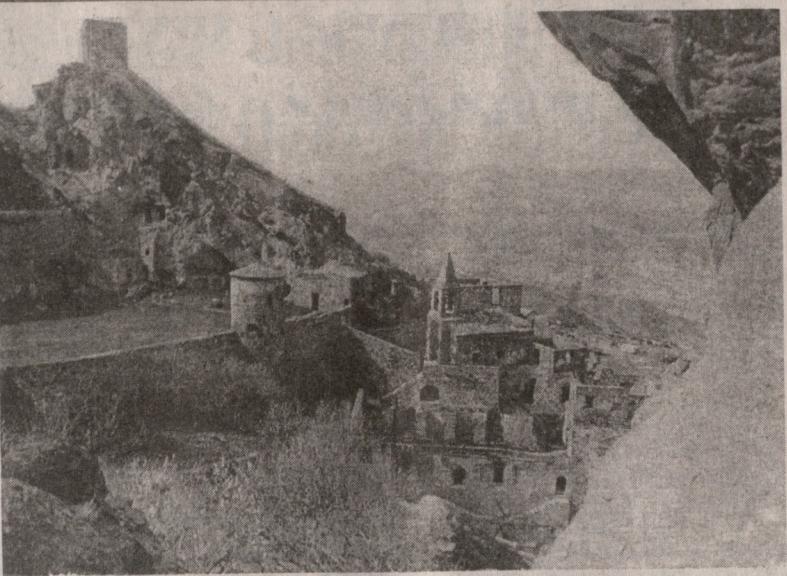
“კომუნასტური მმართველობა კოვალივე ეროვნულისადმი ეროვნულმა მოძრაობამ აგრძელებდა და, მე ვიტყოდ სამხედრო პოლიგონის გადმუზეუმ-ნაცრძლისთვის გარებელი სენაკების მოსამზადებელი სტაციის ხელახალი აღორი 1991 წლიდან იქარაფერი გაიმურ აძრამიშვილი — დ

გამაბა დავითი თავისი ერთგულ მოწაფებითან დაუკიანესთან და დოლოსთან ერთად დიდხანს ერქინებოდა მამაც ურად უდაბნოს არსებულად მძიმე პირობები, ვიდრე მას შეარში არ აროვებდა მის მიერ ქიისტეს სჯულად მოჩეცებული პერიოდის მთავარი ბებაქარ რესტორანი. ბებაქარის დახმარებით მან დაარსა მონასტერი, რომელისაც ჩენებ დღეს დავრას გუწიდებთ.

მოგვიანებით მამა დავითის სულიერმა შეიღებმა დოლომ და ლუისმა ანანიაუსი სამონასტრო მომ

დაგვით გარეჯას ნამდვილი აკვა-
ვების ხას იწყება შეათე საუკუნეში
და გრძელდება მეცამეტე ხაუკუ-
ნემდე. აღსანიშნავია, რომ დაგვით
გარეჯა იყო მთელს საქართველოში

ორეზოდ დამარცხ გარეჯა, გამო-
ამისა, ეს იძიოთა დასურდება, რო-
დავით გარეჯაში ჰქონდათ ქართულ
ლიტერატურულ პრაქტიკაში გავრ-
ცელებული წიგნი „გულანი“, რომ



լուս Շեմշենաց Շեպելորտ մեղղող
սալարչեսք մեղօճար դա օծացր զալու-
սօա-մռանած թրջեմ. Ճյ ովացը նաև
կոյտեմ ու Տերաբյէն ջրեսք սպուո իցու-
րցնեցիս Տա. առ Տանօն մնացօա, հոր Յշ-
Տանօն մնաց մը յայց-առացիք տրամադրան
առողջալու լայքո սպացնա տամարան
յորքեսա առողջալու նախ ճացուո գա-
րյաշո (‘Ենյու տամարու և Տանօն ճակու ճա-
ցու գարյաշո’). ճացու գարյաշ ոյտ
ամաց լրու Անռանուու յարտցալու մյ-
ջու միջնորմանու զարթեն Շեպելու սա-
սպացնա լու Տանօն, նահաց օգօ եթօ-
րած քաջուու Տանօն, Տանօն օգօ եթօ-

საქართველოს სეგამწარებული
ისტორიის შავ დღეებში დავით გარე-
ჯა ოუგ მკუცნელი ნაფსა საყვადელი
ჩვენი დიდი წინაპრებისა, მარც დიდი
სულიერი ნებებში. დავით გარეჯას
ახსოებს აბრეოვე არნაბული გამარ-
ტახება და სისხლის წიგნიდან - სამო-
ხ. ტრო ცხიყვერების პირველი, კრი-
ზისი დაბრე შეცვალებები საუკენეში,
მონღოლთა ბატონობისას, ხილო
მექანიზმები საუკუნეში შაპ აბაზის

1991 წლიდან იქ მოგვიან ისებაზე ექვთის ასე კი არ არის, მაგრა თემურ აბრამიშვილი - ღავით-გარეჯის სამონასტრო კომპლექსის სარესტავრაციო სამუშაოების სამუცნაირო ხელმძღვანელი

“თავისუფალი საქართველო”, #9, 28 აპრილი-4 მაისი, 1995 წელი

କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧି ମନୋରୂପରେ 6000-ମୟା ଦେଇ,
ବାଦାରୁଚ୍ଛେଷ ମନ୍ଦିରାବ୍ଲୟାନ୍‌ସିଟିରେ ବାଲାରୂପରେ,
ଦାଶ୍ଵରେ ଓ ଗାନ୍ଧାରାଦଶ୍ଵରେ ଆଶ୍ରମରେ
କେଣ୍ଠେ ବିଶ୍ୱବିଦ୍ୟାଳୀ ଉପରେ ମନୋରୂପାବ୍ୟାକ୍ଷମ
ଦିନ କେବା ଦାଶ୍ଵରଦଶ୍ଵରଦିନେ ଏହା ଅରାଜକ
ଦିନେ ଥାରାଲି ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଦାଶ୍ଵର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧି
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧି ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧିରେ ମନ୍ଦିରାବ୍ଲୟାନ୍‌ସିଟିରେ
ଦାଶ୍ଵର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧି ଏହାରେ ବାରାତିକାରୀ
ଦାଶ୍ଵର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଧି ଏହାରେ ବାରାତିକାରୀ

ლონებით და იმ ზოგადი, აუცილეს

“ଲୋକେରାତ୍ମିକାଲୀ
ବାକୀରାତ୍ମିକାଲୀ

სლგათის პოლიგრები
- დავით გარეჯეს ძეგლი ტკივილი

საქართველოს მმართველი რეგიონის მიერ ეროვნული ცნობიერების წინააღმდეგ გამოცხადებულმა პრძოლაშ შედეგი გამოიღო და ხელახლა წამოტკიცებული კავშირი ის პრობლემა, რომელთა გადაჭრაც ასე თუ იმოხსენდა იმ კეთილმოსაგონაზარ როგორ წარინადში, ანუ ეროვნულ

საქართველოს მმართველი რეეგიმის კრონგული ხელწერა იძულებული გადამდინდება, რომ სამხედრო პოლიგრონისთვის ხახლი გამოუცვლიათ და ხელი იგი "ნაციონალისტურად" ჩატარება - აღვეოს პოლიგრონი. აღვიდი წარ

მოსადგენია, რა ლეკციებსაც დაზღვის აქ ვარდიჭო ხადიბაიძე.

TAVISUPALI SAKARTVELO

N 43 in brief

3 - 9 December , 1996

International Helsinki Federation's Rapport
to the OSCE Review Conference of 1996

Vienna, 3-29 November

GEORGIA

1.B) Freedom of Expression and
the Media

Freedom of Expression

The political opposition in Georgia is subjected to harassment, arrests, ill-treatment and assassinations. The government blames increasing criminality for the abuses. Local human rights observers documented 84 cases of political prisoners or individuals held in detention pending trial or already sentenced (including three death sentences) as of February 1996. They emphasized that these represented only a portion of the total number of pre-sentenced cases.

In order to intimidate the political opposition, large numbers of critics of the regime have been arrested and held in detention for periods ranging from two days to two weeks, and then released without having been charged.

In 1995 and 1996, long prison sentences have been handed down on suspected and actual supporters of former President Gamsakhurdia, on the basis of fabricated criminal charges such as placing bombs and other explosives, assassinations or attempted murder, terrorism, theft and formation of armed groups. Defendants have been sentenced under a variety of articles of the Criminal Code, such as: Article 65 (high treason), 67 (terrorism), 69 (sabotage), 78 (banditry), 79 (formation of armed group of bandits, arrangement of sabotage), 104 (murder) and 238 (illegal possession of weapons or explosives). According to the indictments, the accused had used these means "to weaken the Republic of Georgia" and "to restore Gamsakhurdia's power". The sentences range from five to fifteen years; most are longer than ten years. Two death sentences were passed in 1995 and (as of September) one in 1996.

The series of trials aimed at political opponents and based on fabricated criminal charges started in 1992 with "Case No. 7792809," involving fifteen supporters of Gamsakhurdia. According to information received in September 1996, the situation of six of the imprisoned men is particularly serious: Khvicha Jokhadze suffers from acute bilateral tuberculosis, Tamaz Gorelishvili of mental disorders resulting from torture, and David Loladze of acute glandular inflammation. Their situation is critical. Gela Gachechiladze, Leri Donadze and Emzar Kobaidze are being held in particularly harsh prison conditions.

In connection with "Case No. 7792809", Mikael Ioramashvili was detained on 12 September 1996. He is suspected of bringing food to the fifteen individuals arrested in 1992. On 17 September, he was moved to Tbilisi isolation facility for interrogation.

In December 1995, Elguja Meskhia, an exiled Gamsakhurdia supporter and the former deputy prefect of the Tsalenjikha region, was arrested in Russia at the request of Georgian authorities. He was accused of high treason and banditry. Despite strong protests by Russian human rights organizations and by the presidential Human Rights Commission led by Sergei Kovalyev, Meskhia was extradited to Georgian authorities on 22 March 1996.

Freedom of the Media

State-run television is strictly controlled by the government and under censorship. There are some independent local television and radio stations but these practice self-censorship to maintain their licenses, broadcasting chiefly entertainment, i.e. music and films. The independent television station "Sakartvelos Khma" has been banned from broadcasting since January 1995, after it featured the forced dispersal of an opposition rally in Tbilisi on its nightly news program. Similarly, the TV company Rustavi-2 was closed on 12 July 1996 after transmitting relatively objective and accurate information on the court hearings of Zviad Dzidziguri, Nugzar Molodinashvili, Vakhtang Kobalia and

Jambul Bokuchava. The television station was closed at the request of the ruling party's youth organization.

The press has been allowed to work more freely, but several independent newspapers have been shut down, and journalists and distributors have been harassed and arrested. The independent press suffers additional indirect forms of pressure: newspapers have difficulties finding a printer as the major publishing houses are state-owned and print only papers loyal to the government. Smaller publishing houses refuse to print independent papers on a regular basis, fearing the consequences. High taxes and a shortage of paper add to the problems of the press, as does the control of organized distribution networks by the state. Only publications loyal to the government get distributed. Most independent papers can get distributed only in Tbilisi.

1.C) Freedom of Peaceful Assembly

In recent years, virtually all opposition political rallies have been dispersed by the police. Numerous individuals have been arrested by law enforcement officials and subsequently beaten on the streets or at police station. Approximately 100 people have been shot dead during demonstrations. Many have been arrested by members of paramilitary groups and other supporters of the government.

In 1994-95, freedom of assembly improved in that political opponents were normally allowed to meet indoors.

On 26 May 1996 - the anniversary of the declaration of Georgian independence in 1918 - several people were reportedly arrested in the center of the capital, Tbilisi. On that day, opposition gatherings were forbidden while government supporters were allowed to celebrate independence.

On 9 April 1995, a peaceful rally to commemorate the massacre of 9 April 1989 by Russian troops was dispersed by police and special units of the army using truncheons and seriously injuring a number of people. Fourteen people received seven-day prison sentences.

1 F) Human Rights Defenders

There are governmental human rights organizations in Georgia but, in order to avoid criticizing the government, they tend to focus on social problems rather than human rights.

Issues and to side with the authorities rather than the victims. The government generally regards independent

human rights activists as its opponents. Consequently,

activists carry out their work under a constant threat to

their freedom and even to their lives. Many prefer to work as individuals with private contacts in order to attract less attention from the authorities.

2. Prevention of Torture and Ill-Treatment

In virtually all politically motivated cases the detainees are tortured or ill-treated during detention and interrogation. But not only political detainees are in danger: ill-treatment of detainees, particularly during the interrogation period, appears to be a routine method of extracting "confessions" in ordinary criminal cases as well.

In connection with the murder of Lia Chovelidze-Tsamalashvili in June 1995, more than ten people who were held in detention and interrogated finally "confessed" to the murder, but had to be released on lack of evidence. All of them claimed to have been ill-treated. The department of the Prosecutor's Office that is responsible for supervising

the lawfulness of investigation, issued an exceptional statement: "The investigators Kavtelashvili and Kobakhidze, using regular threats, beating, torture with electric shocks and other means of physi-

cal pressure, forced... (the arrested) to write explanatory notes and sign testimonies confessing that they murdered L. Chovelidze-Tsamalashvili..." Charges were brought against both investigators but the IHF has no information as to whether they were eventually prosecuted.

See also the case of Gurgen Malania, Gabriel Bendeliani and Karlo Jichonai in the section 4.A on the Independence of the Judiciary and Fair Trial.

3. Capital Punishment

Georgia is planning to submit its application for full membership in the Council of Europe early next year. Although the Council of Europe aims at the total abolition of capital punishment, Georgian courts are still imposing death penalties. During 1995-96, some 45 death sentences have been handed down, three of them on political grounds.

On 17 June 1996, Badri Zarandia, an officer in the National Guard loyal to the Parliament before the January 1992 coup, was sentenced to death in a highly political trial. During his arrest in October 1994, Zarandia was injured. His leg had to be amputated because he did not receive adequate medical treatment soon enough. While still in the hospital, he was severely ill-treated by his interrogators. As a result, he attempted suicide several times. Zarandia was sentenced to death on the charges of high treason (Article 65), banditry (Article 78), murder (Article 104) and hooliganism (Article 228) of the Criminal Code. Judge Jemal Leonidze considered that the charges of murder and banditry lacked evidence and returned the case on those counts for further investigations. Zarandia still received a death sentence for high treason and has no right to appeal. Of special concern is the fact that the court did not produce any facts to prove a specific act which amounted to high treason. The charges were based only on broad political accusations.

4.A) Independence of the Judiciary and Fair Trial

Independence of the judiciary is non-existent and the right to a fair trial is seriously violated in Georgia: arrests, investigations and trials nearly never fulfill international requirements.

On 5 April 1995, Parliament passed amendments to the Criminal Code sharply restricting the rights of lawyers to defend their clients. One of the amendments limits a lawyer's access to important documents. For example, in the case of a suspected of having been committed by a group of individuals, the investigator is required to provide a defense lawyer only with the interrogation protocols of his clients, and does not have to inform him about testimony given by other members of the group. According to another amendment, "the lawyer does not have the right to prolong a hearing artificially". This gives a judge wide powers to turn down a lawyer's motions by claiming that the lawyer deliberately seeks to prolong a court hearing.

In May and June 1996 politically motivated judgments were rendered in trials which violated the minimum standards of due process. Six members of the National Guard loyal to the Parliament in exile were sentenced to long prison sentences, and one of them to death. All were charged with murder, banditry and high treason.

On 7 May, Gurgen Malania, Gabriel Bendeliani and Karlo Jichonai were sentenced to imprisonment for between 13 and 15 years although the court found that the majority of the charges (banditry and murder) had not been sufficiently investigated. On those counts the cases were returned for further investigations. The cases of Zviad Sherozia and Murtaz Gulua were returned for re-investigation on all counts. All defendants reported that they had been tortured until they confessed. Bendeliani's toenails were torn out. Sherozia was suspended by his legs and beaten repeatedly, and investigators put a grenade in his mouth and threatened to remove the pin. The court refused to investigate the allegations of torture although the names of the torturers were known. The sixth man, Badri Zarandia, was sentenced to death. The investigations and court hearings were marred by irregularities: Witnesses who could have confirmed the alibis for the defendants were not questioned: the case was based on "confessions" which the defendants said had been extracted under torture; and virtually no evidence was presented.

The trial proceedings of the famous "Case No. 7493810" involving nineteen supporters of former President Gamsakhurdia who were arrested in 1992 for among other crimes, murder, terrorism, and plotting to overthrow the interim government, came to an end in March 1995. The trial was, from the very beginning, a farce which highlighted the corrupt

and highly politicized Georgian judicial system. There were a number of serious violations of the right to fair trial, including denial of timely access to legal counsel of one's choosing and failure to inform the accused of charges in a timely manner. The defendants were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two and a half to fourteen years. Irakli Dokvadze and Petre Gelbakhiani were sentenced to death.

After reviewing their cases in 1996, the chairman of the Supreme Court stated that the trial included a number of minor irregularities which, however, in his opinion had no noticeable effect on the verdict. In March 1996, the chairman of a parliamentary subcommittee raised these cases at a session of Parliament, proposing that they be reviewed. The cases of Dokvadze and Gelbakhiani are due to be considered by the Pardon Commission of the Parliament.

The trial against Zviad Dzidziguri and Nugzar Molodinashvili, both members of the exiled Supreme Council, as well as Vakhtang Kobalia, Jambul Bokuchava and Simon Zhgenti, commanders of the National Guard loyal to the exiled Parliament ("Case No. 7495927"), was opened on 1 February 1996 and is continuing as of this writing. The men are charged with high treason, banditry, and attempting to overthrow authorities. Kobalia is additionally charged with homicide of first degree.

This trial has also gravely violated international standards. The court has ignored all requests of the defense; Judge Alexandre Aladashvili has exerted psychological pressure against witnesses in favor of the prosecution. Dzidziguri has not been allowed to have a lawyer of his own choosing, and his request for a public defender was rejected. During the court hearings, two public defenders of other defendants were removed from the court room. Three of the defendants finally refused to participate in the hearings saying that it was just a political performance carried out according to the instructions of the authorities. On 10 July Molodinashvili began a hunger strike to protest the violations. He demanded to see representatives of international organizations and the press, and this was allowed on 13 August. At this writing, of all the accused, only Vakhtang Kobalia is present during court hearings. On 7 October the prosecutor asked that the court sentence Dzidziguri, Kobalia and Bokuchava to death, and Molodinashvili to 13 years in prison.

The case of Zviad Dzidziguri - already charged with an attempt to blow up the Vakhushti bridge was separated from the "Case No. 7495927" after he charged in February that the deputy prosecutor general had attempted to blackmail him. He said he had been told that if his conduct at the court hearings was "correct", his brother, Koba Dzidziguri, and his brother-in-law, Vazha Tsereteli - facing similar charges - would receive milder sentences. As a result of Dzidziguri's statement, heavier charges, i.e. high treason and banditry, were brought against the two relatives, as well as Giorgi Korbesashvili and Zaza Danelia. Their court hearings were opened on 27 August.

Ramaz Vanishvili, formerly a colonel in the Georgian armed forces, was arrested in October 1993. He was charged with having left his military unit without authorization, with desertion, with embezzlement, and with having lost military property. In May 1994, a military court sentenced him to six years in prison. In this past spring the case was reopened for investigation and Vanishvili was charged with high treason. On 10 October he was sentenced to ten years in prison.

Following the explosion at the Parliament on 29 August 1995, ten political opponents were immediately detained and accused of the attempted assassination of President Shevardnadze. However, soon after their arrest, Minister of the Interior Shota Kviraia declared that these people had been arrested by the Minister of Security, Igor Giorgadze, in order to mislead the investigation and to protect the real perpetrators. Despite these allegations, Zaza Dvali, Tamas Elashvili, Givi Gelashvili, David Mchedlishvili, Gela Nanadze, Georgi Oniashvili and Shota Ratiani were charged with high treason (Article 65 of the Penal Code), participation in conspiracy, and an attempt to prepare a terrorist action against the Head of State (Article 67), and formation of an anti-state armed group (Article 73). Since their arrest, the Security Service has continued investigation on their alleged involvement in the case. Moreover, the Deputy Head of the State Security Service, Temur Khachishvili, and leaders of the paramilitary group Mkhedrioni were also arrested and accused of the same crime. They have confessed their participation in the attempt on the president's life. Still, the government opponents originally arrested have remained in prison, although no real evidence has been gathered against them.