

Paata

SILAGADZE

A judge of Tbilisi Court of Appeals for indefinite tenure

CANDIDATE'S PROFESSIONAL /
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND
IDENTIFIED TRAITS / BEHAVIOR

2

MISCONDUCT REVEALED IN
PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES
(DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS,
PROFESSIONAL ETHICS)

8

PROMOTIONS AND AWARDS /
SCHOLARSHIPS GRANTED FOR
PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

9

CONFLICT WITH LAW,
CONFLICT OF INTEREST

10

CANDIDATE'S PUBLIC ACTIVITIES /
POSITION AND BEHAVIOR

11

FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS AND
INCOME OF THE CANDIDATE

17

In 1999-2004, Paata Silagadze worked as an assistant to the judge of Tbilisi District Court. In 2004-2006, he worked as a consultant at the Department of Judicial Ethics and Disciplinary Proceedings of the High Council of Justice, then as a senior consultant. In 2006-2008, he was a judge of Mtskheta District Court and the Chairman of the Criminal Cases Panel and in 2008-2019 he served as a judge of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court. On June 3, 2019, Paata Silagadze was appointed as a judge of the Investigative Panel of Tbilisi Court of Appeals for indefinite tenure. In 2013-2017, he was a member of the High Council of Justice.

1

CANDIDATE'S PROFESSIONAL / ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND IDENTIFIED TRAITS / BEHAVIOR

1. DECISIONS, DISSENTING OPINIONS, COURT SUBMISSIONS

1.1. LEGALLY IMPORTANT OR PRECEDENTIAL DECISIONS

Legal Issue: Scope of revision of newly found circumstances.¹

Facts: Under a 2010 judgment, a person was convicted of a particularly serious drug crime² and sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment. According to the legislative amendments of 2012,³ the action he committed fell under paragraph one instead of paragraph two of the legal provision by which he was indicted. Given this circumstance, the convict appealed to Tbilisi Court of Appeal and requested a revision of the judgment. According to the appeal, the Court of Appeal had to re-qualify his action from Article 260(2)(a) of the Criminal Code of Georgia (the version applicable at that time) to Article 260(1). When imposing the sentence, it had to pay attention to the fact that, according to the original judgment, the offender was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment, with the maximum sentence being up to 14 years. Therefore, instead of imposing a maximum of 11-year sentence after re-qualification, the court should have imposed a sentence which would be commensurate with the one provided in the original judgment.

Tbilisi Court of Appeal upheld the claim of the convict and re-qualified his action accordingly, however, as mentioned above, the convict was sentenced to 11 years of imprisonment. The Court of Appeal deducted from the convict's term of sentence only 1 year – the difference between the original sentence and the maximum sentence provided for by the new qualification.

The convict appealed the new judgment of the Court of Appeal on cassation and indicated that the sentence imposed had been unfair.

The Chamber of Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of Georgia composed of three judges, including Paata Silagadze, rejected the cassation appeal and stressed a number of important and precedent-setting legal issues:

¹ Judgment/Ruling of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of 19 September 2012 in Case N3908-12.

² Article 260 (2) (a) of the Criminal Code of Georgia, Legislative Herald of Georgia N2287, Legislative Herald of Georgia 13/08/1999, the edition applicable by September 28, 2010 (at the time of passing the judgment). The norm envisaged imprisonment from 7 to 14 years as the type and maximum sentence.

³ Amendments were made to the Law of Georgia on Narcotics, Psychotropic Substances, Precursors and Narcological Assistance, which prescribed small amounts for narcotic drugs. The judgment analyzed by the authors of the document does not explicitly state, however, it is likely that the amount of narcotic drugs held by a convict, instead of the "large amount", fell within the category of "small amount" (this norm prescribed up to 11 years of imprisonment as the maximum type and measure of sentence) that has become a basis for a request to revise the judgment and qualify the action.

- „Due to the newly found circumstances, the court, when reviewing the sentence, is not empowered to discuss the fairness of the decision under revision. [...] The convict`s term of sentence shall be reduced if the term of sentence imposed on him exceeds the maximum sentence prescribed by the new law. Therefore, if the sentence imposed falls within the scope of the new law, the court, due to the newly found circumstances, is not empowered to reduce the term of sentence when reviewing the judgment and respectively, to determine the conformity of the imposed sentence with the personality of the convict and the gravity of the offence committed by him.”

Note: The Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia allows revising a legally valid judgment in case of newly founded circumstances. As one of such grounds serves the case where a new law annuls or mitigates criminal liability for an action for which a person has been convicted by a judgment under retrial. Such circumstance is present in this case too. This reasoning of the candidate is also important with respect to the below discussed case of Gvichiani, where he examined the legality of the retrial of the judgment due to the circumstances newly found by the Court of Appeal. In the present case, Levan Tevzadze, the judge of the Court of Appeal, reduced the term of sentence to life imprisonment and finally sentenced to 15 years where the Criminal Code still provided for the sentence originally imposed (life imprisonment) for the actions of the convicts. However, the Chamber of Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of Georgia, including the candidate Paata Silagadze, upheld the judgment of the Court of Appeal without paying attention to the standard of revision of a sentence due to the newly found circumstances that was established in the above case.

Legal issue: Legalization of Illicit Income (Money Laundering).⁴

Facts: At the first and second instances of court, a person was convicted of legalizing illicit income and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. The convict claimed that the court had passed an unlawful and unjustified judgment against him. In the cassation complaint, the convict stated that the amount for the legalization of which the prosecution brought a charge against him, he withdrew from the account of a legal entity founded by him, the owner of 50% of shares and the director of which he himself was. The convict`s cassation appeal was based on the following main arguments:

- It is not evidenced that he obtained the proceeds of crime and then legalized them to conceal and camouflage their illegal origin;

Because:

- The enterprise registered under his name received income from entrepreneurial activities which are not punishable under the Criminal Code. Therefore, the income received is also not illegal.
- Also it should be noted that no one was harmed by his action.

The Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia (hereinafter “the Chamber”), composed of three judges and chaired by Paata Silagadze, overturned the judgment of conviction and acquitted the convicted person. The Chamber has stressed a few important legal issues:

- “The case materials do not confirm the commission of the offence by the convict, nor does it confirm that he obtained the proceeds of crime and legalized them and concealed and camouflaged their illegal origin only

⁴ Judgment of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of December 26, 2012 in Case N370ap-12.

after that, as the enterprise used to receive income from lawful entrepreneurial activities. [...] Therefore, the disposal, by A.S., of the legal funds belonging to the company cannot be considered as legalization of illicit income and as his illicit intention to dispose of particularly large amounts of money.”

The judgment also states that the prosecution’s discussion of legalization of illicit income, the damage resulting from it and moreover, of obtaining particularly large amounts of illicit income was unfounded and unjustified.

1.2. POSITION TOWARDS GROUPS / MINORITIES

Legal Issue: Specifics of juvenile justice. What happens if national law on juvenile justice contradicts the universally recognized principles and norms of international law for the protection of minors?⁵

Facts: Kutaisi City Court found a person guilty of attempted gang thievery. The court finally sentenced the convict to 3 years of imprisonment as a form and size of the sentence, which it considered conditional, with a 4-year probation term. It should be noted that the convict committed the offence as a minor and at the time of referral of the case to the court (March 6, 2013) he was 17 years and 9 months old. The convict became an adult on June 2, 2013 and the court passed the judgment of conviction on September 9, 2013 (approximately six months after the case was referred to the court).

The prosecution appealed the judgment and requested a change of the sentence. Kutaisi Court of Appeal upheld the request and referred to **Article 63(5)** of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia applicable at that time under **which the court was prohibited from considering the sentence imposed as conditional for the convicts which turned 18 years at the time of sentencing.** The convict appealed against this judgment on cassation. The Chamber of Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of Georgia (hereinafter “the Chamber”), with the participation of three judges, including Paata Silagadze, upheld the appeal of the appellant and replaced the prison term applied against him, as done by the court of first instance, again with probation.

The Chamber stated:

- **“According to Article 63(5) of the Criminal Code of Georgia, if a minor is eighteen years of age at the time of sentencing, the court is not authorized to apply a conditional sentence, however, the requirement of that article is in conflict with the standards set by international treaties and acts.”**

The Chamber relied on Article 316 of the Criminal Procedure Code that was applicable at the time of sentencing and stated that during a criminal trial against a minor, it was mandatory to fully comply with the international guarantees for juvenile rights. The court was guided by the entry in Article 6(2) of the edition of the Constitution of Georgia applicable at that time, in particular: **“The Georgian legislation is in compliance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law. A treaty or international agreement of Georgia, unless it is in conflict with the Constitution of Georgia, shall have precedence over domestic normative acts.”**

The Chamber also focused on such documents as the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights on the protection of child rights and juvenile justice, conventions, recommendations of international organizations, agreements and international acts regulating juvenile justice. The reasoning of the Chamber was mainly based on the efficient rendering of justice against a child, as well as on the protection of the child’s best interests and on the tendency

⁵ Judgment of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of 29 June 2015 in Case N265სს-15.

where the traditional aim of criminal justice – punishing an offender – shall be replaced with the tasks of rehabilitation and restorative justice for the offending child. After analyzing these documents, the Chamber stated:

Finally, the Chamber made a very important explanation:

- The criminal trial of the convict “clearly went beyond reasonable time frames. Just at the court, hearing of the case was delayed for almost 6 months, [which hindered] the effective rendering of fair justice against the minor and prevented the court from not restricting only to the use of a conditional sentence, if it would have considered reasonable to apply a conditional sentence against the minor in order to preclude from the isolation of the juvenile offender from the society. However, the above said has unequivocally led to a violation of the universally recognized and established principles of juvenile criminal proceedings.”

Finally, the Chamber provided a rather important explanation:

- „As the provision of Article 63(5) of the Criminal Code of Georgia with respect to the fact that if a convict has reached 18 years of age at the time of sentencing, the court is not authorized to consider the sentence imposed as conditional is contrary to the international acts and conventions referred to above, whereas, according to the Constitution of Georgia, in such case, precedence should be given to the norms and principles recognized by international acts; therefore, the Chamber is authorized to give precedence to the international standards and consider applying a conditional sentence against a convict.“

Note: The case is precedent-setting in its importance and very unconventional for the Georgian judiciary. In fact, there are no cases where the common courts gave precedence to the internationally recognized principles and norms over the imperative provision given in the national law. The decision of the court is most probably derived from the sensitive nature of the issue as it concerns juvenile justice. It should be noted that in parallel to passing the judgment, on June 12, 2015 the Parliament of Georgia adopted the Juvenile Justice Code for the commencement of which was prescribed January 1, 2016. This document used to solve the matter of argument in the interests of the child. In particular, according to Article 74 of the Juvenile Justice Code, the key point of considering the sentence imposed on a minor as conditional was the minor’s age not at the time of imposing the sentence, but at the time of committing the offence.⁶

1.3. HIGH-PROFILE CASES

THE CASE OF GIA GVICHIANI AND NIKA CHEMIA

Facts: In 2006, Gia Gvichiani and Nika Chemia, the common courts found guilty of murder Nikoloz Lominadze and sentenced them to life imprisonment. According to the media, in 2012 the prosecutor’s office questioned the version of commission of the crime by the convict. It pointed out that in 2006, the prosecutor’s office held a conclusion from the forensic institution of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation that stated that the two fingerprints taken from the place of the murder did not belong to the convicts. The prosecutor’s office said that the above conclusion was not attached to the criminal case and was not submitted to the court. According to the prosecutor’s office, “the conclusions of the expertise raise the likelihood of the fact that the murder was not committed by the individuals convicted of murder.”⁷

⁶ Article 74 of the Juvenile Justice Code, Legislative Herald of Georgia, Document N 3708-IIS, Published: 24/06/2015.

⁷ “Nika Lominadze’s murder may be related to forged letters”, available at: <https://bit.ly/2KKINZZ> [last checked: 30.08.2019].

- Following this statement of the prosecutor’s office, the lawyers of the convicts, based on the newly found circumstances, filed a motion to Tbilisi Court of Appeal requesting revision of the judgment and acquittal of the convict. The defense used to claim at the court that **“the prosecution concealed the forensic report of the DNA drafted by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation that was used to identify the biological samples from the suspected persons, together with the most important material evidences which were found during the inspection of the place of murder of Nika Lominaze and which excluded the presence of Nika Chemia [...] at the place of murder”**.⁸
- **The panel of Tbilisi Court of Appeal, with the participation of Levan Tevzadze**, rejected the motion; however, it replaced the life imprisonment with a 15-year imprisonment.⁹ As the defense stated in an interview with the media, the court considered that the conclusions with regard to the DNA and fingerprints were not newly found circumstances as the prosecution was aware of these documents [although, it concealed the conclusion and did not include it in the criminal case].¹⁰

Note: The Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia provides for the opportunity of revision of a sentence due to newly found circumstances. One of the grounds for revising a judgment is the submittal, by a party, of such a new fact or evidence to the court that was not known at the time of sentencing and, that, alone or in combination with another established circumstance, proves that the convict is innocent.¹¹

It should be noted that the judgment passed by Levan Tevzadze was upheld by the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia composed of three judges and presided by Paata Silagadze. The Chamber fully agreed with the judgment of the Court of Appeal; however, it did not pay attention to the inadmissibility of reduction of sentence in the light of newly found circumstances.

As part of a new investigation, a new department¹² established at the General Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia in 2016 found that the convicts did not commit the criminal action charged. Therefore, the Prosecutor’s Office filed a motion to the court requesting the revision of the judgment concerning this case. The Prosecutor’s Office provides the following explanation in its statement:

- **“The expert report of a complex, physico-technical and forensic medical examination conducted in the course of a repeated investigation, based on the image of the wound on the body of the deceased, categorically excludes the factual circumstance established by the courts - the murder of Nikoloz Lominadze using a pistol silencer.”**¹³

On February 20, 2017, Manuchar Kapanadze¹⁴, the judge of Tbilisi Court of Appeal, satisfied the motion of the Prosecutor’s Office, acquitted the convicts and released from prison.¹⁵

⁸ Judgment of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of 1 May 2013 in Case N4388-13.

⁸ “Tbilisi Court of Appeal reduced the sentence for Nika Chemia and Giorgi Gvichiani”, available at: <http://www.tbappeal.court.ge/?news=220&mc=> [last checked: 30.08.2019].

¹⁰ “Nika Lominadze’s murder may be related to forged letters”, available at: <https://bit.ly/2KKINZZ> [last checked: 30.08.2019].

¹¹ Article 310(g) of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia, Legislative Herald of Georgia N1772, 03/11/2009.

¹² Department of Investigation of Crimes Committed in the Legal Proceedings of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia.

¹³ “Prosecutor’s Office takes a decision to revise judgments of illegally convicted persons in three high-profile cases,” available at: <https://bit.ly/2Z7VndK> [last checked: 30.08.2019].

¹⁴ “Gia Gvichiani and Nika Chemia released from the courtroom” available at <https://bit.ly/307nly5>

¹⁵ “The court found the convicts for murdering Nikoloz Lominadze as innocent” available at: <https://bit.ly/33ASDF5>

Note: To the new Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia, as amended on June 26, 2016, were added new grounds for revising a sentence. A judgment may be revised by the initiative of the prosecutor's office if it establishes a substantial violation of the convict's rights during the criminal proceedings. However, it is an essential condition that, when passing the judgment to be revised, the above circumstance was not known to the parties and that it, alone and/or in combination with another established circumstance, would prove that the convict is innocent.¹⁶ This was the grounds used by the prosecutor's office to revise the judgment of conviction for the convicts.

1.4. APPLYING THE PRACTICE OF THE SUPREME / CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL / REGIONAL COURTS

The most appropriate example of applying, by the candidate, the practice of international/regional courts and in general, of the principles and norms of international law is the judgment discussed in Chapter 1.2. of this document.¹⁷

In this judgment, the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia, composed of three judges and presided by the candidate Paata Silagadze, overruled the imperative norm provided in the national legislation by making reference to the treaties, recommendations and other acts concerning the juvenile justice/child rights and solved the issue in the best interests of the minor.

Note: The factual and legal aspects of the judgment are discussed in detail in sub-chapter 1.2 of this document, so this section pays no addition attention to it.

1.5. DISSENTING OPINIONS / SUBMISSIONS

As it can be found from the available documents, the candidate, when working as a judge at the Supreme Court of Georgia, has repeatedly appealed to the Constitutional Court with submissions. Some of them are of interest:

Legal issue: Constitutionality of the norms of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Republic of Georgia in force before 2009 (Law of December 30, 1960) and of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia (Law of February 20, 1998).¹⁸

Facts: On January 22, 2015, the Constitutional Court of Georgia made a decision with respect to the case No. 1/1/548 declaring as unconstitutional certain provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia in force from 2009. These provisions concerned the unconstitutional procedure of using indirect testimonies when making a ruling and passing a judgment of conviction with regard to the charges. Following the above decision, the convicts appealed to the court of appeal and the Supreme Court and requested the revision of their judgments.

The Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia, all the time including the candidate, submitted 11 submissions to the Constitutional Court of Georgia. The judges of the Supreme Court justices argued that the criminal procedure legislation in force before 2009 comprised the same procedure of using indirect testimonies that was already found as unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court. Therefore, when revising the sentences of convicts under the old procedural legislation, the Supreme Court had to apply unconstitutional norms that, in turn, used to violate the constitutionally guaranteed rights of those persons, in particular, Article 40(3) of the version in force at that time. According to this paragraph, **“the indictment, the charging document and the judgment of conviction shall be based only on authentic evidences.”** The Plenum of the Constitutional Court refused the judges of the Supreme Court to accept all those submissions and pointed out to several important legal issues:

¹⁶ Article 310(g1) of the Criminal Procedure Code of Georgia, Legislative Herald of Georgia N1772, 03/11/2009.

¹⁷ Judgment of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of 29 June 2015 in Case N265სს-15.

¹⁸ Judgment №3/3/ of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia of 29 June 2015 for the submissions of the Supreme Court of Georgia 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 736, 737, 758, 793, 794, 820.

The Constitutional Court, first of all, stated the following:

- “The author of the submission fails at all to indicate why the provision in question is a law “ that shall be applied by the court when making a decision over this case (revising convictions of the convicts before 2009)“.

Then it explained:

- “In these submissions, the Supreme Court requests that the Constitutional Court provide factual grounds for resuming the proceedings and not for recognizing as unconstitutional the regulatory rules which restrict the resumption of the proceedings.”
- „The Constitutional Court of Georgia does not question the capacity of the Supreme Court of Georgia to determine itself the legal norms required for taking decisions with respect to particular cases. However, at the same time, the Constitutional Court is authorized to determine the scope of its competencies established by the Constitution and the law“.

With regard to its own competence, the Constitutional Court stated that the legislation in force at that time allowed it, based on the submissions of the common courts, to discuss only (and not any) the law that it had to apply in taking a decision over a particular case of the common court. Therefore, the Constitutional Court pointed out to the Supreme Court:

- “In the instant case, the author of the submission fails to indicate that the disputable provision is the law which the Supreme Court needs to apply in deciding a case. In this case, we are dealing not with an incorrect identification of the law to be applied by the Supreme Court, but with a misinterpretation of the scope of competence of the Constitutional Court by the author of the submission“.

Note: This judgment is significant in that with respect to the submissions involving the candidate, the Constitutional Court recommended the Supreme Court to properly understand the provisions of legislation and the scope of competences of the Constitutional Court.

2.

MISCONDUCT REVEALED IN PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES (DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS, PROFESSIONAL ETHICS)

1. DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS – EXISTING COMPLAINTS

- The disciplinary panel did not apply disciplinary measures against the candidate, however, one case is observed:
 - In August 2014, the lawyers appealed before the Supreme Court against the decision of the Court of Appeal, however, the Court did not hear the case for seven months. On March 25, 2015, the lawyers appealed again to the Supreme Court and requested a hearing by the Grand Chamber. The following day, on March 26, the lawyers received an envelope containing the decision dated March 13 of the judges

Paata Silagadze, Maya Oshkhareli and Giorgi Shavliashvili, according to which, the judgment of the court of appeal remained upheld.

- According to the lawyers, the mail did not need 13 days to deliver the letter. They considered that the judges made the decision after the defense had requested a hearing at the Grand Chamber. Accordingly, they also incorrectly indicated the date of making the decision. The lawyers appealed to the High Council of Justice to initiate disciplinary proceedings against the judges hearing the case.¹

2. ALLEGED VIOLATION OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

- There was no case of alleged violation of professional ethics.

3. ACTIVITIES IN THE HIGH COUNCIL OF JUSTICE

During the membership of Judge Paata Silagadze in the High Council of Justice:

- Mamuka Akhvlediani, the Chairman of Tbilisi City Court was dismissed from his position. The reason for his dismissal was his statements about systemic problems at the court.²
- Supposedly, the tests of examinations³ for judges were disclosed by the Council. The High Council of Justice was conducting an internal inquiry into the matter, however, the results are unknown.
- It became known that Judge Natia Gujabidze was renting a flat from her mother and the expenses were covered from the state budget for years. With this respect, the High Council of Justice stated that the information about the squandering of the state funds by Judge Natia Gujabidze was not true⁴. The Georgian Young Lawyers' Association considered that the High Council of Justice should have initiated disciplinary proceedings over the matter, whereas the prosecutor's office should have initiated the investigation.⁵ The public is unaware of whether this fact was followed by any legal response.
- The mechanism for the appointment and promotion of judges without any competition was actively used. During this period, 7 judges were promoted to Tbilisi Court of Appeal without competition.⁶

¹ Lawyers appealed to the High Council of Justice to initiate disciplinary proceedings against three judges, see <http://bit.ly/31wUY1Z>

² Chronology of events from Mamuka Akhvlediani's first statement until his dismissal, see <http://bit.ly/2ST69iw>

³ Report of the Transparency International Georgia "The state of the judiciary in 2012-2016", p. 16. see <https://bit.ly/2JYEcd7>

⁴ Statement of the High Council of Justice of Georgia, see <http://bit.ly/2ZjPib7>

⁵ The Georgian Young Lawyers' Association responds to the information about Judge Natia Gujabidze; <http://bit.ly/2YjwfRN>

⁶ The identity of the promoted judges has become known, see <https://bit.ly/314i6oo>

3.

PROMOTIONS AND AWARDS / SCHOLARSHIPS GRANTED FOR PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

1. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- In 1998-1999, Paata Silagadze worked as a specialist in the Department of Logistic Support of the Common Courts of the Supreme Court of Georgia. From 1999, he worked as an assistant to the judge of the Chamber of Appeal of Criminal Cases of Tbilisi District Court. In 2004-2006, he worked as a consultant at the De-

partment of Judicial Ethics and Disciplinary Proceedings of the High Council of Justice, then as a senior consultant.

- In 2006, Paata Silagadze was appointed as a judge of Mtskheta District Court and the Chairman of the Criminal Panel of the same court. In 2008–2019, he was a judge of the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Georgia. Since June 3, 2019, Paata Silagadze has been appointed as a judge of the Investigative Panel of Tbilisi Court of Appeal.
- In 2013–2017, Judge Paata Silagadze was a member of the High Council of Justice.

2. AWARDS / SCHOLARSHIPS

- Candidate Paata Silagadze has not been given any awards / scholarships.

4.

CONFLICT WITH LAW, CONFLICT OF INTEREST

1. CRIMINAL LIABILITY, ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES/PENALTIES, LITIGATION.

- Candidate Paata Silagadze has not been convicted.
- An administrative offence has been observed due to traffic violations (crossing of a continuous lane).
- In 2011, Paata Silagadze was a defendant and author of a cross claim in a divorce case at Tbilisi City Court.

2. PARTY AFFILIATION, CONFLICTS OF INTEREST WITH A MEMBER OF THE HIGH COUNCIL OF JUSTICE, RELATIONS WITH POLITICIANS/INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

- Paata Silagadze has never been a member of any political party.
- Various studies or reports often point out to clan rule in court. According to the survey conducted by the Transparency International Georgia in 2019, 43% of the population considers that there exists a clan within the judiciary system¹. The TV sport produced by Studio Monitor in the framework of journalistic investigation deals with the clan members, its leaders and the clan rule.² The TV spot broadcasted on TV Kavkasia also points out to this issue³. The Coalition for Independent and Transparent Judiciary considers Paata Silagadze to be one of the influential members of the clan.⁴
- At the Conference of Judges in June 2013, Levan Murusidze was elected as the Secretary of the High Council of Justice. Before the voting, four candidates for the Secretary of the Council – judges Paata Silagadze, Ilona Todua, Giorgi Shavliashvili and Tamar Alania withdrew **their candidacies in favor of Levan Murusidze**.⁵
- In December 2018, the High Council of Justice, without passing all formal procedures, presented to the Parliament 10 candidates for judges for the Supreme Court, including Paata Silagadze.⁶

¹ Study of the International Transparency Georgia, see <http://bit.ly/31oJw8A>

² The Chinchaladze Clan- collapse of the judiciary reform, see <http://bit.ly/2YWYa9D>

³ Clan within the judiciary – a scheme from the non-governmental organizations, see <http://bit.ly/2Ttes5b>

⁴ Appeal of the coalition to the Parliament of Georgia, see <https://bit.ly/2Jc8ow5>

⁵ Report of monitoring N2 of the High Council of Georgia, p. 28, see <http://bit.ly/2KBincY>

⁶ The High Council of Justice has nominated the candidates for judges of the Supreme Court, see <http://bit.ly/2M2HF5S>

- During the period when Paata Silagadze was a member of the High Council of Justice, the Council supported the appointment of **Levan Murusidze** (for three years) and **Mikheil Chinchaladze** (indefinitely) as judges at the Administrative Chamber at Tbilisi Court of Appeal; it also supported the appointment of Mikheil Chinchaladze as the Chairman of Tbilisi Court of Appeal.
- Together with Paata Silagadze, members of the High Council of Justice were: Levan Murusidze (Secretary of the Council), Merab Gabinashvili, Shota Getsadze, Ilona Todua, Tamar Alania, Levan Tevzadze – persons considered as members of the clan operating within the court.
- Paata Silagadze’s wife, Tea Giorgadze is the chief prosecutor at the Department of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia.
- The sister of Paata Silagadze’s wife, Nino Giorgadze work as a senior specialist at Kutaisi City Court.

5. CANDIDATE’S PUBLIC ACTIVITIES / POSITION AND BEHAVIOR

1. OPINIONS OF PAATA SILAGADZE EXPRESSED IN THE SOCIAL MEDIA

Paata Silagadze’s personal account is registered on the social network Facebook, however, he does not publicly comment on his page.

Among other activities of the candidate, it is noteworthy that on the Facebook, he have a `like` to several posts of the judge members of the Supreme Court Sergo Metopishvili and Dimitri Gvritishvili, in particular:

Sergo Metofishvili’s post¹: **“I have been silent for a long time... However, the attack on the judiciary, judges and justice has taken on more and more dangerous and disgusting forms!!! With this respect, dishonest and incompetent members of the High Council of Justice – Ana Dolidze and Nazibrola Janezashvili have become especially active..., so as a member of the High Council of Justice, I decided to continue defending the independent court and bring the truth to our society!!!”**

“I can see well what a dirty act of provocation against the judiciary Anna Dolidze has been attempting to implement these day!!! She wants to use the difficult situation in the country in order to discredit the court.”

Dimitri Gvritishvili’s post²: **“Ana Dolidze calls on Ms. Mzia Todua – as much as she is the Acting Chairperson of the Supreme Court of Georgia, that she also act as the Chairperson of the High Council of Justice so that Giorgi Mikautadze does not lead the Council. It is an absolutely incompetent and shameful position!”**

¹ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/>

² Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1A>

“For Ana Dolidze, the functioning of the institutions depends on personal compatibility, as for her, the personality of Giorgi Mikautadze unacceptable for the position of the Chairperson of the Council. She calls on Ms. Mzia Todua to infringe the law! If Ms. Dolidze knows this, then one can conclude that she deliberately wants to create a new hotbed of disagreement within the judiciary, thus provoking confrontation among the judges!”

Dimitri Gvritishvili’s post³ (in which he discusses the details of the meeting with the delegation of the Venice Commission and remarks): “We expressed our concern for the fact that the Georgian Parliament did not share the recommendation of the Venice Commission concerning the election of the judges of the Supreme Court by the High Council of Justice that would exclude a political aspect from the process. Instead, a mixed and two-level model has been chosen, where the Council is nominating candidates and the Georgian Parliament makes the final decision. Our opponents – certain political groups and NGOs which, starting from December 2018, has undertaken an unprecedented, orchestrated storm against the judiciary, have used this fact. The spectrum of their “arms” is diverse: speech of hatred containing threatening and humiliating expressions and encouragement of aggression in the public against the current judges, production of slanderous videos, blaming for crimes and etc.”

Dimitri Gvritishvili’s post⁴: “NGOs (especially Eka Gigauri and Giorgi Mshvenieradze) and their friends, the hooters – Ana Dolidze and Nazi Janezashvili take turns to turn, next time, a blind eye on the society as if we have criticized the US Department of State.”

“It is already impossible to overlook that it is Georgian NGOs which act like a clan: Well, do you remember the final time when any of their organizations has expressed a different position? You cannot remember any, because the Georgian non-governmental sector is, in fact, represented by several individuals who always share the same opinion and speak in one voice. Moreover: their vocabulary coincides with that of certain political groups!

Dimitri Gvritishvili’s post⁵: “Ana Dolidze is gradually losing her face and self-control. I have said multiple times: her call has never been to become part of the judiciary. She has always been a politician, even though not very prominent, but she still attempts to establish herself in politics. Even now, she continues the cheap, adventurous campaign. I no longer mean swearing representatives of the judiciary, the judges. I have written about this many times and will not repeat again. She attacks everyone starting from politicians and ending with representatives of the sports world. One time, she swears the Chair of the Parliament, another time she criticizes the policy of the ruling party, next time she argues whether “Glovo” alone has the right to carry pizza in the city. To put it in short, Ana Dolidze is trying her best to retain the significance of her personality and to be in everyone’s eyes every day.”

Dimitri Gvritishvili’s post⁶: “On February 3, the “Resolution“ drafted by the Georgian Bar Association, or to be more precise – by its managing unit, came out. This document is illegal, unjustified, a mixture of incompetence and provocation, saw. The author of this “Resolution“ directly blames us, the acting judges in committing crimes, as if before 2012, we used to arrest people for political reasons, prosecute lawyers on a large scale because of their professional activities, etc.; As if we have introduced the procedure of “unreasonable, unjustified, impartial decision-making” to the High Council of Justice of Georgia, established a “vicious form of management within the judiciary”, etc. To my dismay, the current head of the Association, David Asatiani and his group have

³ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/>

⁴ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/>

⁵ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1>

⁶ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1P>

continued following the vicious behavior of the previous chairperson, Zaza Khatiashvili: engagement in political processes and conduct of an unethical and defamatory campaign against the court.”

Sergo Metopishvili’s post⁷: “Janezashvili and Dolidze have no arguments. The public saw well and was once again convinced that I was right to consider them as impudent individuals! (For example, you might remember a brazen statement made by Dolidze a few days ago- “there are some persons among the judges appointed indefinitely who should be put to a prison.”). Today, the public is also convinced that these individuals (Janezashvili and Dolidze) are dishonest, incompetent and unqualified who fail to even defend their positions. They cannot provide arguments for their positions and justify it. However, they are not their own positions and so, they cannot substantiate them!”

Sergo Metopishvili’s post:⁸ “Once again, I would like to thank all foreign international organizations which impartially and honestly observe and evaluate the reforms carried out in our country, especially within the judiciary. Let me extend sincere thanks for their objectivity! Many thanks to them: Even though, some non-governmental organizations keep consistently assess the current court dishonestly, spread some unjustified, offensive, allegedly studies which are, in fact, a gossip (for example, about corruption within the system, clan rule, etc.) on the judges and the court in general, etc. Even though, one of the TV channels is constantly trying to shoot horror movies in the style of Quentin Tarantino, make “Fake News” and TV programs on the court etc. [...] Even though, some non-judge members of the High Council of Justice (Anna Dolidze and Nazibrola Janezashvili) have repeatedly made insulting, populist and demagogic statements, thus, in my opinion, deliberately discrediting the High Council of Justice, the judiciary and judges.”

Sergo Metopishvili’s post of December 27, 2018 on the appointment of Levan Murusidze as Judge for indefinite tenure:⁹ “Congratulations to Levan Murusidze! Congratulations to the judiciary! Levan is a person who enjoys great authority in the judiciary. He is a conscientious and honorable person, a judge with the highest qualifications! I wish you much success!”

Sergo Metofishvili’s post¹⁰: “On TV Imedi, I have heard Beselia’s comment. In her opinion, it turns out that all the individuals working as judges under the previous government are all dishonest and that is why, she has invented just a “great” solution – to recruit people to the Supreme Court from the outside. This is a sheer absurd and categorically unacceptable to any dignified and honest person! In addition, this would be an irreparable negative blow that will considerably damage the independence of the court and harm the quality and efficiency of justice! [...] E. Beselia and politicians like her are not interested in the practice of modern democracies! In fact, they want that the Supreme Court be composed of individuals from the outside, by politicized non-governmental organizations and by themselves, i.e. by the people favored by them or Beselia and politicians like her. This is in direct contradiction with the recommendations of the Venice Commission and the foreign practice“.

Sergo Metofishvili’s post of December 31, 2018¹¹: “Lately, we have heard the speeches of some members of the Parliament as if driven by the motive to “improve” the judicial system. In fact, we are facing a rather worrying, poorly disguised attempt – to punish the judiciary for disagreeing with them completely lawful actions. In fact, everything is simple – why we did not agree in advance the list of candidates for judges with Beselia and

⁷ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/11>

⁸ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1>

⁹ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/11Y>

¹⁰ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/11Y>

“dared“ to present the list without consulting her. In fact, this is the reason why certain political groups (and not the reasonable part of the government) want to gain influence within the judiciary and staff the Supreme Court with the individuals which are loyal to them. Levan Gogichaishvili and his like-minded companions are directly threatening and intend to punish the High Council of Justice using legislative tools. This poses a serious threat to the development of the truly independent judiciary resulting from the effective reforms of the last years. We have repeatedly said that since 2012, the Georgian Dream government has undertaken good reforms in the judiciary, due to which, the judicial system was released from political pressure and influence from politicians! It is so good that the absolute majority of the ruling political force which actually cares for the development of the country and the judiciary, instead of trying to gain unlawful influence, retains its healthy position! Therefore, the attempts of Eka Beselia and her followers cannot change the situation!”

2. PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF PAATA SILAGADZE

Candidate Paata Silagadze was one of the 10 people on the list which, on December 26, 2018, were nominated by the High Council of Justice of Georgia to the Parliament of Georgia to elect as judges to the Supreme Court. Following a heated public protest, the candidate, along with other judges present on the list, distributed an appeal to the Parliament requesting not to consider their candidates. In particular, the statement made by 10 judges says: “Regrettably, at the same time, often, there were made many unethical and insulting expressions against the candidates that, later, resulted artificially in a campaign of unprecedented pressure on the government. During this campaign, there can be heard direct calls for disrupting, in a repressive manner, the High Court of Justice, and driving out of the judicial system the unacceptable judges, including those present on the list. All of this directly harms the independence of the judiciary and harshly violates the principle of the rule of law. Even though, the High Council of Justice of Georgia has unambiguously acted within its mandate and has closely followed the applicable legislation.”¹²

3. INTERVIEW WITH THE CANDIDATE PAATA SILAGADZE THE HIGH COUNCIL OF JUSTICE



Question by IRMA GELASHVILI, a member of the High Council of Justice to Judge Paata Silagadze: “Can you say that, according to Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the freedom of religion is subject to restrictions if it is also conditioned by the protection of moral? What do you think we need to maintain the balance in this case? Are you aware of the practice of the European Court of Human Rights? ”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:



I have not studied the judicial practice with this respect, but at least what I know is that everyone is equal before religion and the faith and we should not offend each another’s religion or belief.”



Question by NAZI JANEZASHVILI, member of the Council to Judge Paata Silagadze: “You have been a judge for more than 10 years, and during this time, has there ever been a case where you wanted to communicate a dissenting opinion?”

¹¹ Full version of the post is available on: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/11mVtZ7>

¹² „10 judges address the Parliament requesting that their candidacies are not considered“, <https://reginfo.ge/people/item/1>.

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze's response:

“ I think that after 2013 the attitude towards the judiciary has become so tense that the Conference of Judges often has to express its opinion. Before that, the Conference worked somewhat in a different mode. I believe that during the attack on the judicial system, I too had to join the overall opinion of the judiciary. I think that there were attacks on the court and in this case, the court's position was right. “



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: “Could you assess the period when you were a member of the High Council of Justice? You served there from 2013... Then, already a few months before you left the position. Why?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

“ I was nominated as the Chair of the Qualification Chamber of the Supreme Court. Therefore, one excludes the other. In a few months, my power would run out, anyway. So, I considered working at the new chamber interesting. However, not many cases were received with this respect. “



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „Did you have any initiative?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

“ I had no initiative, however, together with the team, I was fighting for the independence of the judiciary. In that period, the High Council of Justice was elected in a new manner and we argued with each other with regard to certain issues. I too participated in the discussion. Although, alone, I had no personal initiative. I did not even have time for that, because I had to review so many cases at the Supreme Court.“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „Have you ever been dissatisfied with not having a dissenting opinion?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

“ One should not feel dissatisfaction because of a dissenting opinion. I should not be insulted by anyone because of my different views and I should not feel myself awkwardly... I might have a dissenting opinion about a certain colleague of mine, however, I have never publicly discussed it. We have discussed it between us, or I have accepted my colleague's viewpoint, or my colleague has shared my viewpoint, or just a different opinion emerged during the discussion“.



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „In December 2015, Levan Murusidze was appointed for a 3-year probation term. Then, you were a member of the High Council of Georgia. Could you remember the arguments used by the Council at that time to support this decision?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

“ I would like to tell my individual point of view. I have known Levan for a long time. We worked as assistants when we first met. From 1999, I worked at the District Court and later, Levan also started working there. I have my attitude towards this person which is always positive that is conditioned by his education, professionalism, human relations which were decisive factors for me in this case. I supported his candidacy for his knowledge and experience. Let others say the reasons for supporting or not other candidates. It is a fact that he received a sufficient number of votes and was appointed as a judge.“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „I would like to ask about the problems existing within the system mentioned in many reports. One of them was drafted by the US Department of State that, during the last two years, stated that there is a group of influential judges within the judiciary. Anyway, this is what the report talks about, and that the judges were vulnerable both before the internal influences and possibly, the external influences as well. In your opinion, how does such issue is included in the reports? And the second question: Is there, in fact, an influential group of judges within the system?“

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:



Let`s discuss in this manner. What this report has been based on? Have they themselves carried out a re-search or rely on someone`s research? And secondly, it has been 21 years on June 27 that I have been working in the judicial system. Probably, the position that was lower than my position I started working at was that of a janitor. I have witnessed all the stages, reforms and changes. I served as the secretary of the session, as an assistant, a judge. I worked at the Council, the office, the Department of Common Courts as well. Nothing like it has ever been before and after and even more so, today. It can be said that I have been right in the core of the judiciary because I worked at the Supreme Court, as well as a judge of the court of appeal and I felt nothing like it. I have never experienced such a fact. Which kind of influences we are talking about? Everyone is doing his job. No one has ever said and dared to tell me to do something in a particular manner. No one will ever say and dare to tell me. Otherwise, I have a friendly and respectful attitude towards everyone. I feel the same attitude towards myself.“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „The Parliament needed to make a political decision and discuss the issue of presence of political prisoners in the country. Do you think that this is the accusation concerning the fact that in the country, the criminal justice, including the court, was somewhat of another kind and that is acted in a different manner, not in the interests of human rights? Why did the Parliament need to discuss this issue, if everything was right within the judiciary?“

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:



I am not aware of the reason. You can ask them about it. A person may commit a crime because he holds a political position or do this during some particular act of protest. I can remember only one or two cases where the offenders were pardoned by political motifs (they had a 1-year period to apply to the court). In one case, there was a situation in which he was involved in an act of protest that, then, resulted in demolishing a building. He was politically protesting, however, this does not mean that he did not commit a crime. It is impossible to say that every person, wherever he is involved, is politically motivated. The cases I have examined contained a sufficient number of evidences that the persons were offenders...“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „I would like to know about your attitude towards the entry in the Constitution that deals with marriage. It is discriminatory? And if not, why?“

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:



Does the Convention contain the same provision? It is similar, almost analogous. I think it is not discriminatory. According to my belief and religion, the relation between a man and a woman is considered marriage, however, I respect any decision of a person if he/she has a wish to marry in the manner he/she wants.“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI's question to the candidate: „You were included in the list presented to the Parliament of Georgia by the majority of members of the High Council of Justice in December 2018. How you were included in it?“

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

” I do not know. Cannot remember it. I think I received a call from the office saying: the Council was considering nominating my candidacy and asked, if I would submit my application of consent” (he additionally noted that he did not remember who exactly gave the call from the office; however, he remembered that he signed the application of consent).



NAZI JANEZASHVILI’s question to the candidate: “What do you think if an entry concerning gender is changed in the registration without surgery? Should a female transgender have the right to apply to appropriate authorities requesting the change of the entry without surgery?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

” This is probably a matter of discussion by the judges working in a different area. If you ask me, as a regular citizen, about it, I may not be able to answer. I think that the problem here is probably related the entry. This is an organic law referred to - so to speak, to identify, whether a person is a woman or a man, establish the first and family names, etc. If a person makes changes and she is actually a woman and changes her first and family names and be recorded as a woman and recognizable, then, I think, there is no problem. But now, if I go and ask to write a woman’s first and family names, and I am a man and wear pants, this probably will cause some problems, will not it?“



NAZI JANEZASHVILI’s question to the candidate: “What does a transgender mean?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

” A person may be a man, but in his psychological attitude, he may consider himself a woman and vice versa, be a woman saying: “I am a man. I would like to record a man`s first and second names...“.



NAZI JANEZASHVILI’s question to the candidate: “What does a gender mean to you?”

Response of Judge Paata Silagadze:

” A gender, theoretically speaking, means the gender equality of a man and a woman, does not it? I do not remember some special definitions for it“.

6. კანდიდატის ფინანსური კალდებულებები და შემოსავლები

1. REAL ESTATE



2015
APARTMENT IN TBILISI
GEL 60 250



2015
APARTMENT IN TBILISI
GEL 104 810



2011
LAND PARCEL IN KUTAISI
GEL 3 000



2011
HOUSE IN KUTAISI
GEL 2 000



2011
HOUSE IN KUTAISI
GEL 5 000



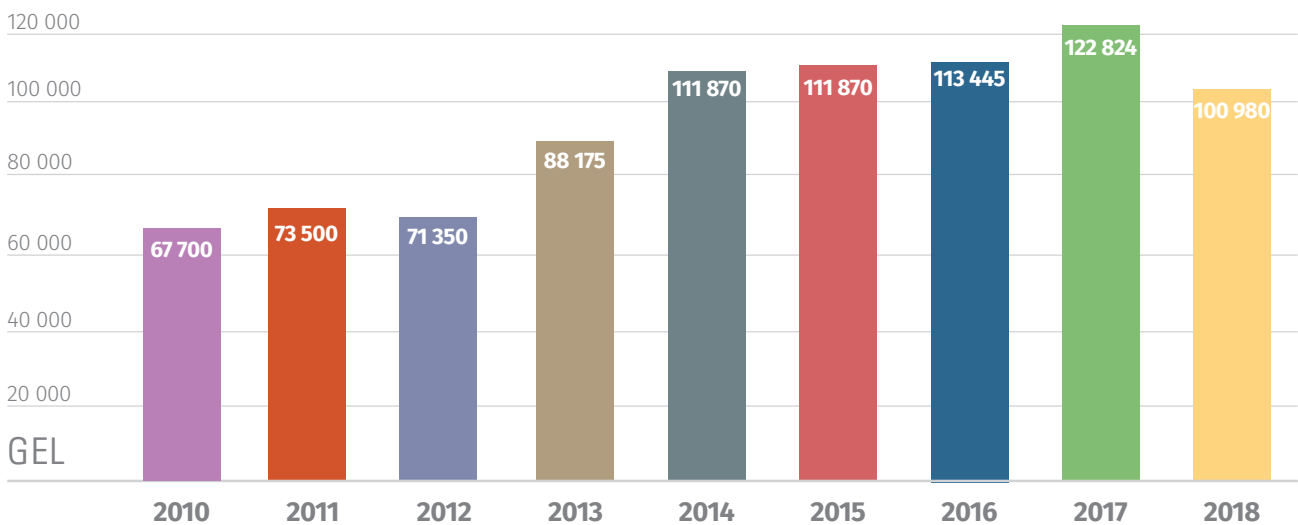
2018
LEIGHT VEHICLE
TOYOTA CAMRY 2012
GEL 15 000

2. FINANCE

Judge Paata Silagadze has been a judge of the Supreme Court since 2008. During this period, his salary almost amounted to a million (939,965) GEL. The highest income received by the candidate was in 2017 – approximately GEL 122, 824.

As regards the salary of the spouse of the judge, Tea Giorgadze working as the chief prosecutor at the department of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia, her income in the years 2014–2018 was GEL 154,115.

Paata Silagadze has no recorded current bank obligations. His wife has a mortgage loan at TBC Bank in the amount of GEL 60,000.





- When studying the financial biography of Judge Paata Silagadze, it was found that his brother, Lasha Silagadze has been associated with various companies of Bidzina Ivanishvili the legal addresses of three of which coincided with the address of the office of Cartu Bank (39a Chavchavadze Street); he also has a connection with close members of Ivanishvili's associates. Until July 29 2018, Lasha Silagadze was the Director of the following three companies: 1) Tabori Resorts LLC, 2) Georgian Eco Transport Ltd and 3) Sports Hotel & Resorts LLC. Then, in all these three organizations, he as the director was replaced by Giorgi Toradze.

It is noteworthy that these companies are owned by the Tourism Development Fund LLC founded by the Georgian Co-Investment Fund. The latter was founded in 2013 by the initiative of Bidzina Ivanishvili. Its financial contribution to the organization was 15% of the fund's total capital. The Tourism Development Fund, in turn, is owned by FRANKSTON INTERNATIONAL S.A. (100%), a Panamanian offshore corporation affiliated with Bidzina Ivanishvili.

It should be noted that before Lasha Silagadze occupied the position of the director of the above companies, this position was held by Irakli Karseladze, a person related to Bidzina Ivanishvili. He is currently the First Deputy Minister of Regional Development and Infrastructure. Previously, he worked as the Director of the Supervisory Board of the Co-Investment Fund. Irakli Karseladze has filed an application for registration of Tabori Resorts LLC, where Lasha Silagadze later became the director.

Judge Paata Silagadze's brother is also associated with one more person, Gela Koberidze. On his name are registered two applications for founding the two companies (Georgian Eco Transport Ltd and Sports Hotel & Resorts Ltd) where Lasha Silagadze held the position of the director. In parallel, Gela Koberidze is the director of the Black Sea Arena the holder of 100% shares of which is the offshore company LIMESTONE FINANCE INTERNATIONAL S.A. affiliated with Bidzina Ivanishvili. It is also interesting that in 2012-2018, Mr. Koberidze donated GEL 11 000 to the Georgian Dream and Salome Zourabichvili.

- Gocha Chikviladze is one more person from Bidzina Ivanishvili's associates the Judge Paata Silagadze's brother is related to. All the three companies where Lasha Silagadze held the position of a director, are registered at the legal address of Cartu Bank, for which Gocha Chikviladze gave his consent. For years, Mr. Chikviladze has been an active contributor to the government. In 2012-2019, he donated GEL 161,630 in favor of the Georgian Dream.



Authors: EDUARD MARIKASHVILI, ANA NATSVLISHVILI, GIORGI BERAIA, IRAKLI GVARAMADZE, ZAZA ABASHIDZE

Editors: DAVIT PAICHADZE, GIORGI CHITIDZE, SOPHIO ASATIANI, INA GRIGALISHVILI Designer: BESIK DANELIA

Open Society foundation would like to thank following individuals for their contribution:

SALOME KVIRIKASHVILI, MARIAM ORZHONIA, LASHA JUGHELI, TINATIN CHACHUKASHVILI, GVANTSA KAKHIDZE, TEONA BABUTSIDZE, KHATIA NIKOLAISHVILI, SHOTA KOBALIA

PREPARED BY THE OPEN SOCIETY GEORGIA FOUNDATION