

TAMAZ NADAREISHVILI

*Conspiracy
Against
Georgia*





"Returning to Abkhazeti, revival of the Georgian gene and spirit there is the goal of my life."

T. Nadareishvili

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TAMAZ NADAREISHVILI

CONSPIRACY AGAINST GEORGIA

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*I dedicate this book to the memory of
those sons of this country who fought in
the Abkhazian war and fell in action for
the indigenously Georgian land.*



TAMAZ NADAREISHVILI, Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Academician of the International Academy of Informatization, Academician of Abkhaz Academy of Sciences, Member of the Georgian Parliament, Member of the Security Council of Georgia, Major – General, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazian Autonomous Republic.

T. Nadareishvili was born on 19 July 1954 in the town of Gagra, Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. In 1971 – 1974 he studied at Tbilisi Military School. He graduated from Abkhaz State University. In 1974 – 1979 worked in the State Security Committee of Gagra. During the years 1979 – 1990 he worked at different social and political posts, including that of Second Secretary of Gagra Town Committee. In 1990 he was elected Deputy to the Supreme Council of Georgia, and in 1991, Deputy to the Supreme Council of Abkhazia. In the January of 1992 he was elected first Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia and in October 1992, a member of the Parliament of Georgia. In November 1992 he was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia. After a period of unemployment, from July 1993 till November 1993, he was appointed Adviser to the Head of the state, and in December 1993, Vice – Chairman of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers. In February 1995 T. Nadareishvili was elected Chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia in exile, and has been a member of the Georgian National Security Council since then. In 1999 he was elected a member of the Georgian Parliament.

In April 1993 T. Nadareishvili was given the rank of Major – General.

In July 1993 he was decorated with the Order of Vakhtang Gorgasali First Class.

In 1998 he was awarded Giorgi Sharva Shidze State Prize.

In 1997 he was elected Academician of the International Academy of Informatization, and in 1998 Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Abkhazia.

In 2000 T. Nadareishvili defended a thesis for a doctor's degree, "Ethnic Purge and Genocide – a Weapon of Aggressive Separatism". He wrote 4 books, 22 scientific papers, numerous other publications, including articles in newspapers and journals.

He is Chairman of Abkhazian Liberation Party which is represented in the Georgian Parliament as a fraction.

He is married, has two children and grandchildren.

Tamaz Nadareishvili is closely related to Abkhazia by birth. His ancestors were a family of Abkhaz nobility, Sharvashidze, who had been ruling Abkhazia, that most beautiful part of Georgia, for many centuries.

The first representative of the Sharvashidze family to be mentioned in the Georgian chronicles was Otago Chachas-dze (Chacha's son), described as King Bagrat IV's (11th century) faithful high official, who laid siege to the fortress of Anakopia. Later the name of Sharvashidze came up in the time of Queen Tamar. Since that time on the Sharvashidzes had been Abkhaz "eristavis" (governors) and "mtavaris" (grand princes), up to 1864 when the Russian Empire abolished the "samtavro" (principality) of Abkhazia.

Tamaz Nadareishvili's maternal great grandfather, Grigol Sharvashidze, was a member of the family of an Abkhaz "Mtavari", whose father, Alexandre, known also as Ali-Bei Sharvashidze, has been a highly influential figure in Abkhazia, the owner and governor of what is now Ochamchira district.

Grigol Sharvashidze was a prominent figure in the past century Abkhazia. A Prince in the rank of Lieutenant General, he was a highly educated erudite, faithful to his fellow-countrymen and his native Abkhazia which he loved infinitely and could only see its future within a single Georgian State.

Grigol Sharvashidze kept up close relationships with the outstanding representatives of Georgian popular movement — Ilya Chavchavadze, Niko Nikoladze, Dimitri Kipiani, Raphiel Eristavi. Grigol Sharvashidze's son, Alexandre Sharvashidze, Mayor of the town of Sokhumi, and his grandson Giorgi, were members of the deputation from Abkhazia, that arrived in Tbilisi in 1916 to visit the Vice-Roy and put forward a firm demand — not to separate Abkhazia from Georgia.

Abkhazia has always been an inseparable part of Georgia, and the outstanding heirs of the noble family, the Sharvashidzes, have always been striving for the integrity of their mother-land. Today Tamaz Nadareishvili is continuing his ancestors' great mission — struggle for the integrity of this country, in order to establish a united, strong state of Georgia.

Editor

INTRODUCTION

The war in Abkhazia: it was conspiracy against Georgia, that had been planned long before, carefully schemed for several years.

In my book "genocide in Abkhazia" I described those crimes that the separatists had committed against the people with the purpose to exterminate the Georgian population both during and after the warfare; I showed the cruelty and perfidy that the separatists revealed in their punitive operations. In this book, "Conspiracy Against Georgia" I made an attempt to shed light upon the fact that the separatist regime has been and is still kept up by Ardzinba in full conformity with the decisions made by Russian imperial policy.

The reader will also find some glimpses on the history of the indigenous Georgian province Abkhazia. The documents will clearly evidence how certain organizations of Russia transferred arms to the criminal government of Abkhazia both before and after the war. This is one of the basic factors that encouraged and supported the aggression and occupation of Abkhazia. The documentary evidence will confirm the unwarrantable policy of Russia against Georgia. Various orders, statements, views issued or expressed by Russia's politicians, diplomats or heads of different forces contain absolutely groundless claims and insidious schemes against Georgia.

Politicians of higher ranks of Russia's so-called reactionary circles had been planning warfares in those of the former Soviet republics that showed particular aspiration to independence. The headquarters in Russia had issued plans for the occupation of Gagra, Sokhumi, etc.

This policy of Georgia's northern neighbour proves clearly that instead of reasonable, good-neighbourly partnership Russia has chosen the "soviet", imperial standards, delaying full withdrawal of the Russian military bases and responding adversely to every step taken by Georgia towards the West.

"Conspiracy Against Georgia" was written on the basis of documentary evidence to reveal Russia's imperial policy aimed at Georgia's national interests, to show the activities of the Russian troops that led to the occupation of this part of Georgia.

The book is an attempt to state the final diagnosis for Abkhazia's tragedy, since wrong remedies will never cure a disease; and above all, it will be impossible to restore the laws of historical process and civil peace in Abkhazia until the whole truth has been spoken out, and the local separatism and foreign occupation have been clearly demonstrated.

This edition of the book is a new, updated version of the 1998 edition, although I have withdrawn the list of those peaceful citizens who fell victims to the Abkhaz secessionist regime. The list is available in that earlier edition, and the readers can find over 5000 names of innocent people who were killed as a result of the ethnic purge and genocide against Georgia.

The Author

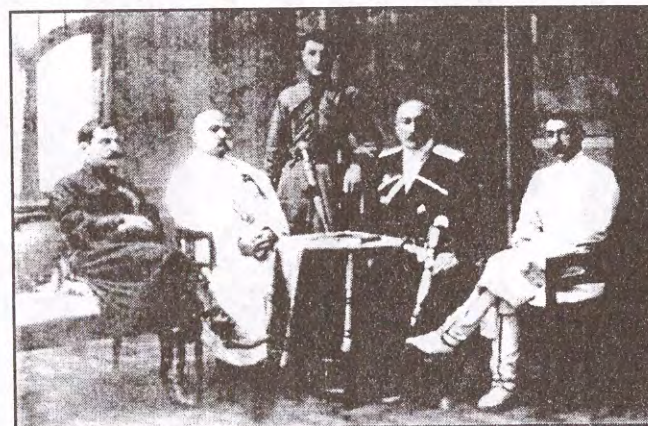
RETROSPECTION TO THE PAST HISTORY

The world is now more or less familiar with the small country of Georgia located on the boundary between Europe and Asia, with her centuries—old history and fascinating nature. The educated part of the world's population also know that the Georgian alphabet is one of the world's 14 unique alphabets, which has brought us samples of original writing dating as far back as the first centuries of Christianity.

There are both local and foreign written documents evidencing that Georgia's boundaries once spread wide from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea shores. Ages—long struggle against enemies left traces in her territory and on the boundaries.

Throughout its long history, Georgia celebrated numerous victories, but there were defeats as well. However despite the dramatic losses that Georgia suffered, she never experienced any tendency to predatory wars, and has managed to keep her singular history, culture, nature and national gene complex up to this day.

Abkhazia is one of the oldest and most beautiful area of Georgia, and it has always been Georgia's inseparable part, indigenous land,



The Abkhazian deputation that arrived in Tbilisi in 1916



Ilya Chavchavadze in Sokhumi in 1903. The photo was taken in the courtyard of Grigol Sharvashidze's estate where his children arranged a great reception to honour the prominent guest.



like Imereti, Kakheti, Guria, Racha – Lechkhumi, Ajaria, Samegrelo, Svaneti.

Numerous foreign sources provide historical evidences confirming that Abkhazia, or as it was also named, Colkhi, was inhabited by ancient Georgian tribes, Colkhs (Hecath of Miletia, a Greek writer of the 6th cent. B.C.), Meskhs (Helanic of Mitilenia, 5th cent. B.C., Strabo, 1st cent. B.C.) Lazs (Memnon). The "Abazgis" were mentioned in his – torical sources of the 2nd cent. A.D., thus proving that the Georgian tribes had inhabited the territory of Abkhazia long before the Abazgis, who, as a matter of fact, were also Georgians according both to his – torical and cultural processes of development. The Georgian origin of the Abkhaz people is confirmed by numerous centuries – old tiles bear – ing Georgian inscriptions and found in the temples of Mokvi, Bedia, Ilori, Lykhny, Bicheinta, 328 pages of in the year 1300, the Georgian names of the Abkhaz nobility (Sharvashidze, Anchabadze, Emukhvari, Marshania) and their traditional adherence to the Georgian language, Georgian church, Georgian statehood, even at a time when some members of the Sharvashidze family were forced to adopt Muslimism.

"Statehood in Georgia is of about three millennia standing, the oldest states known being Diaokhi and the Colkha, which emerged in the 13th–12th centuries B.C. The state of Diaokhi later became Iberia (Kartli), while Colkha's heir was the old state of Colkhis which took shape in the 6th cent. B.C. The ancient state of Colkhis expanded over the whole western territory of Georgia covering nearly the whole eastern Black Seaside area, spreading from the regions South of the present-day Batumi up to those round Novorossyisk and the r. Kuban, thus including present-day Abkhazia, as an inseparable part of it.

Both Colkha and the state of Colkhis were made up by Georgian tribes, mainly the Colkhs (Colkhs, Kols, Korakses, Saniks, Lazs) and closely related to them Kartlis and Svans. Those were the tribes who were and still are the aboriginal inhabitants of this territory." (G. Gogoladze, *"The Questions of Abkhaz 'Saeristavo' (Princedom), Present-Day Abkhazia's Old Ethnos and the Ethnos's Heritage"*, Tbilisi, 1995, p.38).

"Abkhazia is not only genuinely part and parcel of Georgia, but also a symbol of Georgia's integrity. Late in the 10th cent. Georgian King Bagrat III moved his Court to Abkhazia, and it was from there that he guided the process of uniting Georgia and making it again a powerful state after it had been divided into separate provinces under the Persian and Arab domination. It was then that the name "Abkhazia" acquired a new meaning symbolizing an expanded geographical area" (T. Mibchuani, "Bloody Traces of Abkhaz Secessionism", Tbilisi, 1994, p. 7).

Today the Abkhaz call Abkhazia "Apsny", but the name is completely unfamiliar and meaningless to the rest of the world. The world knows this place under the name of Abkhazia, as the Georgians call it, since this name is associated with the Georgian statehood and Georgian Christian faith.

Giorgi Merchule, a progressive figure of the 10th century, referred to Abkhazia as **"a magnificent country that is considered to be Georgian, wherein the liturgy in churches and prayers are performed in Georgian."**

Since the emancipation from the Byzantine domination, the Georgian language has been used in churches and in book writing, which is still another point to prove that Abkhazia has always been an inseparable part of Georgia.

It was at the turn of the 20th century, however that the Abkhaz started attacking the Georgian phenomenon under the mark of national self – consciousness. There was absolutely no reason for that in reality, but it was inspired by the Russian Tsar with the purpose to tear apart the Georgian nation, Russify the population and take full possession of the Black Seashore area of Abkhazia. But the Abkhaz of that time who had always been Georgians ethnically, traditionally and by birth, strongly opposed to that policy of Russia, and in 1916 a deputation consisting of representatives of the nobility – Sharvashidze, Emulakhvari, Inal – Ipa, Dziaphipa, Chukbari, arrived in Tbilisi to meet the Tsar's representative, 'vice – roy', and submit a categorical demand, stating that Abkhazia had always been Georgia's inseparable part, firmly fused with her in flesh and blood, since time immemorial till now. But what Tsarist Russia was unable to achieve then the Soviet empire managed to do expertly.

During the whole period of the Soviet ruling, the past history of the USSR's nations became more or less clear: plenty of documents were found and studied, a lot of puzzling issues were solved, certain progress was made in cleaning up ethnogenetic archaeological and ethnographic problems of some nations. Still, there were exceptions to that, and one of them was Abkhazia. A kind of veto was cast upon any scientific research of the history of the Abkhaz people. It was a fact well known among the scholars here, but now it is known in much broader circles.

The aim of that "veto" was to cut the Abkhaz people away from Georgians and make it a separate nation. In this way the "great Russian Power" would be able to secede that Heavenly land from Georgia and subordinate it to Russia's interests. Back in the 16th century Russia had acquired an exit into the Baltic Sea as a result of a victorious war against the Livonian Order. After the collapse of the USSR Russia's primary goal became appropriation of the Black Sea coast, and it used all the available means and tools to do it. We are witnessing the consequences now.

The Abkhaz separatists are still continuing to line their pockets at the expense of the devilish crimes they have committed, but the world's past history has more than once proved that the evil cannot last forever. The separatists' dark, wicked ways will be cut short and the truth about the Abkhaz people's past and their ethnic root will win the day.

It was in 1913 that Academician *Ivane Javakhishvili* wrote: **"The population of Colchis belongs to three Georgian branches – Laz – Megrelians, Apshil – Abkhaz and Svans."** The great Georgian scholar considered the Apshil – Abkhaz people to be Georgians, just as were the Laz – Megrelians and Svans. And he would not say anything without a sound reason.

Later on this statement was confirmed in the works of Simon Janashia, Niko Berdzenishvili and Pavle Ingorokva. However, the Soviet imperial historiography distorted the truth and declared the Abkhaz people with shameless lies, filling them with hatred towards Georgians. Since then the Abkhaz avoided their own true history and guided by the higher authorities, persecuted those honest scholars who dared to tell the truth. As a consequence, the 8th volume of the Georgian History by Niko Berdzenishvili was withdrawn from print and vanished,



Giorgi Sharvashidze, a poet and public figure, a descendant of Abkhazia's last "mtavari" Mikheil Sharvashidze.

great Pavle Ingorokva was trampled down and prof. Khukhut Bgzhba had to escape to Tbilisi.

Meanwhile, under the guidance of Russian reactionary forces, both as instructors and co-authors, there began publication of the history of Abkhazia inflated like a soap bubble to a multi-volume size and printed in a great number of copies. The young Abkhaz historian Stanislav Lakoba, encouraged by Turchaninovs and Voronovs who actually mocked him and pushed him towards false ideals, went so far as declared and even "proved" that the future mankind's common language will be "Apsu".

There can hardly be any different consequences to a false

science. The world already had a chance to witness the results of such ideology advocated by fascist Germany.

The only way to safety for the Abkhaz people is to establish the historical truth, as the great Georgian writer and scholar Ilia Chavchavadze said. Without the clear historical truth, both the present and the future will remain in shadows. This vagueness and confusion was followed by the provocative Abkhaz war. If the Abkhaz people had known their true history they would never have unleashed the war against Georgians, as their ancestors had never done before. Genuine Abkhaz people had always been faithful to the Georgian national consciousness. One of the best representatives of the Abkhaz and the heir of the last "mtavari" was a poet and social figure Giorgi Sharvashidze.

After the "samtavro" of Abkhazia had been abolished, he took part in the movement against Russian rule in Abkhazia, which grew into a

revolt in the July of 1866. One of the Abkhaz's main claim implied a firm union with Georgia. The rebels chose Giorgi Sharvashidze as "mtavari", but additional Russian troops brought into Abkhazia, suppressed the rebellion. Some of the leaders were executed in public. Giorgi Sharvashidze was exiled to Russia and had no right to return to Abkhazia till 1905.

In Petersburg he was offered some brilliant career; however, he rejected that offer since he was only too well aware of the northern neighbour's treacherous plans aimed at splitting Abkhazia from Georgia. As one of his contemporaries recalled, **"Since youth had Giorgi loathed everything that came from the Russian Court, and loved with all his soul all that was related to the Georgian world."** He considered the whole Georgia to be his mother-land.

G. Sharvashidze wrote: **"It is true, that our mother-land Iveria has undergone great sufferings in her cultural life, but our past came to a halt and such confusion that all the laws of natural evolution got mixed up. Indeed, we have the right to say straightforwardly that if Fate hadn't turned her back on us, we would have been ahead of Europe long ago, because while Apostle Andrew was teaching the Christian faith in this country, even the Dukes of Europe were wearing ox-hides, walking barefoot and hunting in the woods with spears. After that we managed to keep up our culture and bring it, through warfare and struggle, up to the reign of Queen Tamar – the Golden period of Iveria! But then the nation's existence went all in the wrong way. Invaders wouldn't leave us alone, the people got tired. The great intellectual and material values began to decline, the original cultural life went to pieces. The language got impoverished, the morals deteriorated, the material wealth was lost, knighthood and nobleness were forgotten and, eventually, we have come down to a time when unfaithfulness and treason have become the only ways to well-being."** (G. Sharvashidze, *"The Sakartvelo"*, 1997, nos. 137 – 140)

It is the unfaithfulness and treason of the fellow-countrymen, that the indigenous Georgian population of Abkhazia, the Abkhazians, whose origin is doubtlessly Georgian and only Georgian, are reaping. The time has come when the truth ought to be declared and acknowledged; we have had too much falseness and lies.

It has become possible to uncover the truth about the history of the Abkhaz people and shed light on it. Everything and everyone must be given their true names. A number of important research papers have been published lately, and it is absolutely necessary to publish them in Russian and other foreign languages. It will help break through that ideological barrier which the Abkhaz secessionists have put up, like the Great Chinese Wall. This is a most urgent goal, since no enemy can be defeated without a victory on the ideological front.

"I am certain, that in due time the Abkhaz people will begin to see clearly who has brought them to the tragic outcome... None of the Abkhaz leaders that came to power after the Muhajirs, have ever brought such misery upon the people, made them face the hazard of physical extinction, as the present-day narrow-minded rulers have done... The world must be informed at last that what is going on in Abkhazia is in reality a methodical slaughter of the Abkhaz and Georgian people in favour of a third power". (L. Marshania, *"The Sakartvelos Respublica"*, 23.01.1993).

Below are some conclusions made on the basis of comprehensive scientific investigations into the ethnic sources of the historical Abkhaz population, toponymy, monuments and records of the past:

1. Before the 17th century there had been no records to show any Adygean, Cherkess or Apsu geographical names. The whole toponymy had been purely Georgian, basically, of Megrel-Svanetian origin. Even those toponyms or hydronyms that once were considered as Adyg-Cherkessian (Supsa, Maltakva, etc) proved to be Georgian. Abaz toponymy (Psou, Psirtskha, Abzhua and oth.) appeared only after the 16th – 17th centuries, for instance, the area between the rr. Kodori and Galidzga was called "Shua Sopeli" (Georgian for Mid-country), and after the 18th century it acquired the name "Abzhua" which meant the same in the Apsu language.

There are 14 or 15 maps of Abkhazia of the 1st – 17th centuries; however, none of them have been included in any of the Abkhaz research papers, since all the geographical names in those maps are Georgian.

2. All the monuments of the past of history and culture of Abkhazia prior to the 19th century are Georgian, except, maybe, Sokhumi fortress wall which was built by Turks. There was not a single non-Georgian

monument of Abkhazia before the 19th century. All those monuments bear Georgian writings.

3. From the 8th century on all the kings or "mtavaris" of Abkhazia were not only Georgian-oriented, but also were ethnically Georgian, coming from the Tao-Klarjeti branch of the Bagrationis or local noble families of Marushiani, Shavliani, Dadiani and Sharvashidze. **"The Abkhaz Kings are offsprings of the King of Kartli, Vakhtang Gorgasali"** (Vardan Vardapet, *"Armenian Chronicles"*, 13th cent.)

4. Before the 17th century (up to the year 1621) the population of Abkhazia was purely Georgian, without even one representative of the North-Caucasian families. This fact was proved by the information drawn from Bichvinta Great Book and Georgian Ecclesiastical and secular chronicles.

"Abkhazia is a country inhabited by Christian people named 'Gurji'" (Iketh Al-Hamaf, an Arabian author, 13th cent.)

5. Nowadays, about 80% of the Abkhaz people have Georgian family names and have namesakes elsewhere in Georgia, and 12–13% have come from the North Caucasus.

"The Christian Abkhazs are Georgians, while the heathen Abkhazs are of the North Caucasian descent." (Evliya Celebi, a Turkish traveler, 17th century).

6. Anthropologically, the Abkhaz differ from the Adyg-Abaz ethnic type, and fit the anthropological type characteristic of Western Georgia (basically, Megrelian).

Historically, Abkhazia had been Samegrelo's home-front, rear Samegrelo.

"Anthropological evidence proves the historical relations of the Abkhaz with the Georgian rather than the Adygean world. The Abkhaz began joining in the nations of the Adyg family much later and, in any case, it was only a secondary event in their ethnic history." (V.P. Alekseev, *"The origin of the Peoples of the Caucasus"* Moscow, 1974, p.194 – in Russian).

7. Until the end of the 19th century there had been no written records made up in the Apsu language. All the known historical sources are in Georgian.

The above said fully rejects the obviously false statement that the history of the Apsu statehood is 2000 years old. A people without a

written language and alphabet could never have a state or any significant culture. At least, there is no evidence of this kind in the history of the world.

The state structure in Abkhazia had always been considered as an inseparable part of Georgia. There are numerous foreign historical, literary, cultural and other sources confirming the fact.

"Sokhumi is a Georgian town" (Abul Fida, 12–14th cent.).

A well-known Russian traveller of the 15th century Afanasii Nikitin mentioned Sokhumi Cape as **"Трузинская земля"** ("The Georgian land").

Basing on the written records of the past, the famous scholar Pavle Ingorokva stated that "the 8th century "Abkhaz Kingdom" was inhabited by Georgian tribes, and not only then, but throughout the old history, including the time of Antiquity and Middle Ages. The Abkhaz proper and other tribes inhabiting Abkhazia (Absils, Misimians, Sanikhs) were likewise of Georgian origin, speaking a Georgian dialect, just as the other west Georgian Tribes did (Kartvels, Megrels and Svans) ".

According to Pavle Ingorokva, the Abkhaz "eristavis" led the Abkhaz and the whole West Georgian people in the struggle against the Byzantine Imperial domination.

After the liberation from the Byzantine domination, and formation of the "Abkhaz Kingdom", a clear-cut, purely Georgian state policy was launched in western Georgia. The Greek language which had been the main state language in western Georgia due to the Byzantine domination, was officially abolished by the Abkhaz rebellious rulers and was fully replaced by the Georgian language. The Greek language was abolished in the Church; instead, Georgian was adopted. The church, which had hierarchically been subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, seceded from the latter and joined the Kartli (Iberian) Catholicosdom.

"The time of Abkhaz Kingdom was an epoch of Georgian state policy's full and conclusive victory in western Georgia.

All this would certainly seem odd and obscure if we assumed that the Abkhaz Kingdom was formed as a result of occupation of western Georgia by some non-Georgian tribe. Nothing of the kind ever took place; a Georgian state (i.e. "Abkhaz Kingdom") was formed in western Georgia by Georgian tribes, one of which was Abkhaz" (Pavle Ingorokva "Giorgi Merchule", Tbilisi, 1954, p. 117).

In his work "Grigol Khandzteli's Life" written in 951, Giorgi Merchule referred to Abkhazia as an inseparable part of Georgia. As a matter of fact, the Georgian Kings, as a rule, spent the winter seasons in Abkhazia. This fact was mentioned in Giorgi Mtsire's work "The life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli" written in 1066 – 1068: "... let us fare to Abkhazia in order to rest and pass the wintertime there." Moreover, Giorgi Mtatsmindeli referred to Abkhazia as "our country".

The literary and historical sources of the subsequent period also depict Abkhazia as part and parcel of Georgia. A famous Georgian scholar and geographer Vakhushti Bagrationi described Abkhazia as Georgia's most fascinating part, her indigenous land ("Description of the Kingdom of Georgia")

It would be absolutely illogical to accept the statement of some pseudo-historians that the Abkhaz Kingdom which was considered a strong power in the 8–10th cent. and united the whole western Georgia, was a state of only Abkhazs. In reality, it was then that the Abkhaz "saeristavo" grew strong and, being a part of Georgia, united the whole western Georgia. Majority of the population were Georgians and **"The Abkhaz Kingdom was a Georgian state regarding its culture, history, writing, language and state policy; and the Abkhaz Kings were Georgians"** (Academician Mariam Lordkipanidze). By the end of the 17th cent. Georgia's population was over 600,000. According to the 1770 census, 220,000 lived in Kartli – Kakheti, 119,000 in Imereti, 75,000 in Megrelia, and 64,000 in Abkhazia – not 600,000 as the Abkhaz historians Shalva Inal – Ipa, Ashuba, Lakoba and other claim.

In 1867 the population of Abkhazia was about 65,000, of which 22,000 lived in Samurzakano. According to the 1926 census the Georgian population of Abkhazia amounted to 67,494 and Abkhaz

to 55,918, with the total population of 201,016. In the 1979 census the records were faked and the Abkhaz population figure was increased up to 91,000. At the same time, the figure showing the Georgian population was reduced down to 240,000. In reality out of the 530,000 inhabitants of Abkhazia, 280,000 were Georgians, 70,000 were those who claimed they were Abkhaz, 75,000 Armenians, 70,000 Russians, 35,000 Greeks, and the rest were Estonians, Jews, Turks and others.

In order to be impartial in our approach to the events we must accept the fact of existence of Georgian settlements were Georgians from highland regions were brought to live in. It happened not only in Abkhazia but also in other regions, but, indeed, this could hardly affect the demographic situation in Abkhazia. The real hazard to the demographic situation is forcible settling of Russians — which is a component in the Russian imperial policy.

In the 1916 census the Georgians made up 55.6% of Abkhazia's population, the Abkhaz, 33.3%, which made 88.9%. In the 1970 census the Georgian population made up 41% the Abkhaz, 16% — 57% in all.

Therefore, both the Georgian and the Abkhaz populations reduced within the 1916 — 1970 period, while the percentage of the population of other nationalities increased. So, the "specific weight" of the Abkhaz population dropped at the expense of a steady growth of the non — Abkhaz and non — Georgian population, mainly, Russians and Armenians. Nevertheless, the separatists stubbornly resist to the growth of the Georgian population and support the process of settling representatives of other nationalities. The reason of this is that the separatists' leaders are the executors of the tasks and will of the Russian special services who want to have the Abkhazian Black Sea coast without Georgians.

The means to achieve those goals was persecution of the Georgians and setting up such obstacles in Georgia's movement towards democracy, as inspiration of a military ethnic conflict.

Guided from the Kremlin, Ardzinba revealed an excellent gift of a mercenary traitor. It was really his personal "achievement", as the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic, that Abkhazia at that time had all the conditions created for instigating a war and seceding Abkhazia from Georgia by force of arms. And all

this was happening on the background of a long common history at every past stage. There was time when Abkhazia was a kingdom within the Georgian state, then a "samtavro", a republic, an autonomous republic, but whichever status it was, the Georgians and the Abkhaz kept together in their struggle for the Georgian state, spoke and prayed in the same language, created our common history and culture. And now, after Georgia's centuries — old history dating back to ages long preceding Christianity, the ethnic purge and genocide of Georgians took place, absolutely inconceivable and unacceptable in the relations between Georgia and Abkhazia. The Georgian — Abkhaz relations are a subject of special study, and I do hope that our historian will go back to it over and over again and, basing on the factual material and reality will write a lot of interesting papers and books on the historical coexistence of the Georgians and Abkhazs; such work will certainly become a significant contribution to the restoration of the traditionally loyal relations between these peoples living on the indigenous Georgian land as heirs to this historically and culturally Georgian state (I am absolutely sure that the Abkhaz are genetically Georgians). This idea is shared by many prominent Abkhaz public figures.

"Abkhazia is Georgia's inseparable part, including the rich and diverse culture and history." "It has been doubtlessly proved that maybe as early as during the Abkhaz Kingdom or, at least, in the mid — 9th century, the Georgian language was the written language used in the private and state office work, in church, etc." (D. Gulia).

"The Abkhazs are Georgians, they represent one of the numerous Georgian tribes" (M. Delba).

It can be therefore concluded that using both local and foreign sources, a great number of researchers have demonstrated that the ethnonym "Apsua" is different from "Abkhazi". "Abkhazi" is the name of a Georgian tribe, and "Apsua" have come from the North Caucasus. Under the pressure of the erroneous state policy, the Georgian historiography had mixed up and concealed the truth, so that the reader today finds it confusing and hard to tell an "Apsua" from an "Abkhaz". Since it is not the goal of this book to investigate this particular issue, I am going to use the familiar term "Abkhaz" not to confuse the readers, and I hope that in future everyone and everything will be given their true names.

The national composition of the Abkhazian population

Nationality	Family lists 1861		1926 census		1989 census		Growth rate 1886- 1989	Growth rate 1886- 1989
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%		
Georgian	34806	50.6	67494	36.3	239842	45.7	6.8	3.5
Abkhazian	28320	41.2	55918	30.0	93267	17.8	3.2	1.6
Armenian	1090	1.6	25677	13.9	76541	14.6	70.2	3.0
Russian	1216	1.8	12553	6.7	74913	14.2	61.6	5.9
Greek	2149	3.3	14045	7.0	14664	2.8	6.8	1.0
Others	1192	1.7	8937	4.8	25804	4.9	21.6	2.8
Total	68773	100.0	201016	100.0	525061	100.0	7.6	2.6

Population of Abkhazia in towns and districts, regarding the national composition Sokhumi

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	3647	5.6	7355	7.2	10766	9.9	14922	12.5
Georgian	20110	31.1	34560	33.9	41477	38.3	49460	41.5
Ossetian	101	0.1	193	0.2	227	0.2	315	0.3
Russian	23819	36.8	31220	30.7	28556	26.4	25739	21.6
Ukrainian	2756	4.3	3832	3.8	3733	3.4	4001	3.4
Belorussian	-	-	409	0.4	402	0.4	605	0.5
Azeri	67	0.0	165	0.2	129	0.1	148	0.1
Armenian	6783	10.5	11664	11.5	11823	10.9	12242	10.3
Tatar	-	-	429	0.4	634	0.6	330	0.3
Jewish	1281	2.0	3718	3.7	1725	1.6	1385	1.2
Greek	3141	4.9	5998	5.9	7069	6.6	7355	6.2
Total	64740	100	101798	100	108337	100	119150	100

Sokhumi district

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	1898	2.2	1432	3.9	1748	4.6	1996	5.1
Georgian	36507	43.3	15533	42.5	16855	44.0	17526	44.4
Ossetian	89	0.1	169	0.5	46	0.1	48	0.1
Russian	14530	17.2	3361	9.2	3356	8.8	28581	7.2
Ukrainian	2055	2.4	552	1.5	491	1.3	472	1.2
Belorussian	-	-	63	0.2	-	-	166	0.4
Armenian	22694	26.9	11027	30.1	11290	29.5	11617	29.4
Greek	4303	5.1	3609	9.9	3522	9.2	4130	10.5
Total	84351	100	36552	100	38306	100	39516	100

Gagra area

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	2302	4.4	4137	6.1	5435	8.2	7028	9.1
Georgian	10365	19.8	14876	22.1	16770	25.5	21575	28.0
Ossetian	115	0.2	189	0.3	190	0.3	301	0.4
Russian	16257	31.1	20555	30.5	17517	26.6	18690	24.2
Ukrainian	2188	4.1	2964	4.4	2198	3.3	2890	3.8
Belorussian	-	-	452	0.7	274	0.4	565	0.7
Armenian	18211	34.9	20926	31.0	20904	31.7	22854	29.7
Jewish	389	0.7	729	1.1	752	1.1	890	1.2
Greek	389	0.4	316	0.5	131	0.2	175	0.2
Total	52229	100	667451	100	65889	100	77079	100

Gagra

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	464	3.3	1330	5.8	1903	9.0	2705	11.2
Georgian	2618	18.7	5076	22.0	5486	26.0	6764	28.1
Ossetian	66	0.5	81	0.4	76	0.4	119	0.5
Russian	7145	51.0	9695	42.1	7398	35.0	7333	30.5
Ukrainian	1010	7.2	1379	6.0	865	4.1	1108	4.6
Armenian	1806	12.9	3989	17.3	4341	20.5	4673	19.4
Jewish	141	1.0	212	0.9	88	0.4	114	0.5
Greek	130	0.9	323	1.4	354	1.7	405	1.7
Total	14023	100	23025	100	21134	100	24061	100

Tkvarcheli

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	5670	19.9	7862	30.5	7958	39.9	9202	42.3
Georgian	6140	21.6	6745	26.1	5171	24.0	5086	23.4
Ossetian	252	0.9	213	0.8	176	0.8	188	0.9
Russian	12087	42.5	8276	32.1	6168	28.6	5321	24.5
Ukrainian	1805	6.3	1047	4.1	896	4.2	733	3.6
Belorussian	-	-	164	0.6	-	-	135	0.6
Armenian	961	3.4	578	2.2	306	1.4	337	1.5
Tatar	-	-	102	0.4	-	-	83	0.4
Jewish	82	0.3	52	0.2	31	0.1	28	0.1
Greek	284	1.0	234	0.9	144	0.7	139	0.6
Total	28440	100	25805	100	21549	100	21744	100

Gali district

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	386	0.7	511	0.7	632	0.8	627	0.8
Georgian	54288	91.1	64671	88.3	68890	91.5	74712	93.8
Ossetian	67	0.1	95	0.1	141	0.2	73	0.1
Russian	2983	5.0	5119	7.0	3663	4.9	2480	3.1
Ukrainian	608	1.0	638	0.9	494	0.6	600	0.8
Belorussian	-	-	284	0.4	-	-	88	0.1
Armenian	635	1.1	684	0.9	598	0.8	530	0.7
Greek	165	0.3	578	0.8	304	0.4	224	0.3
Total	59619	100	73256	100	75306	100	79668	100

Gudauta district

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	23508	44.0	28382	47.2	27697	50.1	30541	53.1
Georgian	6307	11.8	7031	11.7	6974	12.6	7699	13.4
Ossetian	19	0.03	182	0.3	66	0.1	83	0.1
Russian	11170	20.9	11129	18.5	8607	15.6	7741	13.5
Ukrainian	1193	2.2	1211	2.0	905	1.6	1059	1.8
Belorussian	-	-	305	0.5	-	-	220	0.4
Armenian	9579	17.9	10202	17.0	9403	17.0	8857	15.4
Jewish	153	0.3	122	0.2	64	0.1	55	0.1
Greek	624	1.2	749	1.2	745	1.3	601	1.0
Total	53460	100	60134	100	55247	100	57534	100

Gulripshi district

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	-	-	601	1.2	834	1.6	1311	2.4
Georgian	-	-	25997	50.3	26138	51.5	29014	52.8
Ossetian	-	-	97	0.2	46	0.1	68	0.1
Russian	-	-	8160	15.8	7734	15.2	7646	13.9
Ukrainian	-	-	879	1.7	845	1.7	954	1.7
Belorussian	-	-	97	0.2	-	-	172	0.3
Armenian	-	-	13857	26.8	13328	26.3	13878	25.3
Greek	-	-	1000	1.9	927	1.8	1093	2.0
Total	-	-	51706	100	50767	100	54962	100

Ochamchira district

Population	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%	Abs. number	%
Abkhazian	23779	38.4	26996	38.4	28027	39.7	27640	36.7
Georgian	24481	39.5	30182	43.0	31047	43.9	34800	46.2
Ossetian	50	0.1	76	0.1	60	0.1	89	0.1
Russian	5869	9.5	5069	7.2	4129	5.8	4439	5.9
Ukrainian	939	1.5	832	1.2	695	1.0	897	1.2
Belorussian	-	-	127	0.2	-	-	133	0.2
Armenian	5562	9.0	5912	8.4	5696	8.1	6226	8.3
Greek	195	0.3	217	0.3	179	0.3	232	0.3
Total	61901	100	70252	100	70681	100	75388	100

DYNAMIC OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION FOLLOWING THE ABKHAZIA – GEORGIA CONFLICT (1992 – 2000)

According to the 1992 operations summary for Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, its population was 535,061, while in 1997 the records showed 145,986, indicating to the reduction of the population by 388,075 people, i.e. 3.87 – fold or by 72.7%.

It should be pointed out that although this reduction involved nearly every ethnic group dwelling in Abkhazia, the Georgian population suffered most of all.

By 1 January 1992 the number of the Georgians living in Abkhazia amounted to 244,872, i.e. 45.76% of the total population; however, the respective 1997 record showed 43,442, i.e. 29.76% of the current population number although the latter figure provides a seemingly consoling picture against a background of overall reduction of the Autonomous Republic's population, the actual reduction by 201,430 people is distressing – by 82.2% or 5.64 – fold.

The situation is particularly hard in the district of Gali where the majority of the inhabitants are Georgians. The number of the population is instable, tending to decrease owing to the terrorist attacks permanently organized by the separatists.

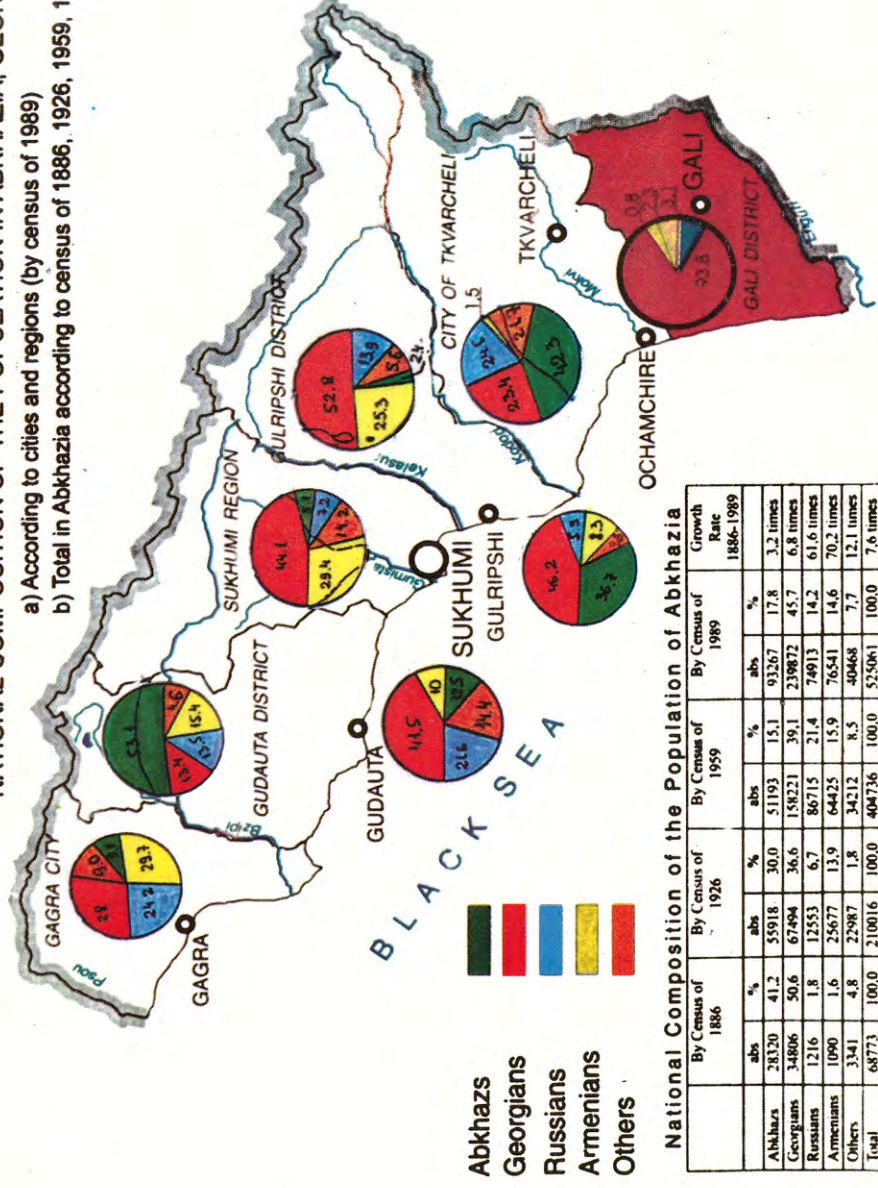
By January 1, 1992 the Abkhaz population made up 17.73%, i.e. 94,767 people, while the respective 1997 record shows 53,993, i.e., 36.98% of the current population. In spite of having increased 2–fold as compared with the earlier record, the number of the people dropped by 40,774. The decrease of the Georgian population has been caused by the ethnic purge and forcible deportation, the decrease of the Abkhaz population has been due to the natural migration processes caused by the current economic and political chaos, unbearable life conditions and criminogenic situation. Moreover, a great part of the Abkhaz population had left Abkhazia as soon as the conflict started, thus demonstrating their unwillingness to take part in that fratricidal war. These very people are unable now to go back home since they have been declared "traitors" by the separatists.

The same can be said about the Russians, Armenians and people of other nationalities.

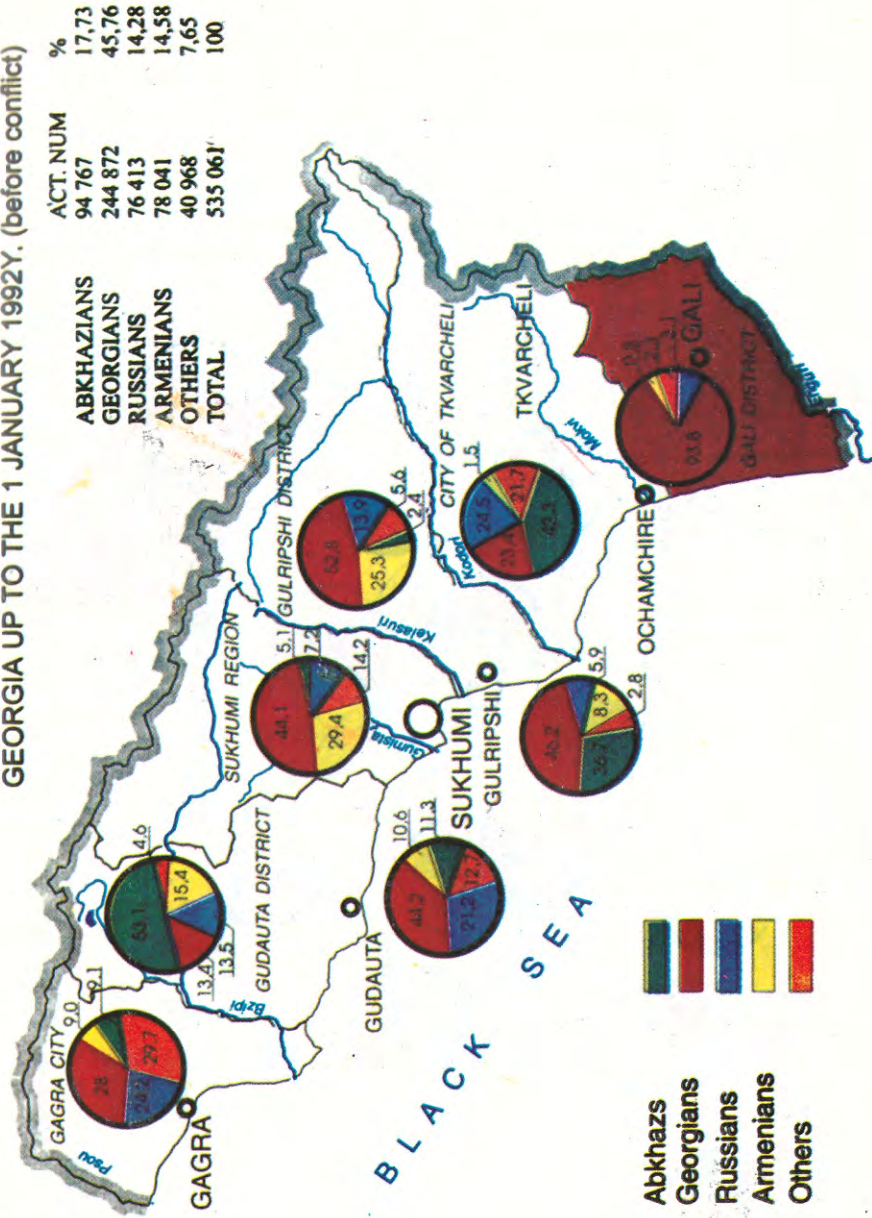
The above data confirm radical changes in the demographic situation of Abkhazia resulting from Ardzinba's separatist regime – planned genocide and ethnic purge, mainly aimed at the Georgian population and, unfortunately, going on today.

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN ABKHAZIA, GEORGIA

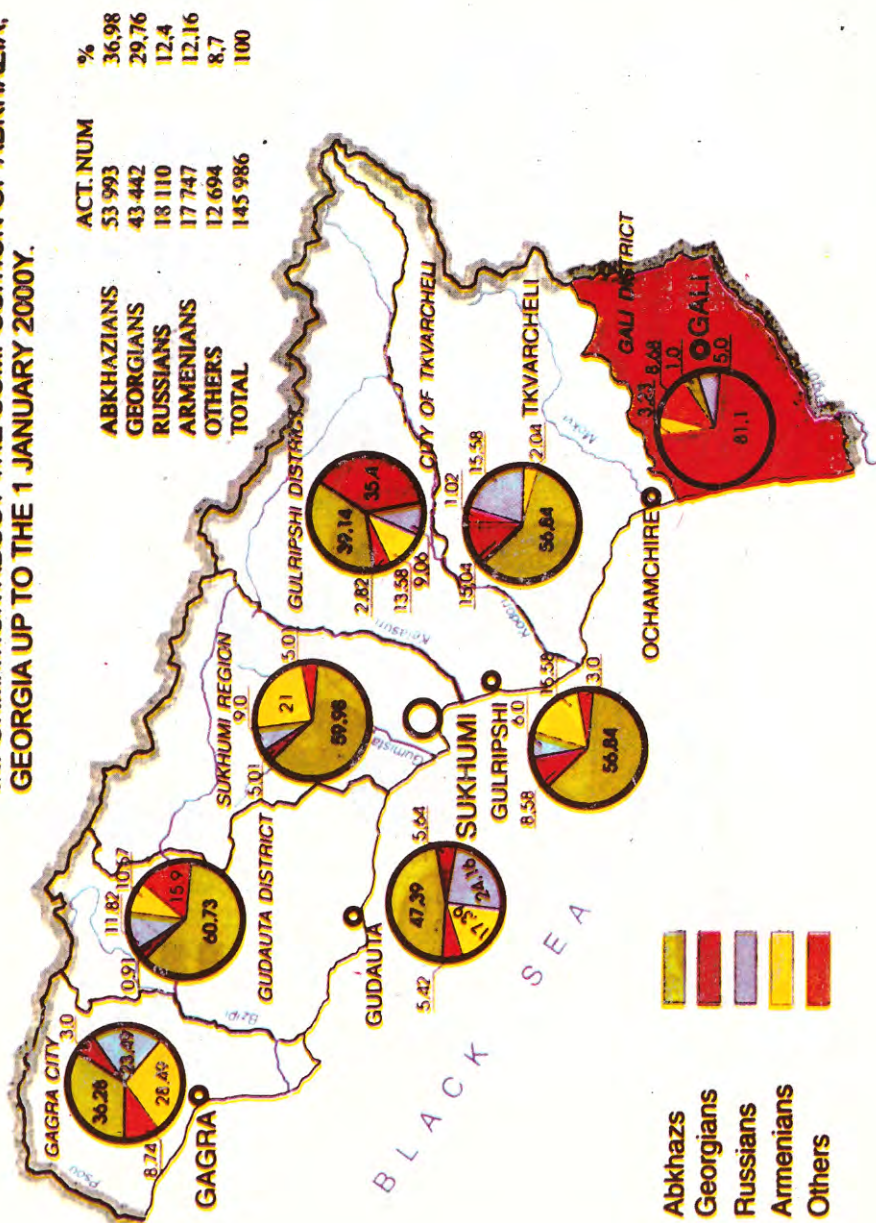
- a) According to cities and regions (by census of 1989)
b) Total in Abkhazia according to census of 1886, 1926, 1959, 1989)



INFORMATION ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF ABKHAZIA, GEORGIA UP TO THE 1 JANUARY 1992Y. (before conflict)



INFORMATION ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF ABKHAZIA, GEORGIA UP TO THE 1 JANUARY 2000Y.



THE ROLE OF RUSSIA IN ABKHAZIA'S TRAGEDY

Having acquired an ages-long experience of occupying other countries and nations, the great Russian empire can easily suppress the population of any country and does it quite successfully. And they easily managed to split up our country, set one part of it in opposition to the other, masterfully creating, with the help of their special services, an image of a "Georgian enemy".

Back in the early 19th century the Abkhaz deputation arrived in Tbilisi to meet the Russian Vice-Roy and put forward a demand to leave Abkhazia within Georgia; however, late in the 20th century the Abkhaz secessionists are demanding separation from Georgia and Russia is supporting them, all those processes being guided from the Kremlin. This is confirmed by the Abkhaz people's troubles developing in conformity with the activities in Moscow. When in 1978 the highest Soviet authorities made a decision to eliminate the Georgian language — as the state language — from the Constitution of Georgia, the separatists of Sokhumi started protest rallies. Both these events were guided from one source in the Kremlin, who tried to attract the attention of the Georgian national movement to the disorders in Abkhazia and, on that background, put an end to the future existence of the centuries-old Georgian language and launch the process of Russification of this country. Fortunately, the scheme failed: Georgia's students and intelligentsia, silently supported by the Republic's authorities, arranged a huge demonstration — a miracle for the Soviet period — to oppose that decision made by the "fathers" of the Soviet empires and protected the Georgian language's status of the state official language.

As far as the secessionist movement in Abkhazia is concerned, the Georgian government sought a most compromise settlement in order to prevent any possible provocative actions. So, the University of Abkhazia was opened, Abkhaz television was created, but none of those acts of good will were properly appreciated. Both the university and the Television that were supposed to study the Abkhaz history, language and literature, became the "hornets' nest" wherefrom the

criminal separatist policy against Georgia and the Georgians was spread.

The Georgians teaching at the University were forced to leave it; likewise, the Georgian company of the joint Abkhaz — Georgian drama theatre were made to quit. The Georgian writers were expelled from the Writers' Union of Abkhazia. In all the offices the file item showing the nationality "Abkhaz" gave priority over all the others to be appointed to any more or less important post.

The civil rights of the Abkhaz population were openly put above those of the local Georgians as well as representatives of other nationalities living in Abkhazia.

As long as the Georgian authorities followed the policy of concessions, the Abkhaz separatism backed up and actually restored by the Kremlin, became exceedingly aggressive by the 1980–90s. It was managed and led by a fascist organization "Aidgilara" created through the efforts of Russia's special services and later supervised by the block "Sojus" which operated throughout the whole former Soviet Union. "Sojuz" aimed its activities at the former Soviet Republics that were struggling for independence — to punish them and bring back to life the "Soviet Union".

In 1988–89 the Soviet Communist Party became aware of the actual hazard threatening its existence; however neglecting the liberal–reformist orientation of some of the "Politburo" members and the will of ordinary Party members, it turned to the Ministries of the military–industrial complex subordinate to the Party and Soviet authorities, mainly, to the KGB, with an insistent demand to create the "Interfront" organizations in all those republics, where the mass national movement had already set forth the demand for withdrawal of the republics from the USSR. It was only natural, that the most trouble–making zones treating the Communist regime were Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova and Georgia (S. Chervonnaya "Abkhazia — 1992: Post–communist Georgia's 'Vandee'").

The fact, that Abkhazia's people's forum "Aidgilara" had been encouraged by the Soviets' center and their special services, was confirmed by the newspaper articles of the selfsame organization;

likewise, it was made quite clear that their political goal was to oppose Georgia's aspiration to extricate from the Soviet Union. In order to disguise itself, the KGB conduced to creating other organizations similar to the "Aidgilara" and presented them as if organized by national forces. With this in view those "Interfronts" were staffed with national cadres. A great part of the "Aidgilara" leaders were paid to fulfill the KGB's orders; others who developed illusionary perceptions about the Georgians whom they blamed for all their troubles and imagined as occupants and enemies, became Russia's residents' blind weapons.

"Aidgilara" had actually two principal targets of activities: on the one hand, it had to create an image of the Georgian enemy, the occupant of Abkhazia by way of certain ideological propaganda among the Abkhaz population; on the other hand, it arranged training of armed combatants ("boeviks") in cooperation with the North Caucasian co–plotters and the Soviet center.

Some events that occurred during the year 1989 could be considered as a "rehearsal" organized by the separatists and their accomplices who seemed to be testing their possibilities. The first event took place in the village of Lykhny where a huge rally was held to put forward anti–Georgian demands; then in the same Gudauta district a crowd blinded by the separatist attacked and insulted His Holiness and Beatitude Catholicos Patriarch Ilyia II of all Georgia and his congregation who had gathered to pray there; and finally, on 15–16 July in Sokhumi, bloodshed and casualties were brought about by an armed attack against Georgians. But the conflict failed to continue at that time owing to the Georgians' unanimity and mutual support, therefore the separatists had to think of new schemes. The Kremlin saw that the separatists, who had gained nothing but disgust of the Georgian people, were unable and therefore, not sufficient, to force Georgia down on her knees; it was necessary to create opposition among the Georgians in order to split them up.

In 1989 the Georgians concentrated their force and resisted the Abkhaz separatists, thus averting a fratricidal war, but the separatist leaders cooperating with the Kremlin, still kept plotting against

Georgia's statehood and even against the process of disintegration of the USSR which had already started. They vowed fidelity to Moscow and offered thus support in the struggle against Georgia that was moving towards independence.

They started spreading an idea that Abkhazia had always been a part of Russia and was turned over to Georgia by Stalin. (In reality, everything was the other way round: it was Stalin, who "planted mines" by introducing "autonomies" in the Soviet Republics, Georgia in particular, to ensure security of the Soviets).

In the 19th century Russia managed to occupy the whole Caucasus using different means and methods, thus implementing its colonial policy.

Russia annexed Georgia and made her a part of the Empire. In 1783 (actually, it was 1801) it came into possession of the Kartl – Kakheti Kingdom by signing the "Georgievski Treaty", in 1803 of Samegrelo 'samtavro', and it was only in 1878 that the Abkhazian 'samtavro' became subordinate to Russia.

The slave conditions imposed by the Russian autocracy turned out to be a heavy burden oppressing the whole Georgia, including the Abkhazian people. Mass actions of protest broke out in different areas at different times: in 1841 a riot flared up in Guria, in 1854 in Samegrelo, in 1866 in Abkhazia, in Lykhny. All those rebellions were suppressed by the Russian troops headed by Kutaisi's Governor General Sviatopolk – Mirskii.

Abkhazians' actions against Russia, their participation in the Caucasian war caused emergence of the "muhajir" movement. On 31 May, 1880, the Tsar's official decree announced all the Abkhaz people guilty, and their eviction began. This process was vigorously opposed by all the outstanding members of the contemporary Georgian national movement, Ilya Chavchavadze among them. They clearly realized that Russia had planned Russification of Abkhazia. This scheme was summed up in the "Memoranda on the Colonization in Sokhumi 'okrug' (area)" drawn up in 1895 by the head of that "okrug" Colonel Brakker. It said: **"It is desirable to keep as great as possible a reserve of Abkhazia's free lands in order to put Russian settlers**

there." Still earlier, the Grand Duke Mikhail Romanov, the Russian Tsar's representative (vice – roy) in the Caucasus, had drawn up a plan according to which **"the whole territory from the r.Kuban headstream to the r.Inguri should be occupied by Russian – Cossak villages 'stanitsas'"**.

In short, even a overview of the history in retrospect and its analysis demonstrate Russia – Tsarist, Mensheviks' or Bolsheviks' – has always shown interest to Abkhazia, with the aim of its appropriation. For centuries Russia has been applying the principle "Divide and Rule" to separate Abkhazia from the rest part of Georgia, absolutely neglecting everyone's interest, except its own. It is easy to see similarities in the actions of Tsarist and Soviet Russia's accomplices against Georgia. In his secret report to the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party made in 1961, its Secretary Mikhail Suslov said: **"It won't be long, before Georgians will start a struggle for independence. To fight them back, we should begin with Abkhazia. Megrelia and Svaneti must be given autonomy. In each of them local national feelings must be heated up. We must make everybody believe that Georgians had settled in Abkhazia. Western Georgia must be opposed to eastern Georgia. After that we shall play the role of a peace-maker."**

Still earlier Nikita Krushchev kept saying: **"If the Georgians don't behave sensibly, I shall set the Abkhazians on them"**. Russia's present – day programme was openly stated by Alexander Vashchenko: **"Our principal goal is to put an end to Georgia's territorial integrity, pull it apart into pieces."** Chairman of the Liberal – Democratic Party of Russia, Member of the Russian Duma Vladimir Zhirinovski, who had spoken before numerous audiences, including the Russian State Council, declared: **"As soon as we come to power, we shall stop all that fuss with Georgia. Georgia shall not exist independently; we will liquidate all the Georgian national – chauvinists and unite it with Russia."**

The separatist leaders and Abkhaz historians were rather well aware of all this; nevertheless, they still treacherously connive at the centuries-old historic and cultural unity of the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples, and cherish the hope of seceding from Georgia, eliminating the local Georgian population and, consequently, joining the Russian state. And those ideas are based on an absolutely absurd reasoning: **"It is better to be devoured by an ocean, then by a small lake"**, the "ocean" symbolizing Russia, and the "lake" — Georgia.

In order to hit that target, it was decided to provoke a warfare in Abkhazia. The scheme was successful: it happened in 1992, when the political situation in Georgia was particularly dramatic, when the Russian policy managed to split up the Georgians and induced a coup d'état in this country. Those who are well aware of the whole process should not be surprised that the moment the warfare started in Abkhazia, the Russian mass media informed the world that Georgian State Council troops had declared war against Abkhazia. Meanwhile, the situation was deliberately forced towards the war by Russia and the Abkhaz separatists who were trying to protect their personal treacherous interests at the expense of their compatriots' genetic fund.

The truth, that was witnessed by the author of this book, who participated in those events together with the population of Abkhazia, will not allow to make any other conclusions than those that we have made.

It is hardly correct, indeed, to regard the Abkhazians as a separate ethnos. to my mind they are of purely Georgian origin (excluding those who were settled in the area in the 16–17th centuries). But since they, supported deliberately by wreckers, insisted on being a separate nation, the Georgian historians had to keep back the fact proving the truth in order to avoid any trouble, and both the Communist authorities and the 1990 new people's Government chose to yield to all the whims of Abkhazians.

Therefore, the Abkhazians had no reason of any discontent. They were free to develop and promote their language (Apsuan), culture, writing (it should be noted though that the Abkhaz writing was artificially created in the 20th century, which is as absurd as an attempt to create Megrelian writing) and, in particular, their national cadres, and eventually, to acquire an autonomous statehood enjoying privileged that would greatly exceed those accepted by international standards. Although the Abkhaz population made up only 16% in Aabkhazia, while the Georgians 48%, an electoral law of apartheid was enacted, according to which the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of the 1991 ballot consisted of 28 deputies of the Abkhaz nationality, 26 Georgians and 11 others.

And again, trying to avoid any escalation of the conflict, the Georgian authorities had to make some concessions; however, the above mentioned law was passed with some regulations according to which the support of the Georgian deputation in the Abkhaz Parliament was absolutely necessary to secure a quorum for passing a resolution. In spite of all this, the adventurous Chairman of the Supreme Council and the like-minded persons neglected those decisions and ignored the law that had been adopted with the exceedingly compromise conditions, accepting all kinds of unjustifiable resolutions regardless of the opinions of the Georgian and not only Georgian representatives, all those resolutions being aimed at destroying the Georgian State and distorting the historic truth. It was then that the Abkhaz separatists' ideology became clearly pro-fascist: all that is Georgian was being uprooted, including the toponymy; even the Georgian historical and cultural monuments were damaged; Georgians were dismissed from all the posts without any special reason; a thick volume was hurriedly published, "Abkhazia — Documents are Evidencing, 1937 — 1953", through which the authors try to convey an idea that the Georgians were settled in Abkhazia during that period, and even the settlers were brought there from nearly all parts of Georgia in order to deteriorate the demographic situation in Abkhazia. What really had happened then was just an ordinary movement of people, when the subjects of a country just change places of living within that country.

People had always moved from one place to another, for instance, from Sokhumi to Tbilisi, from Kutaisi to Zugdidi, from Zugdidi to Batumi, from Batumi to Sokhumi and soon. But the separatists took a biased approach to this matter and did their best to depict it in the somberest colours.

Ardzinba and his followers sacrificed their own people's life and destiny and purposively dragged the people into the war against Georgia, making every attempt to veil the centuries – old historical and cultural unity of the Abkhazians and Georgians.

Owing to the tolerant nature typical of the Georgians, Russia failed to impose an image of the Abkhaz enemy in our mind, but it still found a way to use this trait of the Georgian nature. The Georgians, in whose minds the Abkhazians had always been their brothers, could not bring themselves to distrust and attack the opponent, just what the separatists and their accomplices did by unleashing the war.

All this led to the mass purge and unprecedented genocide of Georgians in Abkhazia, the tragedy of Gagra, treason and distrust. The Abkhazians were filled with such hatred towards Georgians that dealt cruelly even with those Abkhazians who showed even the slightest mercy or sympathy to Georgians.

And still, we all remember how during that war in Sokhumi we lived side by side with Abkhazian neighbours, stood together in long lines waiting for bread on kerosene, and none of us regarded one another as enemies, no one thought of revenge. On the contrary, we all tried to be helpful and generous, and protected each other as much as it was possible. Meanwhile, as my own bitter experience proves, a Georgian, whoever he might be, was unacceptable for the separatists. This hostile attitude brought about hundreds of victims in the executed families, devastated mothers, tortured Georgian patriots, hundreds of thousands of people driven away from their land and going up to their "Calvary".

It would not be quite correct to say, though, that hatred towards Georgians dwelt in the hearts of all the Abkhazians. There were many, who were able to analyze correctly the real situation, who deeply

suffered watching the separatists' insidious actions, but they could do nothing but clench their teeth and moan silently watching the cruelty of their fellow – countrymen, because Ardzinba's regime was exceedingly cruel and perfidious towards those who showed good will to Georgians. There were cases when an Abkhazian was executed without any trial together with his Georgian neighbour, relative or just an acquaintance.

In this way Russia managed to implement part of its programme at this stage. Its persistence in regaining the former Soviet Union, i.e. restoring the Russian empire, by subordinating all the former Soviet republics, brought about the Abkhaz tragedy.

The criminal Ardzinba and his separatist regime fulfilled to the utmost all the orders of the northern neighbour's imperial forces. There are numerous documents evidencing how the Abkhaz criminal authorities were supplied, both before and during the war, with arms belonging to the Russian forces, the supplies designed to enhance Abkhazia's aggression, then its occupation, destruction and extinction, slaughtering and eviction of the population, particularly, Georgians.

This kind of policy clearly indicates that instead of civilized, friendly partnership with Georgia, Russia has chosen standards characteristic of the Soviet empire. After the 1996 Summit of the CIS, the Chairman of the Russian Government every year kept issuing decrees canceling the economic sanctions imposed on Abkhazia by a resolution of that Summit. A lot could be also said about the arbitrariness of the Russian frontier guards.

Despite Russian officialdom's insistent declarations that they recognize Georgia's territorial integrity and are immensely anxious to settle the Georgian – Abkhaz conflict, we have got operations summaries from official sources enabling us to prove that Russia is extending political, military, financial and moral assistance to the separatists. Some of these evidences are presented below.

ГЛАВНОКОМАНДУЮЩИЙ
СЪЕДИНЕННЫМИ ВООРУЖЕННЫМИ
СИЛАМИ
СОДРУЖЕСТВА НЕЗАВИСИМЫХ
ГОСУДАРСТВ
1 "апреля" 1992 г.
№ 312/1/145hc
на № 15-24 от 3.03.92

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ ВЕРХОВНОГО СОВЕТА АБХАЗИИ
В.Г. Ардзинба
384900, г. Сухуми, проспект Руставели, 32

Уважаемый Владислав Григорьевич!

Ваша просьба об оказании содействия и помощи в формировании внутренних войск Абхазии Главным командованием ОВС СНГ рассмотрена.

В связи с тем, что внутренние войска не подчинены Главному командованию ОВС СНГ, Вам необходимо обратиться по этому вопросу к командующему внутренними войсками Министерства внутренних дел Российской Федерации генерал-полковнику Саввину Василию Нестеровичу.


Е. Шапошников

ГЛАВНОКОМАНДУЮЩИЙ
СЪЕДИНЕННЫМИ ВООРУЖЕННЫМИ
СИЛАМИ
СОДРУЖЕСТВА НЕЗАВИСИМЫХ
ГОСУДАРСТВ
1 "апреля" 1992 г.
№ 312/1/118hc
на № 10 от 31 марта 1992 г.

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ ВЕРХОВНОГО СОВЕТА АБХАЗИИ
В.Г. Ардзинба
384900, г. Сухуми, проспект Руставели, 32

Уважаемый Владислав Григорьевич!

Ваша просьба об оказании содействия в решении вопроса о привлечении к совместному патрулированию личного состава отббб ЗаКВб Главным командованием ОВС СНГ рассмотрена.

Мы разделяем Вашу обеспокоенность общественно-политической обстановкой, складывающейся в республике. Предпринимаемые Верховным Советом Абхазии меры по ее стабилизации и усилению борьбы с преступностью, на наш взгляд, являются своевременными.

Однако в связи с тем, что решение задач по контролю за соблюдением паспортного режима, передвижением граждан, патрулированию транспортных магистралей не входит в компетенцию Вооруженных Сил, удовлетворить Вашу просьбу не представляется возможным.


Е. Шапошников

Commander – in – Chief
of Joint Armed Forces,
of the C.I.S.
3 April 1992
No. 3/2/1/125hc
la No. 15 – 24 of 3.03.92

To Chairman of the Supreme
Council of Abkhazia
384900, Sokhumi, prospect
Rustaveli 32

Dear Vladimir Grigorievich,

Your request concerning support and assistance to create the internal troops of Abkhazia has been considered by the General Headquarters of the JAF of CIS.

Since the internal forces are not in the subordination of the JAF – CIS General Headquarters, you should apply to the Commander of the Internal Forces of the Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, Colonel General Savvin Vasili Nesterovich.

Signed
E. Shaposhnikov

Commander – in – Chief
of Joint Armed Forces
of the C.I.S.
April, 1992
3/2/1/118hc

To Chairman of the Supreme Council of
Abkhazia

V.G. Ardzinba

384900, Sokhumi, prospect Rustaveli 32.

Ref. No. 10 of 31 March 1992

Dear Vladislav Grigorevich,

Your request concerning assistance in settling the question of using the personnel of the Transcaucasian Military District in joint patrolling has been considered by the General Headquarters of JAF – CIS.

We share your worry about the social – political situation building – up in the Republic. To our mind, the measures, that the Supreme Council of Abkhazia is taking to stabilize it and to increase the struggle against crime, are opportune.

However, since the issues involving control over the passport regime, movement of citizens, patrolling of transport highways, are not under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces, it is impossible for us to comply with your request.

Signed
E. Shaposhnikov

★
Войсковая часть
= 2402 =
24 августа 94
№21/11/30947
г. Москва.

Экз. № 1
Председателя Совета Министров
Республики Абхазия
С. Р. Джинджолия
Республика Абхазия
г. Сухум, ул. Лакоба, 21

На HP 1084/03 от 23 июля 1994 года.

Уважаемый Сократ Ратиевич!

Ваше письмо рассмотрено командованием войсковой части 2402. Вопрос передачи корабля из п. Очамчире за счет оплаченного списания этого корабля в п. Висоцк будет решен после его списания ориентировочно в сентябре месяце с.г. Необходимые указания по данному вопросу переданы командованию войсковой части 2453 г. Ставрополя.

С уважением

Командир войсковой части 2402

N. Kudinov
Н. Кудинов

Army unit
= 2402 =
24 August, 1994
no 21/11/30947
Moscow

To Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of Abkhazia,
S.R. Jinjolia
Republic of Abkhazia
Sokhumi, Lakoba st. 21

Ref. HP 1084/03 of 23 July 1994

Dear Sokrat Ratievich,

Your letter has been considered by the headquarters of Army Unit 2402. The question of transferring a ship from port Ochamchira at the expense of the paid for and written-off ship in the port Vysotsk will be settled after its writing off approximately in September 1994. All the necessary instructions on this matter have been given to the headquarters of Army unit 2453 in Stavropol.

Respectfully,

Commander of Army unit 2402

Signed
N. Kudinov.



ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ СОБРАНИЕ — ПАРЛАМЕНТ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ДУМА КОМИТЕТ ПО ВОПРОСАМ ГЕОПОЛИТИКИ

103265, Москва, Георгиевский пер., д. 2. Тел. 292-10-84. факс (095) 292-34-21

16 июня 1997 года

№ 3.24/545

Президенту Республики Абхазия

г-ну В.Г. АРДЗИНБА

Уважаемый Владислав Григорьевич!

10 июня 1997 года Комитет по вопросам геополитики Государственной Думы Федерального Собрания Российской Федерации провел общественные слушания на тему "Об отношениях между Российской Федерацией и Абхазией".

В слушаниях приняли участие: депутаты Государственной Думы: Чрезвычайный и Полномочный посланник Республики Грузия в Российской Федерации Р.Б. Сичинава; Министр иностранных дел Республики Абхазия С.М. Шамба; Посол, представитель Министерства иностранных дел Российской Федерации на переговорах по грузино-абхазскому урегулированию Г.В. Ильичев; представители других федеральных органов исполнительной власти Российской Федерации (Министерства обороны, Федеральной пограничной службы, Министерства по делам национальностей и федеративным отношениям, Министерства по сотрудничеству с государствами — участниками СНГ, Министерства транспорта и др.); представители заинтересованных субъектов Российской Федерации; Президент конфедерации народов Кавказа Ю.Э. Сосланбеков; представители заинтересованных научных кругов.

Высылаю Вам рекомендации слушаний, доработанные с учетом замечаний, высказанных в ходе слушаний.

Приложение: упомянутое, на 4 листах.

Председатель Комитета

A.V. Mitrofanov
А.В. МИТРОФАНОВ

Federal Assembly — Parliament of Russian Federation
STATE DUMA

Committee on the Geopolitics Questions 103265 Moscow, Georgievski Lane

2

16 July 1997

No. 3.24/545

To President of the Republic of Abkhazia
Mr. V.G. Ardzinba

Dear Vladimir Grigorievich,

On 10 June 1997 the Committee on the Geopolitics Questions of the State Duma — Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation carried out public hearings on "The relations between the Russian Federation and Abkhazia."

The meetings were attended by: deputies of the State DUMA, a Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia in the Russian Federation R.B. Sichinava; Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Abkhazia S.M. Shamba; Ambassador, representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation at the negotiations on the Georgian — Abkhaz settlement G.V. Iljichev; representatives of other federal bodies of the Russian Federation's executive administration (Ministry of Defence, of Federal Frontier service, Ministry of National Affairs and Federative Relations, Ministry of Cooperation with other CIS countries, Ministry of transport, etc.); representatives of the concerned subjects of the Russian Federation; president of the Caucasian People's federation Y.E. Soslanbekov, representatives of concerned scientific circles.

I am enclosing herewith the recommendations of the meetings amended considering remarks expressed during the sessions.

Encl. 4 pages (above mentioned)

Chairman of the Committee

Signed
A.V. Mitrofanov



АДМИНИСТРАЦИЯ КУРСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ

305002, г. Курск, Красная площадь, Дом Советов
Тел.: (071-22) 2-62-62 Факс: (071-2) 56-65-73

16.09.98 № 01-19/564

Президенту
Республики Абхазия
Ардзинбе В. Г.

На N 11-88 от 14.09.98

Уважаемый Владислав Григорьевич!

Ваше обращение по поводу поставок продовольствия в связи с постигшей засухой рассмотрено.

Мы готовы осуществить поставку в Абхазию зерна и муки по бартеру.

В свою очередь прошу Вас дополнительно рассмотреть возможность поставок в область, кроме предлагаемой Вами продукции, также и виноматериалов.

Координация взаимодействия по данному вопросу поручена первому заместителю губернатора по экономике и финансам Головину Николаю Дмитриевичу и председателю комитета администрации области по перерабатывающей промышленности и продовольствию Кошкину Александру Михайловичу.

Сообщаю, что для обсуждения вопросов и выработки механизма взаимодействия готовы принять в Курске Вашего представителя. Прошу сообщить дату и время его прибытия.

Контактные телефоны: 56-66-29,
2-54-42.

Факс: 56-86-24.

С уважением,
Губернатор

А. Руцкой

ADMINISTRATION OF KURSK AREA
305002, Kursk, Red Square, House of Soviets

16.09.'98 No 01 – 19/564

Ref. No. 11 – 88 of 14.09.'98

To President of the Republic Abkhazia
Ardzinba V.G.

Dear Vladislav Grigorievich,

Your request, concerning food supplies which you need because of the drought, has been considered. We are ready to supply grain and flour to Abkhazia on barter conditions.

Will you please consider a possibility of supplying us, in addition to the offered produce, with wine – making stuff.

The first Depute Governor in charge of economy and finance Golovin Nikolai Dmitrievich and Chairman of the Area Administration Committee on the processing industry and provisions Koshkin Alexander Mikhailovich, will be responsible for the coordination of activities in this matter.

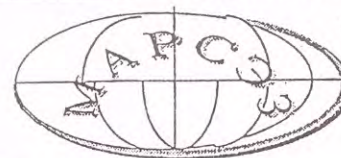
In order to discuss the question and work out the cooperation mechanisms we are ready to receive your representative in Kursk. Please, let us know the date and time of his arrival.

Telephones for communication: # 566629; # 25442

Respectfully,
Governor

Signed
A. Rutskoi

НАБЛЮДАТЕЛЬНЫЙ (ПОПЕЧИТЕЛЬСКИЙ) СОВЕТ



Международная ассоциация развития
свободных экономических зон

International Association for Free
Economic Zones Development

РОССИЯ, 117218, Москва, Б. Черемушкинская, 34 34, B. Cheremushkinskaya, Moscow, 117218, RUSSIA
tel / fax (095) 332 14 10

№ 54 от "28" октября 1999г.

Президенту Республики Абхазия
Г-ну Ардзинба В.Г.

Уважаемый Владислав Георгиевич,

От имени Наблюдательного (попечительского) Совета МАРСЭЗ, в состав которого входят представители Армении, Казахстана, Киргизии и России, информируем Вас, что в порядке практической реализации Босфорского заявления Глав государств и правительств Албании, Армении, Азербайджана, Болгарии, Грузии, Греции, Молдовы, Румынии, России, Турции и Украины о Черноморском Экономическом Сотрудничестве (ЧЭС) от 1992 года и во исполнение решения Совета межрегиональной Ассоциации социально-экономического сотрудничества республик, краев и областей Северного Кавказа (от 24 апреля 1999г.) в рамках ЧЭС создается международный Союз черноморско-средиземноморских и каспийских свободных экономических и таможенных зон, как международное хозяйственное объединение. (Соглашение мэров городов заинтересованных стран прилагается).

Формирование Союза СЭЗ как реализация проекта ЧЭС позволит, по нашему мнению, не только получить от Международного черноморского банка реконструкции и развития кредиты на финансирование соответствующих региональных проектов и программ, ускорить процесс создания черноморской зоны свободной торговли, но и подготовить соответствующие документы о создании таможенного Союза стран черноморского региона.

Учитывая политическую перспективность такого Союза, участие в нем кроме черноморских, ряда регионов и стран средиземноморского и каспийского бассейна, а также возможные экономические выгоды, просим Вас, уважаемый Владислав Георгиевич, определить свое принципиальное отношение к данному проекту и, в случае положительного решения, определить конкретные города и СЭЗ, готовые выступить в качестве учредителей указанного выше Международного Союза черноморско-средиземноморских и каспийских СЭЗ.

Приложение на 4 л.
С глубоким уважением,

Ответственный Секретарь
Наблюдательного (попечительского) Совета,
Президент МАРСЭЗ

Л.Н. Васильев

Supervisory (Trustees) Council
VFHC"P – International Association for free Economic Zones
Development

Russia, Moscow, B. Cheremushkinskaya st. 34
No. 54 of 28 October 1999

To President of the Republic Abkhazia
Mr. Ardzinba V.G.

Dear Vladislav Georgievich,

On behalf of the Supervisory (Trustee) Council of the VFHC"P including Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia and Russia we are informing you that in order to implement in practice the 1992 statement of the Heads of the States and Governments of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Rumania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine, concerning the Black Sea Economic cooperation (BEC) and with the aim to put in force the decisions made by the Interregional association Council for the social – economic cooperation of the republics and areas of the North Caucasus (of 24 April 1999), an international Union of the Black and Mediterranean and Caspian Sea free economic and customs zones is created within the framework of the BEZ, as an international economic union. (The agreement between the Mayors of the concerned countries is enclosed).

The union of FEZ formed to implement the BEZ project will make it possible to get credits for the respective projects and programmes from the International Black Sea Bank of Reconstruction and Development, to speed up the process of formation of the Black Sea free trade zone and also to prepare the documents necessary to create a customs Union of the Black Sea region countries.

Considering the political prospects of such a union, with the membership of the Black Sea as well as some Mediterranean and Caspian sea regions and countries, and all the possible economic benefits of it, we would like to ask you, dear Vladislav Georgievich, to choose your principal attitude to this project and, if you decide to accept it, to name those towns and FEZs that are ready to become the founders of the above mentioned International Union of the Black Sea, Mediterranean and Caspian Sea FEZs.

Encl: 7 pages

Respectfully,

Responsible Secretary of the Supervisory (Trustee) Council,
President of VFHC"P

Signed
L.N. Vasilyev

"РЕСПУБЛИКА АБХАЗИЯ"
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБОРОНЫ

ПЕРВОМУ ЗАМЕСТИТЕЛЮ МИНИСТРА ВНУТРЕННИХ ДЕЛ
ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКОЙ МОЛДАВСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ
генерал-майору т. МАТВЕЕВУ Н. С.

Уважаемый Николай Степанович!

С 11 мая по 10 августа 1993 г. на территории Восточного фронта Республики Абхазия успешно действовала спецгруппа "Дельфин" батальона милиции специального назначения "Днестр" в составе: майор Терентьев А. В., майор Бутько А. Н., капитан Данилин Н. Ф., лейтенант Рыжиков Е. Н., лейтенант Цуркан А. З., лейтенант Кулаков Ю. П., майор Пименов Ю. Н.

Группа проводила диверсионные работы во фронтовом тылу грузино-фашистских войск, вела успешные разведывательные и боевые действия, организовывала и проводила задержание особо опасных рецидивистов на территории гарнизона блокадного города Ткуарчал. Грамотно, с высоким профессионализмом группой был осуществлен прием сотрудников Государственного Комитета по чрезвычайным ситуациям России (ГКЧС), вывод и сопровождение колонны беженцев из блокадного города без потерь.

Командированная в Абхазию из Приднестровской Молдавской республики спецгруппа "Дельфин" за время ведения боевых действий провела 12 боевых операций в тылу противника, в результате которых поврежден самолет, взорвана радио-релейная станция, захвачена одна единица боевой техники, уничтожено по 34 единицы живой силы противника.

Сотрудниками группы была проведена операция по дезинформации и дезориентации противника, позволившая начать успешное наступление по всей линии фронта. Просим поощрить личный состав.

Председатель Верховного Совета Республики Абхазия
В. Ардзинба"

**"REPUBLIC ABKHAZIA"
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE**

To First Depute Minister of Internal Affairs of the Prednistrovskay
Moldovian Republic
Major — General comr. Matveev N.S.

Dear Nikolai Stepanovich,

From May 11 till August 10, 1993 in the eastern front of the Republic Abkhazia a special group "Delfin" of the special purpose battalion "Dnestr" of Militia was acting successfully; the group staff consisted of Major Terentev A.V., Major Butko A.N., Captain Danilin N.F., Lieutenant Ryzhikov E.N., Lieutenant Tsurkan A.Z., Lieutenant Kulakov Y.P., Major Pimenov Y.N.

The group carried out subversive activities in the rear of the Georgian fascist troops, as well as successful reconnaissance and combat operations, organized and carried out pursue and capture of the most dangerous offenders in the territory of the garrison of the blockaded town Tkuarchal. The group exhibited a high professional skill in organizing the reception of Russia's State Committee on Extraordinary Situations, and escorting a column of refugees from the sieged town without any losses.

The special group "Delfin" sent on mission to Abkhazia from the Pridnestrovskaya Moldavian Republic carried out 12 combat operations in the enemy's rear during which one aircraft was damaged, a radio-relay station was blown up, a combat vehicle was captured and 34 units of the enemy's manpower were killed.

The members of the group carried out an operation designed to misinform and disorient the enemy, which enabled a successful offensive along the whole front line. We request you to reward the personnel.

Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic Abkhazia
V. Ardzinba

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что 25. 06. 93 г. группой в составе к-нов Пименова и Бутко совместно с группой "Летучая мышь" фронтовой разведки в 18.10 в районе п. Адзюбжа был произведен пуск типовой ракеты "Игла" по военно-транспортному самолету ВВС Грузии ТУ-134, заходящему на посадку на военный аэродром п. Дранда. Пуск произведен с территории противника. Ракета попала в правый двигатель самолета. Возник пожар. Самолет смог совершить посадку, но восстановлению не подлежит. Имуществу ВВС Грузии нанесен значительный материальный ущерб.

Затем в 21.00 группа вышла к Кодорскому мосту для подготовки его к взрыву, но в районе п. Ахалорста попала в засаду противника. Имелся огневой контакт с обеих сторон с расстояния 15-30 метров. Наши потери - 1 раненый. К противнику на транспорте стало подходить подкрепление и огонь велся с фронта и с правого фланга. Группа благополучно отошла, и, пройдя по тылам противника 15-18 км., вынеся с собой раненого, прибыла на временную базу пос. Отара-Абхазская.

Капитан милиции Пименов"
27.06.93 г.

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что 25. 06. 93 группа БМСН "Днестр" в составе прапорщиков Рыжикова и Кулакова совместно с группой "Дракон" вышла в рейд в район Сванетии для уничтожения ЛЭП-5000. Ориентировочное прибытие на базу - 30.06.93 г.

Капитан милиции Пименов"

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldavian Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 25.06.'93 a group consisting of Captains Pimenov and Butko, together with the group "Bat" of the front reconnaissance launched a missile of "Igla" type at 18:10 in the area of village Adzubzha, ay the military — transportation aircraft of the Georgian Air Force, NE — 134, while it was landing on the military airport at village Dranda. The missile was launched from the enemy's territory. The missile hit the aircraft's right engine and caused a fire. The aircraft managed to land, but it cannot be restored. The Air Forces of Georgia has suffered a considerable material loss.

Later, at 21:00 the group approached the Kodori bridge to prepare its explosion, but in the area of village Akhalostra got into the enemy's ambush. The exchange of fire occurred at a 15 — 30 m distance. Our loss consisted of one wounded. Then reinforcement was transported to the enemy and the firing went on from the front and the right flank. The group managed to retire safely and, having passed 15 — 20 km through the enemy's rear, arrived at the temporary base at village Otara Abkhazskaya bringing the wounded along.

Captain of Militia Pimenov
27.06.93

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldavian republic, Major General Matveev V.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 25.06.93 a group of the special purpose battalion of Militia "Dnestr" consisting of warrant officers Ryzhikov and Kulakov, together with the group "Drakon" set out on a mission to Svanetia to demolish electro — transmission line K"G — 500. Approximate date for return to base — 30.06.93

Captain of Militia Pimenov

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что группа фронтовой разведки 30. 06. 93 г. попала в засаду в районе пос. Ахалорста. По рации была вызвана помощь.

1. 07. 93 г. группа в составе Пименова, Бутько, Данилина при поддержке группы "Летучая мышь" осуществила спасательную операцию в тылу противника на глубине 12 км. Группа попала в засаду. Вынести тела не удалось. Ранен (тяжело) проводник. Группа вернулась на запасную базу с. Отара.

Капитан Пименов."

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что с 1. 07. 93 г. группа в составе Терентьева, Цуркана, Рыжикова, Кулакова участвовала в крупномасштабной операции по освобождению пос. (неразборчиво). Захвачена а/м "Урал", принадлежащая М. 0. Грузии. Уничтожено 3 ед. живой силы противника.

*Капитан Пименов
3. 07. 93 г."*

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что 2. 06. 93 г. грузинской стороной в одностороннем порядке прекращены пролеты через грузинскую сторону. Ведутся переговоры о возобновлении полета с гуманитарной помощью.

*Капитан милиции Пименов"
2. 06. 93 г."*

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldovian Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 30.06.93 a group of front reconnaissance got in an ambush in the area of village Akhalostra. Assistance was called by portable radio.

On 01.07.93 a group consisting of Pimenov, Butko, Danilin supported by the "Bat" team attempted a rescue operation at a 12 km dept into the enemy's rear. The group got in an ambush. We were unable to carry out the bodies. The guide was badly wounded. The group returned to the reserve base Otara.

Captain Pimenov

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldovian Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that beginning from 01.07.93 a group consisting of Terentiev, Tsurkan, Ryzhikov, Kulakov participated in a large-scale operation to liberate the village (unreadable). A motor vehicle "Ural" belonging to the Ministry of Defence of Georgia, was captured. Three units of the enemy's manpower were destroyed.

Captain Pimenov
03.07.93

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldovian Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 02.06.93 the Georgian side unilaterally stopped flights across the Georgian area. Negotiations are underway in order to resume flights carrying humanitarian supplies.

Captain of Militia Pimenov
02.06.93

"Первому заму МВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н.С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что 6. 06. 93 г. часть сотрудников группы "Дельфин" в составе прапорщиков Рыжикова и Куликова совместно с м-ром Чечинцом в районе п. Поквеш проводили специальную операцию по уничтожению огневой точки противника. В результате операции уничтожен ДОТ противника, 2 единицы живой силы противника, захвачены трофеи:

РПГ-7-1;
АК-74-2 (один румынского производства).
С нашей стороны потерь нет.

Капитан милиции Пименов
7. 06. 93 г."

"Первому заму ВД ПМР генерал-майору Матвееву Н. С.

РАПОРТ

Докладываю, что 10. 06. 93 г. группой сотрудников БМСН "Днестр" в составе прапорщиков Рыжикова и Кулакова совместно с м-ром Чечинцом и бойцами группы "Дракон" в районе г. Болунджара была уничтожена радиостанция противника. С нашей стороны потерь нет.

Капитан милиции Пименов
11. 06. 93 г."

To First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Pridnestrovskaya
Moldovian Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 06.06.93 some of the staff of the Delfin group, namely, warrant officers Ryzhikov and Kulakov, And also Major Chechintz were carrying out a special operation in the area of the village Pokvesh with the aim to destroy the enemy's weapon emplacement. As a result of the operation the weapon emplacement was destroyed, 2 enemy manpower units were captured:

HGU - 7 - 1 (grenade discharger);

FR - 74 - 2 - one made in Rumania (Kalashnikov)

We had no losses.

Captain of Militia Pimenov
07.06.93

To First Deputy Minister of Internal affairs of Pridnestrovskaya Moldovian
Republic, Major General Matveev N.S.

Report

I am reporting that on 10.06.93 a group of the Militia Battalion of Special Purpose Dnestr consisting of warrant officers Ryzhikov and Kulakov, also Major Chechintz and members of the group Drakon destroyed the enemy's radio transmitting station in the area of the village Bolunjara. No losses on our side.

Captain of Militia Pimenov
11.06.93

Analyzing V. Ardzinba's "appointment" to the post of the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous republic and his activities in that rank, Dr Svetlana Chervonnaya, a research worker of the Ethnology and Anthropology Institute, Academy of Sciences of Russia, exposed the role of the Russian special services in the following way: **"Those who drew a card in Vladislav Ardzinba's name, hardly ever cared about his greatness or career when, in the Autumn of 1990 were playing the elaborate game of Caucasian solitaire; they dismissed him from the USSR Supreme Council and sent to Sokhumi teaching him sense, or rather mildly advising to leave Moscow in order to stand at the head of a great and responsible mission awaiting him in Abkhazia. at any rate the choice turned out to be strikingly exact; and the elegant gentleman, respectable intellectual, Doctor of Philosophy (History) with a brand-new diploma, eloquent speaker, one of the most suitable deputies to manipulate "the national votes" and supporter of the all-union group "Sojuz" appeared to be a perfect candidate to be put at the head of the "Abkhazian Vandee"**

The year 1991 witnessed political strengthening of the separatists. It was also the time of the flourishing double-dyed nationalism and national-communism which openly supported the August putsch in Moscow and filled with a wish of revenge after the failure of that putsch" (S. Chervonnaya "Abkhazia - 1992: Post - Communist Georgia's Vandee", 1994, pp 128,129).

Svetlana Chervonnaya excellently described that the absolute majority of the Abkhaz population were against the war secession of Abkhazia from Georgia. **"He imposed on the Abkhaz people his own will, which he disguised under a legal decision of the authorities' Supreme body"** (ibid, p. 130). In order to achieve the goal, it was necessary to restrict the electoral rights of the Georgian population. Ardzinba, through juridical arbitrariness, and kinds of scheming, blackmailing the Georgian Government which did its best to avoid conflict, ignoring all the protests of the experts, and infringing the rights of the Georgians, had the above mentioned apartheid electoral law, according to which small Abkhaz constituencies were

given the same status as much larger constituencies consisting mainly of Georgians and representatives of other non – Abkhaz nationalities, all of them having the right to elect one deputy each. Those unequal elections actually brought about a similar situation in the Supreme Council. **“every possible attempt of the democratic opposition, in particular, the activities of the Georgian social organizations, which emerged as a consequence of the authoritarian regime, was violently suppressed by the order of the Abkhaz Supreme Council, or more frequently, by Ardzinba himself.”** (ibid, p. 132).

Meanwhile, absolutely illegal resolution made by the Supreme Council's Presidium and signed by Ardzinba, were passed concerning the troops of the former Soviet Union's Armed Forces located in the territory of Abkhazia. According to those resolutions the units were to be placed at the disposal of the Autonomous Republic's authorities, which are not competent to do it since such decisions can be made only by the legitimate heir of the Soviet Union. This heir, together with the other 14 republics of the former USSR which disintegrated in 1991, can be only Georgia and not any of its autonomous republics or areas. Ardzinba violated the international legislation and declared that the Soviet Army's property was “the Property of Abkhazia”.

Moreover, these decisions were made and the respective documents were drawn up and approved in the December of 1991 when the situation in Tbilisi was exceedingly dramatic and the civil war was actually going on. Ardzinba's actions, whether they were legal or illegal, were not controlled. Neither the Georgian population, nor the Georgian members of the Supreme Council had any levers to be used against Ardzinba. Because of the situation in Tbilisi, neither the Georgian deputies, nor the population could expect any support from the country's authorities. Meanwhile, the sessions were attended by Ardzinba's Guards who were supposed by force of arms to make the deputies obey and give their consent to a legal secession of Abkhazia from Georgia. Demonstrating their protest, all the Georgian deputies as well as a considerable part of non – Georgian representatives, left Ardzinba's majority and started functioning as an independent body.

I would like to state once more that the situation which had developed in Tbilisi was unfavourable for the whole Georgia, and turned out to be really advantageous for Ardzinba by encouraging all his actions. However, as S. Chervonnaya wrote: **“Regardless the paralysis that struck the Georgian Republic's governmental structures during the “Tbilisi revolution”, and his own ignorance of the questions dealing with alien property and jurisdiction, the Chairman of the Autonomous Republic's Supreme Council did not dare to make any decision without the approval of the higher authorities”** (implying Russia's special services and Russia's defence systems – T. Nadareishvili). **“They must have had all the respective instructions, according to which they strikingly easily interfered in the jurisdiction of Abkhaz Supreme Council, which has no provision whatsoever for a military statute. Ardzinba, with a strictness of the Commander-in-Chief, appointed Colonels and sub-Colonels to be members of the ‘Provisional Military Council’ which he himself presided. At the same time, he put under his subordination those who, according to their position, were not supposed to be under the jurisdiction of any ‘Chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia’. All this was a planned action that had been previously agreed by the highest administration of the military-industrial complex.”** (ibid p. 138). Later on, they extended assistance in the warfare against Georgia.

The verity of all the above statements is confirmed by Ardzinba's resolution declaring that the Soviet Union's Army units 5482 and 3697 stationed in Abkhazia became the property of Abkhazia, and by his subsequent correspondence with the higher executives of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Defence, who had just been appointed to their posts late in 1991. There are letters which he addressed to the Head Personnel Department of the C.I.S. Joint Army Forces, and to the Personnel Department of the Anti – Aircraft Defence, in which he boldly interferes in the personnel policy as if it were his jurisdiction. These letters can be found in S. Chervonnaya's book on pp 135 – 138, and others, so I am not citing them here.

At the same time, by the spring of 1992 Ardzinba and his companions had created mononational ‘Guards’ which for the most part consisted

of criminals, and which consumed a great part of Abkhazia's budget. A green Muslim flag went up over the Inguri, actually indicating the 'frontier' between Abkhazia and the rest of Georgia. The separatists were doing their best to drag Georgia into war.

The situation did not improve when in the March of 1992 Eduard Shevardnadze became the Head of the Georgian state. Those, who were forcing the Abkhazian separatism, appeared to be Eduard Shevardnadze's enemies, strongly opposing him as a democrat who while being the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs made a great personal contribution to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Europe and the collapse of the USSR.

That was the reason why, despite Shevardnadze's balanced policy, the Abkhaz separatists wouldn't change their treacherous plans and were ready to provoke an armed clash, thus striving to comply with Russia's interests and secede Abkhazia from Georgia.

It was before the conflict began, that in the March of 1992, when the Soviet Union collapsed, on Ardzinba's initiative an economic treaty between the Russian Federation and Abkhazia was signed without any agreement with the Georgian government. Early in March Ardzinba appealed to B. Yeltsin with a request to render economic assistance to Abkhazia. And on March 29 B. Yeltsin charged the administration of Krasnodar and Stavropol territories with the mission to carry out direct negotiations for the signing of a trade and economic agreement with Abkhazia. The mission was carried out within a 3 month period.

Before the hostilities started, Ardzinba had taken appropriate steps to equip the Abkhazian illegitimate military units with arms and to create every possible obstacle for Georgia to acquire military machinery and arms. These activities are also clearly evidenced by his correspondence with the military authorities and certain public organizations of the Russian Federation and other C.I.S. countries.

Moreover, early in August, 1992 a draft project of an agreement between Abkhazia and the Russian Federation's Ministry of Defence was drawn up, which provided that Abkhazia would turn over to Russia those objects and installations that once belonged to the USSR Ministry of Defence, security departments and military technical

complex, in exchange for a strengthened defence potential of Abkhazia and guaranty of inviolability of its borders.

As soon as the hostilities began, the common views that Abkhazia shared with Russia, and not infrequent occasions of Russia's direct military support became even more obvious. With Russia's silent consent the "Caucasian Peoples' Confederation" which was functioning in the territory of the Russian Federation but was never registered anywhere, actually declared war against Georgia and started transferring its hired men, armed to the teeth, to Abkhazia. Vitali Sharia, an Abkhaz journalist wrote in his book "The tragedy of Abkhazia" (p.47): **"After August 14, 1992, the North Caucasus (the Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation) became the organizing center for any volunteer activity in defence of Abkhazia. Huge meetings were organized and held in Kabardino-Balkaria, Chechnya, Adygea, Karacharovo-Cherkessya, North and South Ossetia; headquarters for enrolling volunteers were arranged."** All these activities went on openly, under the supervision of the Russian Federation's officialdom.

During the very first days of the war, the military units stationed in Gudauta began transferring arms and ammunitions to the separatists. V. Sharia wrote: **"The Russian Army units in Abkhazia, which were not under the subordination of the Transcaucasian Military Command, did all in their power to prevent extermination of the Abkhaz people"** ("The Tragedy of Abkhazia", p.55).

The Abkhaz separatists were gradually getting greater and more significant support, and by the end of September they had been equipped with such modern machinery as BMPs, T-72 tanks, artillery system BM-21, 'Grad', anti-aircraft defence system 'Osa' and others. At the same time Russia made every effort to present itself to the world as a fighter for peace and a peacemaker.

A treaty on cease-fire and conflict settlement was signed in Moscow on September 3, 1992, on Russia's initiative and with participation of the Heads of the North Caucasian Republics. Russia was supposed to be the guarantor of the treaty. During these negotiations, Abkhazia didn't lose time and gathered up forces. On October 1, 1992, it launched an assault on Gagra, occupied it and started the ethnic purge of the

Georgian population. The guarantor of the September 3 treaty not only kept silent, but also extended active assistance to the separatists by means of manpower and weapons.

The Russian military machinery of the 'Bezukoriznnyi', 'Kil-2', 'Don' types were in fact carrying out combat operations from the sea from September 22 till October 5, 1992.

We happened to come across a photocopy of a report written by V. Fomin, 1st rank Captain, Head of the battleship group: "On the 1st of October, according to the plan, special exercises were demonstrated to the Headquarter officers with the purpose to check up the combat abilities of the equipment (5 JGH with CRH 'Bezukoriznnyi' and JUDLD), of Gudauta air force and armoured tanks". This was going on right on the day of the assault of Gagra. The document further reveals the true purpose of the Russian military clique: on October 2, at 17:00 the Russian First Deputy Minister of Defence Colonel-General G.G. Kondratiev gave more detailed instructions to the battleships for combat operations:

"1. By no means is any expeditionary force to be admitted from the Georgian side into Bichvinta (Pitsunda) area. In case of need, weapons must be used.

2. Gudauta airport must be provided with anti-aircraft defence."

The above mentioned documents demonstrates that the Russian military department was well aware of the combat operations and, above all, participated in those operations.

Somewhere in the middle of October 1992 Sokhumi was regularly bombed. The Russian officialdom denied their participation in those actions, declaring that it was the Abkhaz separatists themselves who did it. But then arises a question: How did Ardzinba's regime come to possession of so many latest model aircraft as SU-25 and SU-27? Later, the event of March 19, 1993 exposed the false statements of the Russian representatives — a SU-27 aircraft was shot down over Sokhumi, and the documents issued in the name of flier No. 11, Major Vatslav Alexandrovich Shipko, indicated that on March 19 he was missioned from Kushevskaya (Rostov territory) to the Bombora airport, Gudauta, for a further combat mission.

УДОСТОВЕРЕНИЕ ЛИЧНОСТИ

ВО М 087504

Шипко

Ватслав Александрович

составит на действительное удостоверение личности в Вооруженных Силах РФ

1. Личный паспорт

Н 612 001

2. Число, месяц, год

1958

3. Личный паспорт

04

4. Место рождения

Нижний Новгород

5. Наименование организации

Министерство обороны

6. Имя, отчество, фамилия

Ватслав Александрович

7. Наименование должности

Майор

8. Наименование подразделения

Группа боевой подготовки

9. Наименование подразделения

Группа боевой подготовки

10. Наименование подразделения

Группа боевой подготовки

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Группа боевой подготовки

The documents that fell into our hands, evidence the Abkhaz separatists were supported and actually assisted not only by military departments but also by Russia's special services.

On March 31, 1993 a lieutenant of the Russian Army, Alexandre Nikolaevich Sitnikov, was arrested in Sokhumi on spying charges. He was serving in unit 48427 stationed in Moscow territory. He had a special intelligence mission to Sokhumi, where he met an agent of Abkhazian special services to get confidential information from him and, at the same time, worked on another special mission concerning those Georgian troops that were stationed on the frontline.

Sitnikov's activities in Sokhumi were confirmed by documentary evidence Sitnikov pleaded guilty when he was charged with accusation provisioned in Article 66 (espionage) of the Georgian Criminal Code.

On April 1, 1993 a severe reprimand and warning was given to Senior Sergeant Alexander Olegovich Lunev, Head of Radio station 8-14, serving in unit 2011 located in the office of the Information-Intelligence Service of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic. The incident took place in the presence of the Commander of Unit 2011 and his assistant. Sergeant Lunev had been broadcasting from the Unit's radio from March 17 till 22, 1993, and providing the armed units of the Abkhaz separatists with information on the Georgian military manpower and equipment on the frontline, the situation in Sokhumi, etc.

The later confessions of the hired men were published in the Russian press, once more demonstrating the Russian civil and military officialdom's support to the Abkhaz separatists.

It was not only the Caucasian Peoples' Confederation that gathered volunteers for Abkhazia, but also the Russian National Legion headed by Nikolai Lysenko. Here are some of the names of those mercenaries - all of them subjects of the Russian Federation: Shamil Basayev, Commander of the Caucasian Peoples' Confederation Army; Khatar Kazbeg, a general; Sultan Soslaniev, a general; Anatoli Onisimovich Sidorenko, a colonel who was in charge of the Abkhaz armed force; Ivan Alekseevich Kononov, a Cossack general, who later confessed and repented of his actions; Nikolai Gusko, a ataman, chief of 'hundred'; Boris Yurievich Akulinichev, nicknamed 'Shark', a colonel of the

Soviet Army who had fought in Angola, Syria, Afganistan; Igor Lunev, a major-general, member of the Russian Legion (brought over 50 mercenaries to Abkhazia); Genadi Kolodin, nicknamed 'Koloda', a major, commander of a sub-unit of 'spetsnaz', from Vyatka; Mikhail Bondarenko, nicknamed 'Gulyai Pole', a captain of the expeditionary force (supervised the assault of Sokhumi); Roman Semiulin, a major, commander of a battalion stationed in Eshera laboratory. There were also generals from the Ministry of Defence of Russia among the mercenaries: Kondratiev, Sigutkin, Sorokin, Chindarov; General Kolesnikov, Commander of the General Headquarters of the Ministry of Defence; Admiral Koleshnikov; Captain Bondarenko, Captain Nikolaev; sub-Colonel Kravchuk, sub-Colonel Sidorenko, Major Klimov, Major Semigulin, Chief of a Cossack unit O. Petrov.

Here is an extract from an interview given by Lieutenant-General Alexandre Chindarev, Deputy Commander of the Russian Federation's Air-Expeditionary Force, to Russian TV-journalists during the Abkhaz war. His words expose the role and participation of the highest officials of the Ministry of Defence in that war and their attitude to Georgia and her leadership. (The video record of the interview is kept in the files of the Procurator's Office of Georgia):

"The Russian Army grouping is presented in the territory of Abkhazia by the well known parachute expeditionary regiment, section 901, a parachute expeditionary battalion.

We are not taking part in the combat, nevertheless, the decision to keep the Russian Army grouping here, to my mind, was absolutely correct and necessary. Why? - Because it serves as a checking and restraining factor for ungovernable politicians, in the first place, those of the Georgian side. As for at the political leadership of Georgia, they must be condemned by the world public, and the stand that they have taken is absolutely unacceptable. We all know only too well that while the Union still existed, Eduard Ambrosievich Shevardnadze distorted our foreign policy under Gorbachev's guidance. Now, having become the leader of Georgia, he has transferred that deformed policy to Georgia."

The units taking part in the combat operations were: air expeditionary regiment No. 345; missile - antiaircraft regiment 643; military unit

5482, military unit 3697; battleships; SU – 25 and SU – 27 aircraft based on the airfields of Gudauta, Rostov, Maikop.

On August 14, 1992, anti-aircraft – missile regiment 643 of the anti-aircraft defence in Gudauta was disarmed and destroyed without fighting. Armed people of Abkhaz nationality gothold of 943 automatic guns, 267 pistols, 18 hand machine – guns, 600 signal rockets, over 500 grenades and over 500 000 cartridges of various calibers, as well as motor vehicles. All the buildings of the military settlement, warehouses and food stores, chemical and engineering installations were robbed.

The chief of the technical supply service of the airfield, sub – Colonel A. Dolgoplov handed over to the local Abkhaz separatists 6 fully equipped infantry combat vehicles, 6 machine – guns, 367 F – 1 hand grenades and over 50 000 various caliber cartridges.

The Abkhazians started their war with only two armoured troop carriers, one infantry armoured machine, one flier, and they didn't even have a qualified artillery man. But one month later, in October 1992 they stormed Gagra with numerous tanks, howitzers and armoured vehicles. They even had the 'Grad' and 'Igla' installations. This was reported in the Russian newspaper The Moskovski Komsomolets.

On September 25, 1992 the Supreme Council of Russia passed a resolution which stipulated full support to Abkhazia. B. Eltsin did not respond to it in any way. E. Shevardnadze flew to Moscow, met the President who kept assuring him that he recognized the territorial integrity of Georgia. A little later we learned that on that very day the Chairman of the Security Council Yuri Skokov urgently received Ardzinba in the Kremlin. It was not a coincidence, to be sure. Soon after that the Abkhazians got weapons, heavy technical equipment, money.

The above mentioned facts were confirmed in Alexander Budburg's article "Death mongers, wearing red stripes" published in 1997 in the Moskovski Komsomolets:

"One of the greatest secrets of new Russia is now trade in arms. However, it was a generally known fact, that the trade was in full swing. But for this, the battles in Georgia, Karabakh, Moldavia and Chechnya would have been fought with stones and clubs."

In some cases the choice of the side to be supported depended on the interests of the trade in "The death machines". But it was a general pattern, while the facts and details remained unknown. It was only after the changes in the Defence Ministry's authorities that some scarce information leaked out. One of the first orders issued by Igor Rodionov was to check up the Transcaucasian stores. An enormous shortage was revealed and the criminal case was brought to proceedings. It is clear that the proceedings will fail since the documents are all mixed up. Factual evidence is required to fix certain facts that cannot be fixed, namely, whether there was a verbal order issued from Moscow on the transfer of the property and weapons. There's no doubt that any military commander will try to acquit himself. Through trustworthy sources in the Defence Ministry we got to know some facts that can be regarded as sensational. According to that information, within the period 1995 – 1996 Armenia received 84 T – 72 tanks, 50 BMP – 2 infantry combat vehicles, 7 billion rouble worth spare parts. Curiously enough, there is not a single governmental document to be traced that could confirm the permission and regulation for the transfer of the equipment, not a single rouble has been paid out.

Armenia (as well as Azerbaijan, Georgia, and former Yugoslav Republics) was badly in need of arms. Generals, some managers of the military – industrial complex and observers were always ready to take up such dealings. A strong corporation of people who are growing rich at the expense of bloodshed and death, has formed in the recent years. It is common knowledge that any matter concerning purchasing weapons has to be considered by dozens of higher executives, some of them preparing the operation, others implementing them, still others issuing permissions (who would dare to give away a tank without the Minister's permission), and there are also those who cover all the three former groups at the political levels. The buyers have to leave tens, hundreds of thousand dollar worth bribes at every step of the pyramid.

Analysis of the events unfolding on the territory of the former USSR demonstrates that the warmongers within each republic, including Georgia, are to be divided into three categories:

- 1) Fighting for the restoration of the USSR;
- 2) trading in arms;
- 3) Russian military men who lost considerable privileges after the collapse of the USSR and therefore crave for vengeance, taking part in separatist wars, and creating additional problems.

Some time ago the Russian government made some efforts to get back under its subordination the area of the Transcaucasian republics, set up political goals before the military representatives in those countries, and even the highest military executives were provided with appropriate programs for their activities. Those who disagreed and tried to change something were obliged to quit, just as it was in the case of the Deputy Minister M. Kondratiev.

Russian airplanes were bombing Georgian troops in Abkhazia, Russian instructors were training Shamil Basayev's battalion, Russian and Ukrainian fliers were fighting against each other in Karabakh. These examples are innumerable, but it becomes impossible in nine cases out of ten to make out the borders between the official state's and purely personal interests. When, for instance, the Minister of Defence of Azerbaijan R. Gaziev who had been regularly making trips to Moscow once a week and coming back with cases full of money, was at last dismissed, the Russian Minister Grachev personally demanded that the Azerbaijan government should reinstate R. Gaziev in his former position. It should be noted that the Russian military advisors were, as a rule, specific people. In Baku, S. Husseinov, who was openly nicknamed 'Narcoking' (drug business king) was made Prime-Minister with the help of Russian weapons. When, after another armed clash Aliev managed to defeat the Prime-Minister pressed on him by Russia, the Russian special services helped the latter to leave Azerbaijan. A similar situation took shape in Georgia when a military airplane took away the Minister of Security Igor Giorgadze who had to escape from Tbilisi.

On the whole, Russia's military and political experiment in Transcaucasia turned out to be a hard one. Russia's imperial policy in this region, aimed at suppressing the local population in these republics and then subordinating them, actually has come to a failure.

Georgia, despite the unsettled conflicts in Abkhazia and Samachablo (S. Ossetia), has managed to keep moving steadily towards independent statehood, occupied its proper place in the world's geopolitical map, and got integrated in the European systems. Meanwhile, Russia's chauvinist policy boomeranged upon it in the form of Chechnya's problem.

It is to be emphasized that drawing a parallel between Chechnya and Abkhazia is another way of misleading the public opinion. Russia had occupied Chechnya and annexed it as a result of predatory wars in the last quarter of the 19th century, when Shamil was defeated. Abkhazia had been part of Georgia before our era began, and the Abkhaz people has always been part of the Georgian people historically, culturally (and, I am absolutely certain, genetically). It ought to be acknowledged, on the other hand, that at the turn of the 21st century all the questions concerning revision of the borders may cause destabilization in the civilized world, and every sober-minded nation including Chechnya should try to avoid it. But the political evaluation of the actions carried out by Abkhazia and Chechnya has to be different. As a matter of principle, Chechnya is fighting against its occupant — Russia, while the Abkhaz separatists unleashed persecution and genocide of the Georgian population who are natives in the Abkhazian land. Georgian rulers and governments and Georgians had always respected the rights of the Abkhazians as the aboriginal people, gave them privileges and accepted all the conditions that the Abkhazians demanded for the development of the Apsua language and culture, and for maximal independence of the Abkhaz autonomy from the center, within the borders of a single Georgian state. So, there is quite a clear difference between the situations in Chechnya and Abkhazia.

One can actually justify the Chechen people's resistance, since Russians had never been natives of the North Caucasus. The Abkhazian revolt inspired by Russia's interests, is a treacherous conflict designed to undermine Georgia's statehood and independence. This is a fact known to everyone: Abkhazians who had been misled by the separatists, ordinary Georgian citizens, and the UNO Secretary General. But if the Georgian leaders fail to keep principled stand in the relations with Russia, to expose officially Russia's role in the preparation of the

conflict and the combat operations, the diplomatic circles of the world will always try to shut their eyes on the reality, and this, in turn, will encourage the separatists to resume the ethnic purge and genocide of Georgians.

Despite the conspiracy around the Russian higher executives' orders, there is no doubt that but for their participation, it would be hardly ever possible to mission any military unit or transfer weapons to Abkhazia.

The international organization "Helsinki Watch" reported: "... Helsinki Watch has documentary evidence proving that Russian mercenaries served in semi-military units and assaulted civil objects in Abkhazia. They received the money in cash in Prednistrovskaya Moldavian Republic. The military units used the arms and combat vehicles against the civil population. We dispose of documents evidencing that some representatives of the Russian armed forces sold, exchanged and sometimes gave away weapons to the Abkhaz combatants."

"A Russian trader of arms captured during Sokhumi battle confirmed that Russian soldiers including missile men, took part in the combat operations. He also made a statement that the air expeditionary division from Pskov had transferred weapons to the Abkhazian side."

It would be worth citing here the stories told by some mercenaries who had fought in the Abkhazian war.

Vladimir Alexandrovich Serdiukov, a sailor, born in 1974 (Military unit 7322, Ochamchire, Abkhazia. Commander – Major Kovalev): "I could not stay in that unit any longer. It happened so, that I didn't suit my chief. My conflict with them started when large-scale bombarding of the town was launched and the population began leaving the town. Our commanders ordered us to stop the people by shooting at them. The wave of the people moved towards the quay trying to get to the ship. We were ordered to make a warning shot, and we did. Then a captain ran up to us and said "Shoot". I didn't understand him at first and said "I have, already". "It was a warning shot, and now you must shoot at the frontier trespassers!" I refused to fulfill that order. Then he said: "Sailor Serdiukov, do you know the rulings?" I answered: "I know that I

have the right to refuse to fulfill an order three times, and after the third refusal you may do as you wish." He repeated the order three times... and then the boys who were with me, all of my age, all had arrived together – we all dropped our guns, and, taking each other by the hands, held back the crowd."

Alexander Sergeevich Rushkin (Eliozov, Kamchatka; private of Kantemira Division): "I was put into the guard-room for breaking the discipline. The commander of the Headquarter came into my cell, handed me a bag with some things and said "You are sent on a mission", but didn't say where. I was put into a plane and brought to Abkhazia, Gudauta. I found myself in the warfare, where I didn't wish to be. I wanted to go back, but they refused."

Aslan Jabrailov, a Chechen ("Edelweis" battalion): "At, first, we were told that the Georgians had occupied other people's land, and were oppressing a small nation, humiliating and slaughtering them. My heart brought me here, like many of us. In short, we came here, to Abkhazia to fight in a war against Georgia. And all this time I had had a feeling, I was fighting for a good, cause... until the assault of Sokhumi. Afterwards I saw that I had been wrong. During the invasion in Gagra only three of four houses were damaged, but on the same day, after the town had been occupied, about hundred houses were burnt down. They did the same in Sokhumi. They burnt down nearly everything in the western front, and are still burning; they kill mostly the civil population who are not armed. Innocent people are actually suffering.

Two days after the occupation of Sokhumi we happened to be standing in a street. an old women came out of one of the gates, she looked about 70; suddenly, a burst of an automatic gun shot her down. My friend (a Chechen from Grozny) and I ran in the direction of the shot. We thought, Georgians were killing Abkhazians. And we found an Abkhazian who had killed that old Georgian woman. On my way I saw a lot of burnt bodies, in Dranda – people hanged on trees. Near the Red Bridge we saw a charred corpse on a camp-bed. Such scenes were frequent in the town. I was paid 5200 roubles in Pridnestrovye."

Vladimir Evgenievich Leonov (St. Petersburg): "We were fighting in Pridnestrovye. During 2 months I was paid about 4000. I was told,

I would be paid better in Abkhazia. There are many Russian mercenaries here, fighting on the Abkhazian side."

Alexander Petrovich Kalyagin, Cossak (t. Kropotkin, Stavropol area): **"I have come to fight against Georgians. I fought against Pridnestrovyie, Moldova... and, as I was coming back home wearing a Cossak uniform, on the 12th or 13th, three Abkhaz men approached me at "Kavkaz" station. They inquired who I was, where I was from. I told them. They offered me to go with them. In Pridnestrovyie I was paid 5000 r. a month, and they offered me 30 000."**

Nikolai Novichenko (Moscow): **"It was rumoured in Moscow that they pay money here and gather mercenaries. And I came here. we were five. We were told we would go in the second echelon, but we got into what they call "a mincing machine". They drove us forward, and those who hired us stayed behind. There were three other Russian fellows, one Chechen. Later I saw them all dead. I don't know who killed them; I think, our employers did, so as not to pay the promised money."**

Eldar Gaskarovich Khiaddulin, born in 1962, came from Tatarstan: **"We were told that those who would fight longer than three months, would get a flat, appropriate registration and double citizenship."**

Aslan Husseinovich Mastaev, a Chechen (Grozny): **"We arrived at Gudauta, received weapons, uniforms, and put in a row. The Headquarter chief (as he was introduced to us) came at said: Stay, those who wish, any you shall get a land plot, a place to live in; you will be registered as a citizen and provided with all the best living conditions."**

Vladimir Petrovich Krutko, a (Cossak) Squad Ataman: **"This is not a Georgian land. This is Abkhazia. They all have come here mainly as a result of the war. This is a Megrelian population. I think, their time is up. My only dream now is to open a barrel of wine on the Inguri and drink it up. I'll sit drinking for three days. Actually, only Megrelians and Georgians live well here, all the others are just serving them. I am sure we shall drive them out, and only Russians will be left here. Once, there was a time, when our ancestors saved them from extinction. We shall always come to an agreement with Abkhazians and share all the troubles with them. Russians shall live very well here. This will happen, by all means."**

Later, Eduard Shevardnadze noticed: **"A red-brown army which is threatening Russia with restoration of the totalitarian system, and is craving for an imperial revanche, is fighting now against Georgia in Abkhazia."** (a speech at a Parliamentary session, printed in *The Demokraticeskaya Abkhazia*, 1992, 25/11, p. 2).

This is how Svetlana Chervonnaya evaluated the events: **"These forces were ready to keep back the "Abkhazian card" (which was actually their tramp card) while Gamsakhurdia was President of Georgia, but as soon as Shevardnadze became Head of the State, they brought all their wrath down on Georgia, since Shevardnadze's name was associated with quite different goals and ways to them, implying respect to the autonomous units of Georgia, peaceful political settlement of the conflicts, relations with the new democratic Russia. This particular course of political actions that would strengthen Georgia, bring her out of the long crisis, worried those who wished to see this Republic on her knees."** (S. Chervonnaya, *"Abkhazia - 1992: post-Communist Georgia's Vandee"*, p. 157-158).

After Georgians' defeat in the combat activities in Abkhazia on 27 September, 1993, Russia kept taking further steps against the interests of the Georgian statehood, and tried every means to back up the separatist regime. Besides the efforts made to strengthen the Russian military base in Gudauta and the biased, goal-oriented anti-Georgian activities of the Russian peace-making forces, there are quite a few known facts evidencing financial support to the separatist after the war:

The "Agrobank" of Moscow transferred about 16 million roubles to different organizations of Abkhazia; the "Tiko" bank transferred 600 roubles; the "Vozrozhdenye" bank put 2 million roubles on the accounts of the Abkhazian government. Constant relations are kept up between Abkhazia and the Russian Vnesheconombank, Russian National Bank's Currency Exchanged, Moscow municipal exchange, and numerous other governmental and commercial organizations. Besides, all the decision made at the Moscow summit of the CIS leaders on January 19, 1996 on the matter of Sokhumi separatist regime isolation, were violated. An Abkhazian mission is still represented in Moscow.

Thus the Abkhazian conflict is a direct outcome of the Russian imperial policy, and even now the Russian Federation, with the help of its stooges, supports the Abkhaz separatists, encouraging their unpunished raging.

SOME EPISODES FROM ABKHAZIAN PRE-WAR POLITICAL LIFE, OR INSTIGATION OF HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC GEORGIAN STATE

The Abkhazian provocative war had been schemed long before by certain forces. Abkhazia was chosen as a hot point that could be used to undermine the Georgians' aspiration to become free and independent. Conflicts between nations broke out nearly everywhere in 1989: Pridnestrovye, Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. It is noteworthy that the leaders of all the four rebellious regions were members of the USSR Supreme Council's fraction "Sojuz", and were guided from the center. Before the war started Ardzinba had proclaimed: — **"We will get the Georgians themselves to start a war. A war against Georgians will ensure recognition for the small Abkhaz nation. And the world-wide recognition will ensure independence."**

The Abkhazian conflict or the Abkhazian war actually began on August 14, 1992, but the Abkhaz separatists had been preparing it for a few decades. I will refer to some points in the Abkhazian political life that made up a long logical chain of events which brought about the war, and exposed the heaviest guilt of the Abkhaz separatists, their patrons once secret but now known to everyone — towards their people and the whole mankind.

Beginning from 1960s, a group of higher executives from the Abkhaz leadership and authorities and some other persons was made up as an extremist conspiracy organization, whose goals involved restriction of the sovereign rights of the Georgian Republic, violation of the territorial integrity of this country and withdrawal of Abkhazia from the Georgian Republic by force.

To make those goals easily achievable and to mislead the whole world, the extremists deliberately distorted and falsified historical facts, forced their own interpretations of events, used political insinuations, demagoguery, slander, blackmail, invented legends about invasion of the Abkhazian land by Georgians, oppression and physical termination of the Abkhaz people.

For many years the separatists were developing and introducing the man-hating doctrine that would make the peaceful coexistence of Georgians and Abkhazians impossible. To achieve a fuller estrangement, they even induced an opposition between the autochthonic inhabitants of Abkhazia.

The state policy that they chose implied fascist methods of implementing "the rights of self-determination" through armed struggle, violation of the integrity of the country's territory, extinction and expulsion of ethnic groups in order to change the demographic pattern.

They imposed an image of a Georgian "enemy" upon the neighbouring and friendly nations with the purpose to change the historical orientation. In Russia the separatists attracted some people by stating that Abkhazia was a part of Russia, that all the wealth of the Abkhazian land belongs to Russia, in the first place, the health resorts popular all over the former Soviet Union.

They tried to convince the Muslims all over the world and here, in the North Caucasus, that Caucasia is single and inseparable for all Muslims; that Georgians have been and are still exterminating Abkhazians; and, therefore they asked for urgent help.

In 1957 the Abkhazian intelligentsia appealed to the supreme bodies of the authorities to solve the question of transferring Abkhazia to the jurisdiction of Russia; ten years later, in 1967, the general public again appealed to the Central Committee of the Soviet Union and to other organizations, to withdraw Abkhazia from the Georgian SSR; still later, in 1978, when a new USSR Constitution and, consequently, a new Georgian SSR Constitution were to be adopted, the question of free withdrawal of Abkhazia from the Georgian SSR and its joining to the Russian SSR, came up again. Ten more years passed and in 1988 Abkhazia again appealed to Russia. This time they demanded that the autonomous status of the Republic should be changed and it should enjoy the rights of a Soviet Union Republic. This demand was set forth in 1989, on 18 March at the village Lykhna, at the meeting held by "Aidgilara". On July 15, 1989 Abkhazians provoked an Abkhaz-Georgian clash on the national basis, thus giving a start to the armed struggle against the Georgian state. In that clash 17 people were killed, 448 were wounded.

If we cast a glance back to even earlier stages, we can observe the separatist orientation of the Abkhazians and the same patrons and supporters as they have today.

The war in Abkhazia was in fact unavoidable. The Georgians of Abkhazia managed to avoid it several times, but all their efforts were vain. Every step made by the Abkhaz side, either political or armed, aggravated the situation and brought the conflict closer. Then, the events of 15–16 July, aroused the whole Georgia. Over 50 000 Georgians gathered at the r. Galidga. We were full of militant spirit, we were all united and the enemy failed to defeat us. We didn't punish anyone and didn't make any conclusions. The enemy, however, analyzed the situation properly and began to get ready for a second assault, which they brought to a successful end in the Autumn of 1993.

* * *

The separatists grew particularly active in their struggle against the Georgian statehood in the Spring of 1990.

On 23 August, 1990, a session of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic was held. Chairman of the presidium V. Kobakhia, deputy D. Ajinjal and others in their speeches stated, that Abkhazia had never had anything in common with Georgia. This gave rise to a new upheaval of hatred and did particularly great harm to the traditional relations between the Georgian and Abkhaz people.

In order to ensure a social explosion and bloody clash, the separatists planned and guided the organization "Aidgilara" which worked purposefully to twist the whole history of the Abkhaz people and their relationships with Georgians. The "Aidgilara" leaders kept spreading their ideas, appeals, their "scientific research results", which were basically aimed at destroying the integrity of the Georgian state. This kind of "research" is still published with great care nowadays, e.g., "Abkhazia: Chronicles of Undeclared War", "The White Book of Abkhazia", "The Abkhazian Tragedy".

The Abkhaz separatists insisted that the Georgians desired to turn the Abkhazians into Georgians, that Abkhazia had never been a part of Georgia, that it had been an independent, sovereign country for many centuries.

They have entered some information into the Internet system, claiming that Queen Tamar and King David. The Builder were Abkhazian rulers. In reality, they reigned over the whole Georgia, but the separatists twisted the information and explained that King David the Builder and even Queen Tamar were the rulers of "Abkhazia", an absolutely unfamiliar to us non-Georgian state which had nothing in common with Georgia.

According to Alexi Gogua, an Abkhazian ideologist, the Georgians have brought one of the most ancient Caucasian peoples and its culture to a shocking state, turned its autonomy into a useless piece of paper, by way of exterminating are degrading the Abkhaz intelligentsia, assimilating a great part of the local population by settling on the Abkhazian land over 200 000 people from different areas of Georgia. This idea was supported by B. Tarba, B. Sagaria and others. These absurd statements are based on the policy of secession of Abkhazia from Georgia.

All the blackmail and demagoguery and slander at which the separatists were so skillful was not always responded with adequate firmness. Being thus encouraged and unruly, as Dr. Svetlana Chervonnaya put it, they launched a mass ideological propaganda to create the image of the Georgian enemy through the nationalist press, radio and television, in the classrooms of the University, institutes and secondary schools. Every Georgian, even the closest friend or next-door neighbour, was declared an enemy. He would be charged with all the troubles of the Abkhazians, decline of their living standards, breach of the holiday sequence, deficit of basic goods, seizure of all the reins of government and plundering of the country. It was that Georgian who burnt down the Abkhazians' houses and property, and took it away to Tbilisi. An ordinary Georgian was described as a bandit, a murderer, a sadist. That propaganda of the hostile ideology gave birth to the ideology of physiological hatred towards Georgians, which, in turn, cleared the way to the Georgian tragedy in Abkhazia.

It was not infrequent that the target of those attacks was placed upon Abkhazians, although, compared with those means and methods that the Abkhaz separatist and historians used to prove the non-Georgian origin of Abkhazia and Abkhazians, and to ignore the native roots of the Georgian population of Abkhazia, the declarations made by the Georgian jingoists appeared like a drop in the ocean, and, as a

matter of fact, their appraisals, however absurd and unacceptable they may be, were basically reasonable when concerned the separatists' whims.

From 1992 on the Supreme Council of Abkhazia presided by its Chairman V. Ardzinba launched a process of provocative activities towards secession of Abkhazia from Georgia, with the further aim to declare it official an "independent" state.

Everything was done to provoke the Georgian authorities to start punishing the extremists by force of arms; that would have started up the ideological machine engineered in Russia, which would have misinformed the whole mankind about the oppression of the small Abkhaz nation by the Georgian state.

In order to encourage and enhance those events and to upset the balance within the Georgian leadership the Abkhazian Supreme Council, at its regular meeting of the first session, adopted a resolution on "Suspending the 1978 Constitution of the Abkhaz ASSR", according to which Abkhazia was an independent republic and, as Article 4 declared, "was to unite with Georgia on the basis of an agreement". That resolution, which cast the population of Abkhazia back into the 1920s of the Soviet regime, was incorrect and illegal in the procedures: two-thirds of the Abkhazian Supreme Council, i.e. qualified majority, made up 43 votes. The resolution was voted by only 36 deputies. Similar breach of the procedures occurred in illegal, by mere majority of votes, adoption of a resolution concerning a new Abkhazian state. It was defined as the "Abkhazian Republic" without any autonomy or any other form of existence as a part of Georgia. The state emblem and the flag of Abkhazia were changed in the same way. The new flag of "independent Abkhazia" went up over the building of the Supreme Council in Sokhumi on that very day.

The Russian mass media hurriedly propagated the information on the above mentioned resolution of the Supreme Council session of 23 July 1992, and thus proclaimed the fact of Abkhazia's independence without any comments, as granted.

The resolution of 23 July was adopted without any previous referendum or public opinion poll, and, as it was said above, through violation of the parliamentary procedures, with the lack of a quorum required to introduce any change in the constitution. The parliamentary fraction "democratic Abkhazia" which united not only Georgian

deputies but also all the antiseparatists, left the session as a demonstration of protest, and on that very day made a statement on the outrageous violation of the constitution and reanimation of the corpse of socialism in Abkhazia. The State Council of Georgia met on 25 July in Tbilisi and formally annulled the 23 July resolution.

On 30 July the parliamentary fraction "Democratic Abkhazia" held a full-scale meeting in which representatives of the general public took part; the meeting was conferred the powers of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia and it adopted a resolution according to which all the unilateral decisions made by Ardzinba and his supporters were cancelled.

On 30 July the separatist session removed the words "Soviet" and "Socialist" from the name of the autonomous Republic as an obvious anachronism, since the Soviet empire had collapsed.

In this way, the Georgian authorities and the antiseparatist fraction "Democratic Abkhazia" avoided a collision, and tried to achieve their purpose by drawing up legal documents, so that the world should not perceive Georgia as an unstable region and should acknowledge her as a sovereign country; this was what Ardzinba's Russian "coaches" wished to prevent. Their expectations failed: on July 31, 1991 Georgia was made a member of the UNO and was recognized as an independent country by the greatest powers of the world.

In spite of all that, it was hard for Russia to cede Georgia and it searched for every possible means to encourage the belligerent aspirations of the separatists, to make them start a war against the statehood of Georgia.

On August 4, 1992 Tbilisi was celebrating Georgia's becoming a UNO member. The Head of the State had "The Universal Reconciliation Manifesto" published. Shevardnadze personally invited Ardzinba to the celebration so that the reconciliation and peace could be finally confirmed. Ardzinba found some excuse not to come to Tbilisi.

From August 4 to 12 a particularly extensive activity began in the territory of Abkhazia among the ex-President's supporters, apparently inspired by some outside forces, although the participants would not admit it. Robberies of freight trains passing the territory of Abkhazia grew menacingly frequent, those trains and goods belonging not only to Georgia, but also to Armenia and Azerbaijan. The total losses exceeded one billion roubles which was a huge amount for that period.

It was officially agreed with Ardzinba that an armed unit of 300 men of the Georgian Army would be stationed in Abkhazia. And this was a mistake made by the Georgian authorities; they failed to foresee that it was then that Ardzinba and his Russian advisers were planning a provocation and would profit by that situation to start the armed clash. On the 14 August morning Ardzinba, sounding quite exited talked to then governor of Gali district, Rudik Tsatava, and asked him to move that army unit to the borders of Ochamchira where they would be met by the governor of that district. However, the State Army unit which had been sent there to guard the Gali – Ochamchira railway line, was met and attacked by the Abkhaz Guards and police units. The exchange of fire that followed gave rise to an absurd scandal about the Georgian army invading Abkhazia.

That was how the war in Abkhazia was unleashed, aimed at destabilizing the situation in Georgia, preventing her from being acknowledged an independent state. The population and the deputies of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia remember only too well how a Georgian deputy, whose nerves failed when he heard one of the outrageous statements made by Ardzinba, cried out **"You are forcing us to shoot at Abkhazians!"**. And Ardzinba achieved that goal.

On that very day, August 14, while there was still time to do something and avoid a warfare and while the Georgian still held their fire, Ardzinba, fearing that the current situation was not heated enough for Shevardnadze to start war, appeared on the TV – screen every 30 minutes calling the Abkhaz population for a "patriotic war". Speaking of the Georgian army unit moving actually in its own state's territory and stationed in the Autonomous Republic with the consent and even request of the Republic's authorities, Ardzinba qualified it as an aggression of hostile Georgia against the statehood of Abkhazia, and gave orders to start combat operations and fight back the 'aggressors'. The Abkhazian interior troops which were given those orders, were assisted and by the commanders of the former Soviet Army units stationed in Abkhazia, who were illegally enrolled in the Abkhazian troops.

Sergei Shamba, head of the Defence Headquarters of the Republic, also appeared on the TV screen to announce mobilization of the male population, who were to gather at the Defence Headquarters

stationed at the Militia Offices. Everything worked as fast as lighting, according to a schedule. Svetlana Chervonnaya remarked in her book, that the communist newspaper "Pravda" of August 15, published urgently a telegram signed by Ardzinba and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia, E. Zarandia (a Georgian by nationality). That telegram reported an outrageous lie about the Georgian "aggression" against Abkhazia and the unequal battle that took place on August 14.

Svetlana Chervonnaya pointed out that the Abkhazian war was incited by the Russian communist leaders, and the fact that Ardzinba's and Zarandia's telegram was published in the "Pravda" is another evidence proving that. (We share Dr. Chervonnaya's opinion, but would like to add that Russia's every leadership, be it 'red' or 'white', had the same imperial attitude to Georgia and just cannot resist the wish to have it as a colony). The Russian leaders haven't yet managed to become different, that is, democratically oriented. Ardzinba concealed the agreement between himself and Tbilisi concerning the Georgian State Council troops to be stationed in Abkhazia, from the population and even the parliament of Abkhazia, so as to refer to this fact later and use it as a cause for declaring a "patriotic war".

In fact, Ardzinba himself had declared war to Georgia and now his main purpose was to cover up that war with a false ideological veil; Georgia had to be shown as an invader, aggressor, against a small oppressed country aspiring liberty.

The Russian mass media turned out to be quite suitable for Ardzinba's activities in moving to his goal, since the information on the events was at that time being spread only by the Russian broadcasting channels. Russia, in turn, presented that information to the world from its biased point of view, which was unfavourable for Georgia.

Ardzinba's criminal regime rulers thought of another means to mislead the impartially thinking Russian society. On August 14 Abkhaz snipers started shooting at the people staying at Russian Army health resorts, the blame being then put upon the Georgian "aggressors".

Ardzinba's official appeals to various organization and countries pathetically reported that **"the Abkhazians, the Russian speaking**

population and representatives of many other nationalities are facing death, defending their homes, villages, towns actually without any weapons." The reality was completely contrary to what he wrote.

It was the Georgian population of Abkhazia who had no weapons, even shotguns that had been confiscated by one of the "legal acts". Those who supported Ardzinba's regime were armed to the teeth. "Those who were summoned to the mobilization stations were given modern automatic machines from the stores, were all those arms had been collected for a long time to be ready for the forthcoming war, and from the Russian Federation Army stores located in Abkhazia. Sometimes it was presented as a poorly staged comedy of robbery of those stores by unarmed Abkhazians(!) (for instance, Bombora Airfield base); sometimes the Abkhaz 'boeviks' received the weapons openly from the armories. Meanwhile, the Abkhazian Supreme Council received containers full of automatic machines and hand grenades, as well as the latest models of weapons that could be used in large-scale combat operations" (S. Chervonnaya "Abkhazia — 1992: The Post — communist Georgian's Vandee," p. 188).

A very quick response "in defence of Abkhazia" came from the Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation, although they had no legal or juridical right to do it, as well as no right, for that matter, to make Sokhumi capital of that Confederation and Abkhazia part of it. But they did it, and they had done it before the war started.

All this strongly suggests a great contribution of the Soviet KGB in the creation of the Confederation. **"The Confederate forces were organized and directed against Georgia and democratic Russia, as well",** — stated the Russian historian S. Chervonnaya. The Confederation accepted all the false information provided by the Abkhaz separatists as granted, without any criticism or unbiased consideration, and called for preparation for war against Georgia. On August 1992 Musa Shanibov, President of the Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation and Yusuf Soslanbelov, Chairman of the Confederation's parliament issued a resolution, which pointed out:

"Owing to the fact that all the possible means to settle peacefully the problem of withdrawing the Georgian occupation troops from

the territory of sovereign Abkhazia have been exhausted, the 10th session of the Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation parliament, orders, in compliance with this resolution: (the session was held on August 17, 1992)

1. All the Headquarters of the Confederation must ensure safe transfer of volunteers into the territory of Abkhazia to fight back the armed attacks of the aggressor.

2. All the armed units of the Confederation in case of being opposed or held back must struggle and use any methods and means to get into the territory of Abkhazia.

3. The city of Tbilisi must be proclaimed a disaster zone, with all possible methods being applied for that, including acts of terrorism.

4. Any person of Georgian nationality must be announced hostage

5. Any freight belonging to Georgia must be captured and every means to block its transfer must be used."

That was how the separatists inside and outside Georgia, Russia and the Confederates joined their forces to bring Georgia down on her knees.

The Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation mercenaries who in fact acted in the interests of Russia and were guided by the instructions of Russian special services against our country, tried to convince the world that they had nothing to do with Russia. In reality, all was the other way round. Firstly, the Confederation kept silent, without a word of protest, when Russia turned its arms against Chechnya, although there must have been people in the Confederation who were really making efforts to create a Highlanders' Confederation free of Russia. Those people got together and drew up a document proclaiming creation of a State of Ru — Caucasian nations.

As soon as the warfare started the Abkhazians, as though, robbed the Russian Army stores and took over 1 000 automatic machines, 275 machine — guns, armoured vehicles, ammunitions. Before the war Abkhazia had arranged a festival of culture of the Adygian, Kabardinian and Chechen peoples attended by 500 — 600 young people, who remained in Gudauta after the festival to undergo training for combat. "Boeviks" (combatants) had come from Kabardinia,

Pridnestrovye, Turkey, Syria, Russia, along with military machinery. Secretly, work was underway to prepare mobilization of the population. Svetlana Chervonaya cited Ardzinba's words in her book "Abkhazia – 1992: Post-communist Georgia's Vandee": **"We have been preparing for a long time. We are able to put the whole population of this country under arms within half-an-hour. Our arsenals are full of your Russian weapons, and we can get two, three times as much at any moment. We have agreed to Cossaks. War will begin soon, and it will be not only Caucasasia, but the whole Russia, that will become involved."** Meanwhile, the Georgian population their usual everyday life, part of them supporting the ex-President, another part approving his opposition, another one was absolutely indifferent to either of them, and there were some who collaborated with the separatists. They were physically detached from Tbilisi, where the Civil war was going on, and no one there cared about Abkhazia. Discrimination of Georgian began. The last parliamentary session were held in the surrounding of Abkhaz and hired 'boeviks', who forced the deputies to vote for secession from Georgia and extermination of anything Georgian at the point of the machine-guns.

Pre-war Abkhazia is an unprecedent phenomenon in the world's practice. The pre-war population of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic was 530 000, of which 300 000 or 51% were Georgians, 80 000 or 16% Abkhazians; the rest were Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Estonians, Jews. In the official information, however, those numbers were altered, basically to reduce the records for the Georgian population. Still, despite that great difference in the numbers, out of 15 deputies to the USSR Supreme Council 8 were Abkhazians, of 8 first Party Secretaries 5 were Abkhazians, and out of 140 deputies to the Supreme Council of Abkhazia 57 were Abkhazians, 53 Georgians. Of the 12 ministers 8 were Abkhazians. Abkhazia had its national University, television, theatre, schools, publishing houses, newspapers and magazines, Supreme Council and Supreme Court; the young Abkhaz people had privileges when enrolled in the universities and institutes. In short, not many of the Russian Federation's subjects could enjoy such benefits as Abkhazia did, not even all the Republics.

As it was mentioned above, in 1991 Abkhazia held apartheid elections. In spite of the strong objections of a part of the Georgian

population to that election law, the elections were held owing to the political situation that had developed by that time. In addition to the quotas imposed on the national membership, namely, 28 Abkhazians, 16 Georgians, 11 others, the constituencies were selected in favour of Abkhazians. For instance, in the constituency where I voted (No 28 of Gagra) the number of voters was more than 15 000, but wherever the constituency was Abkhazian like it was in (Kapba, Tkvarcheli area), there were only 2 000 voters. The situation was the same nearly everywhere. The election law permitted any changes in the Constitution only by 2/3 of the votes. The law was violated; consequently, all the revolutions or ordinances, including The Constitution itself became illegal, unlawful. All this made the 1991 elections in Abkhazia an unprecedented event in the world's electoral practise.

The Abkhaz separatists played their foul game at an amazing rate, both in the battlefields and on the ideological front. In the first place, they starting building up a base for the criminal ideology. The ideological machine of Abkhazian fascism kept turning out book after book in different languages discrediting Georgians, published and are still publishing false scientific reports, researches, forged statements and documents designed to mislead the world's international social organizations, are distorting facts, spreading gossips, presenting Georgia as an aggressor against a small, oppressed nation. The children of primary schools are taught a history of Abkhazia, as if once an independent state, blaming Tbilisi and the Georgians for all their troubles. Even the tragedy that 100 years ago resulted from the purposeful policy of Russia and was termed "muhajirism", has now been charged upon Georgia. The Abkhazians fighting against Georgians are considered as national heroes. In this way was constructed the foundation for the anti-Georgian ideology. At the next stages came a number of illegal acts and ordinances which were passed and actually seceded Abkhazia from Georgia, annulled Georgia's jurisdiction in the whole territory of Abkhazia. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Committee, the Procurator's Office and other economic and budget organization were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Georgian Republic. The reader should know that before the war the Supreme

Council of Abkhazia passed a resolution to suspend the 1978 Constitution and restore the 1925 Constitution which in fact proclaimed independence of Abkhazia.

The whole extremist propaganda machine was thus started up. At a amazing rate began collection of material resources and weapons to help the "oppressed" Abkhaz people. Groups of killers were being urgently made up in foreign countries to be brought to Georgia.

* * *

The borders of every country acknowledged by the United Nations Organization guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of every state, including Georgia; the Alma – Ata agreement of December 21, 1991 that followed the collapse of the USSR, confirmed and proclaimed the sovereignty of Georgia, along with the other former soviet republics, within its own territory, including the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. The Abkhaz ethnocrats know this only too well. In view of this, to justify their illegal ways of seceding Abkhazia from Georgia, the separatists put forth quasi legal guiding principles and based them on a false juridical mechanism.

It was already mentioned above, that on August 25, 1990 the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic passed a resolution "On the sovereignty of the Abkhazian Soviet Socialist Republic", which actually proclaimed secession of Abkhazia from Georgia; it was a unilateral decision violating the constitutions of both the Georgian Republic and the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. That declaration, "provided for the constitutional representation in the Abkhazian Supreme Council of that nation which is shown in the official name of the Republic".

The separatist plotters' goals became clear on 26 August, 1990, in the resolution "On the legal guarantees of the Abkhazian statehood defence".

Other discriminating resolutions were adopted to implement a peaceful change in the demographic development and increase mechanically the number of the Abkhaz population: "On the limits on the Abkhazian ASSR citizenship", "On the change of the surname and nationality", in the way prohibiting registration of Georgians.

These rules did not apply to representatives of non – C.I.S. foreign countries who could claim being Abkhaz without even any document to certify it. They were registered as permanent residents or citizens of Abkhazia by a very simple procedure which was kept secret.

Within only one month of March, 1992 permanent residence in Sokhumi, Ochamchira and other areas was granted to 100 persons who had come there from Syria, Jordan and elsewhere. This practice proceeded rather intensively later on, getting particularly large – scale after the war had started. These "overseas" combatants ('boeviks') were awarded the prize of Abkhazian citizenship and the right of marauding since the separatist needed them for their own criminal goals.

* * *

It is a commonly known fact that so – called volunteers' stations were arranged throughout the territory of the former USSR, wherever certain representatives of the local authorities were separatist – oriented (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Krasnodar and Stavropol areas, Far East, North Caucasian regions, particularly, Chechnya). Bandits and killers from those places were streaming incessantly into Abkhazia, with quite a lot of professionals trained in the Afghanistan war.

A great 'credit' of gathering and supporting those hired killers goes to Musa Shanibov, the leader of the Caucasian Highlanders' Confederation, that very Musa Shanibov who proclaimed Georgia and Tbilisi to be the disaster zone. At our request the Procurator – General of the Russian Federation initiated proceedings against Musa Shanibov, but the case was later dismissed since they failed to prove him guilty.

Shamil Basaev and his bunch of killers sadistically tortured and slaughtered helpless women, children and old people in every part of Abkhazia. That impunity of those murderers later cost dear to Russia and its citizens. The fact is that the law – enforcement bodies of Russia, ignoring our numerous appeals deliberately covered up the crimes committed by those hired killers, including S. Basaev.

The so – called volunteers and soldiers of Russian regular army units participating in the conflict in Abkhazia made up nearly 80% of the separatists' joint bands.

REASONS OF RUSSIA'S HOSTILE ATTITUDE TO GEORGIA

The reason of Russia's hostile attitude to Georgia are surveyed in general in the chapters entitled "Retrospective to the Past History" and "Some Episodes from Abkhazian Pre – War Political Life, or Instigation of Hostilities Against the Democratic Georgian State". In this chapter I shall try to look into the reasons of Russia's interests in the conflict in Abkhazia.

* * *

The reader ought to be well aware that since Russia began showing interest to the Caucasus, it has been constantly trying to make Georgia one of its colonies; the chauvinist policy of the Russian rulers wouldn't tolerate existence of a state in the Caucasus which would be only its partner. From time immemorial it has been guided by the principle "divide and rule" in order to defeat our country. There is plenty of evidence of this in the archives preserving a lot of correspondence left after the Russian King's servants working in Georgia.

The Russian politicians and statesmen have been struggling against Georgia, from Tsarist regime up to now, with particular violence and masked aggression, striving hard to prevent it from becoming a strong, single, independent state. They would not admit that a strong neighbour is a guarantee of normal, civilized, democratic relationships, and regard Georgia only as a competitor. The favourable geopolitical situation and natural wealth really ensure promising future to this country.

When in 1921 Georgia became a Soviet Republic within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Russian Bolsheviks were still worried by the potential abilities of Georgia and the Georgian people to achieve independence. They realized that in the February of 1921 Georgia was occupied and annexed against the will of the Georgian people.

Therefore, one of the components of Kremlin's policy against Georgia was to create and maintain a tense, unstable situation in this republic, so that our population could not oppose its unity and unanimousness to the occupant's colonial interests.

In order to destroy Georgia's integrity Abkhazia had been chosen as a means. To guide the regulation of the relations between Abkhazia and the rest of Georgia, Moscow used different methods, including legal acts, deliberately undermining those relations. Later on it became the job of the special services to make the gap wider and deeper, so that, whenever the Soviet empire found it necessary, the Abkhaz people would consider Georgians as enemies, fight against them, completely forgetting their own past history – the historical and political and, to my mind, ethnic unity with the Georgian world. Here is what the Russian military attaché V. Sitin reported to his bosses in Moscow:

"I think the predominant way to undermine the Georgian statehood should be complete secession of Abkhazia from Georgia, the Russian borders being accordingly moved deep into Georgia. This will also enable us to take possession of that country's national wealth."

After Abkhazia has been separated from Georgia, we should attend to Samegrelo the language of which is different from Georgian. Samegrelo has quite a large territory, and Russian domination there would be profitable from the strategic viewpoint. If Samegrelo, as well as Abkhazia and Ajaria, are granted autonomy, it will in future bring about disintegration of Georgia".

It was told earlier in this book about the cunning plans made up by a secretary of the USSR Central Party Committee Mikhail Suslov, according to which the two sides were to grow mutually hostile while Russia was to act as a mediator between them.

In this way the "fathers" of the Soviet empire had been depriving of power those republics that, owing to their original culture and history, appeared to be a menace to the integrity of the Soviet empire; and the empire-builders were steadily realizing Russification throughout all their occupied territories which made up the USSR.

An outstanding Georgian public figure, Akaki Bakradze said:

"The Russians have a doll, they call it 'matryoshka' which is made up so that it can hold several smaller dolls inside its belly. There are several dolls, differing only in size and nothing more. Everything is alike about them. Matryoshka dolls are very popular and are even considered as a symbol of Russia among foreigners. It is the principle of the toy that the USSR is arranged on with

Russia being the biggest doll holding all the 14 doll – republics of different sizes.

The USSR is doing all in its powers to make all the nations with different ethnic origins, faith, languages, culture, customs similar to Russia and the Russians, obliterate any differences between them, so that should anyone withdraw a so-called Soviet Republic from the USSR's belly, he will get a small Russia, just like a small Matryoshka. This insatiable wish of Russia shows everywhere and in everything." (A. Bakradze "A Wrong Road" Tbilisi, 1995, p. 6).

Despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the imperial forces still hoped to restore it and continued to use the old KGB methods to achieve their goal.

As soon as the Abkhaz conflict started, its Russian instigators revealed their aspirations:

"The time has come, when the great Russia must rise and accept Abkhazia onto her bosom" (V. Kozhinov). **"Georgia has been oppressing Abkhazia for forty years."** (G. Trapeznikov) and so on.

The Russian rulers had always been well aware, that Georgia with its centuries – old history and original culture was hard to vanquish and, therefore, was a potential menace to its colonial policy. With this in view, Russia had provided for the necessary measures to be taken in case Georgia should demonstrate disobedience or express the wish to restore her statehood.

Russia's official policy has been the source of oppression for all the nations under its subordination, but in case of Georgia, the Russian ideologists of the second half of the 20th century, taking the advantage of the Georgians' characteristic tolerance, managed to impart her an image of an oppressor of other nations. In the first place, they worked on Abkhazians and suggested them the idea that Georgia had robbed them of their right for independent development. The emissaries of the Russian empire making themselves out to be "a loving father", had skillfully played into the national feelings of the Abkhazians, into ordinary human weakness and errors, had bribed quite a few of them, so that when the inevitable collapse of the USSR occurred, and Georgia choose to pursue a democratic way of development as a free country, Russia started pulling at all the levers, including the Abkhaz separatists, in order to restrain the sovereignty of Georgia.

Georgia openly and firmly declared her chosen course and orientation, giving priority to the democratic development, membership in the European unions, cooperation with the NATO with the aim of joining that organization later. Georgia also declared that she is going to set up most intensive political and economic partnership with all the neighbouring countries, in particular, with Russia as a great country of a high potential and as a market suitable for Georgia. Shortly speaking, Georgia proclaimed a peaceful, good – neighbourly, equitable course of development and construction and actually started the process of building the state.

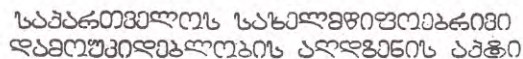
Unfortunately, the open and courageous course chosen by this country caused grave discontent of our northern neighbour, which subsequently led to exacerbation of relations between Russia and Georgia and to frequent unjustified slander and blamings. They couldn't just overlook and forgive our aspiration for freedom and independent development; they choose to punish us and plotted conspiracy against Georgia.

Despite the 3000 – year anniversary of statehood that Georgia is going to celebrate in the nearest future, she lost her sovereignty a few centuries ago and has since been placed in a position of dependence.

On March 31, 1991 a referendum, in which an overwhelming majority of population took part, demonstrated a 90% support of independence and freedom for Georgia.

After the referendum had been carried out, on April 9, 1991 the Supreme Council of the Georgian Republic passed an act of restoration of Georgia's state independence and officially proclaimed the state independence of Georgia restored on the basis of the respective act of May 26, 1918.

The Act of Restoration State Independence of Georgia proclaims that "the territory of the sovereign Republic of Georgia is single and inseparable. The Constitution and authority of the Georgian Republic is the only power over her whole territory. Any action aimed at restricting that supreme power of the Georgian Republic and disintegrating her territory shall be regarded as intervention in the home affairs of a sovereign state, and aggression and violation of the international legal rulers.

[illegible][illegible]

Georgia was now facing a real chance of becoming an independent democratic country, which, along with her geopolitical situation, could make her attractive for serious economic and financial projects, including the Silk Road, oil and gas pipelines across its territory, and transit functions, which ought to become a source of wealth for the state budget. Investments made by the world's greatest companies and banks will make Georgia, in the nearest future, the leading country in the Caucasus, imparting her the role of a transit area connecting the western world with the republics of Middle Asia, Turkey, Iran and other countries, near and far away. All the above described events brought about greater discontent of the Russian officialdom and even conceived some fear that Georgia would become an economic rival of Russia in the Caucasus thus weakening its influence in this region. The fear and discontent were even more enhanced by the growing

interest of foreign investors in our explorations for oil, by Georgia's membership in the world's trade organizations and participation in important and profitable projects. The motto **"Those who rule Georgia, will rule the Caucasus"** sounds quite realistic for the beginning of the 21st century, and here is where the struggle for the Caucasus begins, Georgia playing a special role in this scenario.

Another factor causing Russia's resentment is Georgia's readiness to cooperate with the NATO and she is making all possible efforts to use this opportunity.

The frontier between Georgia and Turkey is not merely a borderline between these two countries; it is a border between Georgia and NATO, since Turkey is a NATO member. Russia, regarding Georgia as a buffer zone between itself and NATO, will do everything in its power not to let Georgia join in that organization and, consequently, not to let the NATO borders move up directly to Russia, along the r. Psou.

The environment within which Georgia is struggling for her independence is a complicated one and obviously connected with the multilateral struggle of the world's greatest powers for the new re-division of the world and the spheres of influence.

The disintegration of the vast Soviet empire brought up an urgent issue of a new re-division of the world. Of all the former USSR republics, the Baltic countries managed to change for the Europe - oriented development comparatively less painfully.

Of course, Russia tried to claw at the Baltic Sea countries but then realized it was useless trying to burn the candle at both ends and chose the Caucasus as its primary goal. This meant pushing violently at the levers of influence upon Georgia since the latter had traditionally been regarded as the leading state in the Caucasus, and if she managed to extricate herself from Russia's colonial policy, the whole region would unite round Georgia. That is why Russia would not let hold of Georgia, her Black Sea shores and, in the long run, the whole Caucasus.

Proceeding from the above said, all that is going on in and round Abkhazia ought not to be considered just as an ethnic conflict between Georgians and Abkhazians. This is how its instigators would like to present the tragedy in Abkhazia - to reduce it to a mere clash between Georgians and Abkhazians, a struggle for trivial privileges - thus covering up the true reasons of the tragedy, which are nevertheless clearly visible.

In particular, since the Abkhazian conflict had been from the very beginning named a "Georgian - Abkhazian" conflict, Russia managed to equip itself with the function of a mediator and mislead the world public who hardly ever realized that Russia was an interested party in that conflict, and the conflict itself was not an ethnic one but a military and political conflict between Georgia and Russia, and the combat operations in the territory of Abkhazia were actually a civil war between these two countries.

Owing to different, and basically erroneous considerations concerning the events in Abkhazia, they were misinterpreted from the very start and devoid of unbiased evaluation, which resulted in the dramatic development of the situation. Therefore, it would be only fair and honest to face the bitter truth and not to be surprised at the present-day situation. A wrong diagnosis shall never cure a disease, and we can hardly expect to see an end to the conflict, if we keep beating about the bush instead of naming the true instigator and trying to get rid of him as a mediator.

Why did all this happen?



Tbilisi, August 4, 1992. Celebration of Georgia's membership in the UNO.
The great reconciliation Manifesto is published



Sokhumi, February 1993. The hall of sessions of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers. Head of the State E. Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and of the Defence Council of Abkhazia T. Nadareishvili, Prime – Minister of Georgia T. Sigua.



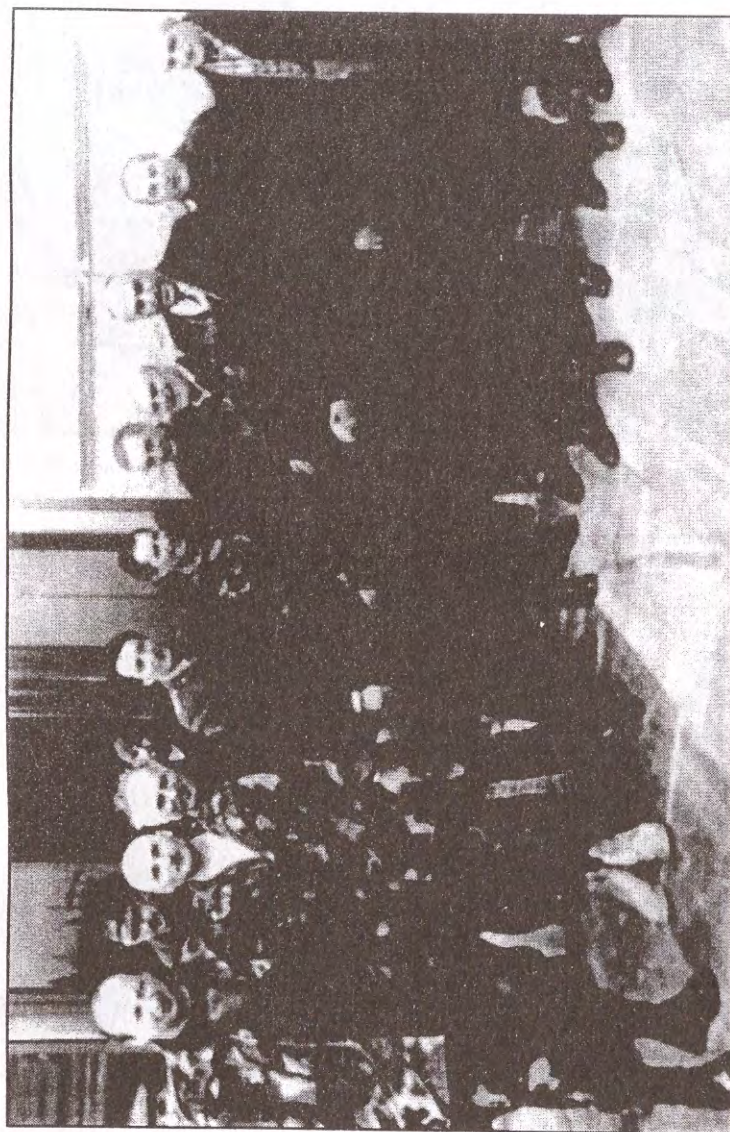
Chairman of the Council of Ministers and of the Defence Council of Abkhazia T. Nadareishvili, Minister of Foreign affairs of Russia A. Kozyrev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia M. Ukleba, Head of the Georgian Information – Intelligence service I. Batiashvili, Deputy Chairman of Abkhazian Council of Ministers L. Marshania, Chairman of the Georgian Human Rights Committee S. Kavsadze.



October 3, 1992. A meeting in Sukhumi after the fall of Gagra.



Sokhumi, 1992. Head of the Abkhazian police force S. Akhalaya, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Defence Council of Abkhazia T. Nadareishvili, Chairman of the Georgian Human Rights Committee S. Kavsadze.



Sokhumi, 1992. T. Nadareishvili, S. Akhalaya, S. Tsurtsumia, T. Rapava, D. Gulua, K. Gabashvili, G. Adamia, A. Shushanashvili, D. Salaridze, G. Ekhvaia.



After the large-scale storming of Sokhumi on 15–16 March, 1993.



Sokhumi, March 1993.



Head of the State E. Shevardnadze, commander of the 11th brigade of the Georgian Ministry of Defence D. Tevzadze, and T. Nadareishvili.



Sokhumi, December 1992. On the New Year's night the fighters of the front line were hosting the Head of the State E. Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers and Defence Council T. Nadareishvili, State Minister in Abkhazia G. Khaindrava.



In front of the building of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers



Major – General Tamaz Nadareishvili



After another bombargment of Sokhumi, Head of the State
E. Shevardnadze is seeing the inhabitants of Sokhumi.



Sokhumi. November 1992. Chairman of the Council of Ministers and of the Council of Defence of Abkhazia
T. Nadareishvili, Professor M. Bokhua and fighters of the State Defence Service of Georgia.



This is what one could read on the walls of the ruins that were left after the bombardment of Sokhumi. "Thanks to Grachov".



Sokhumi, 1993. On the front line.



Head of the State E. Shevardnadze, Minister of Defence G. Karkarashvili, Chairman of Abkhazian Council of Ministers and Defence Council T. Nadareishvili, Mayor of Tbilisi K. Gabashvili, commander of the 23th brigade of the Georgian Ministry of Defence G. Adamia, poet J. Charkviani.



Sokhumi, 1993. Deputy Chairman of the Georgian State Council J. Ioseliani, a deputy of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia A. Gasviani, A. Kordzakhia.



Sokhumi, 1993. T. Kitovani and his comrades — in — arms.

It would be absurd to think that the Georgian leadership gave away Abkhazia by some treacherous agreement with Russia, but the hard social and political situation in the country at that time made it hardly possible for the authorities to launch an official protest to Russia, a strong military power, and they chose to use diplomatic means to make Russia give up plotting conspiracy against Georgia. But in vain! The Georgian authorities miscalculated their efforts, while Russia took the advantage of Georgia's humble policy of that period and even tried to push it down, at the same time hypocritically pretending to be greatly worried about the disagreement between Georgia and Abkhazia.

Despite the openly anti — Georgian propaganda carried out purposefully by the mass media of Russia, it has become possible to tell the whole truth about the Abkhazian conflict.

Unfortunately, spreading the true information became possible only after the occupation of Abkhazia.

First of all, the Georgian President delivered a detailed report at a UN Assembly session, describing the reasons of the Abkhazian tragedy and the complicated situation resulting from that conflict, in particular, the bitter fate of 300 000 refugees driven out of Abkhazia by force of arms.

The informational vacuum concerning the Abkhazian issue was broken through, for the great part, owing to Georgia's membership in the European Council, which also secured her territorial integrity and respect for her sovereignty.

Later, on June 9, 1999 I got an opportunity, as the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, to speak at a NATO session in Brussels, and described the true situation in Abkhazia, without any colouring, to the representatives of the NATO member countries. The participants of that session were told that the legitimate administration of Abkhazia in exile is backed up by 300 000 refugees, forced to leave their homes due to national discrimination. Regretfully, the world's public knows very little about one of the most murderous and tragic events of the 20th century — the Abkhazian conflict.

To let the world's public know the true information about Abkhazia, it was most important for us to speak of it from the NATO tribune and to give the Abkhazian conflict a precise assessment as a military —

political conflict which our neighbouring country used with the purpose to influence and press Georgia to make her change its orientation, and which is the result of the imperial thinking aimed at future relapses into imperial policy.

My target was to use as fruitfully as possible an exceedingly fortunate and unprecedented opportunity to speak at the NATO session as the legitimate head of the administration of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic in exile, and I very emphatically described all the specific characteristics of the conflict, in particular, the fact of the ethnic purge in Abkhazia still going on as a result of the support given to it by Russia's reactionary forces.

The number of victims executed in Gali area where the CIS peacemaker forces are stationed, exceeded 1 500 within the period of 1998 — 1999; 600 people were lost without any traces. This was going on when the world was celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights.

I am presenting you this not quite full list of facts and documents as an accusation against the most dangerous and terrible contagion of the 20th century — aggressive separatism and ethnic purge. Along with the massacre of the Georgian population, Georgia's historical and cultural monuments which belong to the world's cultural treasury were desecrated and brought down to ruins.

Unfortunately, no measures, taken by the world's organizations, in particular, the UNO, have so far brought us any results. There were numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council, which are actually used by the separatists in their favour. As far as we can see, the UN Security Council is unable to act as it should due to certain reasons. The process of negotiations has come to a deadlock because the opponents would not agree to let the refugees back since it means restoration of the pre-conflict demographic pattern.

Here in Georgia we were watching with great sympathy the events in Kosovo, against which the NATO forces acted in a very determined way. We wholeheartedly welcome this new form of defence of human rights and justice by force of arms of international organizations. The policy of peace has to be backed up by force, and this must concern not only the Balkan state but also all the regions of the EAPC

that need help. The guilty, whoever they may be, must be punished. The activities of the Alliance in Kosovo gave a glimpse of hope to the thousands of refugees from Abkhazia.

As for the ways to settle the Abkhazian conflict, the first thing to do is to substitute the C.I.S., i.e. Russian peace — making forces by an international contingent, and to withdraw from Abkhazia the Russian Federation's military base stationed in Gudauta, as it is a source of destabilization in the region. The next urgent step should be to start the process of returning home those refugees who had been made to leave Abkhazia. The political status of Abkhazia must be finally cleared up. In view of the latter requirement, we are offering our opponents the highest form of autonomy that exists in the world's practice — let them make their own choice of a state federative model. But our opponents would not agree to any of those quite lawful demands; therefore, there is only one way left; we have to refer to the United Nations Organization's Charter, Article Seven and demand settling the Abkhazian problem and establishing peace there by force of arms.

We are also applying to the UNO with a request to assess the actions against the Georgian population in Abkhazia as an ethnic purge. This assessment was given to the events at the European Security Organization summits in Lisbon and Budapest. As for the guilty party, it must be tried in the International Court of Justice.

We are absolutely sure that justice can be restored in Abkhazia only with the world community, by international organizations, including NATO and EAPC. To a representative of a far-away region these demands may seem to much; but speaking on behalf of the victims of the conflict and from my own experience I insist that injustice must be opposed firmly and with joint forces.

The instigation of the Abkhazian conflict and the events developing since the time when the combat operations were launched and up to the present day, have proved that the Abkhazian problem goes far beyond the boundaries of the Georgian and Abkhazian relations or even Russian-Georgian conflict. It has to be regarded in the framework of a new re-distribution of the world which started after the disintegration of the USSR, Russia striving to keep control of the Caucasus, and western powers seeking for new spheres of their influence.

THE MILITARY CONFLICT AND GENOCIDE OF GEORGIANS IN ABKHAZIA

The misfortune that fell upon Abkhazia and the methods of struggle which the separatists used, prove that the genocide of the Georgians in Abkhazia had been carefully prepared long before.

One can't neglect certain facts of the recent history of Georgia; proper analysis has to be made concerning then existing positions of forces, mutual hatred and opposition. We should not overlook the fact that many people failed to realize properly the supremacy of the state interests and the nation was not ready to unite against the ordeal. We missed the opportunity to avoid genocide and failed to protect the country from being disintegrated. The struggle for power, clan ambitions created favourable conditions for the enemy to implement his insidious plot.

In the February – August of 1992 all kinds of transport communications – by railways, motor – way or air – actually ceased all over the territory of Abkhazia. Georgia and Armenia were facing an economic disaster. Explosions were set off nearly every day on the railway lines and bridges at Kelasuri – Dranda, Tamashka, Ochamchira, Dranda – Adziushba, Tsatkhvi – Inguri, Inguri – Zugdidi.

Armed attacks at nearly every railway station of Megrelia and Abkhazia robbed Georgia and Armenia of 12 billion rouble worth goods from 1923 railway vans. During only the first half of 1992 the number of such attacks amounted to 1142.

As it was mentioned above, on August 10, 1992 the state Council of the Georgian Republic made a decision, which had been previously considered and settled with Abkhazia, and according to which a special contingent of the Ministry of Defence was to be stationed in Abkhazia – a part of their own country – to keep control of all the railway lines and motor – ways, to prevent the robberies which put Georgia under a heavy burden of debts. At the same time they were to establish law and order and disarm the illegitimate armed units. But when those troops crossed the border between Gali and

Ochamchira areas on August 14, 1992, they were unexpectedly fired at by Abkhazian illegitimate armed units; the first victims and bloodshed followed. The war actually broke out with Ardzinba's speech on the radio calling for total mobilization.

It is incorrect to give the name of "Georgian – Abkhazian" conflict to what happened in Abkhazia. There was a war, a civil war, there, in which we, Georgians, were defending our mother – land, our country, our Georgian towns and villages. We were opposed by well – trained and well – equipped military units, most of the combatants being residents of Russia: Chechens, Adygeans, Kabardinians, Cossaks, Russians, Tatars. There were 'boeviks' from Syria, Jordan, Turkey, Pridnestrovye, Karabakh, even an Armenian battalion named after Bagramyan. Besides those mercenaries, there were regular army units of Russia's Ministry of Defence, in particular, expeditionary regiment 345 of the RF Ministry of Defence, a military air – force squad stationed in Gudauta, and battalions of RF Ministry of Defence stationed at the r. Gumista. During the combat operations our opponents were supported by the naval battleships bombarding towns and villages from the sea. Their plans were drawn up and approved in Moscow, at the General Headquarters. The Russian mass media worked hard producing false, provocative information and building up hostile ideology against us. Military observers that were sent into the territory of Abkhazia during the warfare with the purpose to cause damage here, were later termed "peace – maker troops", and are now guarding the occupied territory which they had invaded.

It was and still is really hard to fight back such a force, particularly, considering the fact that Georgia had no regular army troops before the war began. The soldiers were mainly volunteers, young people driven by patriotic feelings. They believed that they were defending their mother – land, did their manly duty, and it is our duty today to honour and respect them all, those who perished, and those who survived.

Despite that great difference in power, the enemy failed to conquer Abkhazia as fully as they had been planning. They failed to conquer any town or village by battles. After the Georgians had set up full control of Gagra, Sokhumi and Ochamchira, the enemy made several attempts to attack Gagra area. Battles went on at the rr. Kolkhida,

Bzyb, Alakhadzy, but they were unsuccessful for the enemy. The Georgian troops managed to defend Gagra without any chance left to the enemy. And the enemy thought of another, treacherous way. On September 3, 1992, according to the agreement, the subunits of the Georgian Ministry of Defence were withdrawn from Gagra, leaving there the peaceful population; peaceful life seemed to be back again. But the enemy violated the terms of the agreement and threw all its military forces over Gagra. The town fell on October 1, 1992.

After the occupation of Gagra the separatist bands set to slaughtering the peaceful population — robbing, torturing and murdering the innocent people. According to the witnesses' evidence, on October 6 those band tortured and hanged on electric posts 50 Georgians in Lower Leselidze. Groups of Georgians were tortured and killed on the town stadium and other public places, the dead bodies being beheaded afterwards.

According to the information provided by Mikhail Demyanov, Ardzinba's Russian adviser from special services during the warfare, captured by the Georgians as a war prisoner, Shamil Basaev took an active part in the combat operations against Georgians in Gagra; general Arshba had no equal in raping Georgian women. Mikhail Demyanov told that he had himself witnessed how about a thousand Georgians were brought to Gagra stadium and killed there.

There were other numerous case of cruel slaughtering the civilian population. Those facts were revealed, investigated and described in the report made up by a special commission of the UN Secretary General. Having investigated the factual materials, the General Procurator's Office of Georgia and the Procurators office of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, have come to a firm conclusion that the events in Abkhazia were nothing but ethnic purge and genocide committed against the Georgian population there.

As a result of those acts of sadism, the survived 17 000 Georgians left the town, their homes and property and escaped.

For months the separatists and their Russian supporters hiding behind the masks of separatists, were bombarding Sokhumi and Ochamchira. Tens of thousands of bombs were dropped only over Sokhumi; more than 400 innocent people were killed with the help of



Gagra, 1999. The building of the Zhoekvara restaurant with a slogan on its facade: "The struggle of the people of Abkhazia against the Georgian racism is sacred".



Sokhumi, 1993. A defence squad "Tskhumi" made up of the local population.

ammunition supplied in 1 000 vans. As a rule, the bombing went on at night, residential districts being deliberately selected as the targets.

It was 2 o'clock in the night of March 16, 1993, when the enemy troops started a large-scale attack of Sokhumi. It was the most seriously planned and prepared large-scale operation in that war carried out by the separatists and the Russian generals assisting them. At midnight began artillery bombardment of the Georgian unit located at the r. Gumista and the town Sokhumi. At the same time, several SU-25 fighter-bombers appeared over Sokhumi dropping flares and bombing the town as well as the positions of our military troops and the residential areas. The bombardment of the town lasted through the whole night, both by the artillery and the aircraft units. The number of the Russian aircrafts and of the artillery installations used by the enemy, there at some point there formed a suspicion that Russia had openly and powerfully started war against Georgia. At daybreak a multitude of the enemy's manpower were advancing along the whole front line. The Russian special task units was to clear the way for the Abkhazians and the mercenary groups to invade Sokhumi. Those special task units seized several points at the village Achadara. But to the credit of the Georgian military administration and the population of Sokhumi be it said that they did the impossible.

It was most important, that despite the bombardment and numerous casualties, the population of Sokhumi did not submit to panic or fear, since they were sure that the Georgian armed troops, Georgian artillery and the soldiers were ready to fight back the enemy and they, indeed, caused serious losses to the enemy manpower and equipment. (The Georgian artillery turned out to be the determinant force in the victory over the enemy; the 16th March has since become the Day of the Georgian Artillery).

At daybreak of March 16 the Georgian troops launched a counterattack and fully restored the frontline. At 4:00 p.m. clearing operations began. In the night of 17 March Russian fighter-bombers resumed bombardment of the town. In the middle of the night the enemy attempted a new attack but failed to cross the r. Gumista and retreated.

Over 500 soldiers of the enemy troops, most of them were representatives of the Russian regular army fell victims to the 16 March battle. Those Georgian soldiers who took part in the trench warfare spoke of the enemy soldiers' equipment comparing it with live, moving military machinery, since a bullet of an automatic machine could not harm them. Nevertheless, on the next day after the battle many of the corpses of the Russian soldiers were found wearing bullet-proof jackets. There were dead bodies of Abkhazian soldiers as well.

That defeat caused great confusion among the separatists. Dozens of dead people were buried in nearly every Abkhazian village, let alone the corpses of those Abkhazian combatants 'boeviks' who were killed near the Georgian positions and whom the Abkhazian side did not collect for burial, in spite of the Georgian side's consent.

The Georgian administration, instead of counterattacking and occupying the heights of Athon and Eshera, turned back to the peaceful policy, and the Georgian parliament sent an appeal to United Nations Organization, the European Parliament, the parliaments of other countries of the world and the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation, in which they pointed out, that **"the joint forces of Russia hiding behind the masks of Abkhazian separatists played the decisive part in the attack of 16 March. The aggressor's purpose was to secede Abkhazia from Georgia. The Parliament insists that Russia should withdraw its troops from the zone of the conflict."** ("The Abkhazian Maze", 1999, p. 142).

Unfortunately, that reserved, uncertain appeal of the Georgian administration failed to receive any response.

Russia's General Headquarters where the 16 March storm of Sokhumi had been planned and prepared, could not even conceal their excitement and worry. They had expected that Sokhumi and the Georgian armed units stationed there would have given in and let the town fall without struggle. The Russian general Kolesnikov had announced beforehand by Russian television that Sokhumi would surrender without any resistance of the Georgian side, because, as he put it, the battle was going on in the center of Sokhumi. The wish to

see Georgia defeated in Abkhazia was so great, that they frequently presented their wish as a reality.

Besides the good equipment, enough ammunitions, high professional skill of the officers at the head of the headquarters and divisions, the victory in the middle of March was won by the Georgian soldiers and their selfless fighting ability. Here is only one example proving this statement.

When, on 16 March, the attack was developing at the r. Gumista, one of the tanks of the 6th tank battalion stationed at Eshera caught fire from a tank guided rocket TURS, the crew, Zurab Zarandia and Murtaz Pitava did not leave the tank and continued fighting until they were out of all the ammunition. This helped the others strengthen their position and advance successfully, although the whole burden of the attack fell on their shoulders. They both were burnt to death in the tank, and they both were awarded the Order of Vakhtang Gorgasal 1st Class.

In mid – March 1993 the enemy failed to get his goal, and this made the reactionary forces of Russia take harder steps. As soon as they perceived that the Georgian government once more showed resistance was now determined to reveal the truth about Russia's rule, they, instead of giving up their chauvinist schemes, started devising new methods of struggle against this country. The Moscow deputies council made an appeal on March 17 to the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation, demanding sanctions against Georgia. Meanwhile, the Russian fliers were ordered to continue bombing Sokhumi's peaceful population and the positions of the Georgian army troops. One of those aircrafts, SU – 27, piloted by Vatslav Shipko, was shot down by the Georgian gunners at village Odishi.

In spite of the Georgian administration's constant appeals to the separatists to give up the warfare, they still kept getting ready for war, they just could not help it! The annoyed Russian generals who came across an unexpected resistance, were preparing the separatists for another advance. From the end of March on, through April and May, the Abkhaz separatists were being provided with ammunitions in every possible way. At the same time, diversion groups were sent to

create disturbance in various areas of Abkhazia. One of such local attacks took place on March 25 at village Beslakhuba in Ochamchira area where, trying to break through the Georgian position. The Georgian unit overcame that attack, but lost six people.

The separatists did not miss any opportunity to bombard the town full of peaceful people. On May 1 when two Georgian SU – 25 planes were trying to destroy the enemy's artillery positions from which the residential areas of Sokhumi were shelled, a Russian Su – 27 plane took off from Bombora airfield and shot down one of the Georgian planes. The flier R. Naroushvili managed to catapult.

Regardless of this and many other facts, Russia did everything to avoid admitting participation of Russia's regular army units in the Abkhazian war on the side of the separatists. Moreover, the Russian armed forces happened to play a decisive role in the separation of Abkhazia from Georgia. Another example could be given here: according to one of the commanders of Bombora airfield in Gudauta, Vladimir Vodostoi (here is a video record of his interview), the Georgian planes were forbidden to trespass into a 70 km – radius area round Bombora airfield (that is, to approach the fighting positions at the r. Gumista), **"otherwise, the crew of our fighting aircraft on duty has orders to liquidate the trespasser,"** explained Vodostoi. At that very time the personal helicopter of the Russian Minister of Defence regularly supplied the separatists with weapons. On May 26 Georgian gunners shot down a Russian helicopter MI – 6 at village Sakeni, Gulripshi area. The chopper was carrying weapons from Gudauta to Tkvarcheli. The crew, L. Chubrov, V. Kasumov, I. Savelyev, V. Tsarev and E. Federov perished.

It ought to be mentioned that the enemies' perfidious and treacherous actions were too frequently regarded by the Georgian side with some naivety, gullibility and superficiality.

In spite of the trustworthy information and our own experience, as we witnessed the number of missions that the Russian military rescuer planes made to different villages along the Tkvarcheli – Ochamchira line, carrying weapons, the Georgian authorities readily agreed to the Russian government's request to let "Kamaz" lorries loaded up with humanitarian provisions into Tkvarcheli. The vehicles were allowed to cross the front line without any checking – up. Later it turned out

that the lorries were carrying the humanitarian provisions together with ammunitions. It happened late in June. On June 2 the enemy's sea – borne troops landed in Tamishi.

The Georgian fighters of the "Kakutsa Cholokashvili", "Avaza", Dusheti, Sokhumi, "Tetri Artsivi", Akhaltsikhe battalions stationed at the guard positions fiercely fought back the attackers, majority of whom were Russians; many were killed, some of them were taken prisoners.

On the first day of July the Tamishi sea – borne troops were supposed to support the enemy's advance in Sokhumi area in an attempt to win a victory, but still, in vain. On July 4 the Georgian gunners shot down a Russian helicopter at village Shroma, in Sokhumi area, where it was trying to land a party of fighters. In those days the special task groups Spetsnaz trained by the frenzied Russian generals, mercenary 'boeviks' and separatists invaded several villages, including Kamani. The battle of Kamani ought to remain in the annals of the Georgian history, since its defenders would not retreat and fought back the enemy who was armed to the teeth but nevertheless suffered great losses. Many a hero perished in the land of Kamani but did not give up to the enemy. And quite a lot of Russian professional fighters and enraged separatists found their graves there, too.

The Georgian fighting men, who were for the most part volunteers, showed inconceivable courage and fighting ability and regained the lost fighting positions, thus making the enemies face a new puzzle, since they failed to occupy the strategically significant villages round Sokhumi, to reach the goal, to invade Sokhumi and to bring the people of Sokhumi down on their knees. The situation in Gudauta became hard due to too many casualties among the separatists. We also lost a lot of selfless Georgian boys, both from Abkhazia and from other parts of Georgia.

This situation, the endless warfare and the war victims gave rise to an urgent issue of starting new negotiations with Russia and Abkhazia.

In spite of numerous cases of the breach of agreement by the opponents, the Georgian party once more expressed its goodwill to come to an agreement on ceasefire.

Allow me to remind the reader about the agreements broken by the separatists:

The agreement of September 3, 1992 when in Moscow, with Russia as a mediator and guarantor the cease – fire and disengagement agreement was signed and then fully observed by the Georgian party whose troops left their positions. The local population was left without protection. The separatists immediately occupied those positions and murdered the Georgian population who remained at Eshera. Some heavy armed clashes took place in Gagra zone in those days.

Meanwhile, the Russian deputies were constantly lobbying the separatists. They insisted on releasing from prison the President of the Highlanders' Confederation M. Shanibov. Nevertheless, and probably against any logic the Georgian party still kept being faithful to that Moscow treaty of September 3 and withdrew its armed troops from Gagra zone. The opponents fully neglected the agreement, and Gagra was invaded by Russians, Abkhazians, North Caucasians; the reader can imagine only too well how they razed the town to the ground and dealt with the Georgian population.

In the same treacherous way the separatists and Russia broke the Moscow agreement of May 14, 1993, according to which E. Shevardnadze and B. Eltsin signed a joint communiqué concerning both Georgian – Russian relations and settlement of the situation in Abkhazia. The parties agreed to speed up preparation of the documents for another meeting at high level in order to consider the Abkhazian problem within the framework of the final document issued in Moscow on September 3, 1992. It was also agreed that on May 20 both sides shall cease fire.

The reader should remember that this time again the Georgian party strictly observed all the provisions in the agreement, and ceased the combat operations. The opponents, however, behaved in their usual treacherous way, and Russian planes and helicopters began getting ready for new attacks at the Georgian positions. The sea – borne party of 300 men landed at Tamishi; on July 2 and advanced to Sokhumi to surround it.

Still another agreement on cease – fire in Abkhazia and respective control mechanism was signed in Sochi on July 27, with Russia as a mediator. This latter agreement stipulated disarmament of both parties. Keeping in mind our bitter experience and all those agreements broken by the other party, I vehemently objected to disbanding the brigades

made up from the local population and withdrawing all the military equipment and machines.

I was confident that the separatist and the Russian supporters who had been constantly breaking the agreements reached during the warfare, would again follow their habitual ways and resume the advance at Sokhumi as soon as the Georgian side got disarmed. There were many people who held the same view, but there were others who suspected me of planning revenge. And they managed to convince the President that if uncompromising Nadareishvili were dismissed from the leadership, it would be easier to reach reconciliation of the parties. So, when I came to Tbilisi for a couple of days because of some heart trouble, I found myself dismissed from my post. I was replaced by Zhuli Shartava, a faithful patriot and experience statesman.

A great part of the general public and the country's authorities believed that Zhuli Shartava, a man of great perseverance and reserve, would manage to curb the separatists and achieve full peace in Abkhazia. But those normal human expectations failed. The role of a foreign power was underestimated; it did not matter at all who would be at the head of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic — Nadareishvili who distrusted the separatists or Shartava who mistrusted them, separatism had to be uprooted.

The consequences were just as we had expected. Both the separatists and Russians realized that they wouldn't be able to defeat Georgians and force them to leave their home land without arms. The fighting that lasted from August 14, 1992 till July 27, 1993 had caused a hideous number of victims and huge losses; therefore the only way to achieve their goal was to disarm the Georgians. And again, the Georgian government chose a suicidal way: as soon as the disarmament treaty was signed in Sochi on July 27, the process began immediately, the battalions were disbanded, all the heavy equipment was shipped to the port of Poti. In spite of all that Ardzinba kept on accusing Georgia of leaving some of the armed forces, while the Georgian party could hardly control what was going on beyond the r. Gumista. At that very time the Georgian ex-President's supporters started an armed fight against the government.

That was an excellent opportunity for the Abkhaz separatists to resume the advance at Sokhumi, once again breaking the agreement. On September 16 began massive bombardment of the disarmed town,

which was full of women and children who had returned there believing that peace had been established.

The so-called Abkhazian artillery which was supposed to have been withdrawn from the conflict zone and kept under Russia's control, operated at full scale. The Georgian artillery had been removed for from Sokhumi near the sea, as it was provided in the agreement.

In spite of all that, the Sokhumi population and those Georgian patriots who had come here to support their compatriots carrying their own automatic guns managed to guard and defend the town during 12 days, from September 16 to 27, and did not let the enemies enter Sokhumi. Those 12 days must be recorded in the chronicles of Georgia and Georgian people as they revealed the boldness, courage, heroism, selflessness and deep love for the mother-land of all those young fellows, whose deeds shall run like a brilliant thread through our history. A whole book ought to be written describing the heroic story of sacrifices, that they made in defending their brethren, their homes, their native country, fighting till they were out of ammunitions and faced the enemies without arms but would not retreat and let the traitors pass.

The Chairman of the Defence Council and of the Council of Ministers of Abkhazia Zhuli Shartava and President of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze were taken aback by that treachery which they hadn't expected.

The enemies were incessantly bombing Sokhumi airport where thousands of Georgians, Russians and other inhabitants of the town were waiting for airplanes. They deliberately shot down several civil plane with hundreds of passengers. Every day more than 50 women and children were killed.

Groups of Russian Spetsnaz and the Confederation legions crossed the r. Gumista. The Georgian side, now without heavy equipment and grenade throwers, were running out of ammunition, while the separatists supplied by the Russian army, used not only artillery, but also aircraft to keep bombarding Sokhumi and Ochamchira.

According to the official order of the Highlanders' Confederation, the fighters of their armed units were summoned to continue war against Georgians.

The situation in Sokhumi was outrageous. The fighters of the local Georgian battalions, which were dismissed by the 27 July

agreement, had now to find shelter for their families, as they had lost their homes which were brought down to ruins. It became known later, that most of them, old or young, women or children, were tortured and slaughtered by special punitive groups, so-called 'sanitaries', who searched every street and house for Georgians.

This course of events caused chaos in the struggle against the enemy; nevertheless, I can recall numerous examples of unbelievable courage of those who dared to go back to the front positions.

On September 17 the Head of the State of Georgia had a meeting with the Russian Minister of Defence Pavel Grachev in Adler. On September 18, late in the night Eduard Shevardnadze sent an application to the leaders of different foreign countries and the UNO, in which he pointed out the following:

"On September 3, 1992 we signed a conclusive document in Moscow. Hardly had the ink on the paper dried up, when the mercenaries' boots trampled it down and stormed disarmed Gagra. On May 14, 1993 we agreed to cease fire, but once again Sokhumi became the target of attack from land, sea and air, while Ochamchira was besieged by landing parties armed to the tooth. And now again, had we once more trusted the Russian peace-maker mission, as a guarantor and mediator, and signed an agreement on July 27, 1993, that we faced another act of treason: again the flame throwers flashed up although they had to be withdrawn according to the terms of the agreement; again the engines of the fighting vehicles roared, although they had to be dismantled; the 'boeviks' started advancing although they were supposed to be disarmed; so the only conclusion that we can make is that the guarantor of that agreement either would not or could not be the guarantor. The agreement, which was constructive indeed, was on that same day disavowed by the statements of some assistants of the Russian Minister of Defence and the resolutions of the Russian parliament. No success has so far been achieved, even by the principal declarations of the UN Secretary General and the resolution of the UN Security Council.

We thank all those who had offered us kind and strong support and sympathize with Georgia that is being violently pushed to the verge of non-existence. When I was striving to end with the "cold war", breaking down the walls of separation and isolation, I was

struggling for the freedom and independence of all the nations of the world, and it never occurred to me that after eliminating the most dangerous menace to the humanity, I would come to face the gloomiest dawn in my own country. No! It may be only an exclamation, both it is a cry from my soul, mine and my people's. And I want everyone to hear it, because the mankind will never be happy and peaceful, while a nation, be it the smallest nation on the earth, is facing a hazard of perishing"...

(The Sakartvelos Respublika, 1993, September 21).

In spite of all the declarations of protest and appeals made to Russia by the Head of the State of Georgia, they all failed to bring positive results. The enemies were fighting fiercely to defeat the Georgians, and their ferocity was enhanced by their failure to bring the Georgians down on their knees so quickly as they had planned. The Georgians were not united at that time, since it was then that the opposition between the official authorities and the supporters of the ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia reached its peak. While fighting in the patriotic war in Abkhazia, Georgia was getting involved in a civil war.

Georgia, weakened by the disarmament agreement of July 27, 1993 imposed by Russia's wicked policy, and by the division within the Georgian nation, lost the war in Abkhazia. Sokhumi fell on the 27 September.

After the battles in Sokhumi ceased on September 27, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic Zhuli Shartava was executed, as well as other members of the government: Mayor of Sokhumi Guram Gabiskiria, a responsible official of the Council of Ministers Jumber Betashvili, Head of the Police Tengiz Rapava; as soon as Gagra was seized, the separatists killed a deputy of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, assistant of the Head of Gagra administration Mikheil Jincharadze, thousands of other officials and ordinary citizens.

In the civilized human society the ordinary soldiers who are taken prisoners of war cannot be executed without trial. Ardzinba and his fascist companions cruelly dealt with even with the Chairman of the government only because he was a Georgian and loved his mother-land — this was his only guilt, for which he was tried and sentenced to death.

When the separatists entered the government house, they captured and tortured Raul Eshba, an Abkhazian hero, who was not scared of Ardzinba's aggressive policy and defended the interests of the united Georgian state during the whole period of warfare, because he always believed that Georgia and Abkhazia had been, since time immemorial, a single and inseparable nation. He never missed an opportunity to declare his views openly through mass media and to the representatives of all the international missions that arrived in Abkhazia. Raul Eshba was not an exception among the Abkhazian people. Many of them supported Georgians in the war and firmly demanded that the separatists should be punished. (On the initiative of Academical Lorik Marshania a "Committee of Liberation of Abkhazia" was founded). Thousands of those Abkhazians, who didn't dare to express openly their negative attitude to the separatists regime, left Abkhazia and haven't returned to their homes just like the Georgian refugees.

Having invaded Sokhumi the separatists tortured to death over 1 000 Georgians, including old people, invalids, women and children. More than 400 innocent peaceful people were executed in Kurchenko park. In one of the streets of the town the extremists caught a Georgian girl, raped her, cut her in two pieces and left the corpse with an inscription in Russian: "Just like this corpse shall never become one body, Abkhazia shall never join Georgia." A similar crime was committed in Gagra. A married couple, Vazha and Lamara Rukhaidze were sadistically tortured to death in Sokhumi; Misha Kvantaliani, a born invalid, short-sighted boy was murdered in the presence of his parents. Sisters Natela and Nelly Kolbaya were killed in front of their children; 80 year old D. Berulava was murdered together with his adopted son I. Turin, a Russian, whom they killed only because he tried to rescue the old man. Ch. Bobokhidze was killed in the presence of the mother; N. Matashashvili was raped in public and killed. They killed general A. Komoshvili, former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers P. Saakyan and hundreds of others. A young teacher Tsiuri Gogava was hiding in the house of her Abkhaz friends and neighbours, but the separatist boeviks noticed her in the yard, insulted her cynically then with an order "Run, dog" shot at her and

killed. Near school 12, in front of a beer — bar Abkhaz and Cossak boeviks were kicking about the heads cut off the murdered Georgians and roaring with laughter.

Roin Shubladze and Guram Kvalishava were killed in their own flats with machine guns, the pieces of flesh cut off the arms and legs were scattered over the floor. When Roin Shubladze's wife asked why they were behaving in such barbarian ways they answered: **"If the Georgians don't leave Abkhazia, we shall deal with all of you in the same way."**

Hundreds of houses belonging to Georgians were turned into ruins, so that the owners would not be able or even wish to return.

Of 119 180 inhabitants of Sokhumi, 49 460 were Georgians. Their absolute majority have left the town to escape death.

The fall of Sokhumi on 27 September, 1993 was followed by the loss of the whole Abkhazia.

The separatists had no difficulty in invading the other areas. The districts of Gulripshi, Ochamchira and Gali were occupied by joint Russian — Abkhaz — Chechen — Armenian troops and Cossak units.

Within 3 days the whole territory of Abkhazia was free of Georgians... They were followed by all those non-Georgians who showed sympathy or even pity to Georgians.

The well armed and equipped bands of criminals began invading towns and villages and slaughtering the Georgian population, cutting off their heads or other parts of the bodies — ears, noses, private parts, women's breasts, to wear them hanging round their necks as trophies. They raped daughters and wives in the presence of their families, even little girls. They murdered the people and burned their houses. Those who survived were forced to leave their homes and Abkhazia.

On September 30, on the border separating Abkhazia from the rest of Georgia, the Inguri bank, the enemies arranged victorious fireworks on the smashed dead bodies of Georgians.

To escape from the raging mob of the criminals invading Sokhumi, to save their own lives and the lives of their families, the Georgians who had survived the slaughter, rushed towards the Saken — Chuberi pass, the road that turned into a way to their Calvary. The people moved on with hideous difficulties, leaving the dead along the way. Many of them fell off the rocks down to their death.

The cruelty of the separatists regime towards Georgians is indescribable. The ethnic purge and genocide brought about numerous victims all over Abkhazia accusing those people of opposing the state independence of Abkhazia.

The genocide of Georgians in Abkhazia was carried out step-by-step: 14 August – 2 October, 1992 in Gudauta zone; 2 October 1992 – 16 September 1993 in Gagra zone; from 16 September 1993 on in Sokhumi, Ochamchira, Gali and Tkvarcheli zones.

Mass slaughtering and persecution of Georgians first began in Sokhumi and Gudauta areas where the separatists bands were stationed. At the first stages of the conflict 6 000 Georgians were turned out from Eshera, Lykhny, Araduda, Akhalsopeli. Those who stayed were cruelly dealt with. In Akhalsopeli 17 Georgians were killed; 70 – year old Indiko Grdzeldze's heart was cut out; Elguja Maisuradze was cut up with an axe; 66 – year old Nokoloz Kvabzianidze was tied to a tractor and tortured to death. With particular cruelty people were murdered in Gagra, Salkhino, Gantiadi, Pitsunda, Lidzava, Alakhadzy, Bzub, regardless age or sex. A. Kometiani, I. Kuchukhidze, N. Charkviani, S. Bobokhidze, G. Gvazava and many other innocent people were executed in public.

I. Bzhalava was killed in front of his children and wife; B. Kutsia was shot in the presence of his wife; E. Benidze was killed in the presence of his daughter. A 66 – year old teacher Vasil Samkharadze was caught in the street and beheaded there. The families were not allowed to bury their dead, and the corpses were left in the streets and torn apart by animals. Giorgi Pipia died a terrible death with his ears and nose cut off.

The genocide of the Georgians was carried out according to a plan, with particular consideration of the social background; especially cruel methods were used in killing representatives of the intelligentsia – teachers, journalists, writers, doctors, and artists.

The separatists killed more than 100 artists. Nato Milorava, 37 year old art director of Gumista house of culture was sadistically murdered as well as the actors of the drama theatre Vasil Chkheidze, Teimuraz Zhvania, Guram Gelovani, manager of the park Yuri Davitay and others.

Over 80 medical specialists, mostly women, were killed: Vera Kolbaya, Tina Tsotsoria, Nino Shonia, Ariadna Shelia, Olya Tkebuchava, Mzia Beselia, Zelimkhan Danelia, Gia Shishinava, Ramzik Ispekchyan, Giorgi Barkalay, Shalva Gvazava and many others. The chief doctor of the TB – hospital in Gulripshi, Shota Jgamadze, was killed in the courtyard of the hospital. The same fate fell on doctor Petre Sichinava of the Republican hospital and Bidzina Mgaloblishvili, an outstanding surgeon.

The separatists and the hired murders killed over 200 teachers, over 60 women among them: Venera Sigua, Yulia Gogokhia, Tsatsa Dzandzava, Eka Pilpani, Lia Akubardia, Dzabuli Pachulia, Gulnara Chaladze, Tsiala Kuprava, Nazi Sajaia, Mina Arabidze, Zhuzhuna Maglareridze, Luba Chemia, Eter Bkuradze, Nato Shengelia, Luba Gvinjilia, Elvira Kvitatiani, Tsiala Sharia, Nino Vekua, Natela Todua, Margo Gagua, Laura Gergaya, Ketikvaratskhelia, Tina Karchava and others.

Mamuli Abkhazava, head of Gulripshi collective farm, Tristan Cabelia, an executive of the Ministry of Finance, Leonti Jalagania, head of Sakenergo building department, Vladimir Kalichava, an executive of the Abkhazian Trade Union, Yuri Norakidze, head of a chair of the Subtropical Institute, Dr. Karlo Chkhenkeli of that Institute and others were all killed only because they were Georgians.

People were executed in groups in the stadiums and in other public places, as it happened in Gagra where thousands of armless, helpless innocent people were killed.

Here are some more examples of extreme cruelty and hatred with which the Georgians were dealt with:

The commandant of village Bagmarani in Gulripshi district, an Abkhaz Otar Chamagua, appointed by the separatists, started his career at that post by killing his own wife who was a Georgian, his son, the mother-in-law, and then dozens of the Georgian villagers.

An Abkhaz Yuri Kvarchia of village Adziubzha, Ochamchira district, on September 7, 1995 broke into a house, killed two infant children by impaling them on the iron fence stakes, drove away the parents and shot down two old women in the courtyard.

In Akhaldaba village the separatist Abkhazians murdered many infant and young girls. Those who survived were driven to the stadium and shot. All the children older than 6 were raped, beheaded; some were smashed with cars then burnt. They murdered about 400 villagers, including those 60 females.

A burial of 44 Georgian warriors, whose heads had been smashed under a tank, was found between Ablanurkhva and Tamishi.

In the village Pshapi a gang of Armenian boeviks killed brothers Sichinava, both doctors, hanged a pregnant woman, cut up her belly, then poured petrol over the body and burnt her down.

I can relate now some stories told by survived witnesses: As N. Kharishvili told us, while torturing Georgians, killing, robbing them and destroying their property, the separatists kept declaring that all the Georgians in the Gagra — Leselidze district must be exterminated, all the Georgian books, historical monuments and Georgians' houses must be burnt down, threatening with death to every non — Georgian who would dare to help or hide a Georgian.

A civilian, Cezar Kvelidze was first tortured by having his nose, ears then a leg cut off, then shot in the house of his uncle T. Barkalaya. In the same way was murdered a 70 year old Andro Simonishvili.

M. Mgeladze was kept naked in cold water through a whole night; then a Chechen boevik cut off his left arm, filled a glass with the victim's blood and offered him to drink it. On being refused the cynically replied **"I am sorry, brother, it not your blood, but all the Georgians' blood, that I'm drinking,"** and drank it, adding that the same fate awaits every Georgian if they don't leave Abkhazia.

K. Abramashvili's husband was tortured by cutting his face and body with knives, then he was thrown still alive into a pit and buried, running a tractor over the burial.

A. Japaridze was caught in his own house; the boeviks stuck a knife through his throat and fell him to die in tortures. Before that they had shot 11 men in the village: Nodar and Avtandil Maissashvili, Givi, Elguja, Tamaz and Gela Maisuradze, Gogi and Gia Goksadze, Jemal and Zhora Gogoberishvili, Kotia Nadareishvili, Indiko Grdzeliidze, Guram Kobeshavidze, Victor and Omar Kereselidze, Mardia Goglidze and Shota Chikviladze.

On 25 September K. Jaiani was caught in the field. The Abkhaz boeviks made him dig out a pit and bury three bodies of those whom they had killed in his presence, they beat him mercilessly and drove to a camp with other Georgian prisoners, where he was kept for 25 days, tortured and had an ear cut off.

On October 2, 1992 in N. Janashia's courtyard the boeviks shot brothers Vakhtang and Gela Shonia, raped Vakhtang's wife.

Abkhaz and Chechen boeviks raided the house of Alexi Baramia, head of Gagra health resort department. they dragged his daughter Tsitsia into the bathroom, raped and beheaded her, then tortured and beheaded his wife, and finally shot Alexi Baramidze and his four guests.

Separatists invaded N. Bagishvili's village, captured most of the villagers, including women and children. In the presence of all the villagers, parents and brothers the Abkhaz and Chechen boeviks raped 25 girls aged 12 — 16, in every perverse form. Such raping of whole groups of young children went on a whole week. The rapists frequently cutoff the girls' nipples. Eliso Mirtskhulava and her sister — in — law, a Russian, were both raped in front of the parents. The murderers cut Eliso's throat and the girl committed suicide by exploding herself.

Ale Kankava from Kodori was beheaded and his head was impaled.

In Pitsunda a group of bandits raped Mzia Bedineishvili in the presence of her brother Tengiz and then shot them both.

Alisa Mardaleishvili of Akhalsopeli village was shot only because she had no sugar in the house. These atrocities were frequently committed by 18 — 20 — year old young fellows, poisoned with Ardzinba's and his companions' fascist ideology and wearing arm bands with the Russian words **"Death to Georgians!"**

This was a way to frighten the surviving Georgian population and force them to leave their homes and escape. The separatists and their allies had been planning to exterminate the Georgian ethnos in Abkhazia or drive them out. After the signing of the agreement of July 27, 1993 the physical and psychological pressing upon the Georgian population grew more violent. In Bzyb they collected the people's passports and impressed special stamps in them checking their owners out, then made the people at the point of the gun sign applications confirming their willingness to leave Abkhazia.

On August 9, 1993 the separatists drove Georgians to Adler airport and handed them the documents certifying their checking out, that is depriving them of the right to live in Abkhazia. In this way 250 families (3 000 people) were deported only from Bzyb. K. Kikviladze and her 12 year – old daughter were shot, like many others, only because they refused to leave their home.

The policy of genocide grew particularly intense after the warfare was over in the district of Gali where 97% of the 96 000 population were Georgians. And I want to point out once more that the absolute majority of the population of Gali did not take part in the combat operations. The separatists occupied Gali on 29 September without any resistance and then set to slaughtering the innocent people.

The reason of those atrocities in Gali was only its close vicinity to the borders of the rest part of Georgia and, naturally, the prevalence of Georgians in the population. The enemies intended to change the demographic pattern in that area, and with this in view they have been carrying out a series of large – scale punitive operations since the September of 1993 up to the present day.

When the Georgians, who had escaped during the warfare, began coming back, quietly and humbly, to their burnt houses, they were drawn into ambush and bombed. It was in the February of 1994, a bitterly cold winter. The villagers of Okumi, Gumurishi, Chkhortoli, Rechkhvi, had no corridor to escape from their houses.

The inhabitants of the besieged villages, most of them old people, women and children, were forced to move towards the snow – covered mountain Ochake. Many of the people were unable to get over the snow – covered slopes and lost their lives; many of those who survived, had frost – bitten limbs and became invalids for life.

After the February of 1994 separatists raided the villages of Gali district many times, robbing, killing and terrorizing the people, bringing down to ruins whole villages; they burnt and destroyed 5 727 houses, 40 secondary schools, 96 consumer service and industrial enterprises, drove away over 25 000 heads of cattle, dismantled and stole all the most expensive equipment from the cannery and the poultry farm and factory, from the machine – tool making plants. The economy of the district was reduced to a nought.

In Okumi 7 120 houses were burnt down, 610 were ruined; 65 people were tortured to death (including 20 women). Venera Antia, aged 90, Nelly Gergaya, 55, Vera Gunia, 81, Alma Latsuzbaya, 67, Natela Melia, 56, Nino and Nato Poletaeva, 22 and 24 were raped then shot down in public.

In the town Gali 1 040 houses were brought down, 128 people, 20 women among them, were tortured to death.

In Achigvara 441 houses were burnt and destroyed, 70 people (17 women) were killed. In Gudauta 429 houses were burnt down, 55 people (14 women) were tortured to death.

Similar atrocities fell on the villages Mziuri, Lower and Upper Bargebi, Repo – Shesheleti, Otobaia, Nabakevi, and other villages. Innocent old women Z. Tsurtsunia, V. Chargazia, C. Chaava, S. Jologua, G. Gangia, L. Kvachakhia, R. Zantaraya, M. Malishava, V. Tarbaya and others were burnt alive.

No one has been punished for all those crimes, which are still continuing today. Through terror and threat of death the separatists prevented the refugees from returning to their homes, despite numerous agreements and other documents. Georgians are still slaughtered now that the Russian peacemaker troops have been stationed in the conflict zone. There are ample evidences that have been investigated and confirmed; for example:

Manana Lemonjava (village Repi) evidenced that after the peacemakers had come to Gali district, her father and brother, Terenti and Emzar Lemonjava came back home and lived in the kitchen, as it was the only shelter left. On 26 October 1994 separatists invaded the village, set fire to the other houses, shot down the father and son in the presence of the mother, Tina Lemonjava, then burnt the corpses.

On 10 March 1995 Abkhazian and Armenian boeviks wearing military uniforms and led by the so – called Minister of Internal Affairs Givi Agrba, rushed into the villages Gumurishi, Upper and Lower Bargebi, Otobaia and others, robbed and looted the houses, shooting everyone who dared to oppose them or ever express discontent.

On March 12, 1995 joint Abkhaz – Armenian groups entered village Nabakevi, captured Jumberi Badzgua and his fellow – villagers Mamuka Kvaratskhelia, Dato Normania, Guram Kharchilava, and Revaz Chargazia, drove them out into the tea plantation, shot down Kvarchilava

and Chargazia. The others were taken to Lower Bargebi where Normania and Kvaratskhlia were executed.

On May 2, 1995 a gang of separatists raided village Pirveli Gali and robbed the house of Vladimir Malazonia, a veteran of World War II. When his neighbour Vano Injia refused to help in removing the stolen things, they killed him. On May 6 the boeviks broke into the Malazonia's house once more, took the food that was in the house and sadistically murdered the owner of the house.

On May 12, 1995 Abkhazia Militia men shot without any reason or accusation inhabitants of the village Lekukhona Guram and Geno Gvajava, Goderdzi Papava and Murman Tsikolia who had come to a funeral.

On July 28, 1995 Abkhazian Militia men mercilessly beat Nugzar Aslandia, then shot through his legs only because during the search they had found an extra handful of corn flour in his shed.

On July 30, 1995 Abkhazians wearing militia uniforms, broke into Murman Tsulaya's house, looking for a gun. Not finding any, they took him to the police station, beat him mercilessly in a cell, and then scalped him alive. On August 3 Tsulaya was released thanks to the interference of the UN and peacemaker representatives and transported to Zugdidi hospital.

Another series of genocide and persecutions in Gali area followed in May, 1998, when, encouraged by the Russian peacemaker troops, armed to the tooth separatists invaded the area and with the help of heavy military machines set fire to the whole area, burning down completely 12 villages: Sida, Tagiloni, Zemo Bargebi, Kvemo Bargebi, Pichori, Otobaya, Khumushkuri, Nabakhevi, Dikhazurga, Pirveli Gali, Saberio, Lekukhona, Ganakhleba. In that large-scale punitive operation carried out by the Abkhaz separatists, took part Russian fighters. There are factual materials confirming that among those Russians were representatives of those peacemaker troops. They pursued and sadistically killed the local Georgian population, regardless of sex, and age. Meanwhile, the terrorized leaders of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic were appealing to the world's public for support. Here is what they wrote in one of those appeals:

"The international organizations, in particular, the UNO and OSCE whose observers are present in Abkhazia, are well aware of the facts that with the only purpose to rob the local people who



had returned to their homes, the separatist "boeviks", the military forces of the Ministry of Defence of the so-called Abkhazian Republic, systematically carry out punitive operations in Gali district. Those operations have taken away the lives of over 1 500 civilian Georgians within the 5 years.

On May 19 of the current years when another punitive unit came to the villages of Gali area, the people dared to resist them and to fight back. Meanwhile, the separatists, with their habitual falsehood and demagoguery are trying to mislead the whole mankind, giving the local unvanquishable patriots, who fought back the enemy, the names of terrorists and saboteurs. In reality, the separatists and the Russian regular army contingent are those who burn down and exterminate the villages in Gali district. The mass ethnic slaughter, robbery, banditism and other genocidal crimes are still continuing.

The villages Nabakevi, Sida, Tagiloni, Bargebi, Khumushkuri have been burnt down and razed to the ground.

The population of Gali is facing a menace of complete extermination, regardless of sex or age. We have got information



Burnt down houses in the village of Saberio, Gali district.

that on May 20 several women – Izo Khurtsilava, 90-year-old Maro Khurtsilava, Buzhgu Pertaya, Laiso Sotkilava, – were murdered in their houses in v. Sida. On 22 May, in the same village 67-year-old Sardion Mushukia was killed. Ambako Gelenava and his son were burnt alive. On May 23 in the village Ruchkhi, Zaur Tsimintia was shot together with his two sons, Manuchar and Zaza. A 70-year-old man, Terenti Papava was killed in v. Mziuri. A young invalid, Yasha Gvagvalia was murdered in v. Dikhazurga.

There are witnesses who have told about the atrocities committed by the separatist "boeviks" – raping the young, and even infants, and shooting them. The list of the innocent victims is growing day by day.

The separatists are trying to present the desperate resistance of the local population as acts of terrorism and interference into the internal affairs of the self-styled republic of Abkhazia.

We still cherish some hope that the world public will come to understand the purpose of the terrorism and violence that the aboriginal Georgian population of Abkhazia is facing. The Georgians are still being persecuted and threatened with arms, driven out of their homes, and they are sure to be fully exterminated if only the Georgian government and the world's powers don't take urgent and decisive measures.

The Russian peacemaker troops are fulfilling their mission in a slipshod manner or rather neglect it altogether. They allowed armed to the tooth "boeviks" with their heavy fighting machines, artillery, armoured vehicles to pass through a zone in Gali area supposed to be a zone of security and restricted armament, to fight against partisans.

We appeal to all with a request to extend help to the aboriginal Georgian population of Abkhazia without delay.

Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic,
Zugdidi, May 23."

During the atrocities in Gali in 1998, the people, who had humbly returned to their homes without setting out any claims, found themselves again banished. At that time in Gali district 75 innocent people were executed. But for the interference of Georgian partisans and the representatives of the Georgian internal force, who guarded the

escaping people the number of the victims would have been much greater and terrifying.

During the period from September 1993 till 2000 the number of victims of the separatists' atrocities in Gali district reached 1 600.

The separatists' special organized punitive groups committed barbaric crimes nearly in every town and village of Abkhazia, after which many Georgians disappeared and are still missing. All that has happened and is still happening in Abkhazia is not just an ethnic conflict induced by nationalism, hurt feelings or revenge. Close investigation and analysis of those actions prove that the separatists had a double source of encouragement in their struggle and a double target set before them. On the one hand they were guided by Russia's special services and armed forces, while on the other hand, the Caucasian peoples' Confederation and other foreign interventionists were trying to spread the Islamic fundamentalism in the Caucasus, which is confirmed by a map showing those plans. Proceeding from the geopolitical situation, it appeared necessary in view of those plans to exterminate or drive out as many Georgians as possible from that region and occupy that zone including the Black Sea coastal area. That was why thousands of murderers from foreign countries, full of poisonous ideas of separatism, nationalism and extremism rushed into Georgia, shot, hanged, burnt down about 6 000 people only because they were Georgians, mutilated and crippled over 20 000 people, drove out of their homes hundreds of thousands of civilian population.

The bloody statistics of the Abkhaz separatists' genocidal crimes is huge. The carefully worked out draconic terrorist methods designed against the Georgian population made the people helpless and unable to resist the violence.

The incessant bombing of villages, towns and other inhabited areas, innumerable cases of robbery, burglary, arson committed by the separatists and their allies drove out of Abkhazia not only Georgians, but also thousands of Russians, Armenians, Greeks who became refugees within their own home land.

* * *

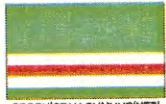
In order to whitewash the crime organized by themselves, the separatists skillfully used an opportunity to refer to the only one case when Georgia broke a rule of the international humanitarian law



ABHAZHA CUMHURİYETİ



ADİGEY CUMHURİYETİ



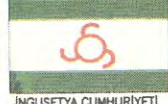
ÇEÇENİSTAN CUMHURİYETİ



DAĞISTAN CUMHURİYETİ



İNGUŞETYA CUMHURİYETİ



KABARDEY-BALKAR CUMHURİYETİ



KARACAY-ÇERKES CUMHURİYETİ



OSETYA CUMHURİYETİ

KAFKASYA KONFEDERASYONU

KAFKASYA'NIN
JEOPOLİTİK VE STRATEJİK
ÖNEMİ

Kafkasya, eski dünyanın (Asya, Avrupa, Afrika) içerisinde 5000 km uzunluğunda ve birbirine bağlı iç denizlerin meydana getirdiği bir su yolunun doğu ucunda bulunmaktadır.

Kafkasya aynı zamanda Hazar Denizi ile büyük Asya kıtasının merkezine bağlıdır.

Kafkasya, kuzey ile güney ve batı ile doğu yollarının düğümlediği bir geçittir. Kafkas halkının etnikolojik ve psikolojik birliği, etnolojik orijinallik ve doğal servet kaynaklarının zenginliği, iklim ve demir kültürünün beşliği olması gibi faktörler, Kafkasya'nın tarihte oynadığı rollerin uzatını kolaylaştırır.

KAFKASYA'NIN
ETNO-POLİTİK COĞRAFYASI

Kafkasya, kuzey yarım kürede 40-50 enlemleri ile 37-50° doğu boylamları arasında Karadeniz'den Hazar Denizi'ne kadar Kafkas Dağları boyunca uzanır. Yaklaşık 25.000 km² olan bu bölgede 50'ye aşkın dil ve 100'den fazla lehçe konuşulur. Bu bölgede yaşayan halklar Kafkas folklorunu, gelenek ve göreneklerini paylaşır.

Kafkasya ile 17 yüzyıl sonrasında yerleşen Slav nüfusu Rus ve Kazakistan'ın da katen, halkların konuşulduğu çok sayıda dil konuşan etnik grupları içerir.

Bölgenin 3000 yıllık etnik tarih boyunca birleştiği, bilinen yerli halklar olan Abkhaz-Abaza, Adige-Karabulgar, Avar, Çeçen-Inguş, Dargi, Lak, Lezg-Tatlar, Ubyk, halklarını içeren Kafkas Dil Grubu'nu oluşturur. Bölgeye M.O. 7'ye gelen islat, Alan ve daha sonra Samanların bekçisi olan Osetler ve Tatar "Yeni Avrupa" (Türk) Dil Grubu'ndan 10 yüzyılda bölgeye yerleşen Kumuk, Karacay-Balkarlar ve Nogaylar ile Türk kökenli halkların oluşup "Türk-Altay Dil Grubu"na girer.

HAZAR
DENİZİ

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ KAFKASYALILAR

1994 yılında Kafkasya'nın Çarlık Rusya'sından sonra, ödenmeden sonra vatandaşları süren ve sayıları yaklaşık 1,5 milyon olarak tahmin edilen Kafkasyalılar (Çirkasların) büyük bir bölümi o zaman Osmanlı toprakları olan Türkiye'ye yerleşmiştir.

Batıdan göçünürlüğü Bari Kafkasya'dan gelen Adige, Ubyk ve Abkhaz'dır. Ötleni Dağstanlılar, Çeçenler ve Osetler'tir. Bugün Türkiye'nin, Karadeniz, Marmara, İç Anadolu, ve Doğu Anadolu bölgelerinde yoğunlaşmış olan yaklaşık 7 milyon Kafkas kökenli yurttaşları vardır.

Kafkasyalılar yarı vatandaşlar statüsüne, sosyal, sanat, ekonomi, eğitim ve diğer birçok etnik alanlarında en planda yerleşmiş ve önemli başarılarını elde etmişlerdir.

Bu arada anavatanlarından kendilerine intikal eden Kafkas gelenek ve göreneklerini de elbette korumaya çalışmışlardır. Ne var ki asimilasyon kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Bunun son örneği dini konuları son zamanlarda dinin birleştirici rolünü göstermektedir.

Türkiye'deki Kafkasyalılar folklori ve kültür bağlarını aralarında koruyarak geleceğe taşıyorlar. Kafkasların ve kurumlarının demokratik perspektifinde kurulabilmeye çalışmaktadırlar.

KAFKASYA KONFEDERASYONU BAYRAĞI



7 Altın sarısı yıldız kapsayan mavi bir köpe ile 4 yeşil ve 3 beyaz şeritten oluşan bayrak, "Kuzey Kafkasya Cumhuriyeti"nin bağımsızlığını ilan ettiği 11 Mayıs 1918 tarihinde "Mali Hükümet" tarafından kabul edilen resmi devlet bayrağıdır.

Bayrakta bulunan 7 yıldız bütün Kafkasya'nı oluşturan 7 eyaletin birliğini temsil eder. Bu eyaletler şunlardır: 1- Abkhazya, 2- Adige, 3- Çeçen-Inguş, 4- Dağıstan, 5- Kabarday, 6- Karacay-Balkar, 7- Osetya (Bu bayrak Kafkas Halkları Konfederasyonu'nun 1-2 Kasım 1991 tarihinde yaptığı toplantıda aldığı kararlar sonucunda gelecekte kurulacak "Kafkasya Konfederasyonu"nun da bayrağı olarak kabul edilmiştir.)

Adı	Başkent	Nüfusun halklara göre dağılım yüzdesi
ABHAZYA	(Akhu)	Kafkas % 34 Slav % 21 Diğerleri % 45
ADİGEY	(Maygupa)	Kafkas % 25 Slav % 68 Diğerleri % 7
ÇEÇENİSTAN	(Çanarkale)	Kafkas % 80 Slav % 15 Diğerleri % 5
DAĞISTAN	(Samikale)	Kafkas % 85 Slav % 7 Diğerleri % 8
İNGUŞETYA	(Nazran)	Kafkas % 85 Slav % 10 Diğerleri % 5
KABARDEY-BALKAR	(Pisguven)	Kafkas % 60 Slav % 39 Diğerleri % 7
KARACAY-ÇERKES	(Çerkesk)	Kafkas % 53 Slav % 42 Diğerleri % 5
OSETYA	(Terekale)	Kafkas % 65 Slav % 13 Diğerleri % 20

and tried to prove that both parties of the conflict were equally guilty. But if the Georgian administration firmly defend its principal and lawful position, all the efforts of the separatists will fail and they will hardly be able to conceal the most important fact that the terror, the manslaughter, that they arranged in the occupied area after taking it under control, not only continued the genocide, but even intensified it by murdering, torturing and imprisoning the innocent people, those who hadn't left the occupied zone. They attack villages, take away or destroy their property. They deliberately and energetically create all kinds of obstacles for the refugees to come back to their homes. All this was recorded in the numerous investigation materials as well as in the reports made by special international commissions. All those conclusions and records must be used as a basis for legal assessment of the separatists' atrocities.

The international Convention of 1948 fully defined the legal aspect of genocide. According to the Convention, Article 6 of the criminal Code of the Georgian Republic provides that genocide is an action against the national, ethnic, racial or religious group of persons with the aim to exterminate the whole or part of that group, which is implemented by way of killing, heavily injuring the members of the group or deliberately creating such life conditions which will result in their complete or partial extermination. The crimes committed by the Abkhaz separatists are classical examples of such actions.

The armed conflict in Abkhazia lasted 14 months. During that period we enjoyed victories and suffered defeats, but this is a special subject of study, which calls for a day-by-day analysis and assessment. What is most important for us now, is to get the world to realize and take close to heart the menace of separatism, the horrifying vandalism which resulted in the fall of Abkhazia and which is still continuing in the occupied territory. The mankind must be informed about the ethnic purge and genocide committed against the civilian Georgian population.

* * *

The Georgian government gave orders to create a special committee responsible for investigation of the facts of the ethnic purge and genocide of Georgians in Abkhazia, for their further publication.

The investigation materials became the basis for a statement, which was circulated in the English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and

Arabian languages just as all the documents of the UN Human Rights Committee and Security Council. The Georgian President's acute statement concerning the Abkhazian conflict, together with his own preface to it, was circulated in the Security Council at the high level meeting of the UN member countries in Copenhagen in March 1995; at the high level meeting of the European Security and Cooperation Organization member countries in Budapest in December 1994; at the high level meetings of the C.I.S. member countries in Alma-Ata and Minsk in February and March 1995, respectively.

As a result of study and legal analysis and assessment of the facts listed in the statement and the intense diplomatic activity of the Head of the State, the meeting in Budapest came to a conclusion: **"The member countries are expressing their excitement and worry by the unilateral decision made by the leaders of Abkhazia (the Georgian Republic). They express their deepest sympathies connected with the "ethnic purge", the mass banishment of the population, particularly, of Georgian nationality, from their homes and the death of great numbers of innocent civilian people."**

This resolution was supported by the UN Security Council (Resolution No. 1993/1995), the C.I.S. meeting in Minsk (26 May, 1995), European Security and Cooperation Organization summits in Lisbon and Budapest.

The Russian government had placed all the responsibility for the "ethnic purge" upon the Abkhaz separatists (13 October, 1993), while the document issued on July 6 1994 by UNO pointed out that **"the danger to the territorial integrity of Georgia, that took shape in Abkhazia, is also characterized by the "ethnic purge."**

The OSCE mission's report mentioned along with other points the dramatic situation with the human rights in Gali: **"The Abkhaz leaders continue their policy of ethnic purge so as to prevent repatriation of Georgians into Gali area and other places in Abkhazia."**

Resolution No. 47 121 of December 17, 1992 of the UN General Assembly acknowledged that the ethnic purge is a form of genocide. This term has been accepted in the recent international law.

In this way, the UNO and regional international organizations have recognized that the Abkhaz separatists were and are carrying out ethnic purge of the Georgian population. They acknowledge the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia and condemn the separatist' actions against the refugees. The above mentioned documents make up a sound basis for taking legal actions against Abkhaz' separatists.

The Procurator General's Office of Georgia and the Procurator's Office of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic have proved on the basis of factual evidence that the leaders of the aggressive separatism and their partners had previously worked out the plan of the civilian Georgian population's genocide. They have submitted evidence proving the massive attacks, tortures, slaughter of the Georgian population; bringing down and razing to the ground their houses, property, historical and cultural monuments, schools; raping of women, including young girls and even infants; deportation of the people, treating those who managed to stay as slaves.

From the very start, the administration of the Georgian Republic chose a political way of settling the conflict, believing that the great and powerful Northern neighbour Russia with its army peace-maker units could become the guarantor of peace. Russia used that function in its own favour, and put up every possible obstacle to prevent Georgia from restoring her jurisdiction in Abkhazia — an ancient Georgian territory.

It should be mentioned that from the start every initiative of the Georgian authorities to settle the matter peacefully was doomed to failure.

The very first document signed in Moscow on September 3, 1992 turned out to be tragic for my native town. After the fall of Gagra the Russian — Georgian frontier was moved from the r. Psou to the r. Gumista. Georgians, Russians, Estonians and many other inhabitants of Gagra turned into refugees and were forced to leave their homes.

The second document signed in Sochi on July 27, 1993 was followed by disarmament of the Georgian troops over the whole territory of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic. The heavy fighting machines, the equipment and the personnel of the Ministry of Defence were removed outside the territory of Abkhazia; however, when the people came back to what they thought would be peaceful life, the agreement was

broken on 16 September and after 12 day of unequal struggle Sokhumi fell, which meant that Abkhazia was lost. As a consequence 280 000 Georgians, 30 000 Russians, 25 000 Abkhazians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews and others became refugees. This time the Russian — Georgian frontier shifted from the Gumista to the Inguri.

The third document of 13 June 1994 was actually a record of the consequences of the Abkhazian war. According to that communiqué, the Abkhazian side was made responsible for the reception and security of the refugees. They were legally rehabilitated and entrusted a mandate of confidence, regardless of those atrocities and the tragedy that fell on the whole of Georgia.

The fourth document signed on April 4, 1994 actually banned every worthy Georgian, who dared to take up a weapon and defend his home and his land, his town or village, to return to Abkhazia. But there was nothing said about those who fought against the legal government, against the integrity of Georgia, the integrity of the nation. The document prohibited the Georgian population to fight with arms for the integrity of their country and for regaining their own land and homes. A similar document was drawn up on May 14 1994, a fifth one, still without any positive outcome.

During the past years numerous meetings have been held in different cities of the world with the aim to find a peaceful political way to settle the Abkhazian conflict. The UN Security Council has issued 20 resolutions and made 6 statements on this matter. Almost all those documents are acceptable to us. They acknowledge and recognize Georgia's territorial integrity, fully support Georgia, consider the problem of returning the refugees to their homes. Several interesting meetings were arranged by the European Council; our delegations visited Geneva and several bilateral, tri-lateral, four-lateral agreements were signed, as well as various memoranda, communiqués; there were meetings in Moscow and Sochi; the Head of the State visited Gudauta. UNO's 136 representatives are in the conflict zone as observers. Special representatives of the UN Secretary General regularly visit the region to provide consultations with both parties of the conflict. Any and every form of the separatism was

condemned at the most high — level official meetings. The states swear not to support the separatist movement and regime, not to set up any kind of political, economic or other partnership with them, not to allow the separatists to use their countries' territories or means of communications, not to extend them any economic, financial, military or other assistance. But, in spite of all these steps, we have not achieved any success, we haven't moved even one meter distance towards Abkhazia, haven't got any reliable guarantee for our refugees to return safely to their own homes, haven't succeeded in restoring our state's jurisdiction in the indigenous Georgian territory.

It's a regretful fact that the separatists still get quite a firm support and encouragement from various political circles of Russia, the Russian government, the army offices. There are administrators of some republics and areas, representatives of foreign missions, who also support the separatists. A certain amount of assistance is provided by some foreign countries, in particular, Turkey, Jordan, and Syria.

It is noteworthy too, that there are some disagreements among the separatists themselves, even quite a clear split in their ranks, some of them being Russia — oriented, other relying more upon the Islamic world. This split gave rise to certain opposition between the Abkhazians of Gudauta and Ochamchira, adding problems to Ardzinba's separatist parliament and government, although they have so far managed to keep those troubles quiet.

Hard work is underway now to create Abkhaz — Adygean toponomy. It is hardly a coincidence that Adygea has set out an application to the Russian government to exchange a 25 000 sq m area with Krasnodar, disguising their request as an urgent need of pastures. In reality, they are trying to obtain a common border with Abkhazia and in this way to create a single territory of the North Caucasian republics and Abkhazia.

Russia is putting herself out to save and keep her position in the Caucasus. The Russian leaders have termed Chechen' actions as "aggressive separatism" and officially declare that they would not allow the Russian territory to be violated and broken up. Indeed, they are suppressing the disobedient Chechens by large-scale combat operations.

However, as soon as the question of the Georgian territorial integrity is touched upon, the Russian highest officials use different terms for those events. If we compare the situations in Georgia and Russia, between the events occurring in Abkhazia and Chechnya under the Russian jurisdiction, it will become obvious that there are nearly the same, even if we ignore here the fact that Russia conquered Chechnya late in the 19th century, while Abkhazia had been a part of Georgia throughout all our history.

Just as the Georgian government had its state army units stationed in Abkhazia in August 1992 to guard and protect the railway lines and motor roads, the Russian government made an absolutely similar decision in December 1994 and had its federal army units stationed in Chechnya. In both cases, the army units had another task — to protect the territorial integrity of their respective countries.

Many politicians accused us of imperial attitude towards Abkhazia, many of them called us aggressors, meanwhile describing the events in Russia as a struggle for the Russian statehood, revival of the Constitutional law and territorial integrity of Russia.



Sokhumi, September 1993. The local population leaving the town.



They were defending the inhabitants of Sokhumi.



D. Gachechiladze, an actor of Sokhumi Georgian Dramatheatre named after K. Gamsakhurdia.



According to the agreement of 27 July 1993 the heavy fighting machines and equipment of the Georgian side left Abkhazia.





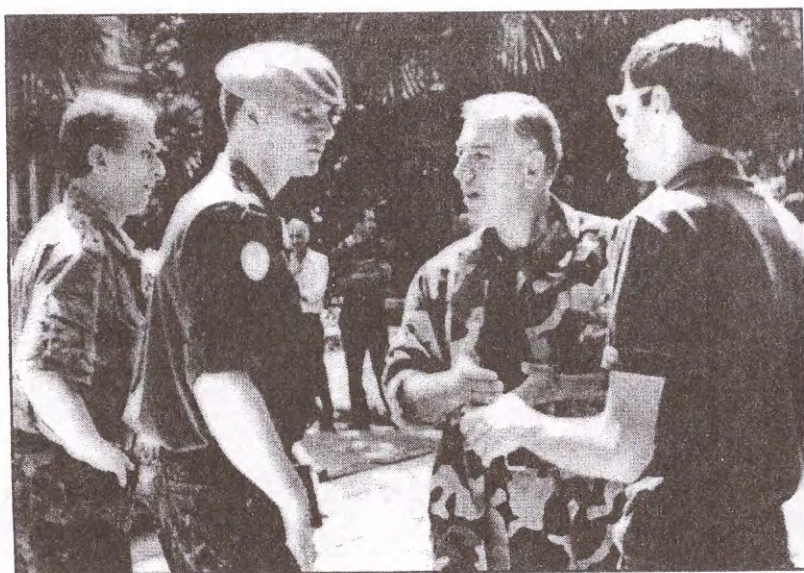
Until the 27 July 1993, when the disarmament was signed the defenders of Sokhumi faithfully guarded the town.



Sokhumi, 1993. Colonel T. Goginashvili, and a member of the Georgian parliament N. Natadze.



At the r. Gumista, 1993.



Sokhumi, 1993. The Chief Adviser on Abkhazian problems to the Head of the Georgian State, L. Tsaava and members of an international mission.



Sokhumi, 1993. T. Nadareishvili and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia B. Pastukhov.



Shota Milorava from Sokhumi and Vepkhia Devdariani from Tbilisi became friends on the front line at the r. Gumista.



Father Daniel, the Tskhum – Abkhazian Bishop, was a frequent visitor at the front line.



The refugees are being checked in at the hotel Iveria in Tbilisi.



The airport of Tbilisi during the Abkhazian war.



Mourning mothers.



Victims of barbarious bombardment.



Those who survived bombing, remained homeless.



Manana Marshava fell victim to the bomb dropped on the village Babushera near Gulripshi; her 6-year-old son was badly injured.



"Boeviks" taken prisoners by the Georgian soldiers:
M. Kozhev, A. Malysh, A. Vogus, R. Khabakhumov.



The enemy lost great numbers of manpower in 15 – 16 March battle.

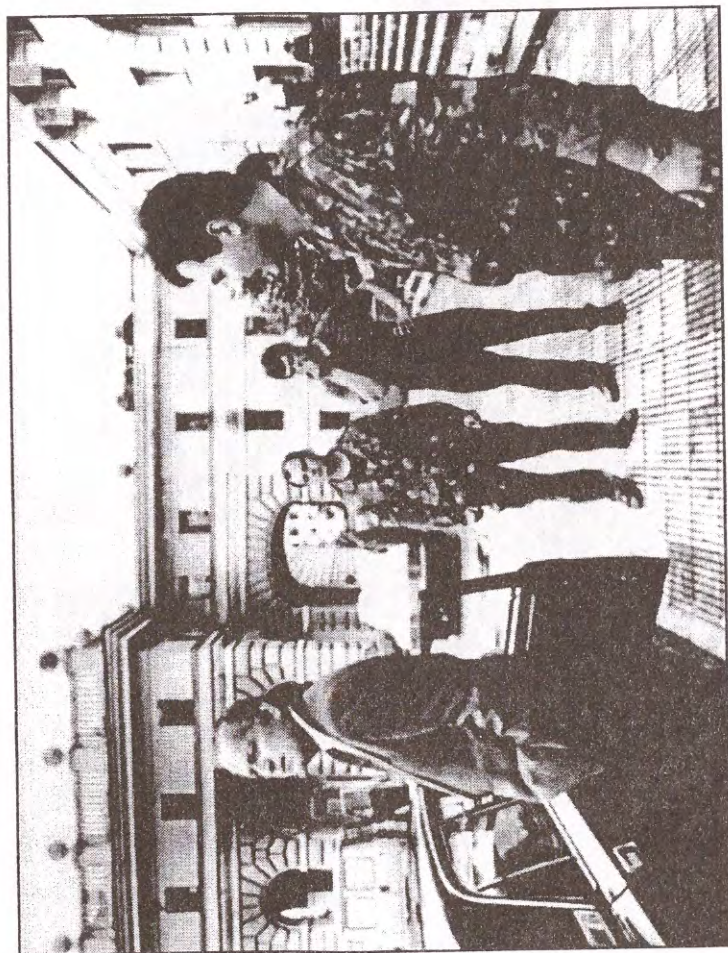




After the fall of Sokhumi the children were carried away over the mountains of Svaneti.



Dima Churgulia of Sokhumi met his heroic death on 27 September 1993, with the fall of his native town.



Sokhumi, September 1993. Zhuli Shartava, Chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers and Defence Council and Avtandil Dekanosidze, Head of the Chairman's state security service.



The sorrow and pain of the refugees.



Tbilisi, 1999. The refugees meeting in The Republic Square, demanding to be returned to their homes.

WHAT ARE THE RUSSIAN PEACE-MAKER FORCE UNITS DOING IN THE CONFLICT ZONE

I just can't help once more dwelling upon our attitude to the Russian peace-maker troops which are at present stationed along the r. Inguri, thus actually creating a new self-made boundary between Abkhazia and Georgia. The leaders of those forces, both those who were at the head and those who are now, have been keeping to pro-Abkhazian principles due to clearly understandable reasons. So it can be stated nowadays without any hesitation or doubt that Ardzinba's fascist-separatist regime has been maintained with the help of the peacemakers' bayonets. The authorities of the peacemaker troops say and promise similar things on both sides of the r. Gumista. After the peacemaker troops had been stationed in Gali area, the number of the perished people exceeded 1 500, most of the women, children, old folks guilty of being Georgians and because of that sadistically murdered by the separatists after cruel tortures and humiliation.

We dispose of documents proving numerous facts of murder, burglary, robbery, rape committed in the zone which fell under control of the peacemaker troops, and lists of the crimes committed by the personnel of those peacemaker units.

There were numerous cases evidencing extortion of money by the representatives of the Russian peacemaker troops or their exceeding the authority.

Besides, the peacemaker troop commanders self-willedly set up their guard-posts beyond their allotted zones and interfere into the functions of the traffic police. Under the pretext of checking for arms, they stop cars, search them, insult and humiliate the drivers and passengers. Many of them get drugs in Mestia district in order to sell them or use them. Lately, they have taken up stealing and taking outside Georgia rare and expensive brands of timber.

The Russian peacemaker troop personnel cooperate with criminal gangs joining in their activities.

All this considered, we still believe that in the first place their presence in the conflict zone affects the situation negatively, because they fail to ensure security for the local population in the zone; on the

contrary, should the Abkhaz separatists wish to carry out another punitive operation in Gali area, the Russian personnel, instead of blocking their ways, encourage them to demonstrate their inhuman cruelty and maintain Ardzinba's fascist regime as long as possible.

It is my personal opinion and the opinion of the whole Abkhazian Supreme Council's members, that the Georgian administration made a grave mistake and did not issue an official statement as soon as the warfare began, proclaiming Russia as the aggressor. We can understand why the Georgian administration, weakened by the civil uncovering and accusing the external enemy, but still we strongly believe that such a statement, however annoying it might have been for Russia, would have forced our northern neighbour to keep away from the warfare and from bombing Abkhazia from their planes. Such a statement of protest would hardly have harmed Georgia more than the mild policy of concessions.

Another fault in the short-sighted policy of struggle against the enemy was to confer the status of "peacemaker force" to the Russian regular army units and to station them along the r. Inguri under the C.I.S. auspices in June 1994, 8 months after the warfare had ceased; this was done under the pretext of disengaging and moving far apart the opposing parties, although during those 8 months there was not a single armed clash registered between the Georgians and Abkhazians either in Gali or Zugdidi areas or on the border.

In this way the enemy really achieved his main goal: to secure a new frontier line between Abkhazian and the rest part of Georgia along the r. Inguri with the help of the Russian armed force. At this stage came true the dream of the Russian leaders and rulers of all times to separate Abkhazia from Georgia along the r. Inguri and, above all, to clear the occupied territory of the local Georgian population. In fact, it is the r. Inguri bank that the frontier between Georgia and Russia has been shifted to.

CONCLUSIONS

The leader of the Abkhaz separatists stooged by the Russian administration and his entourage have committed a horrible crime against humaneness; they created an ideology of aggressive separatism and sent forth illegal armed units to slaughter innocent people. The Abkhaz boeviks have been continuing their activities up to the present day with silent consent of Ardzinba and his companions.

As a rule, the Abkhaz separatists try to whitewash their activities by their inability to control their own armed units, but they insistently demand that the "Georgian terrorists" must be punished, meaning the Georgian partisans.

It is hard to state that the victimized people, those who were driven away from their homes by force of arms, whose families fell victims to the barbaric acts of the separatists and their mercenaries, do not go back to Gali area to take their revenge. But such deeds are aimed at the Abkhaz armed formations and those who cooperate with them in their criminal activities. Such deeds are far from "ethnic — based murders" as it is in the case of the "Abkhaz rulers". These latter exterminate innocent civilian Georgian population, destroy their houses, ruin their health, exactly as Hitler's occupants did it. They have one clear cut purpose: to eliminate any possible way and means for the expatriated people to get back to their homes.

The fact, that the leaders of the separatist regime still refuse to fulfill the terms of the agreements that they themselves have signed and make it possible for the refugees and those who were forced to leave their homes to return to Abkhazia, and still maintain the policy of terror towards those who dared to return either under the auspices of the UN high committee for refugees' problems or on their own initiative, risking their lives, clearly evidences that the fascist regime is determined to do everything, not to allow any changes in the current demographic pattern there.

Suffice it to refer to the reports submitted by Tbilisi personnel of the European Security and Cooperation Organization's and UNO's missions "On the human rights in Gali districts of the Georgian Republic". It states distinctly "The administration of Abkhazia is still maintaining the policy of force and ethnic purge with the purpose

to ban any significant repatriation into Gali district or into any other area of Abkhazia. Their tactics varies from verbal threats and short — term imprisonments to killing... Some of those horrible atrocities appear to be committed by the orders coming from Sokhumi." (A report made after a trip made in April 1995 to Gali area, which is now under control Abkhazians, and Western Georgia).

The Security Council many times expressed censure of the Abkhaz separatists' attitude to the repatriation of the refugees, the people forced to leave their homes, and **"great regret was expressed concerning the Abkhaz leaders' unwillingness to make their repatriation possible"**. On 12 January 1996 the Security Council demanded once more **"The Abkhazian side must speed up the process of returning the exiled people to their homes... and ensure security of those repatriates who have already returned on their own will"** (Resolution 1036).

In spite of that the separatists keep pursuing the policy of terror, extermination or forced deportation of Georgians.

Regardless of the presence of the peacemaker troops, UN and OSCE observers in Gali area, the number of innocent victims of Georgian nationality grows every day, all the Georgian secondary schools and even nursery school have been closed down — in an area where 97% of the population are Georgians. The repatriated people are made to sign documents acknowledging the separatist regime, rules and laws that haven't been recognized by any state of the world.

A special representative of the UN sub — commission on discrimination and protection of national minorities reported on July 6, 1994, document E/CN 4 (SUP. 2), (1994) 36, and pointed out most emphatically that along with disintegration menacing the territory of Georgia, there is a dangerous process of ethnic purge going on in Abkhazia (item 31).

I have already mentioned that on 6 December 1994 the OSCE summit in Budapest and another one later in Lisbon expressed their deep concern on the account of the ethnic purge mainly of the Georgian population, their mass persecution and deportation and great numbers of deaths of innocent people (N.S (1994) 1435, Supplement).

These conclusions were approved and confirmed in the UN Council's resolutions 993 (1995) and 1036 (1996). The resolution was

also confirmed by the C.I.S. leaders' statement made in Minsk on 26 May 1995.

It is the policy of genocide and ethnic purge, which the separatists are implementing together with occupation of a part of the sovereign democratic state's territory by force of arms, that exposes the aggressive and antihuman character of the regime.

The events in Abkhazia are similar to the events in other hot points of the world, wherever the political leaders use the force of arms under the pretext of defence or protection of national, ethnic, religious or language minorities, but actually split the territories of countries — members of the UNO, effectively using foreign mercenaries, military, economic and other kinds of support. They violate the human rights by committing most hideous crimes against humankind, one of the most repulsive forms of which is genocide and, in particular, ethnic purge.

All these facts and considerations provide us a sound basis to define the aggressive separatism as action aimed at changing the ownership of a territory by force of arms or by threats, which is purposefully implemented by a group of persons within a country or a region of a country, irrespective of their position in the governmental, political or social system, as well as irrespective of their affiliation to the majority of the population or to the national, ethnic, religious or language minorities inhabiting that particular area.

Such action is displayed through undermining of the country's territorial integrity and political unity and, consequently, seceding a particular region from the whole country, the separatism propaganda and forcible changing of the demographic pattern; it is displayed through public speeches, mass media and high officials who take the advantage of their rank; through instigation of local armed conflicts, involvement of armed gangs and regular army units, as well as mercenaries who serve the separatists' cause, with distinctive feature of nationalism, chauvinism and fascism, implying genocide and ethnic purge directed against those people who live in the territory controlled by separatists and belong to a different nation, ethnic, religious or language group. It is displayed through the separatists' reluctance to let the refugees and people driven away by force return to their permanent dwelling places, and through other numerous cases of violation of human rights in order to make the people obey to the regime established by force of arms.

The menace of aggressive separatism that brings about immeasurable suffering to thousands of innocent people, at last was recognized by the Commonwealth of Independent States at the meeting of the leaders of these States in Alma-Ata, on February 10, 1995, where they proclaimed the aggressive separatism illicit.

The memorandum on peace and stability in the C.I.S. obliged the C.I.S. members to take measures eliminating all kinds of manifestation of separatism, nationalism, chauvinism and fascism in their respective territories in compliance with their national codes and international law (item 7); and not to support separatist movement and separatist regime, if there is any, in the territory of any other C.I.S. country, not to enter into any political, economic or other alliance with them, not to allow them to use the territory or means of communication of another C.I.S. member, and not to extend any economic, financial, military and other assistance (item 8).

The Council of the C.I.S. leaders (Minsk, 26 May, 1995) issued a statement "On the Conflict in Abkhazia (the Georgian Republic)" in which concrete views concerning the Abkhazian conflict were set forth: "Guided by the Alma-Ata Memorandum of the 10 February 1995, which defined the ways to overcome the menace of separatism, the CIS members agree that the most important condition for a prompt settlement of the conflict is strict observance of this resolution by all the C.I.S. members" (item 4).

The Council of the C.I.S. leaders, who met in Moscow on 19 January 1996 issued a resolution "On the measures designed to settle the conflict in Abkhazia (Georgia)", which approved the above mentioned documents and confirmed the obligations defined therein for the C.I.S. members and provided a set of measures to be taken to exert influence upon Abkhazia.

Having admitted the destructive position of the Abkhazian side, blocking the ways to political settlement of the conflict and to an agreement ensuring dignified and safe return of the refugees and forcibly deported people to their homes, the C.I.S. members undertook commitments not to provide any military assistance to the separatist regime, while in case of any economic, trade and financial and other operations, they must be co-ordinated with the Georgian government, because **"Abkhazia is Georgia's inseparable part"** (item 6).

Unfortunately, the union of the world's states fails to consider properly this problem, which is an important factor drastically weakening

the power of the UN and OSCE organizations in preventing the so-called ethnic conflicts within the boundaries of the countries -- members of the UNO. It is impossible to settle arguments between sovereign states, taking guidance from the UNO Charter when the matter concerns separatism; we cannot put on the same level a sovereign state and armed separatist regime which brutally violates the state's constitution, the requirements of the international law and, above all, the international humanitarian law, and the recommendations of the UNO Security Council.

It is time to solve this problem within the frameworks of the United Nations and European Security and Cooperation organizations, because such repulsive crime as genocide has not been yet uprooted and has even acquired a new horrible form of the ethnic purge.

The aggressive separatism gave rise to the horrible practice of the ethnic purge in its new form. This variety of the crime was acknowledged and defined by the UN Secretary General on the basis of the resolution 780 (1992) submitted by the special experts to the UNO Security Council.

I find it necessary to repeat the conclusions made by the expert commission: the ethnic purge is conducted through killing, torturing, illegal imprisonment, punishment without trial, raping, sexual assault, persecution of civilian population, forcible deportation by force of arms, raids upon civilian population and regions, with senseless destruction of their property (S (1944) 674, item 129).

"The ethnic purge is a target-oriented policy worked out by one ethnic or religious group with the aim to force the civilian population to leave a particular geographical region, using the methods of terror towards another ethnic or religious group; for the most part it is implemented through of a territory using such driving forces as pseudo-nationalism, historical injustice and revenge, towards that group or groups" (S (1994) 674, item 130).

The UNO General Assembly agreed that ethnic purge is a form of genocide (Res. 47/121, 1992, December 17).

It is noteworthy, that the executors of a genocide or ethnic purge are subject to international jurisdiction, to the International Tribunal's jurisdiction, regardless of the rulings of the national court concerning their punishment.

Therefore, the present-day international law formulated the ethnic purge as one of the most cruel and mass form of crime committed

against humaneness, defined its juridical nature, subject and object, the form of personal responsibility of those persons who commit that international crime.

The Abkhazian separatist regime fits the above definition of the crime in every detail. I have already mentioned, that the Georgian Procurator's Office has completed the investigation of the crimes committed in the territory of Abkhazia, qualified it as genocide and ethnic purge, stipulated in Article 65, item of the Georgian criminal code which provides for a severe punishment for the crime committed against humanity. The records of the case describing the atrocities in Abkhazia are collected in more than 300 volumes. But the territory in which all those brutal acts were committed is still under the control of the separatists, and they are now trying to hide the traces of the manslaughter by destroying the graves of the victims.

The attempts of the separatists and their inspirators from the neighbouring country to hide the abominable crime committed in Abkhazia against the Georgian independent state and the Georgian people, to conceal the conspiracy against Georgia, must be opposed by the unshakeable will of our country's leaders, as well as of UNO and the world's public, so that, those who are guilty of the Abkhazian tragedy, were put on a trial by the International Court on the basis of the investigation materials provided by the Georgian Procurator's Office and the Abkhazian Procurator's Office in more than 200 volumes.

Referring in the circumstances of the criminal case of genocide against the Georgian population in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, the Georgian Procurator General's Office made a conclusion, which pointed out the following

"That abominable criminal tragedy which occurred in Abkhazia and was aimed at the Georgian population calls for legal assessment by those international standards which are applied in regulating relations between nations and by which the whole civilized world is guided."

In the course of the investigation over 25 000 witnesses and victims were examined, a great deal of documents, video and photo materials were discovered, expert examinations were carried out. As a result of the work of dozens of detectives and operations officers over 200 thick volumes of cases were made up, and finally it was concluded that the aggressive separatism had been fostered

and developed in Abkhazia during many years. That conspiracy against statehood had always been led by the communist party and soviet nomenclature of Abkhaz nationality at the head of the Abkhazian autonomous Republic, who had personal contacts with the Russian imperial forces."

Starting from 1960s, the highest rank officials of the Abkhazian administration and governmental bodies, as well as some other people, had made up an extremist group of plotters whose purpose was to restrict Georgian's sovereign rights, disintegrate her territory and secede Abkhazia from Georgia by force of arms.

In order to achieve that goal and mislead the world's public, the extremists deliberately and methodically distorted and falsified the historical truth, used political insinuations, imposed their own interpretation of the events, made up legends about occupation of the Abkhazian territory by Georgians, oppression and physical extermination of the Abkhaz people.

For dozens of years the separatists had been spreading their man-hating doctrine proclaiming impossibility of peaceful coexistence of the Abkhaz and Georgian peoples, arousing national intolerance, pushing them towards complete separation and opposition.

As a consequence: an armed struggle for realization of "the rights of self-affirmation", using fascist methods; disintegration of the territory of the state; state policy of extermination and persecution of ethnic groups with the aim to change the demographic pattern.

They kept convincing the Muslims of other countries that Caucasus was a single and inseparable region for them and asked for support and help under the pretext of being exterminated by Georgians.

The separatists were methodically and systematically using the national-political organization Aidgilara whose main task was to falsify the past history of the Abkhaz-Georgian relations.

The materials in the case include the evidences of the anti-state activity of the leaders of Aidgilara and other political organizations.

The evidences studied by the Georgian General Procurator's Office and Abkhazian Procurator's Office also prove that the Russian society "The Slavonic Home" was fulfilling the orders of the Russian special services.

The material collected in the Procurator's Office evidence that the Abkhazian separatists administration developed the practice of illegal

registration of residence in the country, meanwhile prohibiting such residence to Georgians and giving the permission to representatives of other countries who were coming to Abkhazia to support the separatists and later to take part in the war as "boeviks". Abkhazia seems to have pioneered the official protectionist policy towards the "boeviks" institution.

As the materials of the investigations evidence, the genocide and ethnic purge in the territory of Abkhazia took the lives of 5 738 Georgians: 483 in Gagra zone, 238 in Sokhumi district, 1 148 in Sokhumi, 1 232 in Gulripshi area, 851 in Ochamchira area, 1 553 in Gali area, 147 in Gudauta area, 20 in Tkvarcheli. Of those victims, 70 were children, 706 women, over 50% were old people. About 600 disappeared without a trace.

According to the data in the materials, the total number of people forced to leave their home-land is 267 345, of which 73 178 from Sokhumi and Sokhumi district, 25 403 from Gagra, 34 587 from Gulripshi, 85 678 from Gali, 38 312 from Ochamchira, 6 719 from Gudauta, and 3 468 from Tkvarcheli.

A special subject of accusation should be the barbaric treatment of the Georgian religious and cultural monuments. The armed bands brought down to ruins Bedia Cathedral, Gali ethnographic museum, razed to the ground the monuments of Shota Rustaveli in Sokhumi, Gali and Gagra, the bust of Akaki Tsereteli in Sokhumi. On 27 September 1993 they burnt down the Georgian fund of the Republican Library of Methodical Literature named after I. Papaskiri, just as all the Georgian manuscripts kept in other libraries of Abkhazia; set fire to Georgian Schools.

They destroyed, completely or partially, the Orthodox churches in Sokhumi and Ilori, and Kamani Monastery in the village Shroma, where during the warfare the boeviks tortured and killed the priest Andria and the restorer of the Kamani church Yuri Anua, an Abkhazian.

The material damaged caused by the armed conflict in Abkhazia estimated according to the data in the investigation evidences, amounted to 3.12 billion US dollars; the damage incurred to the private property of the people (excluding the value of the dwelling areas) was 5.18 billion dollars; the loss of the national product for 1993 – 1998 amounted to 2.41 billion dollars. The total sum of the damage and losses came up to 10.7 billion US dollars.

The bombing of the towns and villages, robbing, burglary and looting carried out by the separatists and their supporters incurred huge damage to numerous representatives of other nationalities inhabiting Abkhazia; many of them fell victims to the conflict, many had to leave their homes and became refugees.

Proceeding from all that was said above, there naturally arise the following questions: Who can put an end to the separatists' vandalism and by what means? and Whether the currently operating peacemaker troops have a wish or ability to provide security to the Georgian population? The documents at the disposal of the Georgian Procurator's Office indicate that their presence in the territory of Georgia in the current form is absolutely hopeless, because being stationed on the r. Inguri bank they actually function as frontier guards, protecting only the interests of the Abkhaz separatists, encouraging them in their criminal activities, never taking any measures to provide for the most essential conditions for the persecuted and exiled people to come back to their own houses. The failure to do it is an indication of protection of the separatists' cause and of violation of the human rights of about 300 000 people.

The legal bodies of the false self-styled republic in the territory of Abkhazia fully neglect the commonly acknowledged international legal principles and, opposing the Georgian Constitution and other official regulations, falsify the evidences, conduct biased and unilateral investigations, arrest the Georgian citizens inhabiting Abkhazia, sentence them to imprisonment, frequently, to the capital punishment. Such was the case with a Georgian citizen Ruzden Gogokhia, who escaped the capital punishment only with the interference of international organizations. Several inhabitants of the village Nabakevi in Gali area were illicitly convicted on false evidence and sentenced to imprisonment for different terms. They were arrested on 24 May 1998 — Gia Kardava, Shukri Lashkhia, Murtaz Ekhvaya and others.

This book provides only those facts which we witnessed and proved; however, we know nothing about those who disappeared without any trace and what fate had the unpunished separatist regime prepared for them.

There are numerous facts exposing the violation of the constitutional human rights, and it is a source of the refugees' discontent which they express various means or actions.

There are numerous facts evidencing faithfulness of some Abkhazians to their Georgian brethren as well as representatives of other nationalities whom they helped risking their own lives and fates, frequently total strangers to them.

Thus, the brutalized separatists failed to affect the whole Abkhazia, and this what gives us hope that time will come when we shall regain peaceful life in a single, traditionally inseparable country. The true noble Abkhazians, the heirs of such people as the Sharvashidzes, the Anchabadzes, the Emkhvaris, the Marshanias, Raul Eshba, Yuri Anua and many others demand that Ardzinba and his companions should be punished for all those atrocities and the heavy damage to Abkhazia and its population, in particular, to the cultural (and as I strongly believe genetic) unity of our people.

The innumerable volumes of the criminal case expose the evidences proving concrete instances of the crimes committed by the organizers and executors of the genocide; so that we are now able to assess the man — hating, fascist character of the aggressive separatism, the Abkhaz separatists' pseudo-legal outlook concerning the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia, and the apartheid practice raised to the lever of the state policy.

The investigation has exposed over 20 organizers and instigators those abominable crimes, over 800 executors whose hands are literally covered with the blood of the Georgians.

The investigations have proved, as well, that all that happened in Abkhazia and is still going on is not only an ethnically motivated conflict. It was an armed conflict skillfully organized by the Russian state leaders, a real conspiracy against the independent Georgian state which they implemented with the help of the Abkhazian separatists, whose revolt they themselves had instigated, and the North Caucasian Confederates also organized by the Russian special services.

The Georgian President created a special committee which had worked long and hard and came to a firm conclusion, based on absolutely solid and reliable evidences, that confirmed the genocide and ethnic purge of the Georgian population in Abkhazia during the military conflict, which has been qualified by the international law as the heaviest crime against humaneness.

Since the day when the combat operation in Abkhazia ceased, or rather, when Abkhazia was occupied, the legitimate government of

the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic which is now in exile, has been demanding punishment for the instigators of the separatist criminal regime, and urgent implementation of Article 7 of the UN Charter which provides for forcible establishment of peace in the zones of conflict.

After the Georgian Procurator's Office has made firm conclusions on the basis of the investigation results, officially proclaiming the Abkhaz separatists guilty of the crimes against humanity — genocide and ethnic purge against Georgians, the UNO and the respective commissions of the Human Rights Committee must not ignore those conclusions, taking into consideration the fact that the UNO Security Council, the European Security and Cooperation Organization and the Commonwealth of the Independent States have already condemned the ethnic purge committed by the Abkhaz separatists and adopted corresponding resolutions.

The UNO Committee of Human Rights should officially condemn the ethnic purge which the separatists have been and are still conducting in Abkhazia (Georgia), and join in the investigation process in order to expose those crimes so that the case be taken to the International Tribunal in the Hague on the basis of the UN Security Council's resolution 808(1992); the Security Council might even broaden the jurisdiction of the Tribunal.

Every resolution of the UN Security Council emphasized the principle of inviolability of Georgian's territory, but since the process of peaceful and political settlement has come to a dead point, the demands set forth in the resolutions have to be expressed in a stricter and firmer form and include a concrete activity programme.

Unfortunately, the latest resolution of the UN Security Council expressed rather a cautious and reserved approach to separatism, instead of implementing the provisions of Article 7 of the UN Charter to reach a solution of that long and hopeless process.

The most recent report of the UN Secretary General fails to reflect fully the continuing persecution and extermination of the civilian Georgian population in the territory of Abkhazia.

The reader can easily guess that the primary reason of all this is Russia. The UNO and its member countries cannot safely ignore Russia and so avoid opposing it; meanwhile at every session of the Security Council on the Abkhazian issues, Russia maximally exercises

its right of veto with the only purpose to prolong the life of separatism, in this way securing its own position in the de facto seceded Georgian land of Abkhazia.

But everything has its limits. Owing to its own imperial ambitions, Russia has lost a lot to the civilized world: the Russian army had to leave Europe, lost East Germany, even failed to save the Soviet Union from collapse.

We, Georgians, must hope and believe that if our government principally and categorically demands that Russia should not interfere with Georgia's domestic affairs, it would be obliged to give up its colonial policy against Georgia.

The present day situation related to the Abkhazian problem is such that what we have achieved is not sufficient, and to regain the land of our fathers, which is spiritually and genetically Georgian, we must start everything anew.

Considering, in particular, that since the initial period of the conflict, the Abkhaz separatists have been violating all the agreements and blocked up all the ways for the refugees and exiled people to return to their homeland, the Georgian administration ought to change its currently pursued course of policy towards Abkhazia and direct all its efforts towards restoration of the disintegrated territory and defence of the right of 300 000 people to return to the places of their permanent residence, without any conditions and urgently.

Everything must be done to reach that goal and ensure isolation of the separatist regime. The armed forces have to be strengthened so that they could become a guarantor of inviolability of our jurisdiction, both against the external enemy, and the extremists within our own territory.

There is no historical precedent of peaceful restoration of a territory that had been seceded by force of arms. It is therefore nothing but an illusion to expect that we shall manage to return Abkhazia painlessly and ensure security for the local Georgian population there.

Restoration of the historical legitimacy and justice in Abkhazia will be possible only by using sensibly the armed force, which does not imply large — scale warfare in the territory of Abkhazia, as it is done in Chechnya by Russia.

It would be erroneous and superficial to suppose that the war in Abkhazia has finished. Any politician or expert thinking in this way fails to realize that there is no longer normal life beyond the r. Inguri,

and fails to assess properly the psychological, physical and material conditions in which hundreds of thousands of people have found themselves in exile.

The UNO has to make the respective items in the Security Council resolutions more demanding and to provide for effective realization of Article 7 of the UN Charter implying forcible establishment of peace.

Our people should not feel fear or despair because the tragedy in Abkhazia was a result of the external enemy's conspiracy, which was realized, with the help of the treacherous separatist leaders. If the people unite to defend our cause in Abkhazia and Samachablo (Tskhinvali region) we can manage to defeat even the most powerful enemy, particularly now, that Russia is hardly as powerful as it used to be, and would not dare to oppose the democratic world. The Georgian administration can therefore put forward its demands more principally and unshakably and regain the seceded Georgian land for the people to live peacefully in their own homes.

At the turn of 21st century Georgia must by no means yield her indigenous lands, Abkhazia and Samachablo, to anyone. Otherwise, Georgia will be deprived of her future, **"the state will perish, and the Georgian nation will begin to degrade."** (Akaki Bakradze. The Wrong Road. 1995, p. 360).

Today everyone, be it an ordinary citizen or a member of the state administration, must act as the situation requires, and the situation, in the first place, requires victory in this unfinished war; but **"a victory in a war depends not only on the soldiers, but also on the whole nation united by a single goal, single will. Those who are stealing and robbing people are not just mere criminals, they are undermining the power of the country and must be tried and convicted by the laws of war"** (Akaki Bakradze. The Wrong Road. 1995, p. 361).

Georgia will never remain Georgia without Abkhazia and Samachablo (Tskhinvali region). So, our nearest future is going to be a most complicated and hard period awaiting our centuries—old country. The UNO and European organizations, for the sake of security and safety within their own member—countries, ought to more clearly define their policy maintaining principal and unyielding positions.

As for the situation inside this country, the greatest hazard to its defensive potential is corruption and it must be uprooted.

When speaking of the use of force for regaining Abkhazia, the legitimate government of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic in exile in the first place implies that the country should possess the potential abilities for that particular method, and in this case it may not even have to resort to demonstration of force, and the small criminal group of separatists will be easily isolated without warfare. However, it ought to be kept in mind, that only punitive measures alone will hardly ensure the desired result, neither will they uproot the conflict. Only a comprehensive approach to the problem will help us settle it completely.

It is absolutely necessary to introduce democratic principles into the society involved in the conflict to guide it towards civilized and stable co-existence.

But it is only and only the administration of the country that can and must create the pre-requisites for realization of all this. The leaders of the state must seek for reliable cooperation with various international organizations in order to expose the criminal ideology of separatism to them, to convince the world that the separatist gang must be punished



Tbilisi. September 27, 1998. The Pantheon of the victims of the Abkhazian war. President of Georgia E. Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Council T. Nadareishvili, Chairman of the Georgian parliament Z. Zhvania.

according to the law and, at the same time, to maintain and strengthen the goodwill among the people in both parties of the conflict.

It is obvious, that the whole Abkhazian people who had lived in peaceful coexistence with the Georgians within a single state of Georgia for many centuries does not share the Abkhaz separatist policy. Majority of the Abkhazians, just as the Georgians driven out of the territory of Abkhazia by force of arms, feel very keenly about what has happened, and both are dreaming of regaining a peaceful life side by side on their common native land.

Certain improvements in the relations between the Abkhazians and Georgians could be provided by public diplomacy.

The Abkhazian problem ought to be regarded as a military – political conflict with a neighbouring country which had made up an alliance with the small group of separatists who are pursuing their foul political plots, neglecting and fully denying the historical, religious, cultural and genetic unity of the Abkhazian and Georgian peoples. This is why the problem has to be treated comprehensively, through a complex of measures: on the one hand, by taking legal action against the instigators and executors of the genocide and ethnic purge, and on the other, by public diplomacy, negotiations and dialogues aimed at restoring human relationships and enhancing the factor of the goodwill.



27 September, 1999.

The Monastery of Martkopi became a temporary residence for the Tskhum – Abkhazian eparchy. The Georgian Catholicos – Patriarch Ilya II held a service in memory of those who had perished in the Abkhazian war and gave a memorial repast in the Monastery.

RESOLUTION

of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic
on the Essential Principles of Restoration of the Territorial Integrity
of Georgia and Settlement of the Abkhazian Conflict

Tbilisi

2 December 1999

On 2 December 1999 in the city of Tbilisi the members of the Abkhazian Supreme Council and representatives of the persecuted and exiled population met at the enlarged session to express a principal and unshakable wish to maintain freedom, state independence and territorial integrity of Georgia, and made a firm and final decision concerning those principles which we consider to be fundamental at the current historical stage of settling the problem of Georgia's territorial integrity.

Guided by the great historical goal of confirming the independence of Georgia, strengthening Georgia's statehood and prosperity, restoring Georgia's territorial integrity, realizing our responsibility before the nation's future generations, we proclaim those political, juridical, historical and moral principles that are to underlie our policy and our efforts to restore the territorial integrity of Georgia:

1. Abkhazia was, is and shall be an inseparable part of single independent Georgia. It is the Georgian people's most sacred and irrefutable sovereign right to restore Georgia's territorial integrity by political means as well as forcibly, by crushing the external armed forces. The Georgian nation shall not cede its own territory; the Georgian people shall never submit to violation of the territorial integrity of Georgia. Therefore, there is no prospect for real peace and stability in Georgia until Abkhazia has de facto been returned.

2. The tragedy in Abkhazia cannot be assessed as a conflict between Georgians and Abkhazians. It was and is a military – political conflict between Russia and Georgia. By means of undeclared war Russia realized armed aggression against Georgia with the help of the Abkhaz separatists, as a result of which Georgia's historically inseparable part,

Abkhazia, is now occupied by Russian armed forces and illegal aggressive separatist forces under Russia's subordination.

3. Russia carried out war in Abkhazia with the help of its regular army troops, militarized units made up from Russian citizens, local anti-state separatist and intelligence forces, supporting them physically, materially, technically, financially and ideologically both through official and unofficial ways.

4. In Abkhazia Russia was and is fighting against Georgia's independence, integrity and statehood. The goal of the Russian aggression against Georgia is to prevent and completely block up the sovereign and democratic development of Georgia, the process of her introduction into the political, economic, military and strategic space of the free and civilized western world, and above all not to let Georgia free herself from the Russian empire's sphere of influence and to induce hacking up and fall of the Georgian national state.

5. Russia cannot be a mediator in the settlement of the current conflict, because in respect to Georgia, Russia is an aggressor and in the current conflict it is actually the guilty side. Like an aggressor, Russia violated Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity by force of arms. Russia occupied the territory of Georgia in Abkhazia and northern Inner Kartli.

6. Genocide and ethnic purge aimed at the Georgian and non-Georgian population were carried out in Abkhazia. Numerous facts of mass slaughter and persecution, torturing, humiliation and insult were recorded. The Russian aggression had resulted in thousands of killed, injured and crippled people, hundreds of thousands of homeless people who became refugees in their own homeland, billions of US dollar worth material damage and losses incurred upon the country and the people.

7. The armed aggression in Abkhazia is just another manifestation and a continuation of the aggression unleashed by the Soviet Bolsheviks in February 1921 against independent democratic Georgia whose sovereignty had been recognized by the League of Nations and many states of the world including Russia itself. Russia has to be acknowledged responsible for the armed aggression against Georgia and condemned by the international law. Georgia must firmly and officially take legal action against Russia for the aggression and

demand that all the countries and international organizations should impose respective sanctions upon Russia.

8. All kinds of Russian armed forces and military bases dislocated in the territory of Georgia must be withdrawn fully, without any conditions or exceptions, including the so-called peacemaker troops stationed in Zugdidi and Gali regions.

9. We principally and unshakably support the international organizations – the UNO, the OCSE, the European Council, the European Union, the NATO – in their activities and great efforts in the cause of restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity. Should the restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity require participation of the international armed force, in the respective legal form, this force ought to come from the NATO, UNO, or OCSE contingent, rather than from Georgia's neighbouring country which has special interest towards Georgia.

10. The radical and full-scale settlement of conflict in Abkhazia implies: complete liberation of the occupied territory, and true restoration of the territorial integrity on the basis of its formal return, the said territory being under full-scale and inviolable jurisdiction of Georgia, creation of absolutely safe conditions for the civilian population and, finally, only after that, return of the driven away and persecuted people to their own homes.

11. Legal action ought to be taken against everyone; who took part in the armed aggression and war against Georgia, genocide and ethnic purge of Georgians, as dangerous state criminals, regardless of nationality, citizenship, political belief, sex, age, and official position, on the charges of armed aggression against independence and territorial integrity of Georgia, and of genocide and ethnic purge of Georgians.

12. The conflict in Abkhazia is by no means a national liberation movement of Abkhazian national minority in the territory of Georgia. It is only and only Russia's armed aggression against Georgia and the Georgian nation and, consequently a most heavy crime against Georgia as a sovereign state from the point of view of the international law.

13. Before the real restoration of the Georgian territorial integrity and the elections of a new local administration that should follow a safe return of the driven out and persecuted population to the

deoccupied area, the only representative, lawful and legitimate body of power in Abkhazia is the Supreme Council of Abkhazia elected on 27 October 1991 and currently staying in exile due to the war and armed aggression unleashed by Russia against Georgia. The Supreme Council of Abkhazia represents Abkhazia inside and outside the country, as a local legitimate power of an administrative – territorial part of Georgia and the only lawful representative body for over 300 000 citizens of Georgia forced to stay in exile.

14. Since the regime currently existing in the occupied territory is fully supported by the armed aggression against Georgia and the consequences of that aggression, and since this regime is the immediate and active accomplice of the hideous crime against sovereign Georgia and her population, it must be recognized absolutely unacceptable and inadmissible to carry out any negotiations or dialogues with the separatist administration of Abkhazia, either on the matter of settlement of the conflict, or definition of Abkhazia's status. The representatives of the regime artificially created by the enemy in the occupied territory must be seriously and officially, at all levels, called to account and offered to quit and surrender to the central Georgian power in the presence of international supervisors and observers, in accordance with the international norms and rulings. Punishment of the criminals is a condition necessary to ensure restoration of kind relationships between the Georgian and Abkhaz populations.

We, the participants of the session of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic proclaim that every statement in this Resolution expresses a realistic and lawful, unbiased position from the political, legal, historical, moral and humane points of view, aimed at overcoming the consequences of Russian aggression and restoring Georgia's territorial integrity. In order that the statements of this Resolution should be realized, the Georgian administration and the world's democratic powers must intensify their efforts to achieve restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity and a radical, full – scale settlement of the conflict, including restoration of normal relations between the Abkhazian and the Georgian populations.

With the decisions made at this session and complete and clearly defined positions starts a new stage in the process of restoration of the Georgian territory, liberation of the occupied territories, withdrawal

of the Russian bases and army forces from Georgia, strengthening of Georgia's sovereignty. We, the participants of the Session confirm our unshakable will to observe to the principles and positions stated in the Resolution; we declare to the Georgian people and to the civilized world that the struggle for the integrity of the Georgian land and strengthening of independence of Georgia is still going on!

Chairman of the Supreme Council of the
Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

T. Nadareishvili

P.S. The resolution of the session of the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic was acknowledged and adopted by all the deoccupation committee's members – political parties, public organizations, parliamentary fraction "Abkhazeti" and representatives of the exiled population driven out of Abkhazia at their joint conference in Tbilisi on 16 December 1999.

THE ABKHAZIAN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC'S LEGITIMATE BODIES IN EXILE

THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ABKHAZIAN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC

consists of 25 deputies elected in Abkhazia.

The Supreme Council functions:

Presidium of the Supreme Council – 9 members, four permanent committees:

- on human rights and problems of refugees,
- on constitutional and juridical legal issues,
- on economy, finance and budget,
- on information and ideology;

three sub-committees:

- on the problems of persecuted persons and refugees,
- on relations with political parties and public organizations,
- on foreign relations.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ABKHAZIAN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC

The supreme executive – administrative body

The executive power involves:

11 ministries of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, 13 state departments, 9 head boards, 5 state inspectorates.

Main ministries and offices:

- Ministry of education
- Ministry of culture
- Ministry of refugees and settlement
- Ministry of internal affairs

- Ministry of state security
- Ministry of finance
- Ministry of justice
- Ministry of social security
- Ministry of labour and employment
- Ministry of information
- Ministry of health

The Supreme Court of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic
17 members, 5 juridical boards, 4 municipal and district Courts.
The Courts examine cases of refugees all over Georgia.

The Procurator's Office of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

4 municipal, and district Offices.

The Control Chamber of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

The Council of Justice of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

The Head Intelligence Office of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

The Missions of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

- in the Ajara Autonomous Republic
- in Samegrelo and Upper Svaneti
- in Imereti
- in Guria
- in t. Poti
- in Senaki
- in Khobi
- in Moscow, Kiev, Sochi
- in Turkey
- in Egypt

The mass media of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic

- a state television company
- a central newspaper, The Apkhazetis Khma.
- 8 local newspapers and 3 central magazines

Education

There are 8 state and commercial higher education institutions functioning in exile in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Poti, Zugdidi, Senaki and Zestafoni, training over 12 700 students.

The State University of Sokhumi (located in Tbilisi): 7 departments, 22 specialties, about 5 500 students, 70 doctors and 180 candidates of sciences, about 400 professors and teachers.

Sokhumi Institute named after I. Vekua (in Poti and Tbilisi): 5 departments, 12 specialties, over 2 000 students, about 300 professors and teachers.

There are 55 comprehensive secondary school in different places of Georgia, teaching over 8 000 children and employing over 1 500 teachers.

For infants of pre-school age there are 8 kindergartners for 140 infants.

Over 600 youngsters are trained at 4 specialized secondary education establishments and colleges.

During the period of exile the creative research work has been going on: over 400 dissertations have been defended for doctors' and candidates''

Degrees in economics, mathematics, history, linguistics and others. Over 30 young scientist are being trained abroad.

The Abkhazian regional organization of the Georgian Academy of Sciences is carrying out successful scientific and organizational work.

Health Care

There are 33 medical establishment for the exiled Abkhazian population functioning all over Georgia: 10 polyclinics, 11 outpatient clinics employing about 1 000 doctors and medical staff living in exile.

Culture and Sport

The companies of Sokhumi drama theatre named after K. Gamsakhurdia and Sokhumi children's theatre The Wave are working successfully and have gained popularity with the public.

There are several companies such as Abkhazian Company of Song and Dance, women's vocal – choreographic company Khalisi, dancing company Imedi, Children's dancing company, choreographic company Sameba, women's ensemble Tetri Mandili, vocal – choreographic groups Mshvidobis Mtredebi, Iverioni, Sokhumi and others. In 1999 Sokhumi drama theatre became a prize – winner of the international festival in Cairo, Egypt, while the Abkhazian Song and Dance company won the Grand – prix at folk festival in France.

At Georgian children's folk dance competitions the children from Abkhazia won 3 gold, 6 silver and 3 bronze medals. Ensembles Tskhumi and Apkhazeti were also awarded prizes.

Sportsmen exiled from Abkhazia made a great contribution to the country's success in sports. During the period of 1998 – 99 they participated in world and European competitions and won 4 gold, 2 silver and 1 bronze medals. The football teams of Sokhumi, Ochamchira, Gagra, Gali and Sokhumi University basketball team regularly participate in the Georgian championships. Over 1 100 sportsmen are members of restored sport clubs and societies.

Force Structures and Law Enforcement Bodies

During the period of exile the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic carried out radical reforms. Within a short time over 1 000 of people, scattered all over Georgia and even in other former Soviet Republics, were gathered, professionally tested and employed in the departments of the Ministry. Besides, many promising young people with the war experience were selected and employed. At present the staff of the Abkhazian Ministry of Internal Affairs amounts to 2 000 professionals. There are three special task units, consisting of representatives of the Abkhaz population in exile. In Tkibuli is stationed and trained a battalion of Abkhazian internal

army, consisting both of young recruits paying the compulsory service, and persons serving on the contract basis.

The Ministry of State Security is functioning at a full – scale, with its whole staff. There has been created a special task subunit, which is undergoing specific training preparing them for the process of restoration of the territorial integrity of Georgia.

The Abkhazian State Defence Special Service operates over the whole territory of Georgia, in particular, to provide defence of special important points and serve as personal bodyguards for official persons in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The Procurator's Office of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic never stopped or reduced its duties; its huge efforts have resulted in fulfilling the first stage of the criminal case of the genocide and ethnic purge against the Georgian population in Abkhazia. The criminal case summed up in 200 thick volumes contains evidences proving the crimes and exposing the organizers and executors of the genocide. Proceeding from the materials supplied by the Procurator's Office of Abkhazia, the Supreme Court of Abkhazia has already convicted the participants of the genocide of Georgians and sentenced them to 14–15 years of imprisonment. The Procurator's Office has also issued sanctions to arrest those organizers and executors of the genocide who are hiding from law in the occupied territory of Abkhazia.

The work is underway in **the Abkhazian Procurator's Office** to provide the legal basis to the problems of distribution of humanitarian assistance and benefits allotted for the refugees. Besides, it considers the cases of crimes committed by persons in exile.

The Intelligence Department of Abkhazia keeps working at a full swing, analyzes and submits daily reports to the Abkhazian authorities about the current events in the occupied Abkhazian territory, delivery of all kinds of cargoes, including weapons and ammunitions into the territory of Abkhazia and about the visits paid to Abkhazia by representative of foreign countries, particularly, of Russia. The Intelligence Department obtains important information from countries bordering with Abkhazia.

An intensive work proceeds in the Supreme Court of justice and Ministry of Justice of Abkhazia. To the request of Abkhazian Supreme Council a draft project of a new edition of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic's constitution has been worked out, considered and approved by the Supreme Council at the Presidium meeting and will soon be published for the broad public.

The Ministry of Justice guides the work of all those offices, which deal with restoration of documents lost by the refugees and issues certificates of birth, marriage and other civil statuses required. It also keeps records of all the organizations, funds, societies, associations of the refugees; registers and checks up the conformity of the acts adopted by the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic's state bodies and departments to the provisions in the constitutions of Georgia and Abkhazia.

A perceptible advance is being made in the work of the military commissariat of the Autonomous Republic, registering the young people exiled from Abkhazia, the war veterans, the injured, the families of those who perished or were lost and are considered missing; it also extends assistance to the war invalids and veterans in settling the problems of pensions, insurance and other necessary documents. During the period of exile, over 18 600 compulsory military equipment, transport and other technical devices have been repaired and registered. The young people – refugees from Abkhazia are recruited on the regular basis and trained, as law requires it.

Economy and Social Security

The Abkhazian Autonomous Republic's economy is currently represented by 5 industrial and 108 commercial units. The consumer goods and services supplied in 1999 amounted to 32 568 000 GEL. The joint – stock company Hidrospetsgvirabmsheni alone carried out 4 972 000 GEL worth repairs at the Inguri hydropower station. Trust No 6 of the Republic's department of urbanization and residential construction carried out 2 000 000 GEL worth repairs and restorations

of educational, health care and other objects in the r. Kodori gorge, Gulripshi area.

The Abkhazian tax inspection office provided 2 090 300 GEL for the budget in 1999 of which 939 700 went into the state budget, and 1 150 500 into the Abkhazian budget.

In the same period the income into the central budget supplied by the customs office of Abkhazia amounted to 2 244 000 GEL.

In the town of Kutaisi operates a major joint-stock company Sokhmkhelsatskhi employing over 250 qualified workers.

The staff of the Tbilisi Chemical Factory is successfully working in Tbilisi and has more than once distributed the produce among the refugees.

Land plots of a total area of 2 260 ha were given in temporary possession to 5 700 refugee families in different areas of Georgia, over 1815 ha being allotted to over 21 000 refugees in Samegrelo region.

The world food programme "Food for Work" employs 1 200 refugees working on 500 ha of land lots growing one-year crops; 300 more people work with perennial crops; 250 people are engaged in melioration.

In 1999 the refugees sowed corn on 2 000 ha, vegetables on 150 ha and gourds on 50 ha in west Georgian regions.

The refugees are served by 27 credit unions uniting 840 refugees, which were granted 138 600 GEL by the Government of France in the form of floating capital. During the exile period in 1998–99, the airline services of Abkhazia arranged over 350 flights, carried over 65 000 passengers and over 800 tons of loads.

The airline company Abavia employs a staff of 150 members, 4 airplanes; there are 8 vessels of the sea fleet. The railway services employ 341 workers, 10 electric locomotives, 5 diesel locomotives, 26 electric trains, 23 passenger carriages. The Abkhazian railway serves the Tbilisi – Zugdidi line, as well as Kutaisi – Zugdidi and Kutaisi – Poti lines.

A full list of the damage incurred by the war both in the state and the private sectors has been drawn up.

However, there are certain forces that are trying to discredit the legitimate government, spreading gossips and rumours about some fantastic blames, and in this way, willingly or unwillingly, are playing into the enemy's hands and actually supports those demands that have frequently been set forth by the Abkhaz separatists and their Russian guardians, namely, cancel and dissolve the legitimate government of Abkhazia.

Such blames are frequently made in connection with the distribution of allowances, humanitarian aid and settlement of the refugees' social problems, which are completely beyond the jurisdiction of the Abkhazian legitimate government.

The Supreme Council of Abkhazia declares that the government is functioning in exile and unfortunately has no access to those levers that could improve and regulate the hard conditions in which the refugees are living. That is why we keep bringing up the demand that everything concerning the exiled population of Abkhazia should be charged on their government in exile which must be accountable first to that exiled populations and then to the country's administration.

The opponents of the Abkhazian legitimate government frequently state that the latter exists at the expense of the Georgian central budget, which actually incurs damage upon the exiled population. The exiled Abkhazian government has its own independent budget, its own earned income, more than half of which is regularly put in the central budget. For instance, in the fiscal year 1999 over 6 000 000 GEL were put in the central budget, however only 3 600 000 Lari were received as transfers. At the same time, unlike other regions and despite being exiled, the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic has no benefits of any kind – financial, budget or social. Moreover, we are always very strictly required to pay all the dues, taxes or rates.

Political activities

The exiled Supreme Council of Abkhazia is a political body whose important goal is to break through the information vacuum existing around the tragedy in Abkhazia. It provided the world's public with the factual materials evidencing the genocide and ethnic purge of the Georgians, gave a correct and balanced assessment of the tragedy, pulled at all the available levers to restore Georgia's jurisdiction in Abkhazia and make it possible for the persecuted people and refugees to return to their homes.

The Supreme Council has many times stated in its resolutions that:

- it was not a Georgian – Abkhazian conflict, but rather a military – political conflict instigated by the Russian administration, whose aggression has resulted in the occupation of Abkhazia, an inseparable part of Georgia;
- the Russian state could not and cannot be a mediator in the settlement process because it has from the onset been a party in the conflict;
- Russia's peacemaker troops are actually military fighting units part of which took an active part in the occupation of the Abkhazia, in the genocide and ethnic purge of Georgians. They created and secured a boundary between Abkhazia and the rest of Georgia and are now guarding what they have conquered.

The Supreme Council of Abkhazia also states that the purpose of the instigated conflict was to dash off and then completely block up the process of formation of a democratic state in Georgia, to prevent Georgia from becoming a Europe – oriented country, developing on the basis of democratic principles, to chain her back to Russia and put her under Russian influence for ever, Abkhazia becoming a lever in this pressure upon Georgia; to hinder Georgia's way into the NATO, to prevent implementation of the oil and gas pipeline projects and other transnational and transcontinental projects.

The forces struggling against the independence of Georgia include Russia's official and unofficial bodies, North Caucasian boeviks, Cossaks, Armenians, hired killers from Syria, Turkey, Jordan and other Arabian countries.

The Supreme Council of Abkhazia believes that:

- the Russian peacemaker troops must leave the territory of Georgia and the process of restoration of the country's territorial integrity must be launched by application of force;
- a meeting of the UNO Security Council must recognize the fact of genocide and ethnic purge committed against the Georgian civilian population in Abkhazia; the International Tribunal must be arranged and the Abkhaz separatists must be brought to trial according to the international law;
- on the basis of the UNO Security Council's decision, Article 7 of the UNO Charter must be brought into force, implying military operations carried out to "establish peace by force";
- the persecuted population and refugees must return to Abkhazia without any conditions, with the completely restored Georgian jurisdiction over the whole territory of the Autonomous Republic;
- the international organizations – the UNO, the OSCE, EC, EU, the World Bank, the World Monetary Fund and other governmental and non – governmental organizations should make their contribution to launch the programmes of rehabilitation and restoration of the Autonomous Republic
- every refugee and exiled person must be granted an allowance. The state must fully compensate for the property losses to every person who will return to Abkhazia;
- after all the refugees have returned to their homes, local and parliamentary elections must be carried out in the whole territory of Abkhazia.

The representatives of the legitimate government of Abkhazia have many a time applied with all these and even more vital issues to the world's international organizations and tribunal courts with a request to give an unbiased assessment to the Abkhazian tragedy and ensure

restoration of the territorial integrity of Georgia. The Chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia, member of the Georgian parliament T. Nadareishvili submitted the above stated programmes at a meeting of the UN Security Council in New York, at a meeting of the European Parliament in Vienna, at a EC meeting in Stockholm, at a NATO Political and Military Council meeting in Brussels, before the World Committee on Human Rights in Geneva, before the World Refugees Organization in Geneva, at Moscow summit of the CIS, before the national assemblies and senates of France, Italy, UK, Germany and Belgium.

Delegations of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic's legitimate government attended numerous conferences, seminars, summits and other meetings devoted to the issue of settlement of the Abkhazian conflict.

The legitimate government of Abkhazia, working in close cooperation with the Procurator's Offices of Georgia and Abkhazia, collected and studied numerous documents exposing and proving the genocide and ethnic purge carried out against the Georgian population of Abkhazia. Consequently, proceeding from the materials filed up in 200 thick volumes the Georgian and Abkhazian Procurator's Offices were able to make final conclusions concerning the incontrovertible proof of the genocide and ethnic purge against the civilian Georgian population of Abkhazia.

Plenty of photo and video materials collected during the past years and publicized by the Abkhazian legitimate government missions abroad, filled in a great portion of the information gap beyond the borders of Georgia. That hard work was summed up in the "Black Book" which exposes the separatists, their vandalic, inhuman acts aimed at extermination of 10 000 civilian Georgians only because of their ethnic origin.

The libraries of many countries of the world have received the translated versions of T. Nadareishvili's books "Genocide in Abkhazia", "Conspiracy against Georgia", "Pre-war and Post-war Abkhazia", "Abkhazian Tragedy".

The world's higher political circles have recognized the legitimate government of Abkhazia as the only government, which is actually in exile now. They confirmed it at all their meetings. T. Nadareishvili met all the leaders and heads of the UNO, European Organizations, NATO, the rulers and parliaments of the USA, Germany, Great Britain, Turkey, Russia and other countries.

Being a legislative body, the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic is working hard to adapt the constitution, the code and other legal acts of the Autonomous Republic to those of the Georgian Republic. It makes resolutions concerning the ways and problems of settlement of the Abkhazian conflict, thus defining and formulating the Republic's policy and programme. Acting within the legal framework, it controls the work of its government and fulfills other missions.

The Abkhazian Autonomous Republic delegated its 12 representatives to the Georgian parliament in 1992. The Georgian parliament decided to prolong their powers in the present-day Georgian parliament.

In October 1999 some candidates from the Liberation Party of Abkhazia took part in the elections to the Georgian parliament and several representatives of the party were elected.

There is a fraction Apkhazeti functioning in the current Georgian parliament.

The government, Supreme Council, administrative, legislative and other bodies of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic believe that the territorial integrity of Georgia can be restored and the constitutional order can be established in Abkhazia by means of state armed forces, state ideology, state finance, state structures, state regulations, guarantees and participation of international organizations — all in full compliance with the rulings of the international organizations.

The government of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic believes that Georgia must be a single, independent, democratic state, with Abkhazia as one of her subjects enjoying the highest status of autonomies that exist all over the world.

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