

ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA



MDF
საინფორმაციო მედიის
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MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION



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ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA

MEDIA MONITORING REPORT

2016

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INTRODUCTION

This study presents the analysis of media monitoring carried out by the Media Development Foundation (MDF) during 2016. It reviews anti-Western messages and disinformation disseminated by Georgian media outlets and other sources – politicians, clergy, civil organizations and representatives of society.

The MDF conducted a similar study in 2014–2015. The study has been carried out in partnership with UN Association of Georgia within the framework of USAID’s Promoting Integration, Tolerance and Awareness Program.

This report covers the period from between 1 January and 31 December 2016. The first part of the report highlights key findings of the study, the methodology and provides total quantitative data by sources. The second part of the report reviews propaganda methods and Russian sources. The final part discusses the instances detected within the framework of the Myth Detector project.

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KEY FINDINGS

The monitoring revealed the following trends:

- Much like the previous period (2014–2015)¹, the highest number of anti-Western messages (32.7%) concerned the issues of identity, human rights and values.
- A dominating view was that the West tries to impose homosexuality, incest, pedophilia, zoophilia, perversion and fights against national identity, traditions, Orthodox Christianity, family as a social institution.
- In a number of instances Orthodox Russia was portrayed as the counterweight to the West.
- Compared to previous years, there was an increase seen in messages against NATO (20.1%); this increase was also proved by results of public opinion polls: while in 2013 November, the support for the integration into NATO comprised 81%, this support decreased to 61%, according to the 2016 NDI data.²
- An opinion was promoted that Georgia's integration into NATO would result in the country losing Russia-occupied territories of Abkhazia and Samachablo.
- Block-free status and idea of neutrality were promoted as the counterweight to NATO integration mainly by Nino Burjanadze's political party Democratic Movement – United Georgia.
- Various sources justified Russia's excessive military actions in Syria.
- Statements made against West, in general, comprised 20%, against the USA were at 13.5%, against the EU – 8.9% and against local and international nongovernmental organizations – 4.9%.
- The USA was mainly portrayed as instigator of violence, conflicts, color revolutions and coups.
- The EU and the Association Agreement were equated to the obligation to receive migrants and the threat of terrorism while visa liberalization and European integration were equated to a demographic threat. There were several instances of speculations that the EU imposes an obligation to legalize the trade in human organs.

¹ MDF (2014–2015), Anti-Western Propaganda. <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/15>

² NDI (2016), Public Attitudes in Georgia. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI_November%202016%20poll_political_ENG_vf.pdf

- Calls were heard to ban nongovernmental organizations funded from abroad and international organizations (8) while bringing Russia as the example in this endeavor.
- The main source of anti-western messages was the media which can be divided into two groups: openly pro-Kremlin outlets (Georgia & World, Sakinformi, Politicano) and anti-liberal, ethno-nationalist platforms (Obieqtivi TV, Asaval-Dasavali, Alia) with qualitatively identical messages.
- Eight pro-Kremlin political parties distinguished themselves for their anti-Western narrative; one of these parties – Industry Will Save Georgia – was represented in the parliament majority while the Democratic Movement – United Georgia was represented only on the local government level.
- From among anti-liberal, ethno-nationalist political parties, the only one represented in the parliament is the Alliance of Patriots and their narrative is identical of that of pro-Kremlin parties. The Alliance of Patriots made attempts to shift the emphasis from current threats (Russian occupation) onto historic threats (Ottoman occupation), thereby reopening historic trauma and instilling an opinion that Russia is not the only occupier but Turkey is an occupier too.
- The ruling coalition Georgian Dream was a hybrid association in 2016, with political parties falling within it making statements that ran counter to the government’s officially declared pro-Western course. It is noteworthy that messages of the Democratic Movement – United Georgia and the Georgian Dream against NATO were identical both in quantitative and qualitative terms.
- The majority of nongovernmental organizations distinguished for their anti-Western messages were created after 2012. Two of them (Eurasian Institute and the Global Research Center) have direct links with the International Eurasia Movement, the organization founded by the ideologist of aggressive Russian expansionist policy Aleksandr Dugin, as well as with Lev Gumilev Center.
- As for representatives of society, anti-Western narrative was most frequently heard from viewers of Obieqtivi TV, persons having business and political ties with Russia and representative of so-called Soviet intelligentsia.
- The majority of clergy distinguished for their anti-Western rhetoric belonged to the Patriarchate of Orthodox Church while one of the sources of such rhetoric was a priest with a criminal record of extremist acts (Basil Mkalavishvili).
- Propaganda platforms, when disseminating disinformation, often applies the technique of deflection i.e. avoidance of sources. The checking of fake information showed that largely identical disinformation was published in Russian media outlets or various news satire media outlets.
- Various conspiracy theories, method of demonization and Soviet myths were also actively exploited.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Exposure of disinformation, media studies and surveys of public opinion polls must be continued to analyze sources that shape attitudes of consumers;
- Monitoring should be carried out not only of mainstream media but also of smaller platforms which are multiplied by means of social networks;
- Disinformation should be countered with the provision of verified, factual information to society and this communication should be carried out via mainstream media, not only via online platforms;
- The government must develop an effective communications strategy and promptly react to disinformation disseminated about Euro-Atlantic integration. At the same time, the government and the ruling political force must coordinate their communication and must not become a source of disinformation and myths themselves;
- Since the anti-Western discourse is fed by xenophobia and homophobia, media self-regulation mechanisms must be applied intensively;
- Media literacy programs must be introduced so that citizens develop skills of checking fake information and avoid being consumers and disseminators of disinformation.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects of the monitoring were selected from both mainstream and tabloid media. They were: primetime news and analytical programs of eight broadcasters, namely: Georgian Public Broadcaster (Moambe), Rustavi 2 (Kurieri, P.S.), Imedi (Qronika, Imedis Dro), Maestro (Maestros Kontakti at 20 p.m.), Tabula (Fokusi), GDS (20:30). In the pre-election period, launched on 1 April, the list of subjects extended to include news programs of Obieqtivi TV³ and Kavkasia TV. Six TV talk-shows: Rustavi 2 (Archevani), Imedi (Ghia Eteri), Maestro (Ghamis Kontakti), Obieqtivi (Ghamis Studia), Kavkasia (Barieri, Spektri), Tabula (Teorema). Seven online editions: Sakinformi, Netgazeti, Marshalpress, Interpressnews, Georgia & World, PIA, Kviris Palitra. Four newspapers: Rezonansi, Prime Time, Asaval-Dasavali, Alia.

Apart from the subjects of regular monitoring, the report covers randomly selected disinformation about the West, which was disseminated via social media.

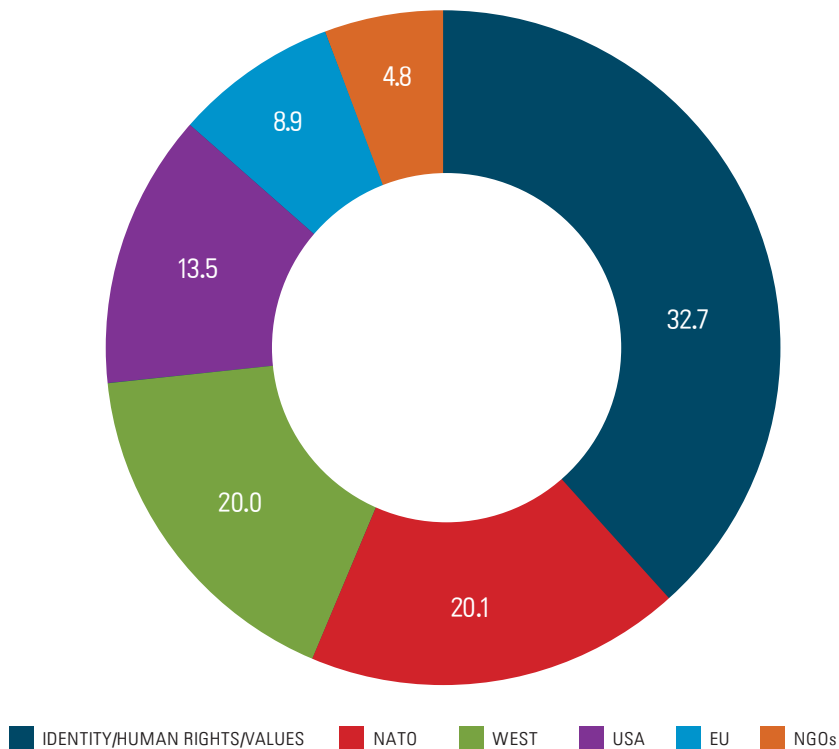
³ Obieqtivi TV launched its news program in May and the monitoring of this program started on 1 June.

The monitoring reflects both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data includes typology of anti-Western messages. Given that political subjects often switched political parties and this process became extremely dynamic in the run up to 2016 parliamentary elections, some subjects may be found in several parties, depending on their affiliation to this or that political party at the moment of making relevant statements.

OVERALL DATA

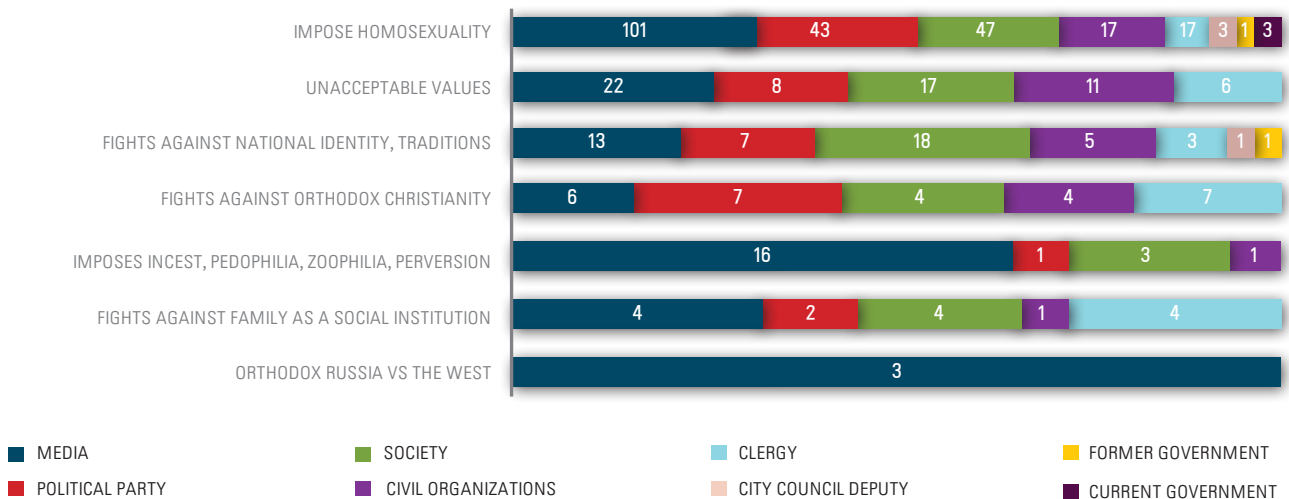
The total of 1,258 anti-Western messages were analyzed. Alike the previous period, the majority of them (32.7%) concerned issues of identity, human rights and values. The increase was seen in anti-NATO messages (20.1%). By the amount of disinformation, the list is continued with general anti-Western messages (20%), statements against the USA (13.5%), messages against the EU (8.9%) and statements against local and international nongovernmental organizations (4.8%).

Figure 1. Typology of anti-Western messages



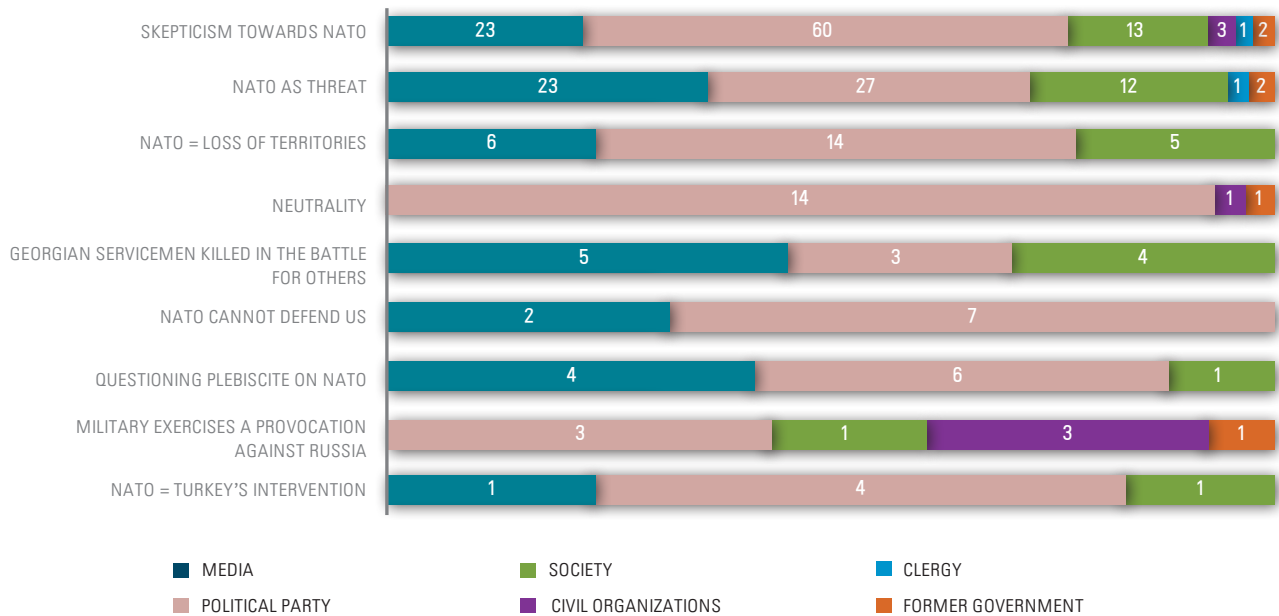
IDENTITY/HUMAN RIGHTS/VALUES. Much like the previous period, the reporting period was dominated by views that the West tries to impose homosexuality (232) and unacceptable values (64), fights against national identity, traditions (48) and Orthodox Christianity (28), tries to impose incest, pedophilia, zoophilia, perversion (21), fights against family as a social institution (15) while emphasizing juvenile justice as a threat. There were instances (3) when Orthodox Russia was portrayed as the counterweight to the West.

Figure 2. Anti-Western messages concerning identity, human rights, values



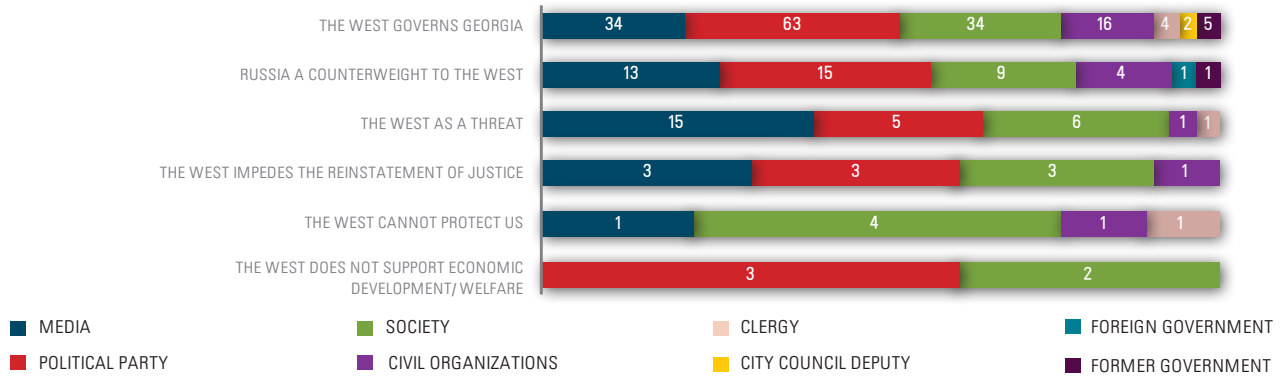
NATO. The most frequently nourished skepticism was that NATO does not need Georgia and the country’s aspiration towards the North-Atlantic Alliance was utopian (102). NATO was portrayed as threat (65) and an opinion was promoted that Georgia’s integration into NATO would result in the loss of Russia-occupied regions of Abkhazia and Samachablo (25). A block-free status and the idea of neutrality as the counterweight to NATO were mostly promoted by Nino Burjanadze’s political party, the Democratic Movement – United Georgia (16). The participation of Georgian military personnel in international missions was portrayed not as a contribution to collective security but as a sacrifice made for others (12). The results of 2008 plebiscite on NATO and consequently, the public support to it were questioned (11). An opinion was promoted that NATO will be unable to defend us (9). NATO-Georgia military exercises were evaluated as a provocation against Russia (8) while the integration into NATO was portrayed as a threat of Turkey’s intervention into Georgia (6).

Figure 3. Anti-Western messages concerning NATO



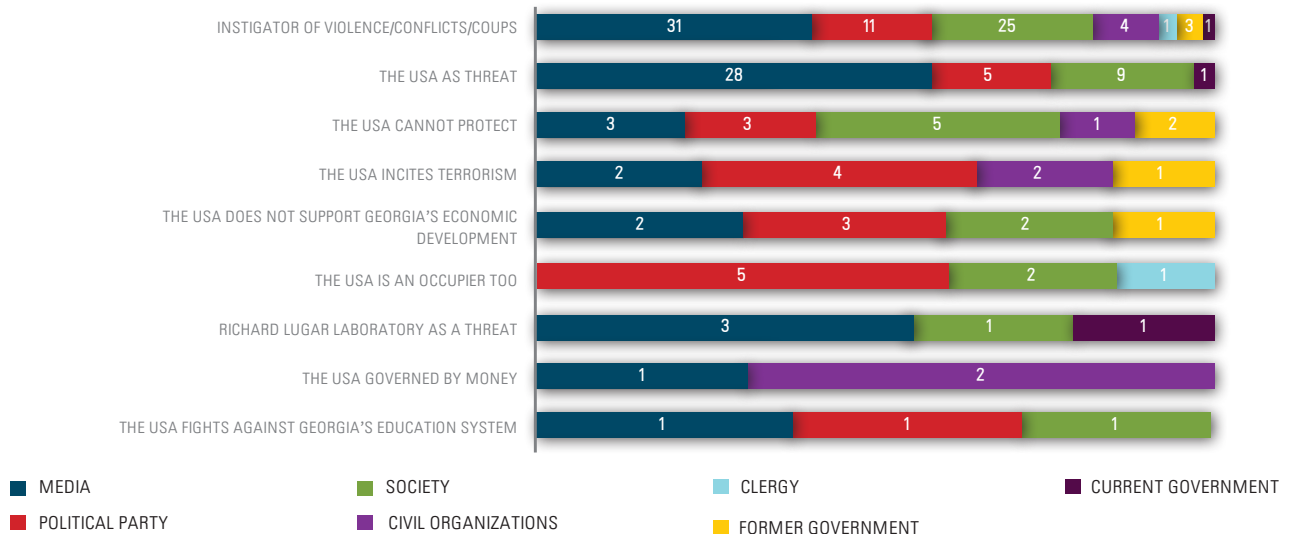
THE WEST. The opinion was promoted that Georgia was not an independent actor, but, in reality, governed by Western countries (158); Russia was portrayed as the counterweight to the West (43); the West was equated to threats (28). Yet another opinion promoted was that the West did not support the reinstatement of justice in Georgia and impeded the delivery of justice against representatives of the government of United National Movement (10); the West's capacity to protect Georgia (7) and support its economic development and welfare (5) were questioned.

Figure 4. Anti-Western messages concerning the West



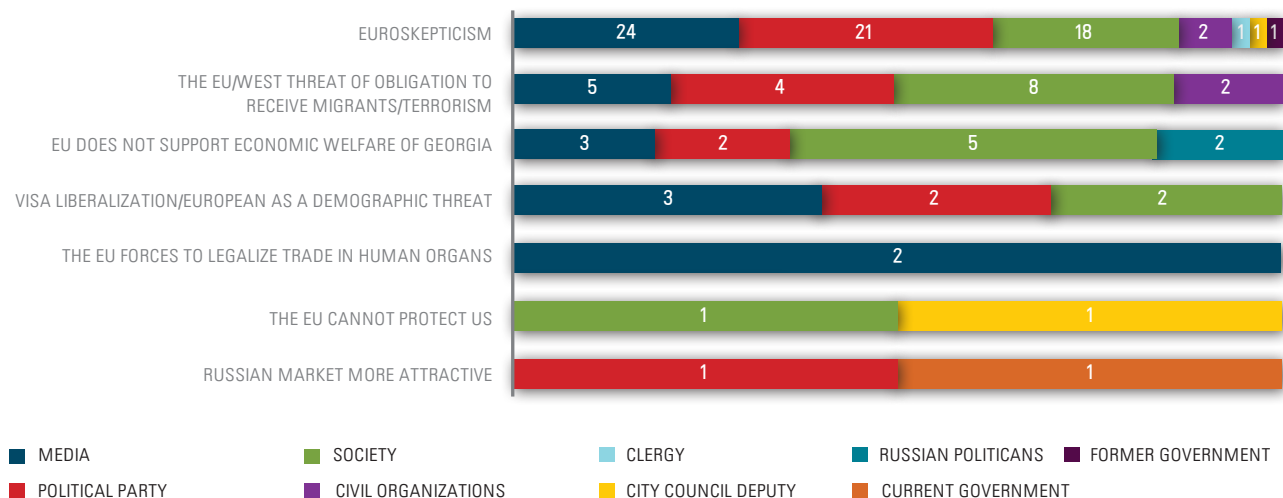
THE USA. The USA was mainly portrayed as instigator of violence, conflicts, color revolutions and coups (76); the strategic partnership with the US was equated to threat (43); the USA’s capacity to protect us was questioned (14); the USA was portrayed as an inciter of terrorism (9) and a country which did not support Georgia’s economic development (8); an opinion was promoted that the USA is an occupier too (8); Richard Lugar Laboratory, opened in Georgia to protect biosecurity, was equated to threat (5); opinions were voiced that the USA values only money (3) and that it fights against Georgia’s education system (3).

Figure 5. Anti-Western messages about the USA



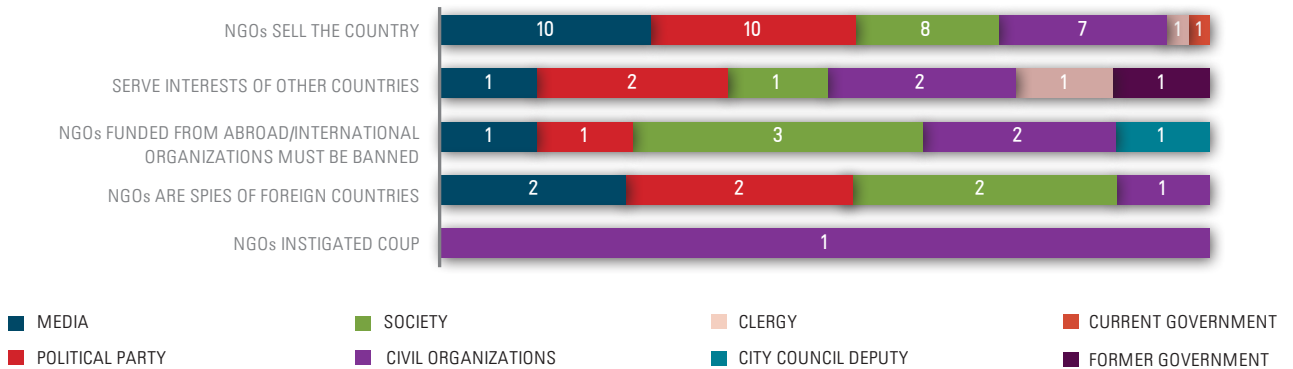
THE EU/EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. Fanning Euroscepticism was a dominating trend in this category. An opinion was promoted that Georgia would fail to either achieve visa free travel with or integration into the EU because the EU would disintegrate (68); the EU and Association Agreement were equated to a threat (19); an opinion was promoted that the EU did not support the economic welfare of Georgia (12); visa liberalization and European integration were equated to a demographic threat (7) while bringing the experience of Baltic States as a proof; there were several instances of speculations that the EU imposes an obligation to legalize the trade in human organs (2); the EU’s capacity to protect us was questioned (2); Russian market was portrayed as more attractive than the EU market (2).

Figure 6. Anti-Western messages about the EU



NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. Dominating opinion was that Georgian nongovernmental organizations sell their country’s interests (37) and serve the interests of other countries (8). There were calls made to ban funding of nongovernmental organizations from abroad as well as international organizations (8) while portraying Russia as an exemplary country in this endeavor; nongovernmental organizations were branded as spies of foreign countries (7) and in one case, even as instigators of coup.

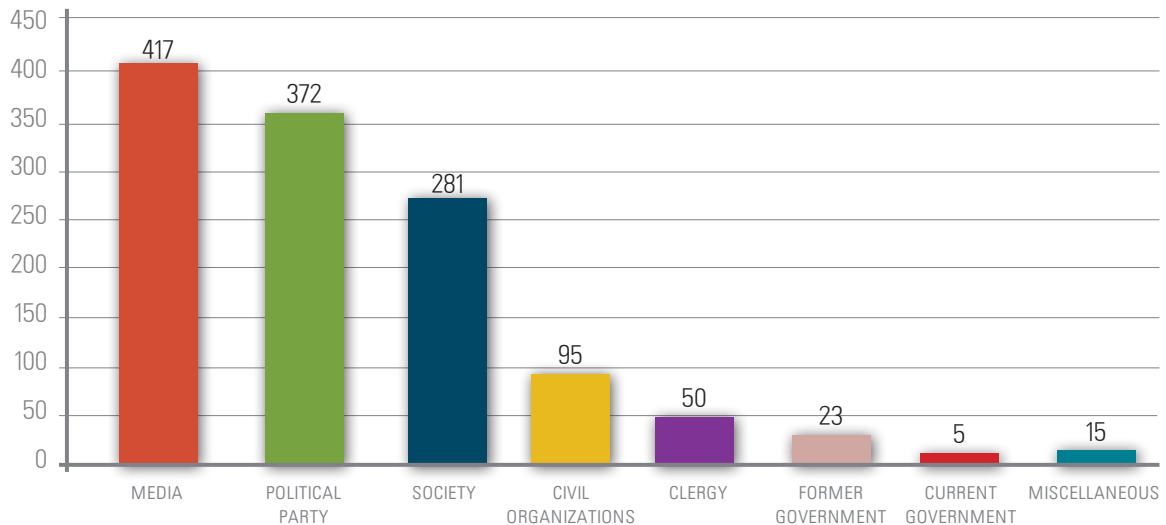
Figure 7. Anti-western messages about nongovernmental organizations



SOURCES OF ANTI-WESTERN MESSAGES

The main source of anti-Western messages was media (417), followed by political parties (372), representatives of society (281), civil organizations (95), clergy (50), representatives of former government (23). The category “miscellaneous” includes statements made by an independent deputy of the city council, representatives of foreign governments and Russian politicians (15). The fewest of such statements were made by government (5).

Figure 8. Anti-Western messages by sources

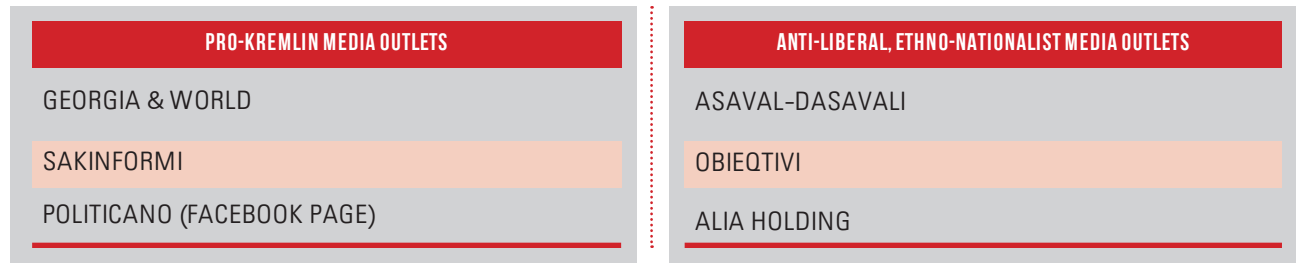


2.1. MEDIA

Media outlets promoting anti-Western narrative can be divided into two groups:

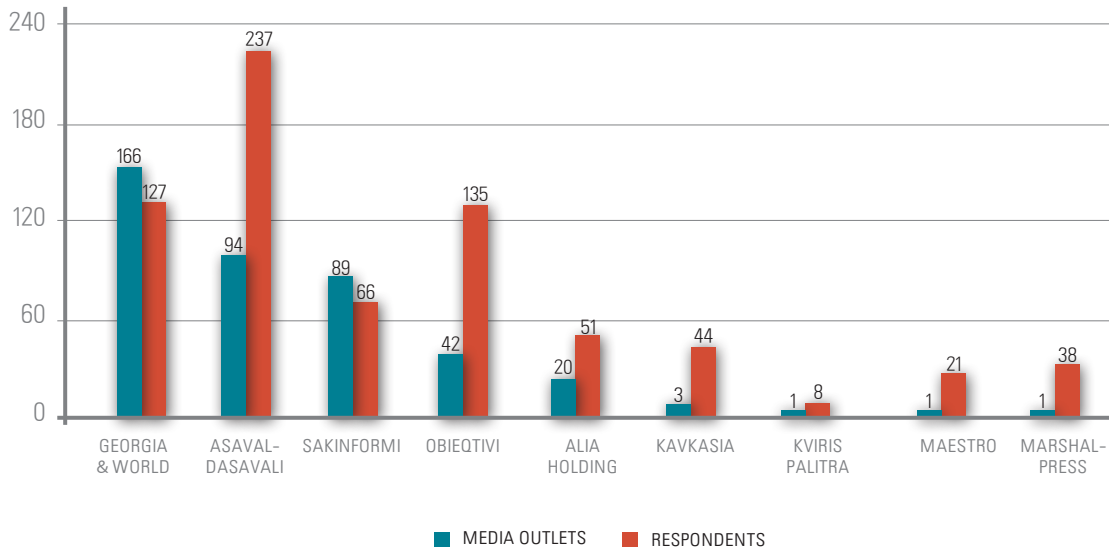
1. Pro-Kremlin outlets;
2. Anti-liberal, ethno-nationalist outlets.

Messages of these two groups are largely identical; the only difference between them is the degree of openness of support towards the Kremlin policy. The distribution by these two categories is shown below:



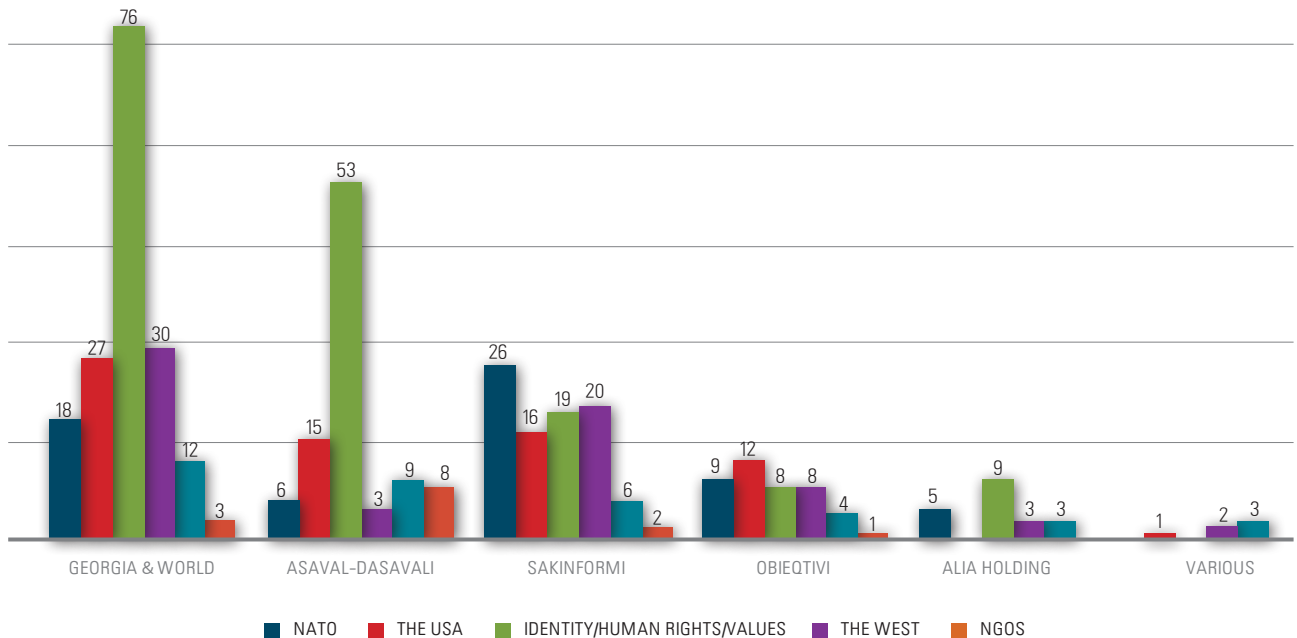
The leader among media outlets by the amount of anti-Western messages (166) was the online edition *Geworld.ge* (Georgia & World) which, apart from editorial materials, published similar messages of 127 respondents; the next by the amount of such messages was *Asaval-Dasavali* newspaper (94) which showed the highest number of respondents having anti-Western rhetoric (237). This is followed by the online news agency *Sakinformi* (editorial materials – 89, respondents – 66) and *Obieqtivi* TV (editorial – 42, respondents – 135); the newspapers *Alia* and *Kviris Qronika*, which fall under the *Alia Holding* (editorial – 20, respondent – 51). A relatively lower number of anti-Western editorial comments were seen in the following outlets: *Kavkasia* TV (editorial – 3, respondents – 44), *Kviris Palitra* newspaper (editorial – 1, respondents – 8), *Maestro* TV (editorial – 1, respondents – 21), online news agency *Marshalpress* (editorial – 1, respondents – 38).

Figure 9. Sources of anti-Western messages by media outlets and their respondents



As regards the typology of messages by media outlets, online Georgia & World (76), newspapers Asaval-Dasavali (53) and Alia (9) were dominated by topics such as identity, human rights and values in a negative context; statements against NATO were in abundance in Sakinformi (26) and statements against the USA were heard on Obieqtivi TV (12).

Figure 10. Typology of anti-Western messages by media outlets



The founder of the newspaper Georgia & World and its online-edition www.geworld.ge is LTD Historical Heritage. The establishment of Historical Heritage in 2009 was publicly welcomed by the then President of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev. One of the members of the public council of Historical Heritage is Aleksandre Chachia, a political scientist whom Dmitry Medvedev, in July 2008, awarded an order for “great contribution to friendship and cooperation with the Russian Federation.” Another pro-Russian NGO, Eurasian Institute, is also a partner of Historical Heritage. Along with anti-Western attitudes, the publication is notorious for its Turkophobic, racist and homophobic content.

PRO-KREMLIN MEDIA OUTLETS. Georgia & World as well as Sakinformi mainly promoted the opinion that the West tried to impose homosexuality and that zoophilia, incest and perversity was an ordinary mode of life in the West. It also frequently portrayed Russia as the counterweight to the West.

DAVIT MKHEIDZE, author: “What is preferable for Georgia to have relations with the West which is souteneur and servant of Satan or to have relations with co-religious Russia?”

Georgia & World, 13 July

Media outlets promoted a conspiracy theory that Georgia’s integration into North Atlantic Alliance would result in Turkey’s expansion into Georgia.

“No one says that the Georgia will have to pay the price of joining NATO with his sovereignty and territorial disintegration and Georgian people will live under the dictate of the Muslim state – Turkey.”

Georgia & World, 30 June

Both *Georgia & World* and *Sakinformi* justified Russia’s actions in Syria.

ARNO KHIDIRBEGISHVILI, *Sakinformi* editor-in-chief: “Russia’s successful action against ISIL in Syria proved that US antiballistic defense systems are absolutely useless there.”

Sakinformi, 26 July

Georgia & World portrayed the fight of Great Britain against Kremlin propaganda as an attempt to colonize Caucasus countries and use them as a base against Russia.

JABA ZHVANIA, *author*: “Great Britain does not even conceal that its aim is to reduce Russia’s influence in the region, not support Georgians; it is about the increase of London’s influence and colonization to the entire region in ‘best traditions’ of Britain.”

Georgia & World, 7 December

Both media outlets tried to shift the emphasis from real threats (Russian occupation) onto historic threats (Ottoman occupation)⁴ and published fake news and Soviet era conspiracy theories, which may often be seen in Russian propaganda platforms, though sometimes without indicating Russian sources.

The 100 percent shareholder in the news agency Sakinformi LLC is Arno Khidirbegishvili who is also the editor-in-chief of the edition since 2013. According to damoukidebloba.com, the domain of Sakinformi is registered on the name of Taras Gagnidze who is the leader of the pro-Russian organization Historical Heritage which also owns Georgia & World. Like Geworld.ge, Sakinformi is notorious for its hate speech. In its Turkophobic statements, Sakinformi portrays Russia as the counterweight to Turkey and makes unfounded references to the Treaty of Kars.

The Facebook page Politicano is a medium with links to Yevgeny Primakov Russian-Georgian Civic Center. The Center was founded by the Gorchakov Fund, which was established under the Russian President’s decree, and the Georgian Institute for International relations.

⁴ MDF (2016), Hate Speech. <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/55>

Media Union Obieqtivi was established in August 2010. A co-founder of the company is Irma Inashvili, the current Secretary General of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (APG); however, since 2014, she is not listed among the management of the channel. The political party office and television are in the same building. Obieqtivi broadcasts not only via television frequency, but also via radio frequency and the Internet. TV Channel pursues Turkophobic, xenophobic and homophobic editorial policy. In its fifth monitoring cycle report, the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), based on MDF's study, recommended Georgia that the authorities "review their contracts with media outlets and cancel or not renew them in cases where media are known to engage in racist or homo-transphobic hate speech." The report, among other outlets, referred to Obieqtivi TV.

ANTI-LIBERAL, ETHNO-NATIONALIST MEDIA OUTLETS. This group includes Asaval-Dasavali, newspapers falling within the Alia Holding (Alia, Kviris Oronika), and Obieqtivi TV, the broadcaster with links to the political party Alliance of Patriots. Messages of these outlets were similar to messages of pro-Kremlin media outlets.

This group of media also promoted the view that the West fights against Georgia's sexual and religious identities and traditions.

GIORGI GIGAURI, journalist: "If America allows same-sex love, it means that it accepts the love of Satan too!... Let's be more 'civilized' and 'tolerant,' replicate this 'modern experience' and teach sex to children in our schools and introduce Satanism to them?!"

Asaval-Dasavali, 8-14 February

LEVAN JAVAKHISHVILI, journalist: "Obama administration encouraged these people with money and other means, assisted them in ruining the Georgia state, destroying traditions."

Alia, 14-21 November

Obieqtivi TV portrayed visa liberalization and integration with the EU as a demographic threat. One such statement of the TV company was based on the Russian media outlet 1TV.ru:

VALERI KVARATSKHELIA, anchor: „Women are raped in Europe openly, during the daylight; astonishing things happen there... And you think that against this background and considering our region, our mentality, et cetera, Europe will grant us visa free travel? One can hardly imagine that.“

Obieqtivi, Politikuri Ghame, 31 January, 14 February

Source: 1TV.ru

NINO RATISHVILI, anchor: “This country will be emptied... In our situation, [when there are] Turks, Iranians, Chinese; especially under these conditions, is it acceptable to speak about selling lands? But they speak because this, as it transpired, is one of EU’s [demands]...”

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 19 December

Both Obieqtivi TV and Asaval-Dasavali newspaper blamed the USA for the events in Syria.

NINO RATISHVILI, anchor: “It was America that sheltered [terrorists] in Aleppo and not only there, was it not?!... It is irritating when you are told that it is unacceptable if Russian kills but acceptable if American kills because this is what democracy needs.”

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 28 December

Along with editorial comments against the US, Obieqtivi TV promoted a view that the US destroyed nations for an idea (Nino Ratishvili, anchor: “This is what America does, destroys nations for the idea.” Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 24 October). In a news program, a journalist questioned the results of 2008 plebiscite on NATO:

Journalist: “Eighty percent of voters gave a positive answer to the question whether Georgia should integrate into NATO. However, back in 2008, the opposition political parties and nongovernmental organizations claimed that the election was rigged and consequently, results of the plebiscite do not reflect reality.”

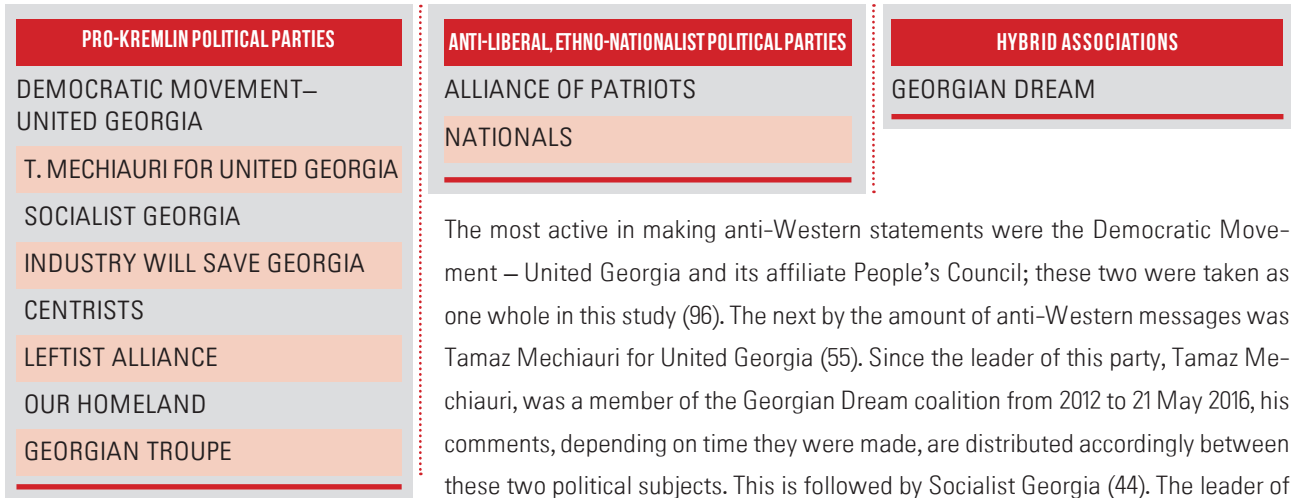
Obieqtivi, News program, 4 July

A weekly Asaval-Dasavali was established on 3 March 1992. It is published every Monday. The owner of 100 percent of the shares in the newspaper is Lasha Nadareishvili who also acts as the editor-in-chief. According to the MDF’s 2016 report on Hate Speech, Asaval-Dasavali was the most homophobic edition which contained xenophobic statements too.

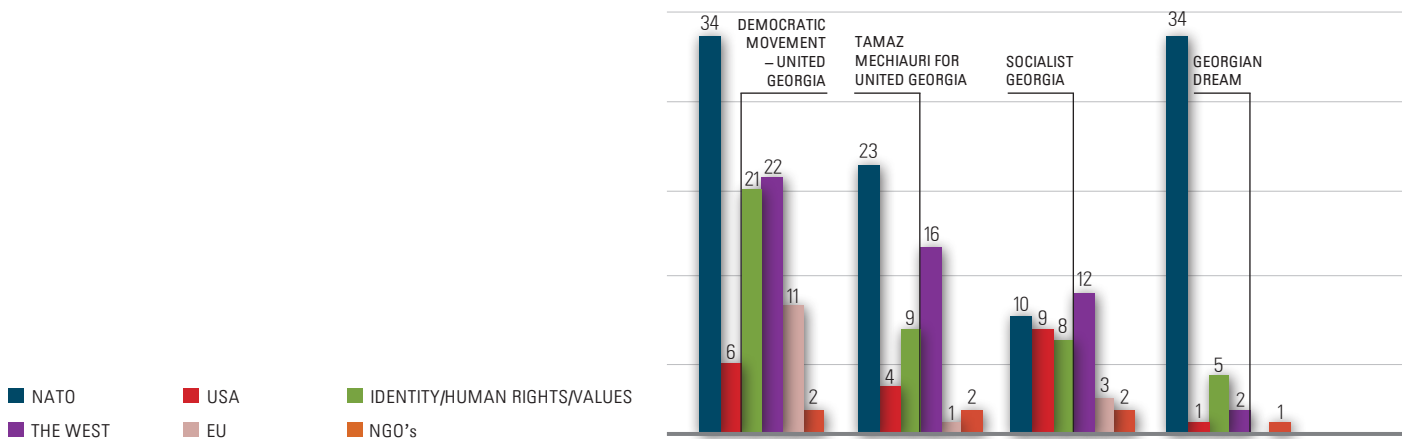
Alia Holding LLC was established in 1966 and includes the newspapers Alia and Kviris Qronika. The owner of 100 percent of shares in the holding is Giorgi Bregvadze. In its fifth monitoring cycle report, the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), based on MDF’s study, named the outlets of the Holding because of their homophobic and xenophobic editorial policies and recommended the government to revise its contracts with these media outlets.

2.2. POLITICAL PARTIES

Alike media, political parties may be divided into two main groups: pro-Kremlin political parties and anti-liberal, ethno-nationalist political parties. In addition, the ruling coalition is a hybrid association as the parties falling within it are very diverse. Messages of these three groups were largely identical.



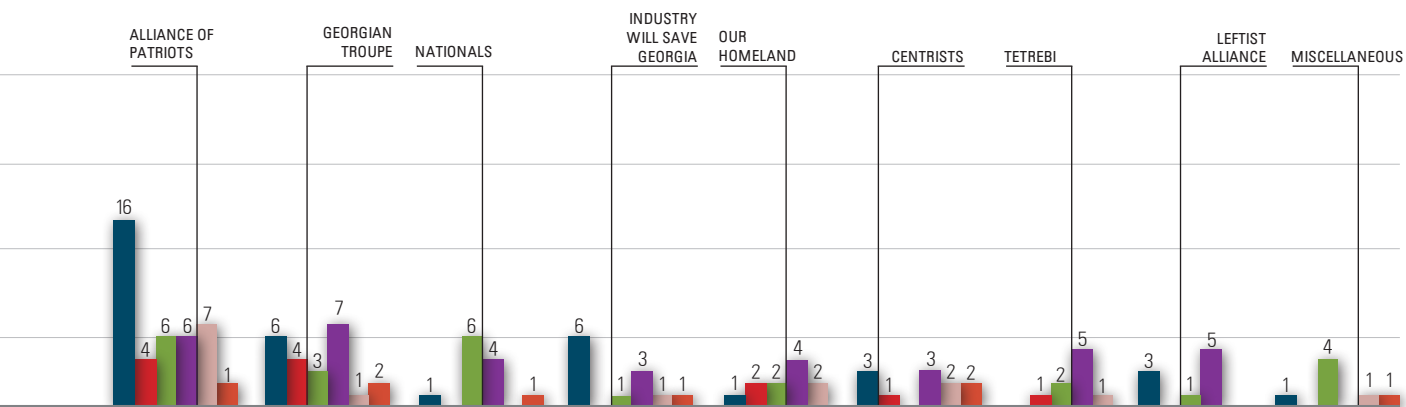
The most active in making anti-Western statements were the Democratic Movement – United Georgia and its affiliate People’s Council; these two were taken as one whole in this study (96). The next by the amount of anti-Western messages was Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (55). Since the leader of this party, Tamaz Mechiauri, was a member of the Georgian Dream coalition from 2012 to 21 May 2016, his comments, depending on time they were made, are distributed accordingly between these two political subjects. This is followed by Socialist Georgia (44). The leader of



this party hosted the political talk-show on Obieqtivi TV until the 2016 pre-election period entered the active phase; therefore, his comments are also distributed between media and political party, based on time they were made. Anti-Western statements of representatives of the ruling Georgian Dream coalition (43) were identical to those of Socialist Georgia. The ruling coalition was left by another political party – Industry Will Save Georgia which stood for 2016 parliamentary elections as an independent subject; however, after the elections, this party is seen among the parliamentary majority again through a parliamentary faction called The Georgian Dream – Entrepreneurs. Therefore, comments of this party made before 17 May 2016 were attributed to the Georgian Dream whereas statements made thereafter were attributed to the political party Industry Will Save Georgia. By the amount of anti-Western statements, the Georgian Dream coalition (40) was followed by Georgian Troupe (23), Nationals (12), Industry Will Save Georgia as a separate political subject (12), Our Homeland (11), Centrists (11), Tetrebi (9), Leftist Alliance (9). The category “Miscellaneous” includes the following political parties: Traditionalists, National Forum and Free Georgia (7).

Typology of statements, as seen from Figure 11, was the following: anti-NATO statements were made most frequently by the pro-Kremlin political party, Democratic Movement – United Georgia (34) and the ruling Georgian Dream coalition (34). Although before the elections the coalition was left by those parties that most frequently made such statements, after the victory in the elections, one of such parties – Industry Will Save Georgia joined the parliamentary majority again. Anti-NATO statements were also made by Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (23), the Alliance of Patriots (16), Socialist Georgia (10) and Industry Will Save Georgia as an independent subject (6). Almost all political parties distinguished themselves also by their anti-Western statements as well as statements regarding identity and values.

Figure 11. Typology of anti-Western messages by political parties



Former Parliament Speaker of Georgia, Nino Burjanadze, left the United National Movement's government in April, prior to the Parliamentary Elections scheduled on 21 May 2008. The Democratic Movement – United Georgia, was registered on 19 March 2008. Burjanadze's electoral block became a qualified subject for the 2014 Local Self-Government Elections, however, it failed to clear the 5% hurdle in the 2016 Parliamentary Elections.

Nino Burjanadze is the second Georgian politician, after ex-Prime Minister Zurab Nogaideli, who, after the 2008 Russian-Georgian War, met with Vladimir Putin in 2010. For the 2016 elections, she put forward an initiative of block-free status which implied amending the constitution to reflect this status. MDF's monitoring in 2016 showed that the political party stood out for its homophobic statements.

PRO-KREMLIN POLITICAL PARTIES. Among many pro-Kremlin political parties only Industry Will Save Georgia is represented in the parliament and the Democratic Movement – United Georgia is represented in local governance. Therefore, we will provide messages of only these two political parties.

In the run up to the election, the Democratic Movement – United Georgia put forwards the initiative of block-free status and neutrality (Nino Burjanadze: “Neither NATO nor the US or Russian army and Georgia shall not join any military alliance,” Sakinformi, 17 August). This initiative was shared by other pro-Kremlin political parties, including Industry Will Save Georgia. Nino Burjanadze's party also promoted the opinion that Georgia's integration into the North Atlantic Alliance would result in the loss of occupied territories of Georgia.

Pro-Kremlin parties (Democratic Movement – United Georgia, Georgian Troupe, Socialist Georgia) justified Russia's actions in Syria while putting the blame for ongoing events on the USA.

NANA DEVDARIANI, Democratic Movement – United Georgia: “American trend that Russia's military actions in Syria harm civilians fails to gain ground because the number of civil facilities ‘accidentally’ shelled by US military is high.”

Georgia & World, 19 October

Industry Will Save Georgia maintained that Georgia's integration into NATO would entail the expansion of Turkey into Georgia:

GOGI TOPADZE, Industry Will Save Georgia: “If Georgia becomes a NATO member-state (that's what Georgians dream about!), 10-12 military officers from Turkey as well as other European countries will be deployed, and 2-3 thousand Turk soldiers will follow. Will this benefit us?”

Georgia & World, 6 July

Almost all these political parties maintained that if Europe and the West means acceptance of homosexuality Georgia must drop its Western aspirations.

DIMITRI LORTKIPANIDZE, Democratic Movement – United Georgia: “Mr. Prime Minister, if European choice means teaching the acceptance of homosexuality to younger children, something which can be clearly seen from methodologies of auxiliary textbooks that are annexed to the Charter of Council of Europe, we do not want Europe; nor do we want such a government that applies all means to achieve ends!”

Kviris Qronika, 7-13 March

Pro-Kremlin political parties and affiliated organizations aggressively promoted the view that Georgia was actually ran by the West and local government did not express people’s will:

GIA BURJANADZE, Democratic Movement – United Georgia: “This law [anti-discrimination law] was also imposed from the outside, was it not?! Could anyone remind me who from the parliamentary ruling majority went against this?! Nobody! Do you know why?! Because that is what Uncle Sam ordered!”

Asaval-Dasavali, 1-7 February

ELIZBAR JAVELIDZE, People’s Council: “Giorgi Margvelashvili is not the President of Georgia but the assistant to the US Ambassador! This is the anti-Georgian policy of the United States!”

Asaval-Dasavali, 18-24 July

ANTI-LIBERAL, ETHNO-NATIONALIST POLITICAL PARTIES. As the monitoring of hate speech reveals, the Alliance of Patriots, which is notorious for fanning Turkophobia, tried to shift emphasis from current threats (Russian occupation) onto historic problems (Ottoman occupation), thereby reopening historic wound and

Industry Will Save Georgia was established in 1999. The political party was against the involvement of international financial institutions in the country’s economy. It stood for the 2012 parliamentary elections as a member of Georgian Dream coalition. In 2016, just before the elections, the political party left the coalition due to anti-western statements of its leader, Gogi Topadze. However, after the 2016 elections, the political party joined the majority again through a parliamentary faction Georgian Dream – Entrepreneurs.

promoting a view that not only Russia was occupier but Turkey too.⁵ At the same time, the political party tried to delegitimize the support towards NATO expressed by the Georgian population in the 2008 plebiscite. Despite some decrease in the support, public opinion polls prove that the support towards NATO is still substantial.

DAVIT TARKHAN-MOURAVI, Alliance of Patriots: “While 15 years ago 100% of our society wanted to join NATO, today more than half of them no longer wants it and this is because we lived in such lies...”

Kavkasia, Barrier, 7 July

However, in contrast to other political parties, the Alliance of Patriots fans skepticism towards NATO discreetly:

DAVIT TARKHAN-MOURAVI, Alliance of Patriots: “Even those have rallied around our party who want NATO and who do not want NATO... Why on earth? NATO does not exist and why we should quarrel about it.”

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 23 May

Alike other political parties, the opinion that the integration into NATO would result in the loss of territories was also popular in this political party:

DAVIT TARKHAN-MOURAVI, Alliance of Patriots: “How could Sokhumi or Tskhinvali be exchanged for NATO? “

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 23 May

Yet another view voiced was that the European integration would give rise to demographic threats; this view was coupled with racist statements:

⁵ MDF (2016), Hate Speech. <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/55>

GIORGI MAGHLAKELIDZE, Alliance of Patriots: “Any sort of visa liberalization is unacceptable for me if I am obligated to receive such a large amount of ethnically different, not assimilable people who are a little heavy genetically and religiously and follow other religion.”

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 10 March

There were instances when the USA was blamed for internal problems of Georgia:

EMZAR KVITSIANI, Alliance of Patriots: “At one time I also pinned hopes on Americans and believed that all misfortunes were coming from Russia, but how could I imagine that all this was done upon the order of Americans?!”

Asaval-Dasavali, 4-10 July

The populist narrative about the West imposing homosexuality on us and fighting against our belief and traditions was actively applied by the Alliance of Patriots.

IRMA INASHVILI, Alliance of Patriots: “We adopt what is good from the West, however, we will never adopt what is bad and unacceptable for our country’s interests, traditions, morale, customs, faith... Irma Inashvili will never vote in the parliament for the law on same-sex marriage ... For me, family is a union between woman and man, nothing else: not a union between woman and cat, man and car, crocodile and something else, but between woman and man – i.e. something that is recognized by my religion...”

Obieqtivi, Ghamis Studia, 7 October

IRMA TSKHORAGAULI, Alliance of Patriots: “When NDI or BNDI, IRI or TIRI i.e. some Americans and Europeans tell us that mistrust is at some percent... Mind your words, we are of different flesh and blood... When one touched our religion, our language, our homeland, we always get united.”

Obieqtivi, Dilis Eteri, 26 August

Alliance of Patriots of Georgia was founded on 19 December 2012. In 2014, for the first time ever, the political party gained seats in the city assembly (5.37%), while in 2016, having received 5.01% of the votes, it gained seats in Parliament. The party claims to be of right-conservative ideology. In its vision and program, available on the English-language webpage⁶ of the political party (unavailable in Georgian), the party defines patriotism as “thinking and pondering, speaking and discussing, acting and behaving in conformity with the national spirit, which in our case is the Georgian spirit”. According to the party’s vision, the tolerance of Georgian spirit implies readiness to adopt everything good from other nations, though, at the same time, giving preference to native Georgian. On its English-language website, the party declares the desire to integrate into the European Union while expressing skepticism about prospects of Georgia’s integrating into NATO. The political party has links with TV Obieqtivi and alike this media outlet, the Alliance of Patriots is notorious for its Turkophobia and homophobia.

⁶ <http://patriots.ge/our-vision-program/>

Georgian Dream was founded and financed by Georgian billionaire Bidzina Ivanishvili in February 2012. In 2012, the Georgian Dream Coalition won the parliamentary elections with 54% of the votes, thus gaining the parliamentary majority and setting a precedent of power change through elections. Before the 2016 parliamentary elections, the coalition which consisted of six subjects was downsized. The Georgian Dream gained the constitutional majority in the 2016 parliamentary elections. At present, alongside the Georgian Dream, the parliamentary majority still includes Industry Will Save Georgia, Conservative Party, Green Party, Social-Democratic Party and faction for Regional Development. Separate subjects within the coalition are known for their anti-western, homophobic and xenophobic statements.

HYBRID POLITICAL PARTIES. Throughout 2016, several representatives of the Georgian Dream coalition made statements that ran counter to officially declared pro-Western course; this was explained by the diversity of the coalition. In the spring of 2016, ahead of parliamentary elections, the coalition was left by two politicians (Gogi Topadze, Tamaz Mechiauri) who were most articulate against the West; however, after the elections, Gogi Topadze's party, Industry Will Save Georgia, made it into the parliamentary majority again.

Issues concerning identity continued to be a topic in the narrative of the ruling political force even after it was left by several notorious politicians. In the run up to 2016 elections, the Georgian Dream put forward an initiative of defining family as a union between man and woman in the constitution, therewith enhancing homophobic and anti-Western discourse.

NUKRI KANTARIA, Georgian Dream: "There are countries where video clips are produced which feature a teacher entering a kindergarten group and asking: who has two fathers? and receiving applause. Then again, teacher asks: who has two mothers? and receives applause again. We are a small nation and let us protect our identity and our future."

Marshallpress, 27 May

Alike pro-Kremlin political parties, separate representatives of the Georgia Dream also questioned the plebiscite results on NATO and demanded the conduct of a new plebiscite; also, the integration into NATO was portrayed as a threat of losing occupied territories.

OMAR NISHNIANIDZE, Georgian Dream: "Do we want to join NATO without Abkhazia and South Ossetia? Can one imagine that? I cannot. Consequently, should we repeat NATO as mantra and get damaged by that? This will not do."

Kviris Alia, 2-8 May 2016

Also like pro-Kremlin political parties, representatives of the Georgia Dream justified Russia’s actions in Syria and talked about the advantage of negotiating with Russia:

GOGI TOPADZE, Georgian Dream/Industry Will Save Georgia: “Those five months during which Russia fought in Syria and declared to the world that it regained the status of superpower, merely turned the geopolitics upside down – i.e. a unipolar world came to the end. Instead of coming to our senses and negotiating with Russia, [Defense Minister] Khidasheli remains stubborn and keeps saying NATO while being unable to do anything!”

Georgia & World, 6 April

2.3. CIVIL ORGANIZATIONS

We selected five civil organizations for their anti-western messages mainly concerning issues of identity. The majority of these organizations were registered after 2012. Moreover, direct links with Russia, according to the study of damoukidebloba.com, are seen in case of Eurasian Institute and Global Research Center. These organizations have direct ties with the International Eurasia Movement, the organization founded by the ideologist of aggressive Russian expansionist policy Aleksandr Dugin, as well as with Lev Gumilev Center.

CIVIL ORGANIZATION	DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT	AMOUNT OF ANTI-WESTERN MESSAGES
UNION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS	2012	24
EURASIAN INSTITUTE/NEUTRAL EURASIAN GEORGIA	2009	14
UNION OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN PARENTS	NOT REGISTERED	14
GLOBAL RESEARCH CENTER	2013	7
STALIN	2013	5

2.4. REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIETY

SOCIETY	AMOUNT
Viewer/citizen	41
Givi Somkhishvili	25
Levan Vasadze	22
Mikheil Tsagareli	13
Soso Tsinsadze	13
Hamlet Chipashvili	12
Aleksandre Chachia	10
Rezo Amashukeli	8

Anti-Western attitudes from representatives of society were most frequently expressed via interactive programs on Obieqtivi TV. In this context, one could often see in media the ethno-centrist businessman Levan Vasadze who gained fortune in Russia. Pro-Kremlin views were articulated also by a political scientist Aleksandre Chachia who works in Moscow and in July 2008, received the medal for “great contribution to friendship and cooperation with the Russian Federation” from Dmitry Medvedev. According to damoukidebloba.com, Chachia is a member of council of pro-Russian organization Historical Heritage which is the founder of Georgia & World. Other speakers applying the anti-Western narrative belonged to so-called Soviet intelligentsia and fanned anti-liberal, ethno-nationalist sentiments.

2.5. CLERGY

RELIGIOUS	SERVANTS
Giorgi Razmadze	12
Davit Isakadze	9
Davit Kvlividze	7
Basil Mkalavishvili	6

Religious servants listed in the table were most outstanding for their anti-Western rhetoric. Among them only Basil Mkalavishvili does not belong to the Georgian Patriarchate as he was defrocked in 1996. Basil Mkalavishvili was arrested by the United National Movement government for attacking Jehovah’s Witnesses and Baptists and destroying their literature in 2004. The court found him guilty and sentenced to six years in prison.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA AND RUSSIAN SOURCES

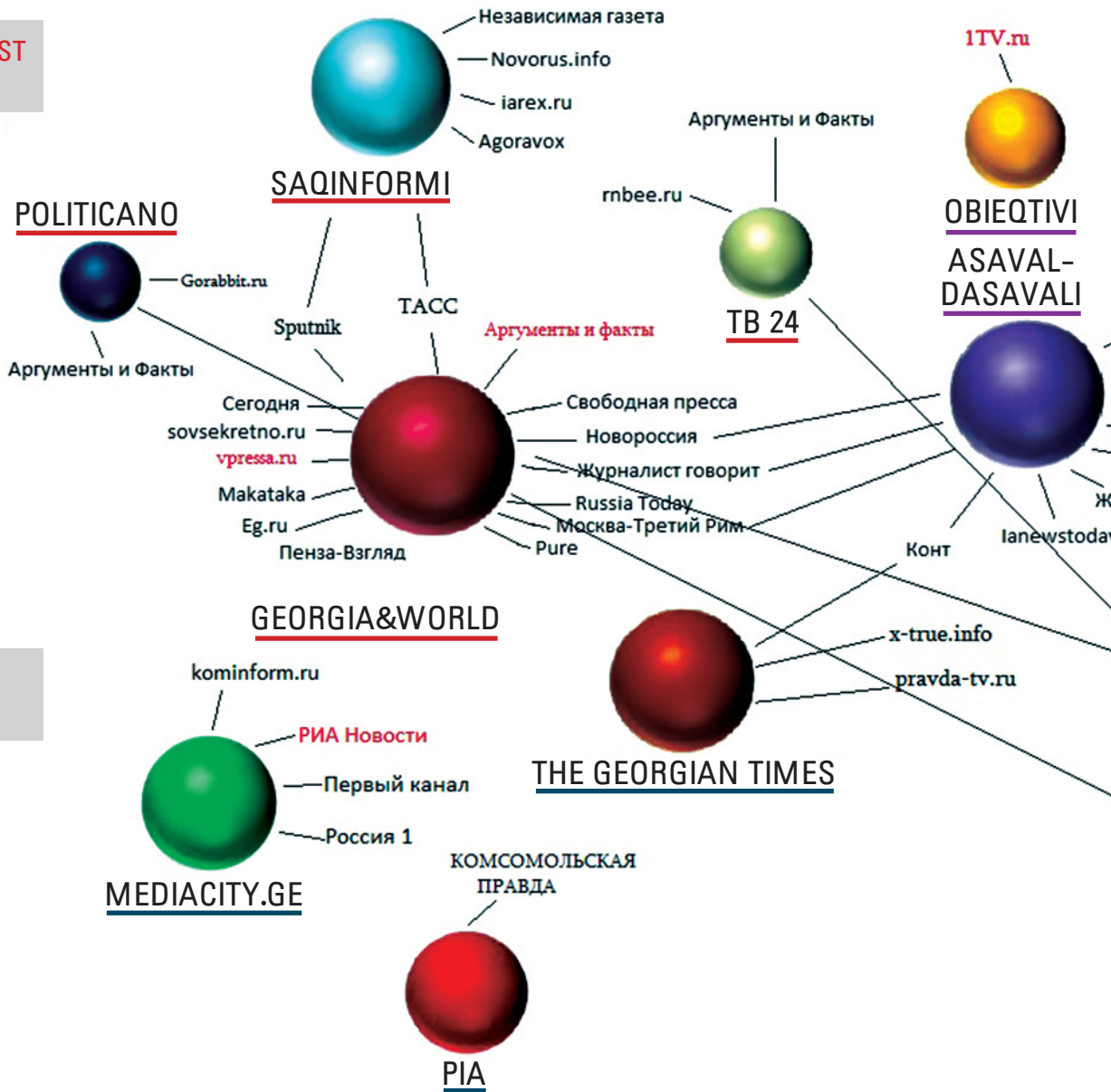
Within the framework of Myth Detector project, MDF verified 65 pieces of information disseminated in media in 2016. Apart from the subjects of regular monitoring, the data includes randomly selected disinformation about the West, which was disseminated via social media. In 37 out of 65 cases, the media itself was the source of the disinformation and some fakes were disseminated by several media outlets simultaneously. In remaining 28 cases the sources of disinformation were various respondents.

MEDIA. In most of the cases media was not indicating original sources of disinformation. Additional research of similar stories revealed that in some cases the disinformation was stemming from the invented, anecdotal stories of Russian or English language satirical-humorous editions; the media was picturing such invented satiric stories as a real news.

To legitimize the message propaganda platforms conceal original sources. Propagandists actively utilize deflective or source-concealing model. The receiver perceives the information as coming from direct sources and does not associates it with the initial source. The goal is to hide the primary source of the message, create high degree of credibility for both message and apparent source. The chart below shows those Russian or other platforms that publish fake materials identical to the Georgian media outlets. The red color on the chart shows those Russian media outlets that have been identified openly in the material published in the Georgian media. In most of the cases, the Georgian media concealed Russian primary sources.

Figure 12. Deflective Method of Hiding Russian Disinformation Sources

PROKREMLIST
EDITIONS



HYBRID
EDITIONS

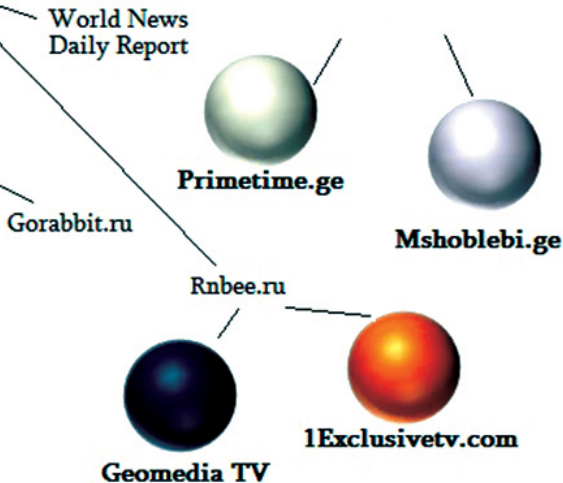
**ANTI-LIBERAL
ETHNO-NATIONALIST EDITIONS**



- Mylove.ru
- Царьград ТВ
- twopercentdaily.com
- news2.ru
- politikus.ru
- УРНАЛИСТСКАЯ ПРАВДА
- y.ru

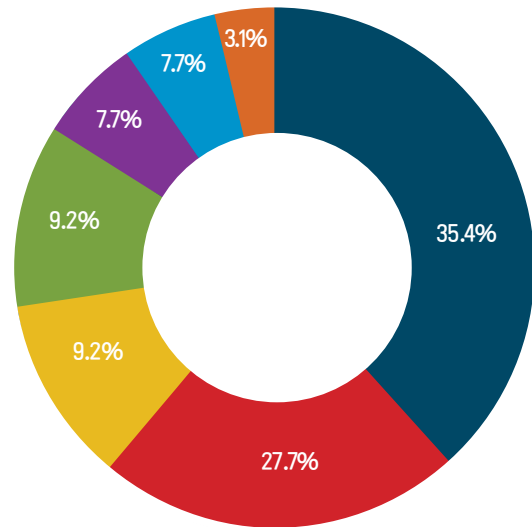
**SATIRICAL-HUMOROUSTIC
EDITIONS**

BLUFF-NEWS BSTV.GE



As for the methods of propaganda, the media outlets were mainly using the following propaganda methods:

- Disinformation (Fake news)
- Conspiracy
- Demonization
- Soviet myths
- Picturing satirical-humorous publications as genuine information
- Misleading titles
- Photo and video manipulations.



- EUROPEAN COUNTRIES/INSTITUTIONS
- USA
- MISCELLANEOUS
- THE WEST
- NATO
- SOVIET MYTHS
- NGOs

RESPONDENTS. Respondents have been disseminating disinformation mainly in propagandist platforms with openly anti-Western editorial policies. Whereas, in the mainstream media, the dissemination of disinformation without a critical approach was mostly due to lack of awareness of journalists in a certain field.

TOPICS. Disinformation detected by Myth Detector was grouped into seven categories. By the amount of disinformation, the largest category (23 items) was the one that concerned European countries and institutions (the European Union, the European Court of Human Rights), followed by the USA (18), the West (6), miscellaneous (6), NATO (5), Soviet myths (5), nongovernmental organizations (2).

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES/INSTITUTIONS

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA	A judgment of the European Court allows an employer to monitor the contents of employees' private mails. <i>22 January 2016</i>	intermedia.ge, reportiori.ge, commersant.ge, news.ge		The judgment delivered by the European Court of Human Rights in <i>Barbulescu v. Romania</i> case on 12 January 2016 concerns the access of Yahoo Messenger by the employer to monitor messages related to the fulfilment of professional tasks, not private mail.
	The European Court has ruled against baptizing infants. <i>28 January 2016</i>	Mediacity.ge, news.vitube.ge	Original source Italian news site: ilgiomale.it Russian news site: kominform.ru	No such ruling can be found on the official webpage of the European Court; moreover, according to the Italian thelocals.it, the Court denies such ruling. Andrew McFarrel, cited by kominform.ru as the source and a journalist of The Times, was denied by the Times as being its employee.
	The Great Britain begins to rehabilitate pedophiles and homosexuals <i>10 November 2016</i>	Asaval- Dasavali		The informal term for the law referred to by Asaval-Dasavali is the Alan Turing law does not envisage pardoning convicted pedophiles as pedophilia remains a criminal offense in Britain. Pardon is extended to those convicted for homosexuality.
	A Danish court convicted Nanna Skovmand, a 17-year old victim of sexual violence and a Moroccan migrant. <i>25 May 2016</i>	Asaval- Dasavali	twopercentdaily.com news2.ru, politikus.ru Mylove.ru	Nanna Skovmand was not a victim of sexual violence. The offenders beat Danish citizens, Nanna Skovmand and her boyfriend. The court convicted offenders, not Nanna Skovmand.

	<p>Being on a visit to Lebanon, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said: we witness an actual destruction of such countries as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine. <i>3 May 2016</i></p>	<p>Asaval-Dasavali</p>	<p>Конт and lanewstoday.ru According to lanewstoday.ru, the UN Secretary General called on Ukraine and the Baltic States to self-annihilate: “Генсек ООН призвал Украину и страны Прибалтики — самоуничтожиться”.</p>	<p>Neither the UN official website nor any Western media outlet reports about the UN Secretary General making such a statement during his visit to Lebanon, Jordan and Tunisia on 24-28 March 2016.</p>
	<p>Switzerland closed all McDonald’s restaurants after EU agriculture commissioner Dacian Ciolos received more than 120 applications from EU countries demanding a legal ban on any fast food. <i>21 June 2016</i></p>	<p>Banks and Finances, The Georgian Time</p>	<p>Pravda.ru</p>	<p>McDonald’s restaurant chain continues operation in Switzerland and it is confirmed by the chain’s website. Switzerland is not a member state of the European Union.</p>
	<p>Croatia prohibits planting onion. <i>22 July 2016</i></p>	<p>Davit Akubardia, Kavkasia TV</p>		<p>No particular EU regulation or directive restricts production of onion in Croatia.</p>
	<p>The EU requires the passportization of pigs. <i>23 December 2016</i></p>	<p>Iberia TV, kutaisitoday.com, News TV, tb24.ge</p>	<p>twopercentdaily.com, news2.ru, politikus.ru, Mylove.ru</p>	<p>Rule of Identification and Registration of Pigs and Registration of their Holdings does not imply passportization of pigs.</p>
	<p>Title: Angela Merkel supports the establishment of EU–Russia common economic zone. <i>30 June 2016</i></p>	<p>The Georgian Times</p>		<p>According to the article in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, cited by the Georgian Times as a source, Angela Merkel said at the Mecklenburg that only after Russia fulfills its commitments under the Minsk Protocol, it is possible to talk lifting sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU.</p>
<p>The European Parliament equates Orthodox Church with terrorism. <i>7 December 2016</i></p>	<p>Mediacity.ge</p>	<p>Ria Novosti, Channel One, Russia 1</p>	<p>The European Parliament resolution of 23 November on strategic communication to counteract propaganda against it by Russia and Islamist terrorist organizations clearly separates propaganda coming from state (Russia) and non-state (ISIL/Daesh) actors whereas the Russian Orthodox Church is not mentioned in the text of the resolution at all.</p>	

	Title: Germany and France have initiated the dissolution of the EU. <i>June 29, 2016</i>	PIA Agency		Actually, the materials of the Polish media outlets (TV TVP and Polish Radio) used by PIA as the source of information, concern not the dissolution of the EU, but a new vision of European Integration from Germany and France – the creation of a so-called Super State.
DISINFORMATION/ DEMONIZING/ PHOTO MANIPULATION/ MEDIA	The British company Human Leather produces clothes from human skin. <i>11 April 2016</i>	Asaval- Dasavali	Zurnalistskaya Pravda	Humanleather.co.uk indicated in the article is a fake website while the photo in the newspaper features pieces of works by French designer Olivier Goulet who, for his collections, uses textile imitating human skin.
	An adult alligator swallowed an employee of zoo in Naples when he tried to rape a newborn alligator. <i>18 August 2016</i>	Georgia & World	Initial source: news satire media outlet World News Daily Report Segodnya Makataka Pure Eg.ru Penza-Vzglyad	The initial source of the item is the news satire online outlet World News Daily Report. The disclaimer of the edition states that all characters appearing in the articles in this website are entirely invented. Jimmy Olsen is a fictional character who appears in Comics. The photo illustrating the news item features a Scotsman Gavin Hart, not Jimmy Olsen.
TREATING NEWS SATIRE AS FACTUAL NEWS/PHOTO MANIPULATION/ MEDIA	According to Russia's Foreign Affairs Ministry, from 17 April, citizens of Russia will be able to travel to Europe without visas. <i>15 April 2016</i>	Via its Facebook page, Politicano shared the article disseminated by Russian online edition Kont	Initial source Gorabbit.ru	According to Kont, the initial source of information is a Russian-language news site Gorabbit.ru; the news item carries a disclaimer stating that the publication is the April Fools' Day prank.
DISINFORMATION/ RESPONDENTS	Nobody will let their children to Europe, where people are raped openly in streets. <i>February 5</i>	Soso Tsintsadze, political scientist Kviris Qronika (newspaper)		Information disseminated by Russian media that a 13-years old Russian girl was allegedly raped in Germany by migrants from the Northern Africa and Middle East, was not proved by investigation (the Lisa case).
	Visa-free travel with the EU does not provide any benefits for the citizens of Georgia. <i>March 28, 2016</i>	Soso Tsintsadze, political scientist Alia		Currently, the citizens of Georgia are required to undergo seven stages to access Schengen area. Following the successful finalization of the visa liberalization with the EU, the citizens of Georgia who own a biometric passport will not need visa anymore and will only need to undergo two compulsory stages.

<p>Agreement on readmission signed between the EU and Georgia obliges Georgia to receive Syrian refugees. <i>February 5, 2016</i></p>	<p>Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Democratic Movement – United Georgia</p>	<p>Georgia will carry out readmission of citizens or non-citizens from third countries only if: 1) They possessed a valid visa or residence permit issued by Georgia at the moment of submitting readmission application; 2) They illegally and directly entered EU member states' territory after being on the territory of Georgia or after a transit through Georgia.</p>
<p>Surveys of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and International Republican Institute (IRI) are not conducted in the EU member states <i>January 21, 2016</i></p>	<p>Tamar Tsintsabadze, Democratic Movement – United Georgia Rustavi 2</p>	<p>Both NDI and IRI are operating in many countries, including the EU member states, while international endowment is created in the EU to strengthen democracy in various countries.</p>
<p>Russian market is more beneficial for Georgia compare to the EU market, as countries are trying to return to the Russian market. <i>March 17, 2016</i></p>	<p>Zurab Chekurishvili, Advisor to the Minister of Agriculture of Georgia, Sputnik</p>	<p>The EU is the world's largest market which unites 500 million consumers and with a gross GDP more than USD 18 trillion. The Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement between Georgia and the EU came into force in September 2014. Customs tariffs were abolished with the EU member states and Georgian exporters were given opportunity to take them most of the biggest market in the world.</p>
<p>Association Agreement with the EU obliges Georgia to import GMO products. <i>April 20, 2016</i></p>	<p>Gogi Topadze, Georgian Dream – Entrepreneurs Interpressnews</p>	<p>The Association Agreement signed with the EU and its economic part (DCFTA) does not include any commitments that would oblige Georgia to import GMO products.</p>
<p>Decriminalization of drugs will increase the number of drug users in direct ratio and the European countries such as the Netherlands are examples of this. <i>August 22, 2016</i></p>	<p>Giorgi Razmadze, cleric Georgia& World</p>	<p>According to a research conducted by RAND corporation, the average cannabis consumption in the Dutch aged 15-34 was lower in 1998-2005 than in several other European countries.</p>
<p>The EU makes us adopt a school subject called "Me and Society" that will establish homosexuality and perverse lifestyle. <i>February 29, 2016</i></p>	<p>Members of public, clerics</p>	<p>The aim of the school subject "Me and Society" is at expanding adolescents' knowledge about such issues as the surrounding world (family, school, community), healthy lifestyle, development of social skills, environmental protection, etc.</p>
<p>Bill on domestic violence aims to destroy family institute and is a directive from the EU. <i>August 10, 2016</i></p>	<p>Statement by clerics, Davit Isakadze, Georgia& World</p>	<p>The practice of separating children from their families through social workers aims to protect security of the children and serves their best interests.</p>

USA

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
DISINFORMATION/ RESPONDENTS	Instead of port, an American military naval base is being constructed in Anaklia. <i>December 1, 2016</i>	Nodar Tsivtsivadze, oceanographer Sputnik Saqinform	РИА Новости	Anaklia Development Consortium is constructing a port that will provide service to Panamax and New Panamax ships with capacity of 10,000 containers (TEU).
	The US is against/would not allow Georgia to get closer to the occupied territories and their populations. <i>July 18, 2016</i>	Alexander Chachia, political scientist		The Government of the United States is funding several projects aimed at facilitating public diplomacy with the people of the occupied territories.
	The US-led coalition in Syria against Islamic State are only an imitation of fight against terrorism, while position of the US is politicized. <i>January 11, 2016</i>	Maria Zakharova, official representative of the Foreign Ministry of Russia Sputnik		From the very beginning of the civil war in Syria, Official Washington expressed its support to the Syrian opposition and cancelled connection with Assad's regime. According to the Carter Center, nearly 85% of Russian aerial strikes in 2015 targeted not the Islamic State, but the Syrian opposition.
	No direct investments have been made from the United States to Georgia. <i>December 27, 2016</i>	Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Democratic Movement – United Georgia TV Caucasias		Since 1997, EU member states and the US have made a total foreign direct investment worth USD 7,458,381, whereas, in case of Russia, this number merely reaches USD 603,730.
	The US does not help Georgia, no American brands have been operated in Georgia so long.	Zviad Chitishvili, "Chveni Samshoblo" Asaval-Dasavali newspaper		Up to 20 American brands have entered Georgian market.
	American potato made traditional Georgian potato go extinct in Svaneti. <i>October 6, 2016</i>	Robert Sturua, producer		The US-made seeds have not been imported to Svaneti. Prior to importing foreign breeds, potato harvest used to be low.

	In the US it is possible to vote with plastic cards bought in supermarket <i>September 13, 2016</i>	Nana Devdariani, Global Research Center Obieqtivi TV		Like in other countries, in the United States, in order to vote on elections it is necessary to identify the voter on the basis of a state-issued identification document.
	Richard Lugar's laboratory represents a threat for Georgia. <i>August 4, 2016</i>	Global Research Center Alia newspaper, paid article Saqinformi, Georgia&World	Sputnik Навкваское сотрудничество Reportages by Мир ТВ, Россия 24, 31 Канал and RBK TV were aired on Obieqtivi TV in 2015.	The Richard Lugar Central Reference Public Health Laboratory created in Georgia with support of the Government of the United States is a unique opportunity to keep the region protected and secure from the identified and spread epidemics and various biological catastrophes, to diagnose at early stage and stop the spreading of epidemics both in humans and animals (i.e. Ebola, swine flu, bird flu etc.)
PORTRAYING SATIRICAL-HUMOROUS PUBLICATIONS AS ACTUAL INFORMATION/RESPONDENTS	Vice-President candidate from Democratic Party threatened to banish the Catholic Church, if they would not support same-sex marriage.	Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Rights Defenders' Union	Therightists.com	In reality, Tim Kayne has not made such statement. It was disseminated by a satirical web-portal Therightists.com. The "About Us" section of the webpage indicates: "This is Hybrid site of news and satire. Part of our stories already happens, part, not yet. NOT of all our stories are true!"
DISINFORMATION/MEDIA	American military robbed Baghdad Museum. <i>December 13, 2016</i>	Georgia&World	Argumenti i Fakti, Svobodnaia Pressa, sovsekretno.ru, vpressa.ru	US forces were 2,400 km away when the robbery of Baghdad Museum happened.
	After the entry of US forces in Afghanistan, production of drugs there increased 40 times.	Georgia&World, a fragment from a book by Nikolay Starikov – "Crisis: How is it done?"	Russia Today	According to the data of United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) as of 2015, the total cultivation area of opium poppy decreased by 19% on the entire territory of the country.
	An American professor was killed for creating a cure for cancer. <i>November 2, 2016</i>	Gia Aleksidze, professor Asaval-Dasavali		According to the official version, Bradstreet committed suicide on June 19, 2015, after the order was issued for searching his medical center, in the light of being suspected of owning contraband or illegally purchased substances.

DISINFORMATION/ DEMONIZATION/ MEDIA	9/11 terrorist attack was conducted by US. <i>October 11, 2016</i>	Georgia&World		Journalists of Popular Mechanics, in a publication called “Busting 9/11 Myths”, where they present 25 most popular conspiracy theories about 9/11, present particular evidences and facts to illustrate the groundlessness of the myths.
	American research institutes demand restoring governmental funding program that would allow to breed humans with animals experimentally.	Asaval-Dasavali	Tsarigrad TV	The National Healthcare Institute of the US requests governmental funding for transplantation of human stem cells into animals’ embryos in gastrulation period, which was put under moratorium in September 2015. The experiment implies growing human cells and organs in the animal embryos, not breeding.
DEMONIZATION/ PHOTO-MANIPULATION/ MEDIA	The United States try to breed a hybrid of human and monkey for the purpose of using in difficult work conditions.	Georgia&World, Asaval-Dasavali	Москва – Третий Рим (Москва – Третий Рим)	The first try of breeding human and human-like monkey (ape) via artificial insemination belongs to a Russian scientist, Ilya Ivanov, whose efforts proved to be unsuccessful. The photo used in the article that depicts a hybrid of human and monkey, is taken from the poster of a new sci-fi drama – The Chimerian, by Georgia Lucas, the creator of Star Wars.
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA/ MISLEADING TITLE	Erdogan blames the USA for the military coup d’etat. <i>July 16, 2016</i>	PIA	Комсомольская правда	The initial title by PIA, that was later edited by the agency, was inconsistent with the text of the news, as Recep Tayyip Erdogan blamed not the USA for the attempt of military coup d’etat, but an individual living in the USA, Fettullah Gülen.
USING A RUMOR MILL FOR DISSEMINATING INFORMATION	The US imposed a visa-free regime to Belarus, but not to Georgia.	TB24, Geomedia TV, 1Exclusivetv.com	Mbee.ru	Belarus is not included in those 38 countries that are subject to a visa-free travel regime with the United States. USA Radio, that published the material about Belarus on January 31, 2016, indicates in the category “About us” on its website, that it disseminates news and rumors.
TREATING NEWS SATIRE AS FACTUAL NEWS	Senator of Alabama confused Georgian national Olympic team with the State of Georgia’s Olympic team and he wrote about this via open letter to the President of International Olympic Committee.	Social media, info9, geotimes.ge, ok.ru, mpress.ge		The information has been initially disseminated by a satirical-humorous portal USdailymail.com. Its website mentions: “US Daily Mail – news that have not yet happened.”

THE WEST

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
DISINFORMATION/ RESPONDENTS	The West has not constructed a single enterprise in Georgia. <i>July 25, 2016</i>	Temur Khachidze, former Minister of Security		Six out of ten biggest investor countries in Georgia are Western. They include: US, UK, the Netherlands, British Virgin Islands, Luxembourg, Cyprus. The top ten also includes international financial organizations that made investments worth USD 16 million in Georgia in the first quarter of 2016.
	Georgia gets more income and assistance from Russia than from the West.	Archil Chkoidze, Sputnik-Georgia		Remunerations from the Western countries amounted to USD 437 million in 2015, and from Russia – USD 433 million.
	Juvenile justice is the West’s fight over Georgian families. <i>July 27, 2016</i>	Avtandil Ungiadze, Union of Orthodox Parents, Jondi Baghaturia, Guram Palavandishvili, anchor of Palitra News	Genocid Rusov (Геноцид Русов), Omilya	The main goal of the juvenile justice is to prioritize rehabilitation over punishment when it comes to crimes committed by minors.
	Increasing number of American and European viewers trust Russia Today, while the trust towards CNN plummets. <i>December 15, 2016</i>	Gulbaat Rtskhiladze, Eurasian Institute		According to German Statista, RT does not fall within the ranking of top 20 cable TVs in US. According to TV Newser data, the viewers of RT constituted less than 0.1% of the European audience in January – November 2016.
DISINFORMATION/ FABRICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE/MEDIA	Europe and the United States have interest in military actions in Ukraine, as they are driven by the interest of illegal organ trade business. The articles cites the lawyer of Yulia Timoshenko, Sergey Vlasenko: “Until the war in the Eastern Ukraine is not over, clients from Europe and the USA have an opportunity of continuous and legal supply of organs.”	Asaval-Dasavali, Alexey Gudoshnikov, the anchor of Особая статья, a program of a Russian TV Звезда		Alleged correspondence between the former lawyer of Yulia Timoshenko and Olga Wieber about organ trade, disseminated by Russian media, is a fabrication. StopFake interviewed Olga Wieber, who said that she is not a doctor, does not know Sergey Vlasenko and Semen Semenchenko personally and the entire correspondence is a fabrication.

DISINFORMATION/ VIDEO FABRICATION/ MEDIA	Sandra Roelofs, former first lady exports human organs to the West and trades with the organs of the soldiers killed in Ukraine.	Exclusive news, Times news, Russian-speaking portal SLOVO.net.ua	The claim that the organs of the soldiers killed in the War in Ukraine are surgically removed and sold is groundless due to technical and medical factors. After verifying the video attached to the material, it was revealed that the video was uploaded on November 5, 2015 by a user Gen-nady Peskov and was titled – Bloody business in Donbass (КРОВАВЫЙ БИЗНЕС НА ДОНБАССЕ).
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VARIOUS

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA	According to a BBC documentary, Malaysian airplane Boeing 777 has been shot down by Ukrainians. <i>May 11, 2016</i>	Georgia&World, Saqinformi	Russian-speaking: Sputnik, TACC. Western: Daily Mail, Sunday Express	Actually, the BBC documentary reviews, on the one hand, an official report by the State Security Council of the Netherlands concerning the catastrophe of MH17, according to which the catastrophe was caused by a 9M38M1 missile launched from a Russian-produced Бук-М1 surface-to-air missile systems. On the other hand, the BBC documentary reviews conspiracy theories around the incident.
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA	Nadezhda Savchenko moves to Russia due to personal security concerns. <i>December 26, 2016</i>	The Georgian Times, nsp.ge BBC indicated as a source	Конт.ws, x-true.info, Pravda-tv.ru	Neither BBC nor any other Western edition has published information about Nadezhda Savchenko moving to Russia.
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA	Encyclopedia Britannica fabricates the history of Georgia.	Mediacity.ge		The entry that attributed the creation of Georgian alphabet to Mesrop Mashtots, was removed from the encyclopedia in 2011 following an address by Georgian scientists. The article by Mediacity does not indicate that the encyclopedia corrected the inaccuracy in 2011.
DISINFORMATION/ MEDIA	Bloody bananas with HIV-infected blood. <i>December 19, 2016</i>	Mediacity.ge, Apsny LIFE		Bacteria called Ralstonia solanacearum gives the bananas such a color. These bacteria also uses potatoes, tomatoes, ginger and olive oil as host organisms.

<p>PORTRAYING SATIRICAL-HUMOROUS PUBLICATION AS GENUINE INFORMATION</p>	<p>Facebook will be switched off on weekends because, according to Mark Zuckerberg, the world became too dependent on Facebook, which has degenerating effects on human psychic conditions. <i>December 8, 2016.</i></p>	<p>Primetime.ge, Mshoblebi.ge</p>		<p>The disinformation about the switching off of the most popular social network had been disseminated by a satirical agency bstv.ge under the section “Bluff-news”.</p>
<p>CONSPIRACY/RESPONDENTS</p>	<p>Liberal means “the worshiper of a Roman God – Liber”, infamous for his sexual perversion and alcoholism. <i>March 14, 2016</i></p>	<p>Levan Vasadze, businessman</p>		<p>The word “liberalism” is a synonym for freedom and equality in political science and it is derived from a Latin word – Liber, which means freedom.</p>

NATO

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
<p>DISINFORMATION/PHOTO-MANIPULATION/MEDIA</p>	<p>NATO approved new uniforms for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender soldiers. <i>July 1, 2016</i></p>	<p>Asaval-Dasavali</p>		<p>NATO does not have a common, universal military uniform. The photo attached to the article was taken on October 20, 2014 and pictures a forum organized in Washington DC by an NGO – the American Civil Liberties Union. Transgender militaries were invited to speak from Sweden, New Zealand, Australia and Canada.</p>
<p>DISINFORMATION/MEDIA</p>	<p>The Minister of Defense, Tina Khidasheli, called the functioning of the NATO training center in Georgia illegal. <i>July 5, 2016</i></p>	<p>Saqinformi</p>		<p>Evaluation Center (JTEC) has been legally functioning in Krtsanisi since August 27, 2015.</p>
<p>DISINFORMATION/RESPONDENTS</p>	<p>NATO – Georgia Joint Training and NATO operations have not brought peace anywhere. November 3, 2016</p>	<p>Georgia&World</p>		<p>Armed confrontations were stopped in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and FYROM following the NATO intervention.</p>
<p>DISINFORMATION/RESPONDENTS</p>	<p>NATO was fighting an Orthodox Serbia and deprived it of a historical land in the face of Kosovo. <i>October 27, 2016</i></p>	<p>Grigol Mevrishvili, cleric</p>		<p>As a result of the intervention in Kosovo, the armed conflict between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and the Government of Serbia was stopped; Kosovar Albanians were freed from oppression of Milosevic; Albanian genocide was prevented.</p>
	<p>Georgia will have to abandon its territorial integrity in exchange for NATO membership. <i>May 19, 2016</i></p>	<p>Tamaz Mechiauri, Georgian Dream</p>		<p>The fifth article of NATO does not require abandoning territories. German Federal Republic became a member of the alliance in 1955, while East Germany was occupied.</p>

SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET MYTHS

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	DIDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
CONSPIRACY/ MEDIA	During the Cold War, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Allen Dulles, elaborated a plan to disintegrate the Soviet Union through destruction of moral values of the Soviet society.	Georgia&World, Kviris Palitra, Asaval-Dasavali	Novorosia, Journalist is Speaking	Actually, post-Soviet propaganda pictured a fragment from a Soviet novel “Eternal Call” (Вечный зов) as so-called “Dulles’ Plan”.
	During the Great Patriotic War, when the United States and UK were funding Hitler, Stalin saved the world from Fascist plague. September 20, 2016	Georgia&World		In 1941 – 1945, the United States allocated a total of USD 50.1 billion military aid to its allies, including the Soviet Union. If not for the allies’ campaigns in Britain, the Atlantic Ocean, Northern Africa and Normandy, the chances of Germany against the Soviet army, weakened by generals’ repressions and insufficiency of military equipment, would have increased significantly.
	U.S. soldiers brought AIDS virus to the United States from Vietnam and it was created in the chemical laboratories of the Pentagon to conduct experiments on the Vietnamese. <i>August 2, 2016</i>	Saqinformi, REX	Hezavisemaia Gazeta, Novorus.info	Evgeniy Primakov, the former Head of the Intelligence Service of Russia, in an interview with Izvestiya newspaper in 1992, confirmed that the stories about the creation of AIDS in the Pentagon’s labs were fabricated and created by KGB.
	The US Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, was obsessed with hate of Russians and eventually committed suicide.	Politicano, Georgia&World, Tb24	Argumenti i Fakti	None of the witnesses said that he/she saw Forrestal committing suicide or shouting “Russians are following me” as he jumped out of window.
DISINFORMATION/ RESPONDENTS	After the Great Patriotic War, Stalin build 22,000 churches, opened religious seminaries and academies. <i>October 31, 2016</i>	Ioane Chigogidze, cleric Sputnik-Georgia		Only in 1923, 1,212 churches were closed down in Georgia due to Stalin’s anti-religious policy. In 1930, a decree was issued ordering the bells taken from the churches to be delivered to metal recycle centers.

NGO'S

METHOD OF PROPAGANDA	MESSAGE	SOURCE	IDENTICAL RUSSIAN SOURCE OR OTHER SOURCES	REAL FACTS
DISINFORMATION/ RESPONDENTS	Funding NGOs from abroad is restricted in Poland and Israel. May 16, 2016 <i>December 5, 2016</i>	Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Rights Defenders' Union Asaval-Dasavali		Neither the law of Poland on “Socially Useful Activity and Volunteering”, nor the legislative norms on “Associations and Endowments” contain information about restricting funding from abroad. In Israel, the funding from abroad is not restricted, however, the NGOs are required to openly declare the funding sources.
	The funding of Soros' Foundation threatens national identity. <i>September 29, 2016</i>	Sandro Bregadze, Nationals		Open Society Georgia Foundation has funded 365 projects since 1994. The projects included census and photo-fixation of cultural heritage, archeology, development of museums and contemporary art.

