



ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION

AMID 2024 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

INTERIM REPORT
1 JULY - 1 OCTOBER



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Anti-Western Propaganda and Disinformation

Amid 2024 Parliamentary Elections

Interim Report
1 July - 1 October

Authors: Tamar Kintsurashvili, Maiko Ratiani

Monitoring Data Analysis: Tinatin Gogoladze, Lana Rokva

Media Monitoring: Sopo Chkhaidze, Mariam Kavtaradze, Lika Matcharadze, Lia Kintsurashvili, Natia Alavidze, Salome Norakidze, Tamta Kekelidze

Fact-checkers: Tinatin Tvauri, Tekla Kharazishvili, Tisia Kirvalidze, Ani Kistauri, Giorgi Minashvili

Design: Mariam Tsutskiridze

Cover Photo: Lightspring, Shutterstock

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Introduction

During the pre-election period, the Media Development Foundation (MDF) conducted research on anti-Western narratives and disinformation in both traditional and social media.

The following report provides interim findings, covering the period from July 1 to October 1, 2024. The purpose of the study was to analyse the types and sources of anti-Western narratives disseminated by various actors in the lead-up to the elections, as well as the disinformation techniques used to influence public opinion.

The first section of the report presents quantitative and qualitative data on anti-Western narratives, while the second section examines social media, election-related disinformation, and manipulative content.

Methodology

The report uses a mixed methodology, which entails using the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data.

Content Analysis. Narratives and their sources are identified through content analysis of traditional Georgian language media (TV, print, and online outlets), allowing to understand the context and observe trends, and process quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative part provides the amount of anti-western messages broken down by topics, while the qualitative part focuses on the typology of messages.

Selection of content-analysis subjects. Similar to the previous years, in 2024, the Media Development Foundation was monitoring the Georgian-language media. In addition to mainstream media outlets, the subjects were selected based on their ties to the Kremlin and party affiliations. Some adjustments were made to take into account the changes in the media market.

13 traditional media outlets (television – 7, print – 3, online outlets – 3) were selected as monitoring subjects. Unlike previous years, the 2024 report focused on talk shows in television media, which provides more comprehensive data for discourse analysis.

TV Broadcaster		Print	Online
TV “Imedi”	Imedi Live (three times a week)	Asaval-Dasavali (weekly)	Georgia First (geo-first.com), daily
POSTV	Anatomy of Liberalism (four times a week)	Kviris Palitra (weekly)	Georgia and World (geworld.ge), daily
	POSTV – Analytics (three times a week)		
Mtavari Channel	Ghamis Mtavari (weekly)	Resonance (daily, except weekends)	Marshalpress (mpn.ge), daily
Alt-Info	Alt-Analytics (daily, except weekends)		
Sezoni TV	Summary of the Day (daily, except weekends)		
Obieqtivi	Studio N8 (daily, except weekends)		
ERI Media	Gonieri (two times a week)		

Social Media Monitoring. The monitoring was conducted using Meta’s Content Library, focusing on anonymous Facebook pages and groups associated with government entities, opposition parties, and various other organizations. Additionally, cases identified by Myth Detector through Meta’s fact-checking program were incorporated into the social media analysis.

This report presents findings from daily monitoring throughout the pre-election period, covering July 1 to October 1.

Key Findings

During the pre-election period (July-September, 2024), the monitoring of **traditional media outlets** revealed the following tendencies:

- Out of the 4,055 identified anti-Western comments, the majority targeted the collective West (32.9%), followed by anti-US messages (23.3%);
- Pro-Russian statements, including direct support for Russia or indirect justifications for Russian actions, made up 13.1% of the messages;
- Statements against the European Union (11.5%) and non-governmental organizations (9.7%) were somewhat less frequent; anti-liberalism (3.6%) and anti-Ukraine (3.5%) sentiments were nearly equal, while anti-NATO sentiment was the least common at 2.5%;
- Six main thematic categories of anti-Western messages were identified:

<p>1. Elections, Democracy, Sovereignty/Democratic Institutions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interference in Georgian elections by the West/US/EU 2. Preparing grounds for revolutionary changes by not recognizing election results 3. Undermining sovereign democracy/interfering in internal affairs 4. Encouraging revolutions/coups 5. NGOs are politicized/acting on behalf of foreign interests 6. Opposition/President is a puppet of the West 7. The West itself faces challenges to its own democracy 8. The voters must choose between war and peace, sovereignty and slavery 	<p>2. Foreign Policy/Security</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The West/Global War Party is dragging Georgia into war/punishing it for not opening a second front 2. Ukraine’s example shows that the West is not a security guarantor 3. Georgia/Ukraine is being used as a springboard to contain Russia 4. The constitutional provision for Euro-Atlantic integration should be revised; integration should not happen at any cost 5. Only Russia can counter regional threats/restore territorial integrity
<p>3. Identity/Liberalism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The West is imposing homosexuality/unacceptable values 2. The West is attacking traditional identity/the Church/Orthodoxy 3. The West is a victim of its own gender-liberal/immigration policies 4. Liberal fascism must end/liberalism has exhausted itself 	<p>4. Russia’s Intervention in Ukraine</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NATO expansion is the cause of the war in Ukraine 2. The West abandoned Ukraine 3. The Ukrainian government is profiting from the war 4. The Ukrainian government is sacrificing its own people 5. Russia and Ukraine are brotherly nations, but the West has set them against each other 6. Ukraine, as an independent state, never existed; it was created by Stalin

5. Economy/Aid

1. Western aid is directed not at the Georgian people, but at their agency/fight against identity.
2. The West cannot ensure economic prosperity or does not support Georgia's development.
3. The Russian market is real, while the Western one is inaccessible.
4. Georgia should seek membership in alternative Western alliances (BRICS, 3+3)

6. Relations with China

1. The West opposes Georgia's normalization of relations with China.
2. The West's actions facilitate the China-Russia alliance.

- These are the first elections where the ruling party and its affiliated groups openly accused the West and the so-called "Global War Party" of interfering in the elections and attempting to delegitimize the results, equating these actions with preparing for a revolutionary scenario;
- Unlike previous years, actors from the ruling party openly discussed the alleged role of the US in promoting a revolutionary scenario during the pre-election period, even referencing statements from China's foreign ministry on the topic.
- Manipulating fears of war was part of the ruling party's election strategy. Since Russia's intervention in Ukraine, the ruling party and its satellites accused the West/the "Global War Party" of attempting to open a second front in Georgia. Members of the ruling party responded to criticism around the backsliding in terms of the country's democratic development with counterclaims that these baseless accusations were actually aimed at dragging the country into military actions.
- Messages about Georgia being punished for its peaceful and sovereign policies mostly focused on the founder of the ruling party, Bidzina Ivanishvili, linking not only war but also his physical and financial security to this issue.
- The ruling party's electoral messaging employed the false dilemma technique, presenting voters with a false choice between war and peace, sovereignty and servitude, loss of identity or its preservation.
- Notably, the "Georgian Dream" party, which the opposition accuses of changing foreign policy direction and diverging from the path of Western integration, positioned itself in the pre-election campaign as a pro-European force, using the EU's symbols and the slogan, "Towards Europe only with peace, dignity, and prosperity." The ruling party accentuated on the divisions within the West, using the false dilemma method to distinguish between true and pseudo-European realities.
- Pro-Kremlin actors positioned Russia as the sole guarantor of Georgia's territorial integrity, while the ruling party indirectly justified Kremlin actions by blaming the previous administration for the 2008 war.
- The topic of Ukraine was mainly used to illustrate the scenario that if Georgia followed an unpragmatic policy, it would share Ukraine's fate, stressing that the West couldn't guarantee Ukraine's security.
- Among identity-related messages, the theme of forced homosexuality dominated, manipulatively linking it to issues like the so-called "gay propaganda" law, the Paris Olympics, and the private lives of certain European politicians.
- Messages emphasizing Russia's messianic role in protecting identity, asserting that only Orthodox Russia could ensure the protection of traditional identity, were relatively fewer.
- Among parties/coalitions, "Georgian Dream" and "People's Power" disseminated the most anti-Western messages, followed by the pro-Kremlin coalition Alt-Info/Conservative Movement/Alliance of Patriots/Georgian Idea, and the newly formed "Solidarity for Peace" party.
- Among media outlets, most anti-Western messages appeared in pro-Kremlin outlets Sezoni TV and Georgia and World, followed by pro-government POSTV and Georgia First.
- Selected media outlets, such as Imedi TV and Resonance, mainly became platforms for anti-Western messages due to their choice of interviewees, revealing a trend of guest selection based on media outlets' political affiliations.
- Among civil organizations, the newly formed pro-governmental organization "United Neutral Georgia" spread the most anti-Western messages. Notably, besides this organization, another pro-governmental group, "Kartuli," was established just before the elections.

While analysing social media in the pre-election period, “Myth Detector” revealed the following tendencies:

- Out of 25 cases of disinformation and manipulative content related to political parties, the majority (19) were directed against the opposition;
- In cases of false information, visual manipulations were predominant, including altering both visuals and audio in videos;
- The typology of false information sources shows that the dissemination of content against the opposition involved anti-opposition and pro-ruling party Facebook pages/accounts, as well as pro-government media and experts, while content against the ruling "Georgian Dream" party mostly originated from "Unity - National Movement" politicians and their supporter Facebook accounts;
- The ruling party was found to spread disinformation on the topic of Georgia's involvement in the war, which targeted both opposition politicians and non-governmental organizations;
- Cases of statistical manipulation by the ruling party were also revealed, where Georgia was portrayed as holding leading positions in the world in various indicators;
- Four new anonymous Facebook pages were identified, which attempted to discredit politicians through short videos (Reels). Of these four pages, three posted only anti-opposition content, while one page published content against both the opposition and the ruling party. This page ("Mikheil Bidzinauri") was connected to Giorgi Gakharia's party.
- Old and newly created anonymous anti-opposition Facebook pages used archival videos of politicians' statements and manipulative satirical content, accompanied by offensive and uncensored comments directed at the politicians;
- Three Facebook pages operating under the guise of regional [media](#) were identified, which showed support for the ruling party and disseminated anti-opposition messages;
- An anti-opposition and anti-NGO Facebook [page](#) called "Facts and Choice" was created, positioning itself as an organization fighting disinformation. Since its creation on August 27, it has published nearly a thousand posts.

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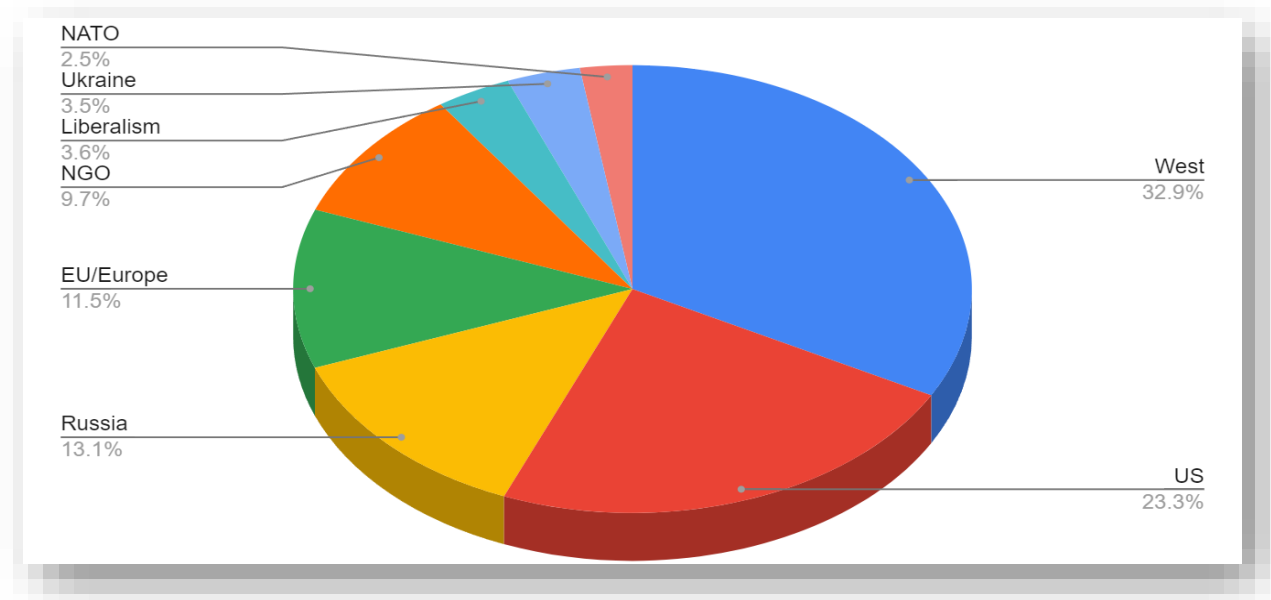
I. Anti-Western Messages in Traditional Media

1.1. Total Quantitative Data

During the three-month pre-election period of 2024 (July-September), the Media Development Foundation analysed 4,055 comments in its study of anti-Western discourse. The majority of the messages were directed against the collective West¹ (32.9% - 1,333 comments), followed by comments targeting the United States (23.3% - 945). Pro-Russian messages, or comments indirectly justifying Russia's actions, accounted for 13.1%. Next in line were comments made against the European Union and Europe (11.5% - 466), followed by critical statements about non-governmental organizations (9.7% - 392). Comments against liberalism (3.6% - 145) and Ukraine (3.5% - 142) were almost equally represented, while the least amount of comments targeted NATO (2.5% - 101).

It is noteworthy that Russia is the only subject portrayed either positively or with indirect justification for its actions in the presented study, while all other subjects are depicted in a negative context.

Figure 1. Subjects of Anti-Western Messages (July-September, 2024)

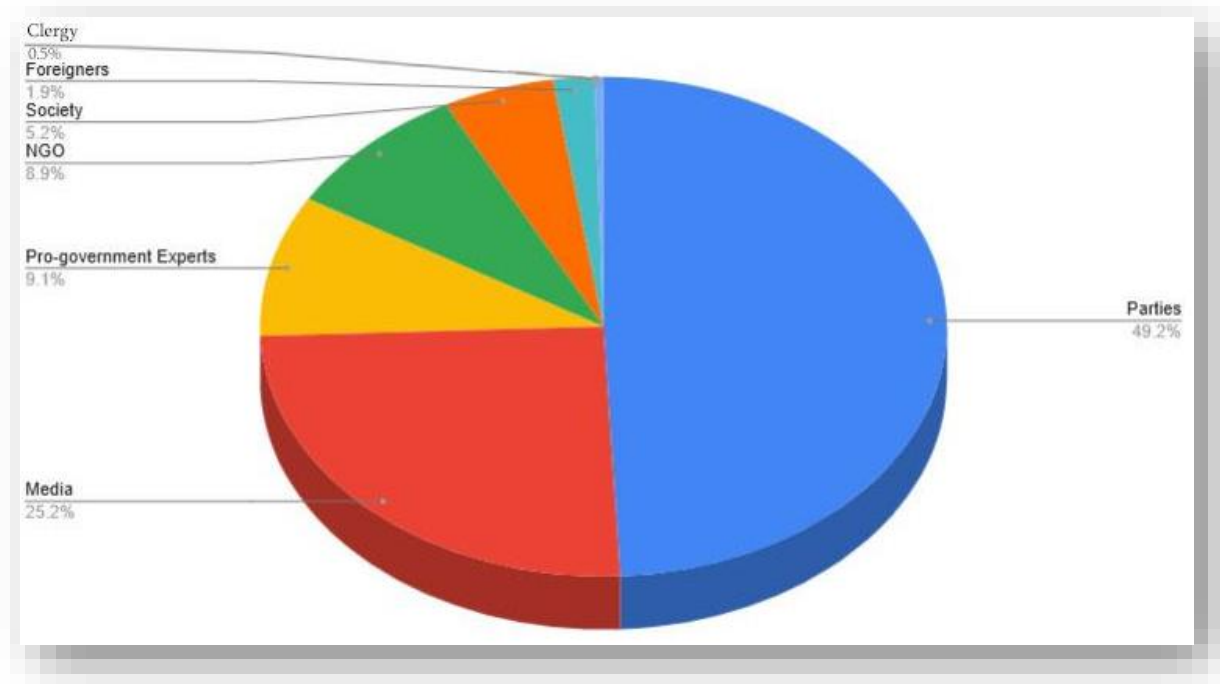


As seen in Figure 2 and the accompanying table, the most frequent source of anti-Western messages was the political class (1,996 instances), followed by monitoring subject media outlets (1,021 instances). In this study, we separately highlighted pro-government experts (370 instances), who primarily voice positions supporting the ruling party and often appear in media outlets with pro-government editorial policies. Close behind these pro-government experts were public organizations (360 instances), which are mostly associated with individual figures or were formed as unions during the pre-election period (e.g., United Neutral Georgia, Society Kartuli). A large portion of the organizations presented in the study are supporters of the government, with a few supporting pro-Kremlin parties. The “society” category (212 instances) includes individuals with diverse political views, while the “foreigners” category (79 instances) features representatives from Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, China, and the West, who were quoted by media outlets based on their editorial policies. For instance, pro-government media tended to cite conservative Western and Chinese sources, as well as Ukrainians critical of Zelenskyy’s government; openly pro-Kremlin publications cited Russian and Belarusian

¹This category includes messages that simultaneously address both the United States, Europe, and international institutions, as well as instances where the West is viewed as a unified geopolitical and value-based space.

sources. Representatives of the Georgian Orthodox Church (17 instances) appeared the least in the monitoring.

Figure 2. Subjects of Anti-Western Messages by Sources (July-September, 2024)



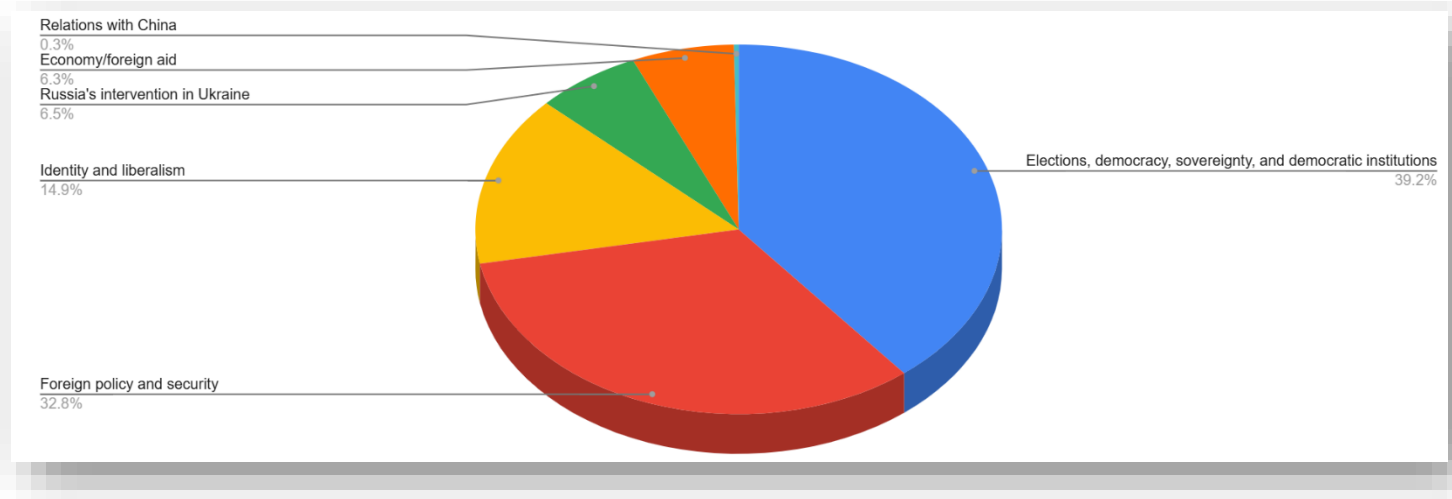
Subjects	West	US	Russia	EU/Europe	NGO	Liberalism	Ukraine	NATO	Total
Parties	668	431	248	206	203	119	70	51	1996
Media	321	244	180	118	90	20	30	18	1021
Pro-government Experts	130	132	9	37	47		10	5	370
NGO	124	51	40	67	37	6	16	19	360
Society	63	61	47	16	10		11	4	212
Foreigners	19	26	7	17	1		5	4	79
Clergy	8			5	4				17
	1333	945	531	466	392	145	142	101	4055

1.2. Topics of Anti-Western Propaganda

The analysis revealed six main themes of anti-Western messages, which covered the following issues:

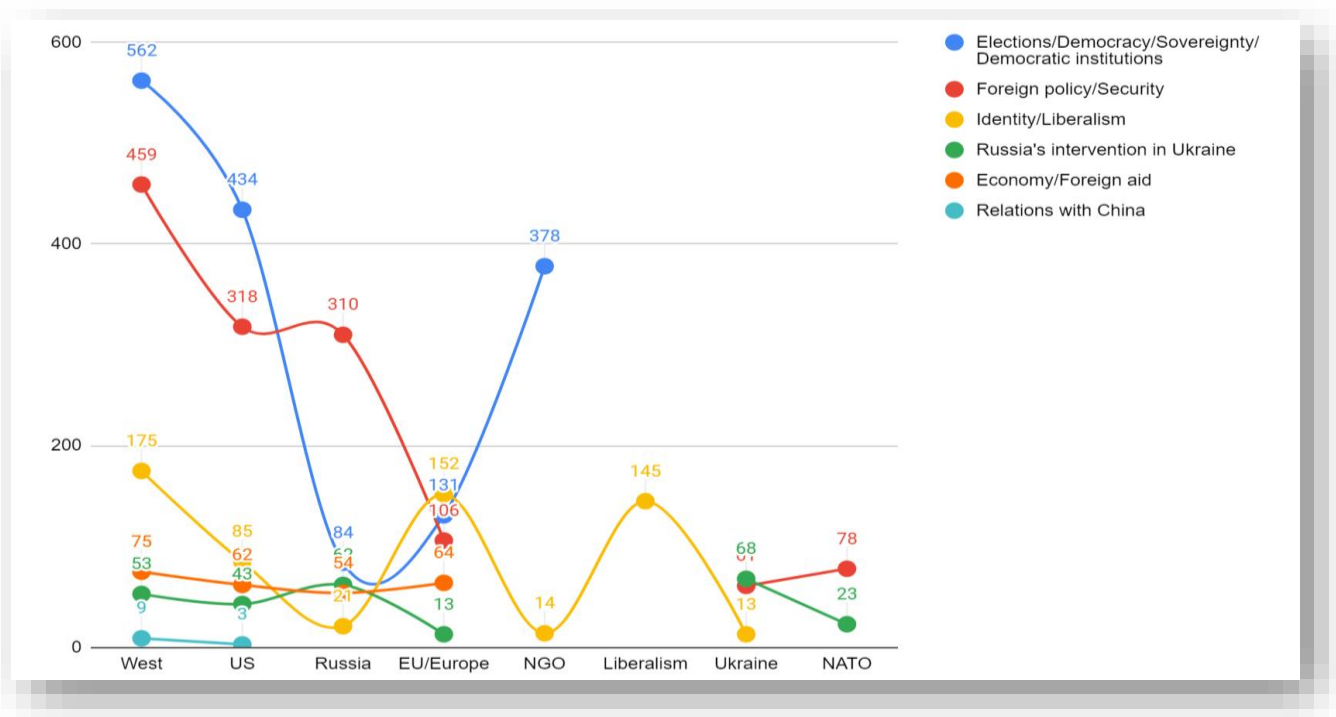
1. Elections, democracy, sovereignty, and democratic institutions (39.2%)
2. Foreign policy and security (32.8%)
3. Identity and liberalism (14.9%)
4. Russia's intervention in Ukraine (6.5%)
5. Economy/foreign aid (6.3%)
6. Relations with China (0.3%)

Figure 3. Topics of Anti-Western Messages (July-September, 2024)



Among the above-mentioned six topics, the issues of elections, democracy, and sovereignty, as well as democratic institutions, were predominant (1,589 instances). This was influenced both by the electoral process and the adoption of the so-called "Foreign Agents' Law" targeting non-governmental organizations. The second most prominent topic was foreign policy and security (1,332 instances), which mostly revolved around the ruling party manipulating fears of war during the election campaign and accusing the global "war party" of conspiring against the country. The themes of identity and liberalism were also part of pre-election political manipulation schemes (605 instances). The issue of Russia's intervention in Ukraine (262 instances) and NATO (255 instances) were less represented, while relations with China (12 instances) were the least discussed, often portrayed as being hindered by the West.

Figure 4. Topics of Anti-Western Messages by Subjects (July-September, 2024)



Topics	West	US	Russia	EU/Europe	NGO	Liberalism	Ukraine	NATO	Total
Elections/Democracy/Sovereignty/Democratic institutions	562	434	84	131	378				1589
Foreign Policy/Security	459	318	310	106			61	78	1332
Identity/Liberalism	175	85	21	152	14	145	13		605
Russia's intervention in Ukraine	53	43	62	13			68	23	262
Economy/Foreign aid	75	62	54	64					255
Relations with China	9	3							12
	1333	945	531	466	392	145	142	101	4055

1.2.1. Elections, democracy, sovereignty, and democratic institutions

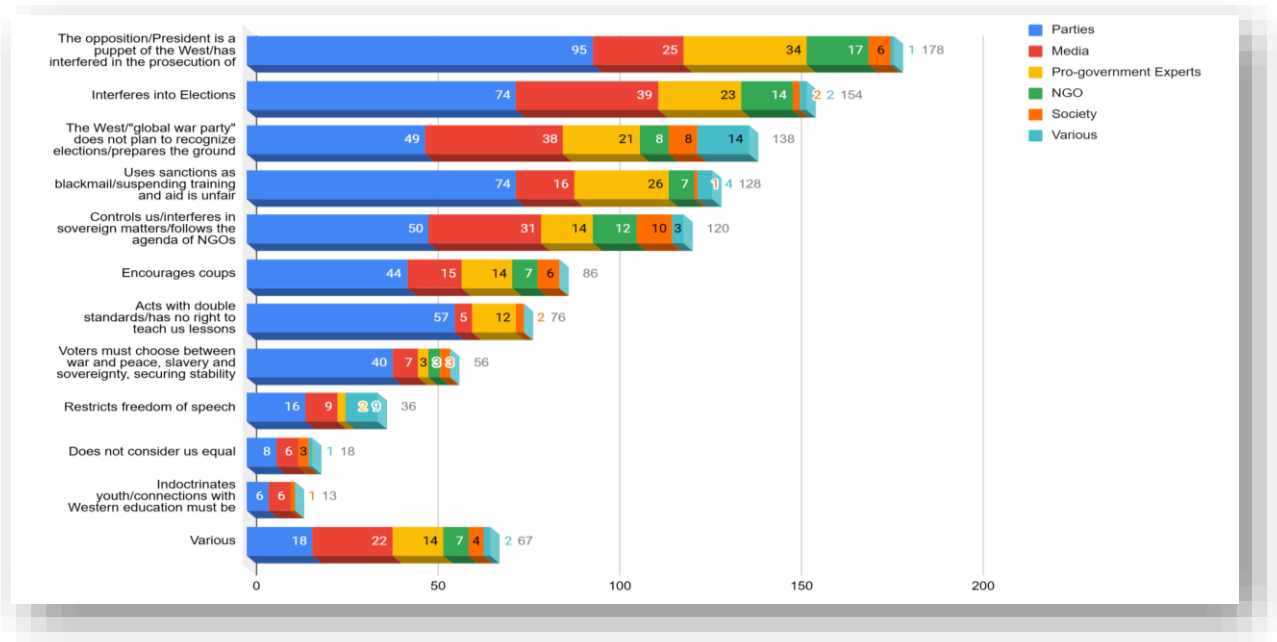
When it comes to the topic of elections, democracy, sovereignty, and democratic institutions, the frequent targets were the collective West (562 instances) and the United States (434 instances), as well as non-governmental organizations (378 instances).

Seven main messages have been identified regarding this issue, targeting the collective West along with the United States, the European Union, and international organizations in various degrees:

1. Interference in elections
2. Preparing grounds for revolutionary changes by not recognizing election results
3. Undermining sovereign democracy/interfering in internal affairs
4. Encouraging revolutions/coups
5. NGOs are politicized/acting on behalf of foreign interests
6. Opposition/President is a puppet of the West
7. The West itself faces challenges to its own democracy
8. The voters must choose between war and peace, sovereignty and slavery

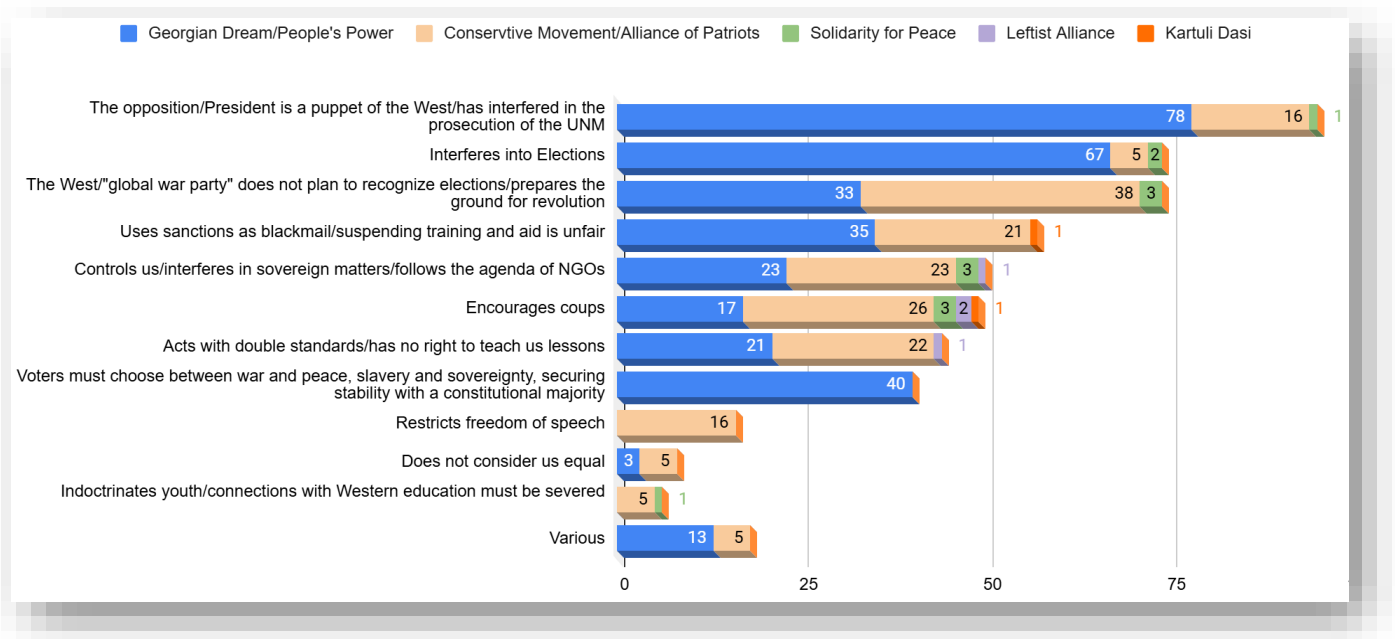
As shown in the diagram below, where the targets are the collective West, the U.S., and the EU, the most frequent message portrayed the opposition/President as executors of Western directives. There was also mention of Western pressure as a protective factor in the accountability of the opposition party, the United National Movement (UNM), currently out of power (178 instances). Other messages, discussed in detail below, largely pertain to elections, issues of sovereignty, and the role of NGOs.

Figure 5. Joint Messages Related to Elections, Democracy, Sovereignty, and Democratic Institutions and Against the West/US/EU (July-September, 2024)



As shown in the diagram below, the majority of messages portraying the opposition/President as Western puppets and suggesting that the West interfered in prosecuting the UNM come from the ruling party, Georgian Dream, and its satellite group, People's Power. The same entities dominate messages on election interference. However, on issues such as the encouragement of revolution by not recognizing elections, interference in Georgia's sovereign matters, and double standards, both the Kremlin-aligned coalition (Alt-Info/Conservative Movement-Patriots' Alliance-Georgian Idea) and the ruling party show nearly equal engagement. In these cases, the focus is on the claim that the West itself faces democratic challenges and therefore lacks the moral authority to teach others lessons.

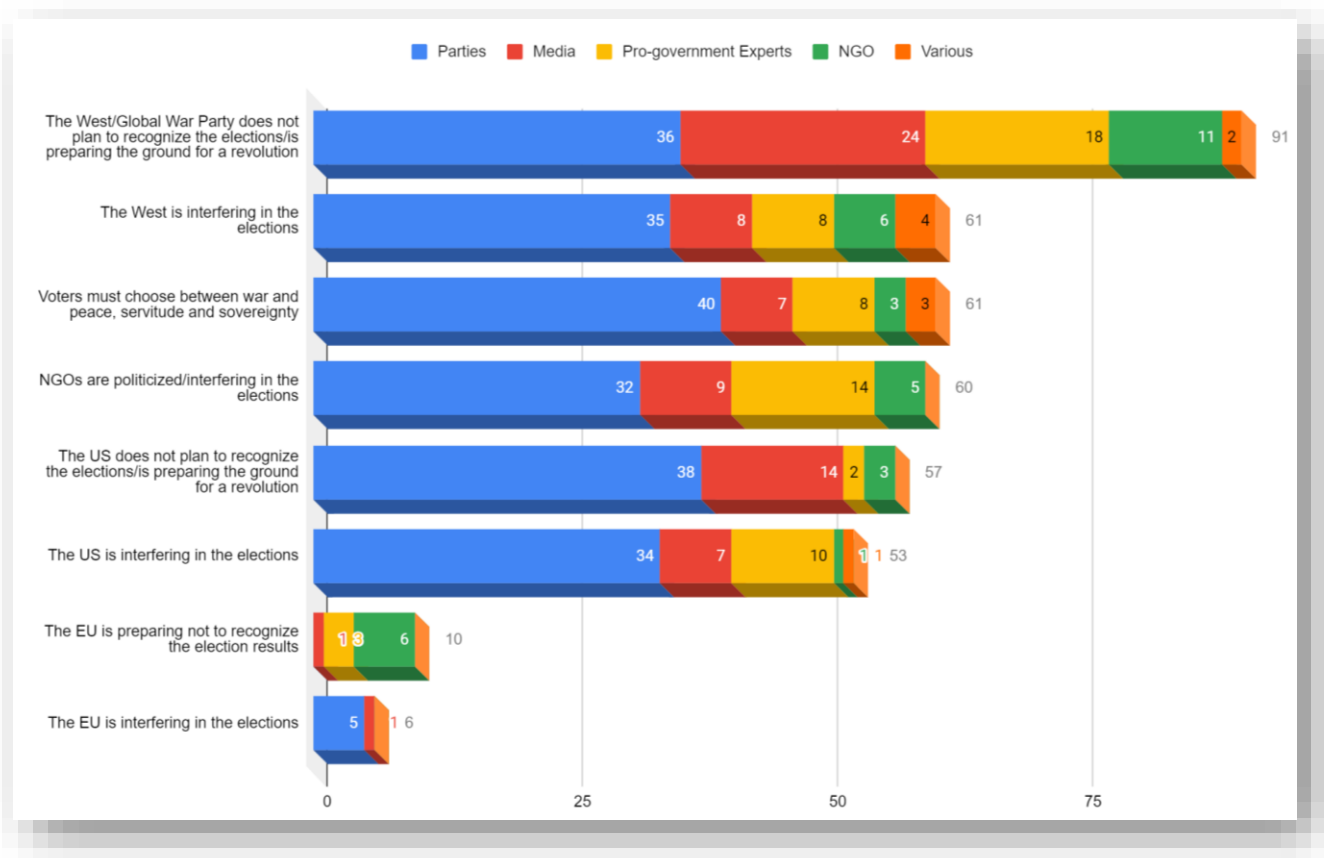
Figure 6. Joint Messages Related to Elections, Democracy, Sovereignty, and Democratic Institutions and Against the West/US/EU by Political Parties (July-September, 2024)



Election Interference and Delegitimizing the Election Results. Notably, this is the first election where the ruling party and its affiliated political and media groups accused the West and the so-called global war party, which were often used as synonyms, of interfering in the elections and delegitimizing the results. This was seen as preparing the ground for a revolutionary scenario. The election theme was also intertwined with the manipulation of war fears. The ruling party's electoral message employed a false dilemma technique, offering voters a choice between war and peace, sovereignty and slavery, loss of identity, and its preservation.

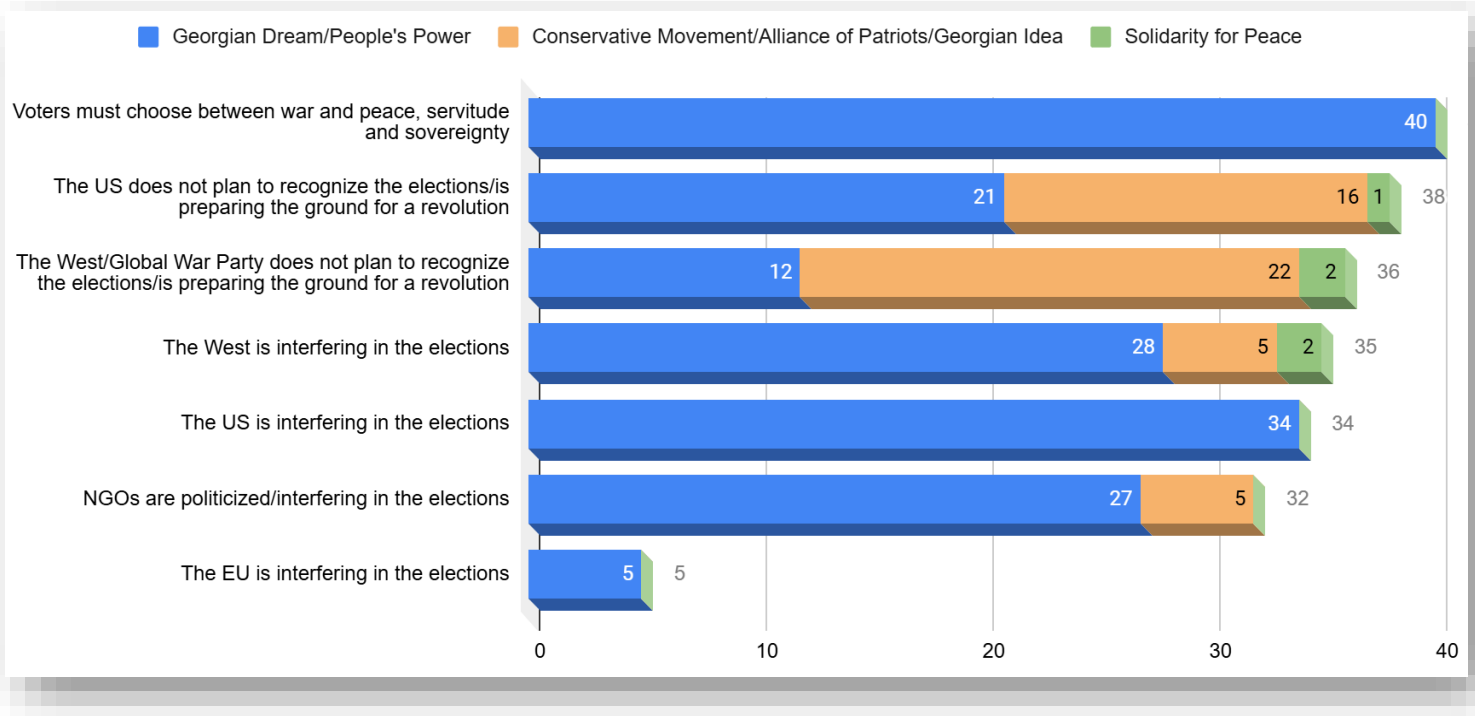
As shown in the Figure below, political parties were the most frequent disseminators of these messages, with the dominant theme being the non-recognition of election results and the preparation for revolution by the West and the global “war party” (91 instances). In addition to the global “war party” and the collective West, the targets of accusations of election interference and delegitimization of results included the United States, the European Union, and "politicized non-governmental organizations."

Figure 7. Messages related to Interference and Delegitimization of Elections by Sources (July-September, 2024)



Among political parties, the ruling Georgian Dream and its affiliated People’s Power made the most statements on election interference, followed by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement/Patriots Alliance coalition.

Figure 8. Messages related to Interference and Delegitimization of Elections by Political Parties (July-September, 2024)



It is also noteworthy that the comments on U.S. interference in the electoral process and the organization of unrest in the country were based, on the one hand, on information from the Georgian State Security Service (SSG), voiced by People's Power, and on the other hand, on a statement by the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service,² referenced by the leader of the Kremlin-affiliated Alt-Info/Conservative Movement party:

Sozar Subari, People's Power	Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement
<p>"A few days ago, there was another piece of <u>information published by the SSG</u>, stating that suspicious movements have started not only regarding the <u>non-recognition of the elections</u> but also with the <u>involvement of a security component in organizing unrest</u>... Against this backdrop, the messages we read in the McCain Institute's report were very clear, where it is directly stated that everything must be done to <u>ensure the elections are not recognized as legitimate</u>, and that a bipartisan delegation from the U.S. Congress should come to <u>support the protesters against the government</u>³"...</p>	<p>"<u>The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service</u> has released another statement concerning Georgia, discussing what the United States specifically <u>plans</u> regarding the elections in our country. The statement mentioned that the <u>United States is preparing in advance not to recognize</u> the results of these elections, and, naturally, intends to play out the <u>standard Maidan scenario</u>.⁴"</p>

² ТАСС, 11 сентября СВР: США могут задействовать БДИПЧ ОБСЕ для вмешательства в выборы в Грузии

<https://tass.ru/politika/21832769>

³ Marshalpress, 22 September, "A few days ago, another piece of information was released by the State Security Service of Georgia (SSG), stating that suspicious movements have begun regarding the non-recognition of the upcoming elections"

<https://mpn.ge/archives/54974>

⁴ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 11 September, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4252426

Representatives of Georgian Dream and People's Power linked their accusations of U.S. interference in Georgia's electoral process to the following issues:

- **Sanctioning two government officials due to democratic backsliding:**⁵ “Such actions by a foreign country during the pre-election period constitute interference in the electoral process and an attempt to influence voters.”⁶
- **The possible sanctioning of Bidzina Ivanishvili:** „If all this really happens, it will once again send a message to the Georgian public, our electorate and beyond, about how direct the interference is, how much direct pressure is being applied on Mr. Bidzina, our entire team, and directly on the country.⁸ Pre-election sanctions imposed by an upset partner, the U.S., would be seen as an open attempt to blackmail Georgian Dream, which would be punished because it did not follow the rules of the political game of the US.”⁹
- **Accusations that USAID deliberately concealed an error made by ISFED during parallel vote counting in 2020:** “When it was revealed that the US government agency knew about it and hid it, we still haven't heard whether an investigation was conducted, what was uncovered, and what USAID or the embassy knew. Why were they hiding all of this, which ultimately became one of the inspirations for the revolutionary wave in Georgia?”¹⁰

The view that the US and the West are interested in changing the government and triggering a revolutionary scenario was shared by Kremlin-affiliated parties as well:

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots:** „Our government itself is saying that America or the West is planning a revolution.”¹¹”
- **Mikheil Jghenti, Solidarity for Peace:** „Between October 10-15, the West, the United States, and the European Union will conclude that the elections will not be democratic. They will already have this conclusion and will prepare an 80% state coup”¹².”
- **Zurab Makharadze, Conservative Movement:** “This is not about democracy; it is about regime change... The Americans sent a message to the locals and others that the government in Georgia is now in the category of untouchables, people we will not shake hands with”¹³.”

At the same time, representatives of the Kremlin-affiliated Alliance of Patriots claimed that Russia is not interfering in Georgia's internal politics and is only interested in ensuring that there is no anti-Russian government in Georgia that would engage in a war against it:

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots:** „Naturally, it matters to Russia what kind of government is in Georgia. This does not mean that there must be a pro-Russian government in Georgia, as the representatives of the United National Movement claim. What matters to Russia is that there is no 'anti-' government, i.e., not a government that would engage in a war against it. A neutral government...”¹⁴”

Sovereign Democracy. Both the ruling and pro-Kremlin parties promoted the idea that the West interferes in Georgia's sovereign affairs, framing the elections as a false dilemma between sovereignty and servitude:

⁵ Civil.ge, 16 September, BREAKING: U.S. Imposes New Sanctions for Undermining Democracy <https://civil.ge/ka/archives/624661>

⁶ Marshalpress, 20 September, Givi Mikanadze, Georgian Dream, <https://mpn.ge/archives/54878>

⁷ Voice of America, 20 September. Breaking: The United States has developed a sanctions package against Bidzina Ivanishvili. <https://bit.ly/4eVPKTH>

⁸ Marshalpress, 21 September, Irakli Kirtskhalia, Georgian Dream <https://mpn.ge/archives/54949>

⁹ Marshalpress, 23 September, Tamta Megrelishvili, People's Power, <https://mpn.ge/archives/54995>

¹⁰ Marshalpress, 15 July, Shalva Papuashvili, Chairperson of the Parliament, <https://mpn.ge/?p=50597>

¹¹ Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 26 August, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4249624

¹² Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 18 September, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4253159

¹³ Alt-info, Alt-Analytics, 27 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4255049>

¹⁴ Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 26 August, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4249626

- **Kakha Kaladze, Mayor of Tbilisi:** “Georgia cannot be anyone’s vassal. It is impossible. Georgia is an independent, sovereign state. Our ancestors fought and shed blood for this.”¹⁵“
- **Nino Tsilosani, Georgian Dream:** ““These elections represent a decision for every Georgian voter – will Georgia remain on the map as an independent, dignified, proud, sovereign state, or will it become someone’s vassal?”¹⁶..”
- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots:** “In reality, the EU is trying to create the same level of integration as was already established in the Soviet Union... practically, Brussels dictates everything to us, even politically.”¹⁷“
- **Zura Makharadze, Conservative Movement:** „When that woman [Uzra Zeya¹⁸] was here, her country simultaneously passed a law sanctioning our government, essentially an attack on our government because we did something here without consulting them, demonstrating signs of sovereignty, and we are being sanctioned for it”¹⁹.“
- **Irakli Martinenko, Conservative Movement:** “We are a colony of the West, and the West has personally sanctioned the Georgian Dream...”²⁰

Encouragement of revolutions/coups. Beyond the pre-election context, the topic of the West’s, particularly the US’, encouragement of color revolutions and coups also appeared during the monitoring period. Both pro-Kremlin and pro-government actors promoted the idea that the Maidan-like scenario aimed to bring a politically favorable force to power and had a regional dimension:

- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “If they [Americans] can’t bring their own people to power, then, of course, another scenario will be activated here, the so-called Maidan scenario.”²¹
- **Davit Kartvelishvili, People’s Power:** “What they [Americans] failed to achieve in Georgia, they are trying to do in Armenia.”²².

Unlike in previous years, during the pre-election period, government actors also openly discussed the role of the US in encouraging revolutionary scenarios. Moreover, pro-government media used the Chinese Foreign Ministry as a source on this topic, with most criticism directed at the American organization National Endowment for Democracy (NED), referring to it as having been involved in the Arab Spring, Orange Revolution, and other popular protests against authoritarianism:

- **Foreign Ministry of China:** “It [NED] has become known for attempts to infiltrate, subvert, and sabotage against other countries. It is extremely important to expose NED’s activities and warn all countries to see its true nature, protect themselves from infiltration and sabotage, resist it, and defend their national sovereignty, security, and interests, supporting peace and development worldwide, as well as international law and justice.”²³“

Prime Minister Irakli Kobakhidze’s comments also addressed funding political processes through NED, speaking on the lack of transparency in financing revolutions in response to a journalist’s question:

- **Irakli Kobakhidze, Prime Minister:** “Transparency has no alternative; no one should attempt to stage or fund a revolution in our country in a non-transparent way. This is not a correct practice.”²⁴“

¹⁵ Marshallpress, 8 July, <https://mpn.ge/?p=50006>

¹⁶ POSTV, Post Analytics, 26 August, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4249458>

¹⁷ Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 30 August, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4250111

¹⁸ Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights of the United States

¹⁹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 12 July, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4244300

²⁰ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 20 August, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4249226>

²¹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 16 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4253008>

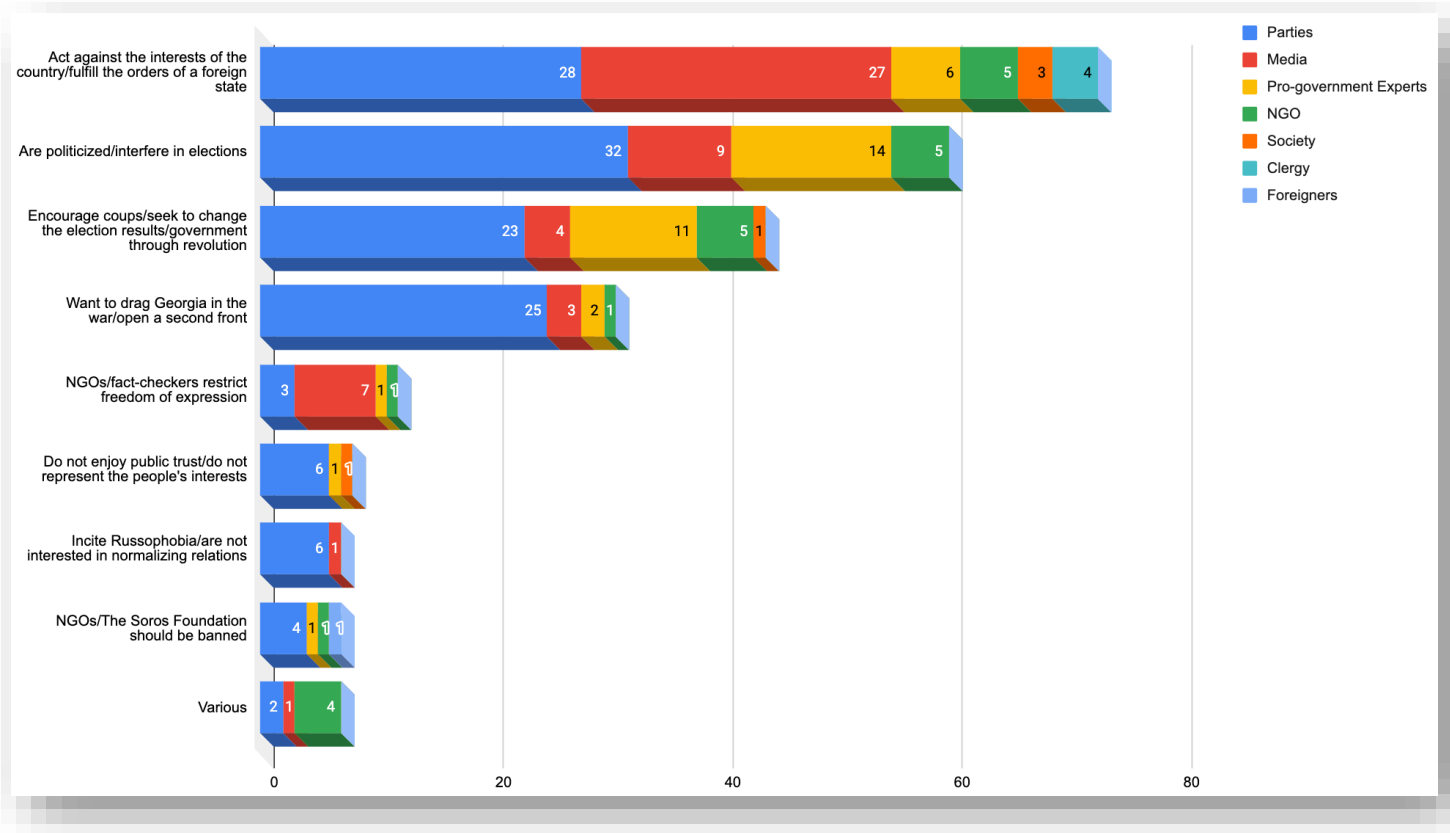
²² Marshallpress, 23 July, <https://mpn.ge/archives/51344>

²³ Georgia First, 17 August, <https://bit.ly/4e7LgbA>

²⁴ Marshallpress, 19 August <https://mpn.ge/archives/52936>

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are politicized/acting on behalf of foreign interests. Comments about the politicization of NGOs and their role in serving foreign interests were primarily voiced by politicians, the media, and pro-government experts. Among politicians, the ruling “Georgian Dream” party and its associated group, People’s Power, were the most frequent sources of such statements.

Figure 9. Messages about the politicization of NGOs and them serving the interests of foreign states (July-September, 2024)



Both the ruling party and pro-government propagandist channels, such as *Imedi* and *PostTV*, had hosts who discussed the politicization of NGOs and their alleged work on foreign directives:

- **Magda Anikashvili, Journalist at TV Imedi:** “...the line between parties and NGOs no longer practically exists.”²⁵
- **Zviad Avaliani, host at PostTV:** “...they are really following orders... They are part of a narrative set by the radical opposition and the NGO sector, and they must do whatever the creators of this narrative demand.”²⁶”

Statements about the politicization of NGOs and Western-funded activities targeted Eka Gigauri’s (the director of Transparency International Georgia) speech in the U.S. Congress, the Democracy Festival organized with support from the Danish government, ISFED’s activities, and NED-supported projects. Additionally, there were claims that the so-called “Agents’ Law” would expose foreign intentions and limit interference in national sovereignty:

- **Givi Mikanadze, Georgian Dream:** “There is a clear blurring of boundaries between the NGO sector and political subjects, as well as direct foreign interference influencing pre-election processes [Democracy Festival].”²⁷
- **Jondi Baghaturia, Kartuli Dasi:** “What we have here is governance from abroad... They are essentially government organizations, only American...”²⁸

²⁵ Imedi, Imedi LIVE, 29 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4255027&rc=1>

²⁶ POSTV, Post Analytics, 2 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4251058>

²⁷ Resonance, 30 August, http://www.resonancedaily.com/mobile/index.php?id_rub=2&id_artc=211443

²⁸ Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 10 September, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4251725

- **Irakli Kadagishvili, Georgian Dream:** “When there is transparency and openness, then there will be no risk, no danger, no speculation about whether or not this organization [NED] **is funding various NGOs, including to achieve unconstitutional aims**, as it did with ISFED.²⁹”
- **David Kartvelishvili, resident author:** “The foreign influence transparency law, introduced to **protect national independence, sovereignty, and security**, has created an ‘atomic bomb effect’ among **international agentocrats and their local agent-puppets...**”³⁰

From both government and Kremlin-aligned actors, there were calls to ban Western funds and adopt practices from neighboring countries, including Hungary’s experience:

- **Zurab Kadagidze, People’s Power:** “I think it’s time for Georgia to take lessons from its neighbors and **categorically raise the issue with such [NED] funds and organizations** – they either work in line with the state’s public interest, **or they should be banned from operating in Georgia!**³¹”
- **Zura Makhardze, Conservative Movement:** “There aren’t actually many NGOs to worry about here; there are just a few, and I’ll give an example. SSS (State Security Service) would issue a report saying that George Soros’ Open Society Foundation is blatantly interfering in internal political matters, engaging in destructive activities, functioning as an extremist organization, and then take steps to revoke the registration of that structure... You have a friend, Mr. Viktor Orbán, who did that in his country, and now the Soros Foundation no longer operates in Hungary.”³²

President/opposition as Western puppets. The notion that, along with NGOs, the president and opposition are also Western puppets and are acting on foreign directives was equally shared by the ruling party and pro-Kremlin groups, which demanded banning foreign-managed institutions. Additionally, the ruling party emphasized that it was unable to hold the previous ruling party accountable due to Western pressure but now aims to bring justice to the National Movement’s agents:

- **Irakli Martinenko, Conservative Movement:** “All organizations that influence society, whether they be **NGOs or political parties serving other countries**, need measures taken against them, **steps to end their activities altogether.**”³³
- **Irakli Kobakhidze, Prime Minister:** “In 2003, **the government was appointed from abroad through NGOs.** For nine years, a political force ruled that committed countless crimes against the Georgian state and people... **To this day, the external forces that handed power to foreign agents in 2003 have not taken responsibility for these crimes.**”³⁴
- **Bidzina Ivanishvili, Georgian Dream:** “The **collective National Movement** is in service of those who wish harm upon this country, and this has been proven multiple times. I stress that this force and those who give it orders **pose a real threat to Georgian statehood!**”³⁵
- **Sozar Subari, People’s Power:** “We are saying that **we are holding your [international partners’] agents accountable.** Naturally, they won’t allow it, but if we want a lawful state to take shape, this must happen.”³⁶

The West itself is facing democracy challenges. Rhetoric that the West cannot serve as a role model for Georgia, given its own democratic challenges, was voiced by representatives of Georgian Dream and People’s Power, who connected double standards in the West with attacks on political leaders in the U.S. and Europe:

- **Tamta Megrelishvili, People’s Power:** “What is accepted in the West as a high standard of democracy and objectivity would be considered dictatorship in Venezuela – yet another example of Western double standards.”³⁷

²⁹ Marshalpress, 17 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/52860>

³⁰ Georgia First, 23 September, <https://geo-first.com/agenturuli-janyis-molodinsi/>

³¹ Marshalpress, 18 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/52890>

³² Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 10 July, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4242234

³³ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 15 July <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4243922>

³⁴ Marshalpress, 31 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/53666>

³⁵ Marshalpress, 31 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/53676>

³⁶ Imedi, Imedi LIVE, 22 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4253906&rc=1>

³⁷ Marshalpress, 3 August <https://mpn.ge/archives/52208>

- **Irakli Zarkua, Georgian Dream:** “You have candidates being shot at in your country [the U.S.]; opponents, Republicans, accuse Biden’s administration of using the justice department for political ends, claiming they are pursuing opponents... So how can you then turn around and teach the Georgian government or people about democracy?” You are kicking out journalists from Fox News... So who has better democracy? Us or them?³⁸”
- **Zaal Mikeladze, People’s Power:** “We see what’s happening in recent days in Europe. They talk to us about democracy, yet they are ready to stone and kill each other. The case of Robert Fico has also proven this.”³⁹

False Dilemma Technique. In the electoral context, the ruling party and its supporters used the false dilemma technique,⁴⁰ urging voters to choose between war and peace, sovereignty and subservience, and loss or preservation of national identity.

Georgian Dream’s statement: “The 2024 parliamentary elections are a kind of referendum where the Georgian people must finally decide whether they choose war or peace, moral degradation or traditional values, servile dependence on foreign powers or an independent and sovereign state, and whether they choose the collective National Movement or Georgian Dream.”⁴¹

1.2.2. Foreign Policy/Security

Five main messages emerged regarding foreign policy and security issues, with the theme of war being the most dominant:

1. The West/Global War Party is dragging Georgia into war/punishing it for not opening a second front.
2. Ukraine’s example shows that the West is not a security guarantor.
3. Georgia/Ukraine is being used as a springboard to contain Russia.
4. Only Russia can counter regional threats/restore territorial integrity.
5. The constitutional provision for Euro-Atlantic integration should be revised; integration should not happen at any cost.

Global War Party and Manipulation with War Fears. Manipulating war fears has been part of the ruling party's electoral strategy, which it has used in the past as well. Following Russia’s intervention in Ukraine, the ruling party and its affiliates accused Western countries of attempting to open a second front in Georgia, countering criticism over democratic backsliding with counterclaims that such accusations aimed to drag the country into war.⁴² Furthermore, they linked this to a conspiracy involving the so-called Global War Party.

As shown in the chart below, most messages concerned the West/Global War Party allegedly pushing Georgia toward war, with statements most frequently coming from the political class.

Figure 10. Messages related to the Global War Party and the second front (July-September 2024)

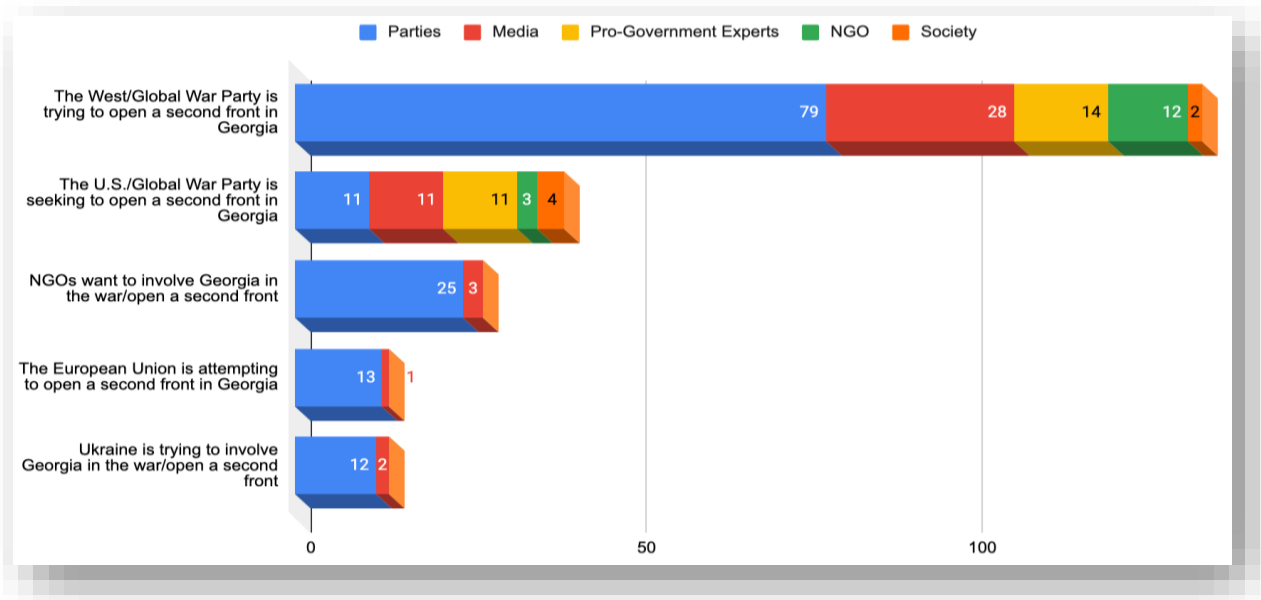
³⁸ Marshalpress, 2 September <https://mpn.ge/archives/53766>

³⁹ Marshalpress, 17 July, <https://mpn.ge/archives/50878>

⁴⁰ The false dilemma technique, or the black-and-white thinking technique, involves only setting two alternatives and giving preference to one of them. <https://millab.ge/ka/mil-resources/any/16/any/any/1/>

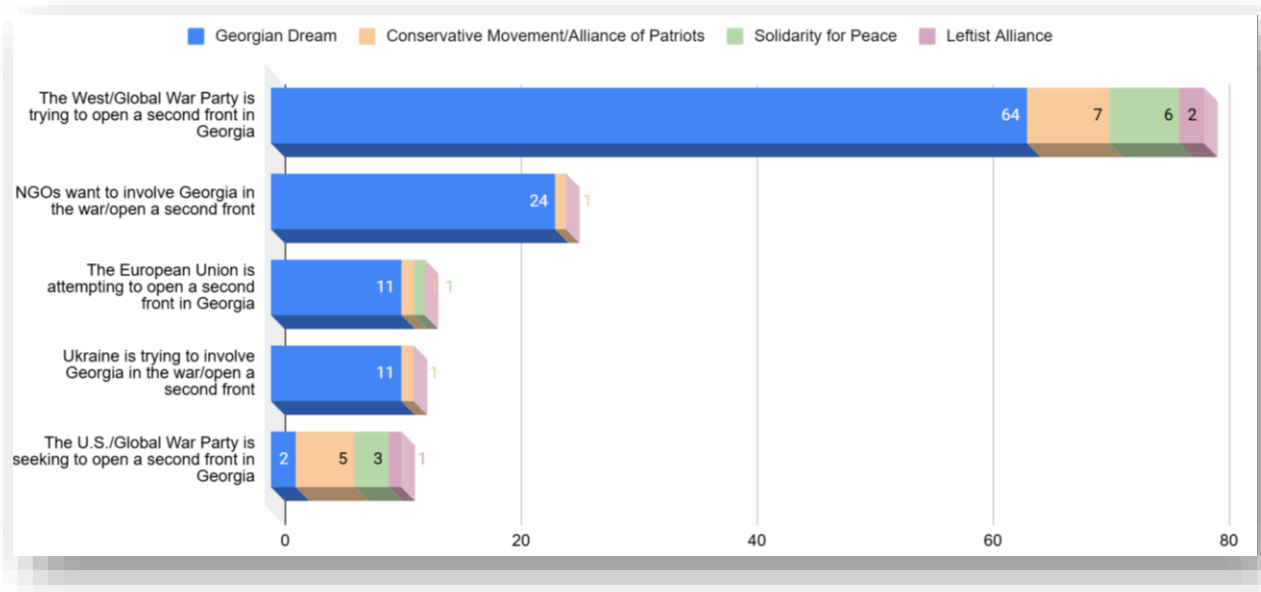
⁴¹ Georgia and World, 21 August, <http://geworld.ge/ge/ქართული-ოცნება-არჩევნ/>

⁴² Media Development Foundation, Anti-Western Propaganda 2022, <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/251/>



Among political parties, “Georgian Dream” and “People’s Power” were the most frequent in claiming that the West/Global War Party was dragging Georgia into war.

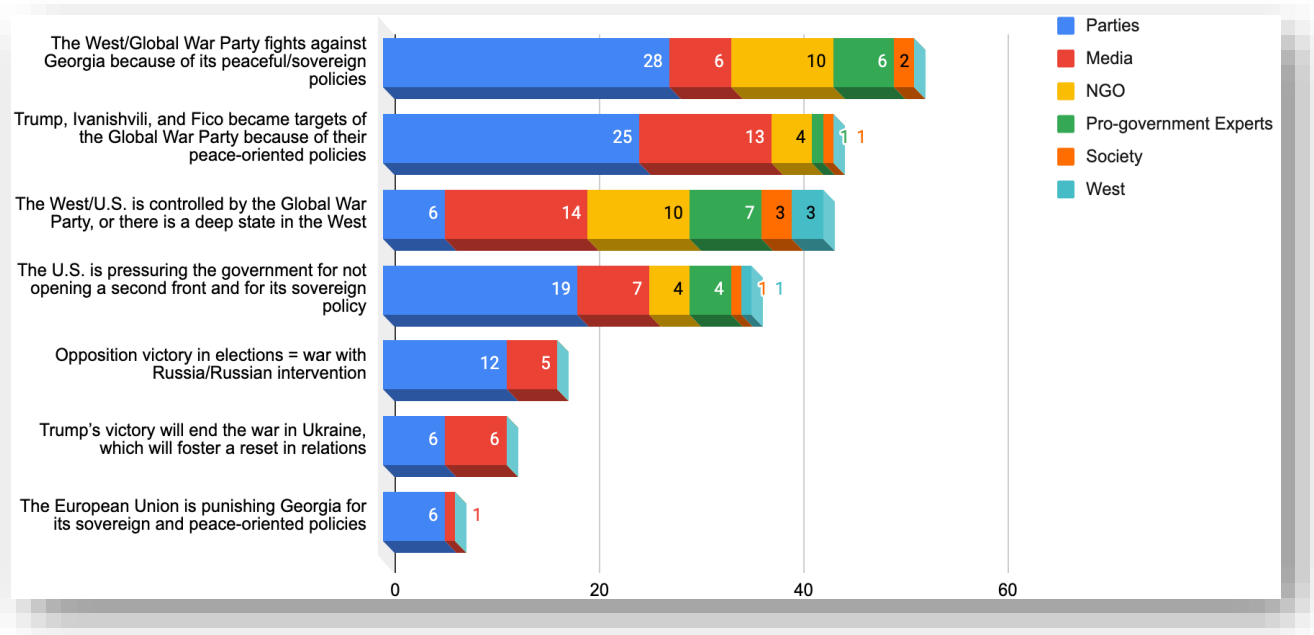
Figure 11. Messages related to the Global War Party and the second front by Parties (July-September 2024)



Some of the messages related to the actions of the Global War Party and war fears focused on the notion that the West/Global War Party was targeting Georgia for its sovereign and peaceful policies. Targets of the Global War Party were said to include Bidzina Ivanishvili and Prime Minister Kobakhidze,⁴³ along with Trump and Fico. The Global War Party was often equated with the collective West and sometimes with the United States. Statements were also made suggesting that the opposition winning the elections would increase the risks of war, while Trump’s victory in the U.S. would reduce the likelihood of conflict, as his re-election was equated with the potential end of the Russia-Ukraine war and a reset in U.S.-Russia relations.

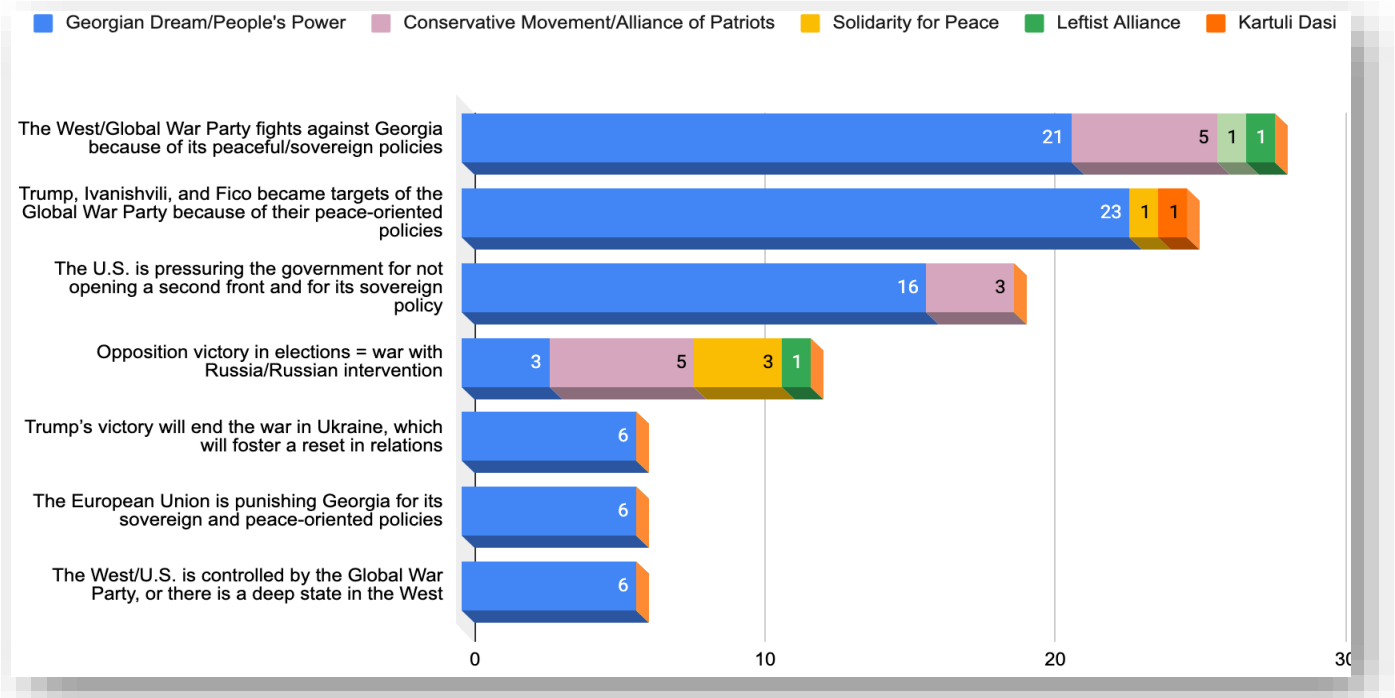
⁴³ The Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Kobakhidze, claimed that the European Commissioner for Neighborhood and Enlargement, Olivér Várhelyi, “threatened” him during a phone call, reminding him of the May 15 assassination attempt on Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico and urging him to be cautious. This allegation was later denied by the European Commissioner. *Civil.ge*, May 24, 2024: Commissioner Várhelyi Denies Threatening PM Kobakhidze Over Agents’ Law. <https://civil.ge/archives/609107>

Figure 12. Messages about Future Threats from the Global War Party/West and Opposition (July-September, 2024)



Analysis by party shows that the ruling party most frequently manipulated public opinion on these topics, with some pro-Kremlin parties echoing Georgian Dream’s positions. For example, the equivalency between the opposition winning the elections and conflict with Russia was suggested by the Conservative Movement/Alliance of Patriots, Solidarity for Peace, and the Leftist Alliance.

Figure 13. Messages about Future Threats from the Global War Party/West and Opposition by Parties (July-September, 2024)



Messages about Georgia being punished for its peace-oriented and sovereign policies were often directed at Bidzina Ivanishvili, the founder of the Georgian Dream party, linking not only the issue of war but also his physical and financial security to these accusations. This included references to his private commercial dispute with a Swiss bank. Sometimes, propaganda media even depicted Ivanishvili as a fighter against the global establishment and the so-called “deep state.”

- **Kakha Kaladze, Mayor of Tbilisi, Georgian Dream:** “This law [on ‘foreign influence transparency’] is **simply a made-up issue**. The real problem and resentment stemmed from the fact that **Georgia did not join the sanctions.**”⁴⁴
- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “There was a country that was your servant, that obeyed you in every sense... and suddenly this country no longer obeys you. Of course, if it isn’t adequately and demonstratively punished, it will serve as an example for others.”⁴⁵
- **Irakli Kobakhidze, Prime Minister:** “For the Global War Party, as well as for the government and the Georgian people, there is something so significant at stake that the risks have multiplied tenfold... In Slovakia, the country's prime minister was targeted, and in the United States, a presidential candidate was as well. Everyone remembers the open threat conveyed through one of the EU commissioners. Moreover, the State Security Service is conducting an investigation into a planned attack on Mr. Bidzina Ivanishvili.”⁴⁶
- **Guri Sultanishvili, POSTV host:** “There’s an uproar about how Bidzina Ivanishvili stood behind bulletproof glass. Why? Because **individuals more than systems are fighting against the deep state, the global establishment, and this global repressive order.** And Bidzina Ivanishvili is among those individuals.”⁴⁷
- **Mamuka Mdinardze, Georgian Dream:** “They bankrupted the Swiss bank to blackmail one patriotic individual [Ivanishvili] in Georgia.”⁴⁸

At the same time, Ivanishvili himself predicted that if Trump won the US election, the war in Ukraine would end, leading to a normalization of relations with the U.S. and Europe:

- **Bidzina Ivanishvili, Georgian Dream:** “**The Global War Party wields significant influence over current American and European bureaucracies**, which creates a perception among the Georgian public that Georgia is in conflict with the U.S. and the EU. However, once the war in Ukraine ends, interests will shift, and this perception will instantly disappear... **If Republicans win the U.S. presidential election, the war could end as soon as January.**”⁴⁹

The optimism within Georgian Dream that Trump’s election would lead to fundamental changes regarding Georgia was not widely shared by openly pro-Kremlin actors:

- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “Half the population in America are liberasts [Liberal=pederast]. The entire corporate world, Hollywood, the deep state – there’s no guarantee that Trump will be able to do anything about them.”⁵⁰
- **Mamuka Kartozaia, Solidarity for Peace:** “Donald Trump was president of the United States, but nothing changed in Georgia. The LGBT issue was still relevant, anti-Russian propaganda was relentless, and there were even attempts to overthrow the Georgian government.”⁵¹

Security Guarantees and Integration. Various actors argued that the West or the U.S. could not be a security guarantor for Georgia, as they were neither interested in normalizing relations between Russia and Georgia nor capable of ensuring Georgia’s security in times of war. NATO expansion was cited as the cause of the war in Ukraine, while the loss of Georgia’s territories was attributed to its pro-Western foreign policy.

⁴⁴ Marshalpress, 10 September, <https://mpn.ge/archives/54250>

⁴⁵ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 20 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4254031>

⁴⁶ Resonance, 5 September https://www.resonancedaily.com/index.php?id_rub=2&id_artc=211776

⁴⁷ Marshalpress, 22 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/53147>

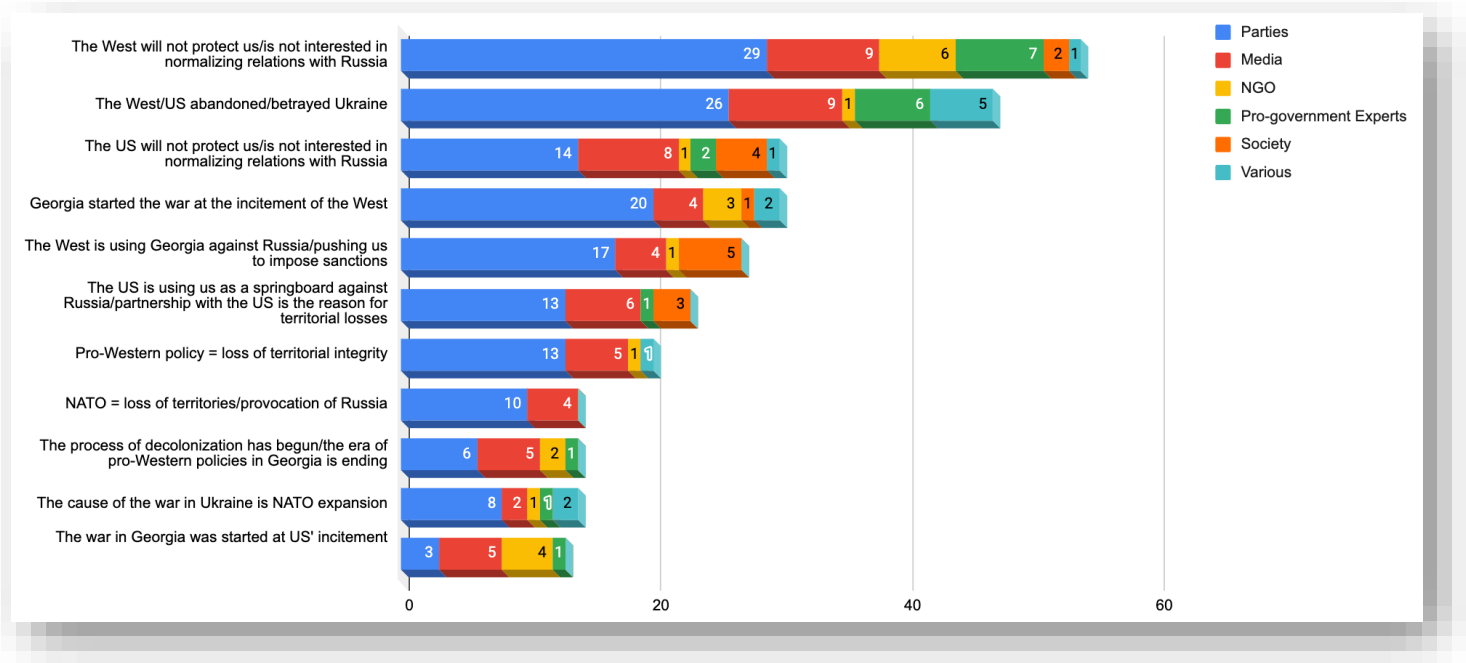
⁴⁸ Imedi, Imedi LIVE, 17 July <https://bit.ly/40z5VSR>

⁴⁹ Kviris Palitra, 22 - 28 July

⁵⁰ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 19 June https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4245715

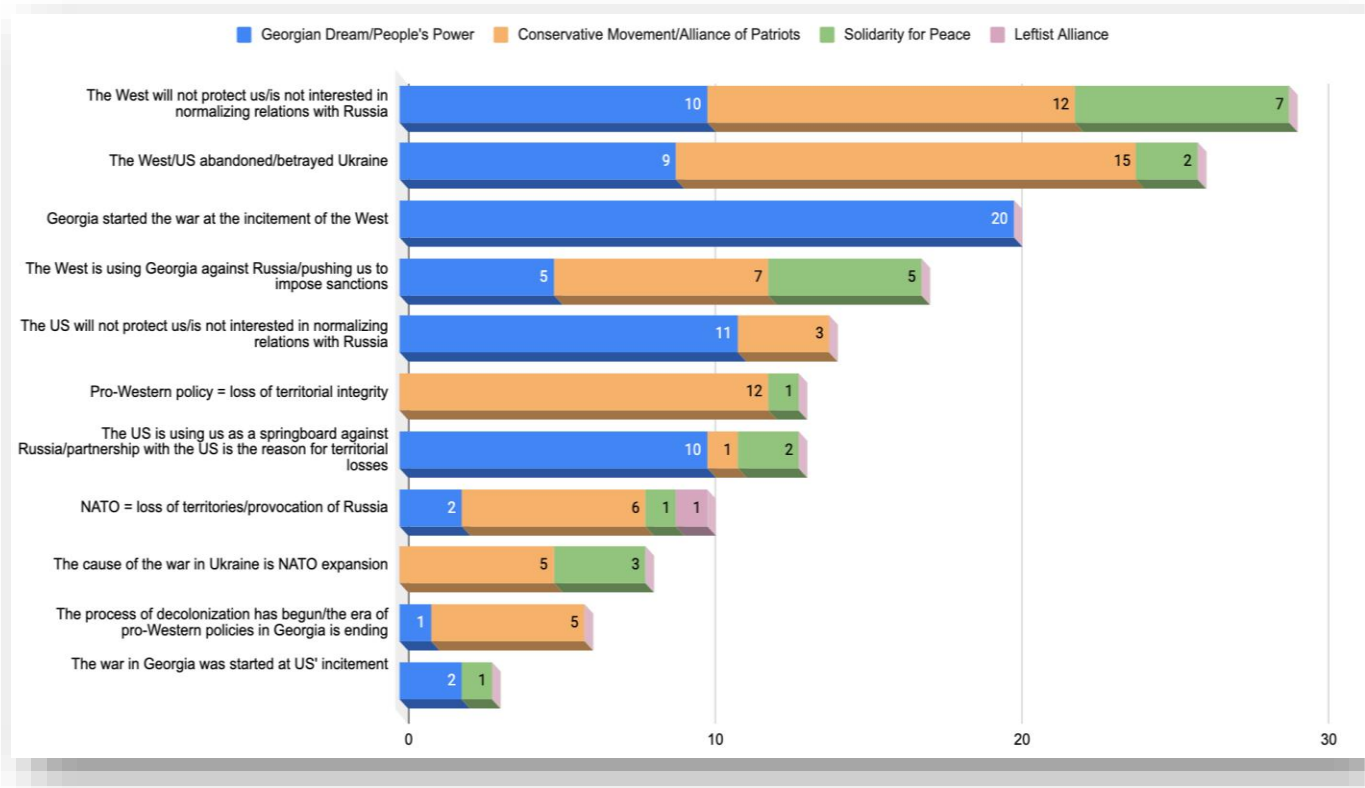
⁵¹ Georgia and World, 5 August, <https://geworld.ge/ge/mamuka-kartozaia-3/>

Figure 14. Messages Regarding Security Guarantees (July - September, 2024)



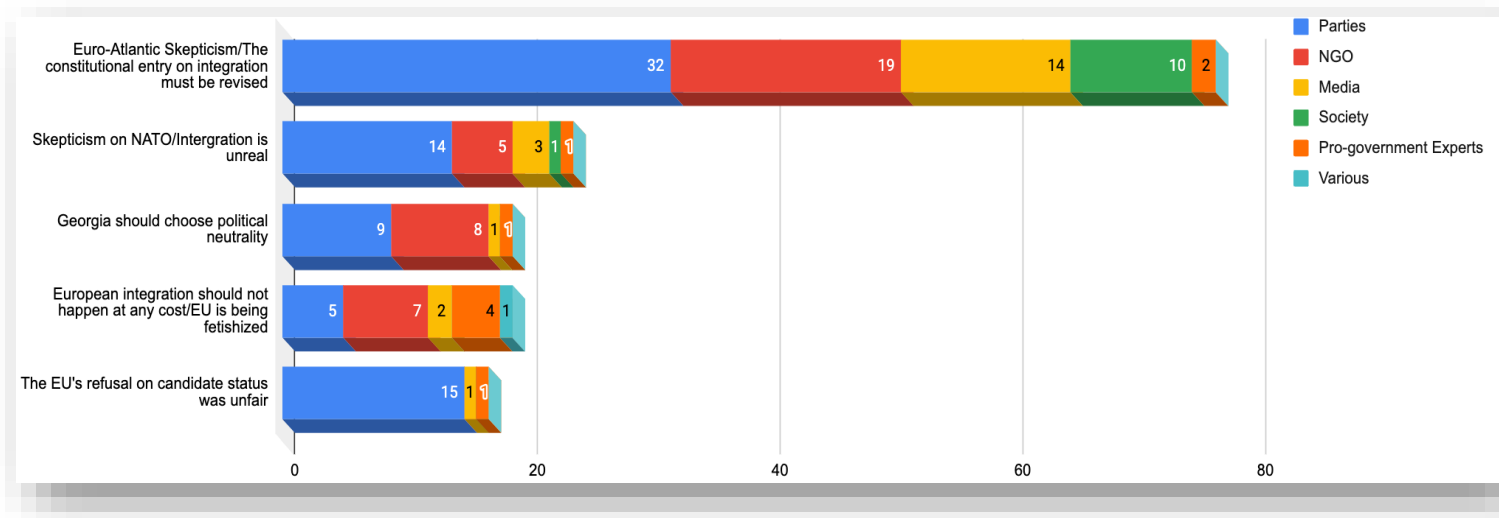
As shown in the figure below, the Kremlin-aligned groups—Alt-Info-Conservative Movement/Patriots' Alliance and Solidarity for Peace—most frequently questioned the security guarantees offered by the West. Government actors, however, most often manipulated the narrative around Georgia supposedly starting a war at the West's incitement.

Figure 15. Messages Regarding Security Guarantees by Parties (July - September 2024)



Regarding Euro-Atlantic integration, skepticism and calls for a review of the constitutional clause on integration were dominant. Messages promoting neutrality or arguing that EU integration should not happen at any cost were relatively fewer.

Figure 16. Messages Regarding Euro-Atlantic Integration (July-September, 2024)



As seen in Figure 17, the Kremlin-aligned Conservative Movement/Alliance of Patriots were the most frequent amplifiers of Euro-Atlantic skepticism, calling for a review of the constitutional clause on NATO integration. The ruling party and People’s Power, on the other hand, focused mostly on what they claimed was the EU’s unfair decision to initially deny Georgia candidate status, reinforcing the idea that NATO integration should not proceed at any cost. The owner of the pro-government propaganda channel Imedi TV also shared this view:

- **Irakli Rukhadze, Businessman:** “..There’s no discussion of the pros and cons of joining the EU, **as if entry is unconditional, at any price**⁵². “This [integration into the EU] has been elevated to a sacred level. It’s even **written in the Constitution, and if you ask me, it shouldn’t have been**. The Constitution is a somewhat different, more permanent document.”

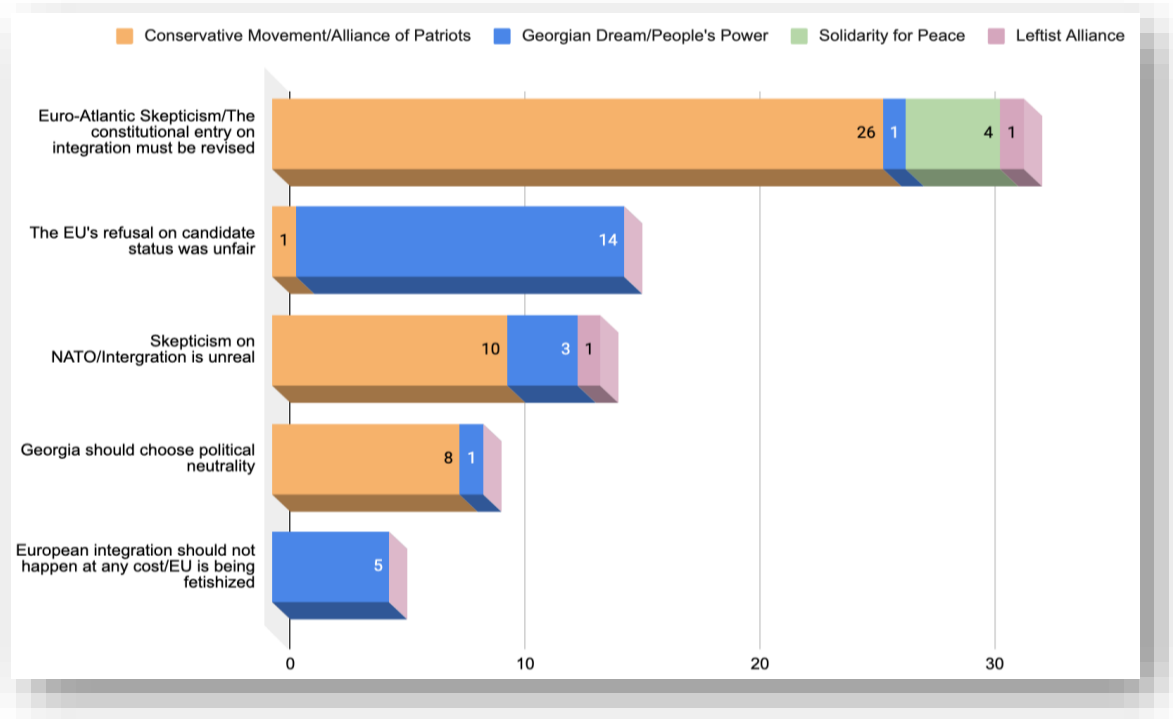
It is also noteworthy that Georgian Dream, which the opposition accuses of shifting away from a Western trajectory and European integration, positioned itself as a pro-European force during the election campaign, using EU symbolism and the slogan “Towards Europe only with peace, dignity, and prosperity.” The ruling party focused on divisions within the West, using a false dilemma to separate “true” from “pseudo” European realities.

- **Bidzina Ivanishvili, “Georgian Dream”:** “We are choosing between our country’s dignified European future and the unacceptable situation that the radical opposition and foreign actors are trying to pass off as European.”⁵³

⁵² Georgia First, 14 July <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=122201987060011712&set=a.122128715630011712>
Resonance, 16 July https://www.resonancedaily.com/index.php?id_rub=4&id_artc=208801

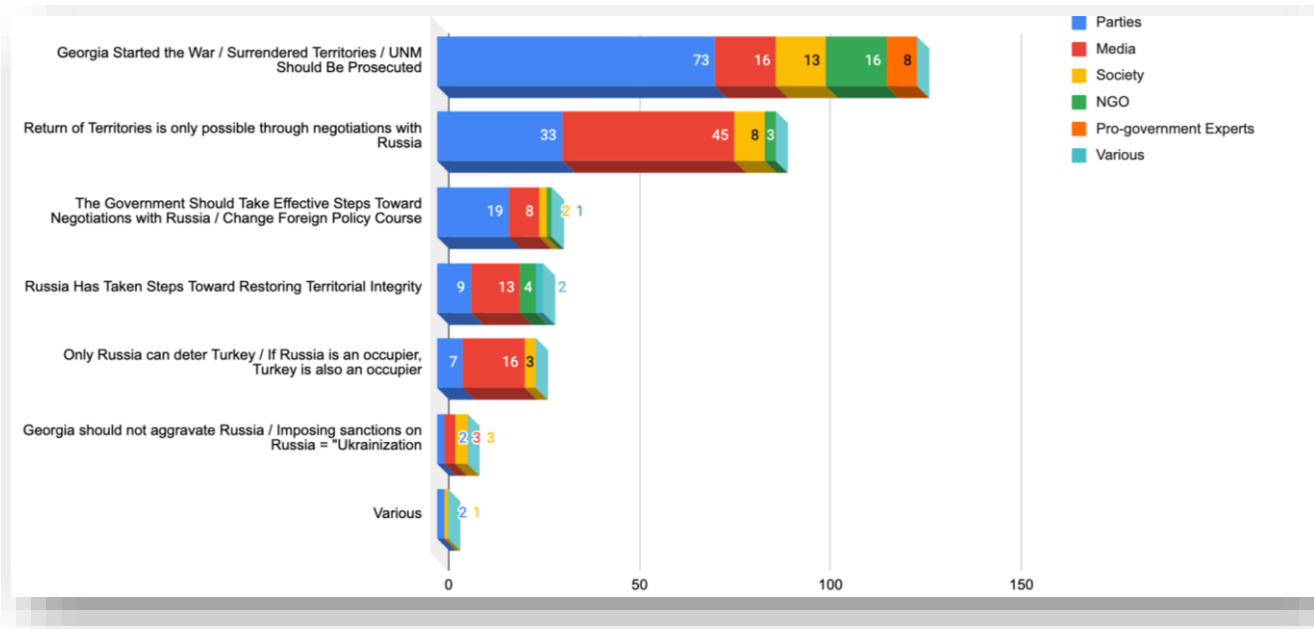
⁵³ Imedi, Imedi LIVE, 8 Septmeber, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4251506>

Figure 17. Messages Regarding Euro-Atlantic Integration by Parties (July-September, 2024)



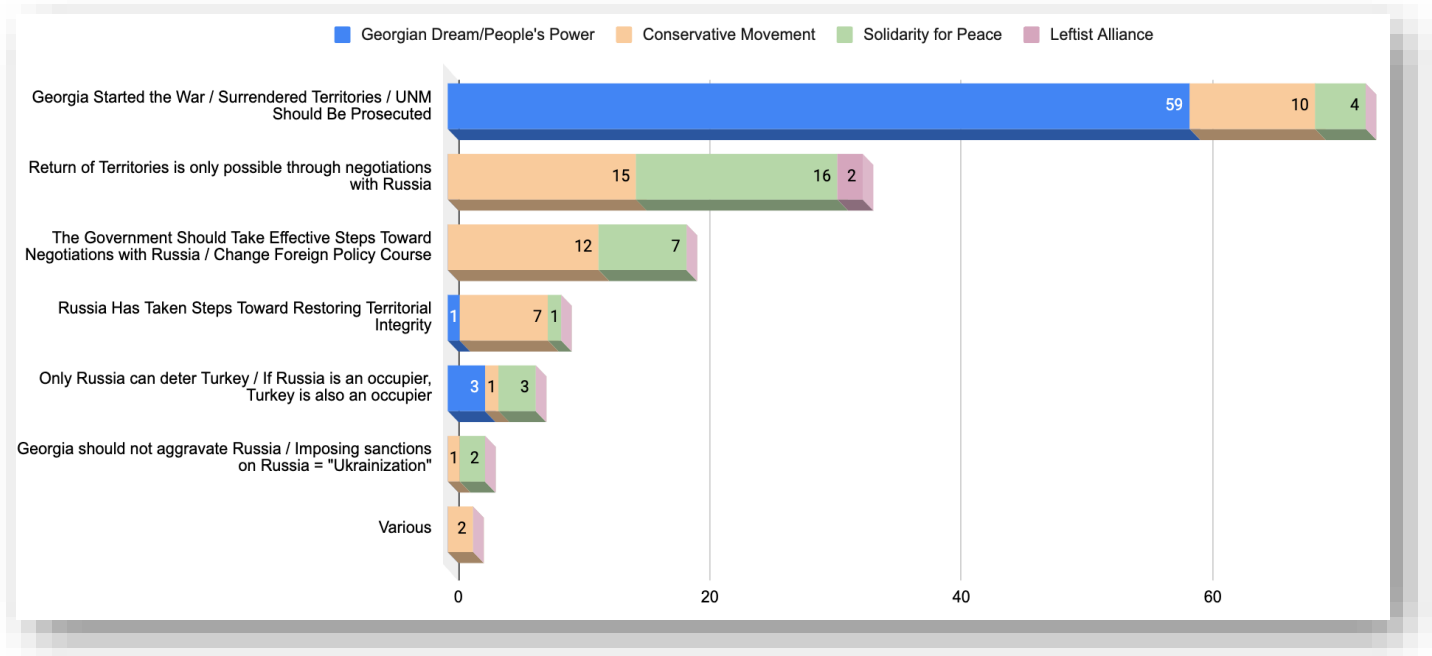
Relations with Russia. Regarding relations with Russia, a dominant narrative justified Russia's actions indirectly, blaming the previous government for the 2008 Russian military intervention in Georgia and even calling for accountability on this basis. At the same time, pro-Kremlin actors depicted Russia as the sole guarantor of territorial integrity restoration. As in previous years, messages aimed at shifting attention from the threat posed by Russia to historical threats (like the Ottoman occupation) remained active, promoting the idea that only Russia could deter Turkey's threat in the region.

Figure 18. Messages regarding Relations with Russia (July-September, 2024)



Calls to blame Georgia for the 2008 war and demands to hold the former ruling party accountable were most often voiced by Georgian Dream/People's Power, while Kremlin-aligned parties were the primary promoters of Russia as the guarantor of territorial integrity.

Figure 19. Messages regarding Relations with Russia by Parties (July-September, 2024)



1.2.3. Identity/Liberalism

The following key narratives regarding identity and liberalism have been identified:

1. The West is imposing homosexuality/unacceptable values on us.
2. The West is attacking traditional identity/the Church/Orthodoxy.
3. The West is a victim of its own gender-liberal/immigration policies.
4. Liberal fascism must end/liberalism has exhausted itself.

In messages related to identity, the theme of imposing homosexuality was predominant, often in connection with the collective West and the EU. This was largely tied to the "Law on Family Values and Protection of Minors"⁵⁴ initiated and passed by the ruling party during the election campaign, which was equated in public discourse with a ban on "gay propaganda." Notably, in previous years, Kremlin-affiliated actors had promoted similar legislative initiatives, but the parliamentary majority had never allowed them to progress.⁵⁵ Homophobic attitudes were also linked to a scene featuring an LGBTQ+ activist at the opening ceremony of the Paris Olympics, as well as individual attacks on Western politicians who criticized the Georgian government. A particular target in this regard was Michael Roth⁵⁶, chairman of the German Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, who was portrayed as an enemy

⁵⁴ Georgia: EU deplors 'rushed' adoption of legislative package on 'family values and protection of minors', 6 September, 2024 <https://bit.ly/3YDpWVt>

⁵⁵ Media Development Foundation (2023). "Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQ Mobilization in Georgia" pg. 67 <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/239/>

⁵⁶ Civil.ge, 16 September. "https://civil.ge/archives/624264" <https://civil.ge/archives/624264>

of Orthodoxy. In response to Roth's criticism of the "foreign agents" law, his personal life was actively used in discrediting campaigns, not only in mainstream media but also on social media.

- **Zviad Avaliani, Host:** "... This is a person [Michael Roth] who is officially a member of the LGBT community and is married... He'll come here and make the **statements expected of him, statements requested by him, as part of the global war party.**"⁵⁷

In the homophobic context, the technique of false dilemmas was also used, suggesting that the West is divided and that Georgia should find its place in the traditional, conservative space and not in the "corrupt" one, even if the price for this is Euro-Atlantic integration. In this context, anti-EU statements were made, asserting that pursuing integration with the EU in a dignified manner was impossible due to incompatible ideologies:

- **Davit Kartvelishvili, People's Power:** "As for the path toward the EU, the 'route' that is generally attractive to Michael Roth will always be closed to Georgia. We, who are searching for traditional and conservative paths to protect the country's interests and its future, represent that."⁵⁸
- **Giorgi Akhvlediani, Host of POSTV:** "It's worth mentioning that in Italy, there is... not an LGBT Affairs Ministry, as the EU demands, but a Ministry of Family Affairs, focused on protecting and strengthening traditional family values."⁵⁹
- **Nino Ratishvili, Host of TV Obieqtivi:** "The ruling party and the government offered us 'a dignified path to Europe.' You know what? Europe is very diverse, you would probably agree, but the European Union—this is the collective, official West, whose ideology is completely incompatible with ours."⁶⁰
- **Davit Zardiashvili, Resident Author:** "No matter how strong the resistance and pressure from the 'powerful' liberal circles of the West, and no matter the risks created for Euro-Atlantic integration, they are far outweighed by the grave threat of national dishonor and the inevitable disruption of civil peace."⁶¹

As shown in Figure 20, along with other messages, there was an occasional assertion that the West's crisis was connected to its gender-liberal and immigration policies.

It is also notable that among the countries accused of losing their traditional identity was Ukraine, which was portrayed as an enemy of the Church and religion, linked to its ban on the Moscow-subordinate Church.⁶² Furthermore, anti-Semitic statements about Zelenskyy were made by Kremlin-affiliated conservative groups such as the Conservative Movement/Alliance of Patriots:

⁵⁷ POSTV, Post Analytics, 11 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4252040>

⁵⁸ Marshalpress, 21 September, <https://mpn.ge/archives/54929>

⁵⁹ POSTV, Anatomy of Liberalism, 12 September https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4252710

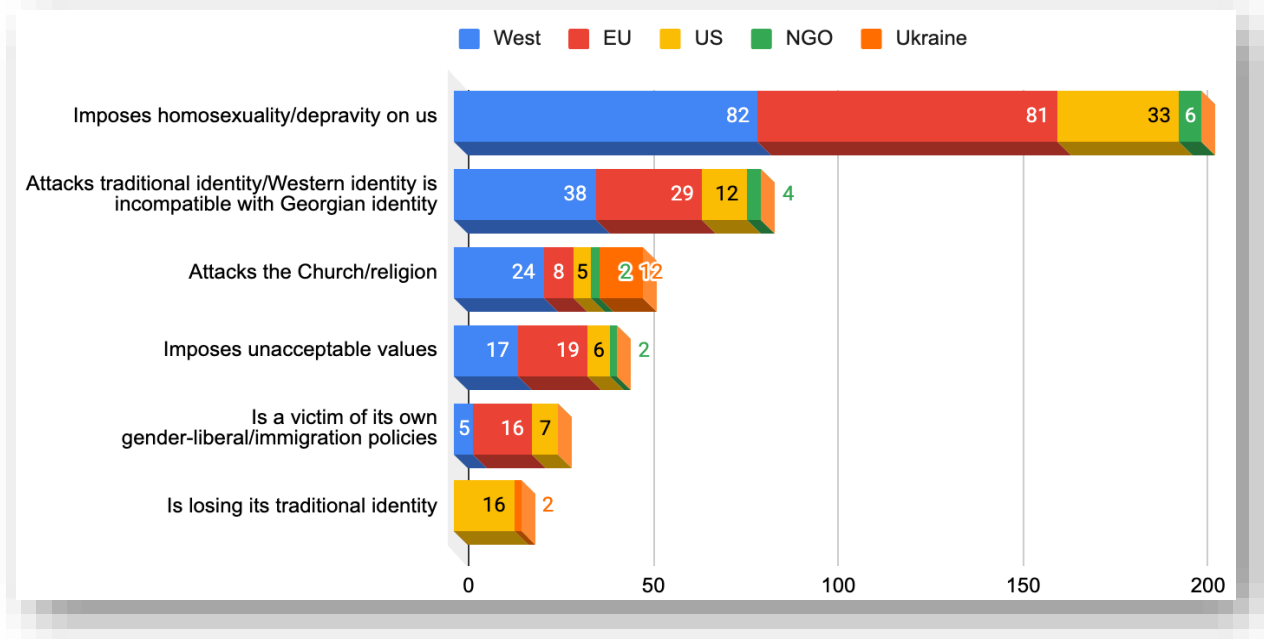
⁶⁰ Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 6 September https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4251675

⁶¹ Georgia First, 7 September <https://geo-first.com/sakonstitucio-umravlesobis-dilema-me-2-nawili/>

⁶² EuronewsGeorgia, 21 August, 2024. Churches linked to Russia were banned in Ukraine, <https://bit.ly/4fCV2Du>

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Patriots' Alliance:** "In fact, Zelenskyy's government is doing everything to replace Orthodoxy in Ukraine with Greco-Catholicism... Zelenskyy himself is a Jew, a Polish Jew, not Orthodox, nothing."⁶³
- **Zurab Makhradze, Conservative Movement:** "It's very interesting that they elected a Jewish KVN comedian as Ukraine's president and canceled Orthodoxy in Ukraine... They held some gay parade in Kyiv, fought with Russia, fought against the same people they share language and ethnicity with for the love of Europe. And if it ends like this, with Ukraine actually becoming homosexualized, Nazified, and rejecting Orthodoxy..."⁶⁴

Figure 20. Messages related to Identity (July-September, 2024)



Messages that focused on Russia's messianic mission, promoting the idea that only Orthodox Russia could protect identity, were comparatively fewer.

- **Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host:** "Why is Russia being fought against today? ... They are fighting it because Russia is the shield of Orthodoxy in the world today. If it weren't for Russia, same-sex marriage would be legalized worldwide, and there would be destruction of Christians and churches everywhere."⁶⁵

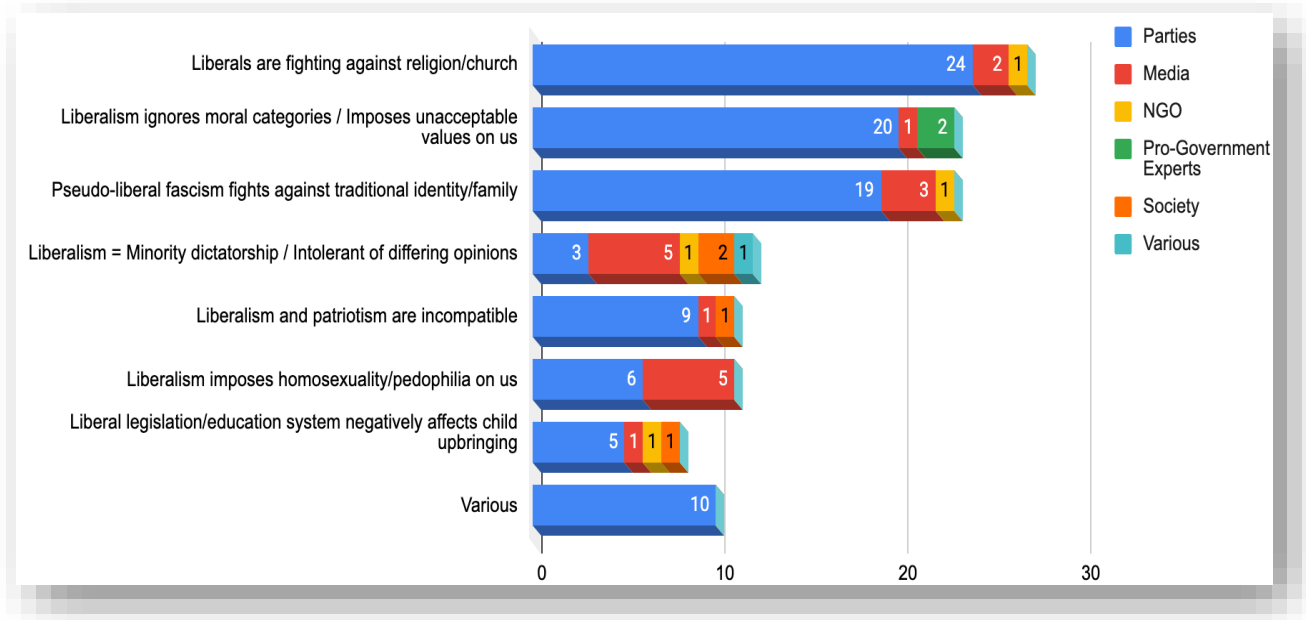
We separately highlighted anti-liberal messages, dominated by the belief that liberalism has exhausted itself and that "liberal fascism" should end. Liberalism was often portrayed as being in opposition to the Church and traditional identity, with the view that liberalism disregards moral categories and is incompatible with patriotism.

⁶³ Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 30 August https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4250112

⁶⁴ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 6 September <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4251522>

⁶⁵ Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 31 July https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4246592

Figure 21. Messages related to Liberalism (July-September, 2024)



Among political parties, anti-liberal messages were most frequently spread by the Kremlin-aligned Conservative Movement/Alliance of Patriots. Both Kremlin-affiliated and government actors shared the belief that liberals are fighting the Church/religion and that pseudo-liberal fascism opposes traditional identity.

- **Kakha Kaladze, Georgian Dream:** “Pseudo-liberalism disguised as fascism seeks to destroy core values – faith, family, and homeland...”⁶⁶
- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “The solution offered by liberals is catastrophic – let’s become like Europeans and disappear.”⁶⁷
- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “...Liberal ideology is planting in our citizens' minds, especially women, the idea that family is unnecessary, that motherhood is backward, and that one should be a strong, independent woman who builds a career and becomes a businesswoman...”⁶⁸

It’s notable that to create an anti-liberal discourse, the government used newly formed organizations, like the organization “Kartuli” (Georgian), which was established in an election year and echoed statements on the “dictatorship of the minority” and the dangers of neoliberalism, in sync with government rhetoric.

- **Statement from Society Kartuli:** “The just fight for minority rights and to prevent violence against them has, in the hands of neoliberal radicals, become an effective weapon for subordinating the majority and fighting traditional institutions.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Marshalpress, 21 August <https://mpn.ge/archives/53055>

⁶⁷ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 8 July <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4242192>

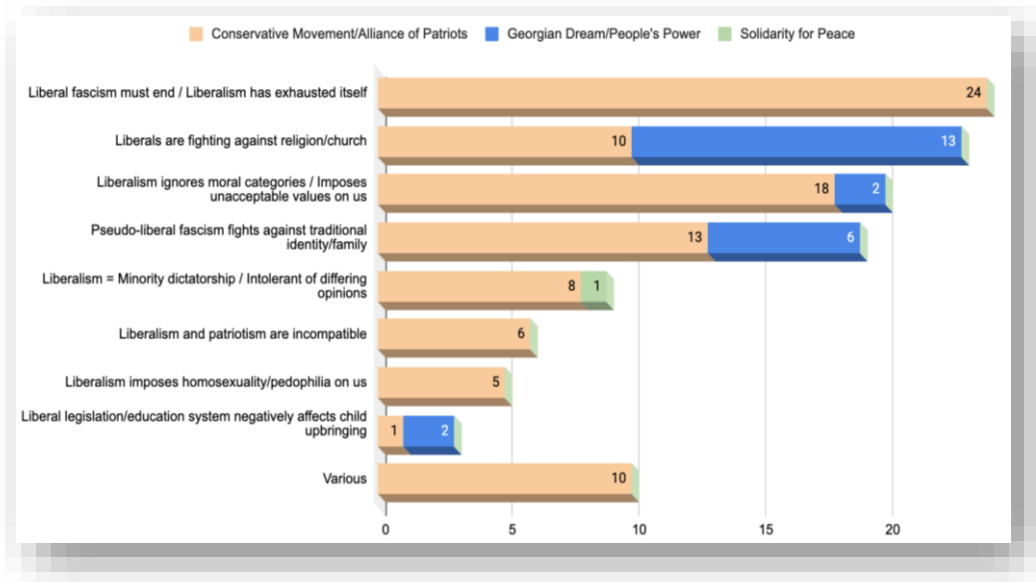
⁶⁸ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 2 August, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4247384

⁶⁹ Marshalpress, 2 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/52127>

At the same time, the ruling party justified legislation aimed against NGOs, as well as the goal of securing a constitutional majority, by the need to combat liberal fascism:

- **Irakli Kobakhidze, Georgian Dream:** “...One of the main objectives of the ‘Transparency Law’ was precisely to ensure transparency regarding the funding of liberal fascism.”⁷⁰
- **Bidzina Ivanishvili, Georgian Dream:** “We need a particularly strong victory, equal to a constitutional majority, in order to finally put an end to the war party, the agent networks, radicalism, polarization, and liberal fascism in Georgia.”⁷¹”.

Figure 22. Messages related to Liberalism by Parties (July-September, 2024)



1.2.4. Russian Intervention in Ukraine

Several messages emerged regarding Russia's intervention in Ukraine, some of which we have discussed in previous sections. These messages include:

1. NATO expansion is the cause of the war in Ukraine.
2. The West abandoned Ukraine.
3. The Ukrainian government is profiting from the war.
4. The Ukrainian government is sacrificing its own people.
5. Russia and Ukraine are brotherly nations, but the West has set them against each other.
6. Ukraine, as an independent state, never existed; it was created by Stalin.

The topic of Ukraine was primarily used during the pre-election period to illustrate that, in the absence of pragmatic policies, Georgia would face Ukraine's fate and that the West could not ensure Ukraine's security. Additionally, the ruling party and pro-Kremlin actors sometimes portrayed Ukraine as an unfriendly country.

⁷⁰ Marshalpress, 6 September, <https://mpn.ge/archives/54003>

⁷¹ Resonance, 17 July, http://www.resonancedaily.com/mobile/index.php?id_rub=4&id_artc=208911

- **Irakli Kadagishvili, Georgian Dream:** “Unfortunately, Ukraine has become a country where a series of special operations against Georgia are developed, planned, and implemented.”⁷²

Apart from messages about security and Georgian-Ukrainian relations, some statements were linked to denying Ukrainian identity and the existence of Ukraine as a state, mainly voiced by pro-Kremlin actors:

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots:** “...Russians and Ukrainians are close relatives... imagine what [the US and the West] did—pitted cousins against each other.”⁷³
- **Mamuka Kartoziya, Solidarity for Peace:** “The state of Ukraine did not exist, it was later created by the Soviet Union, and Stalin took six provinces from Poland and handed them to Ukraine.”⁷⁴

1.2.5. Economy/Aid

The following key messages emerged regarding the economy and Western aid:

1. Western aid is directed not at the Georgian people, but at their agency/fight against identity.
2. The West cannot ensure economic prosperity or does not support Georgia’s development.
3. The Russian market is real, while the Western one is inaccessible.
4. Georgia should seek membership in alternative Western alliances (BRICS, 3+3)

Messages about the economy and Western aid mainly fostered skepticism toward US/Western aid, claiming it was not directed at the Georgian people but rather at the so-called agents and LGBT propaganda. It was also asserted that Western aid was aimed at political processes and benefited radicals. Separate criticism was directed at the EU’s decision⁷⁵ to suspend a €30 million defense assistance package for Georgia due to undemocratic processes, redirecting it instead to support civil society and media development.

This skepticism was further fueled by messages asserting that America/the West and the EU cannot ensure economic prosperity and are not helping Georgia.

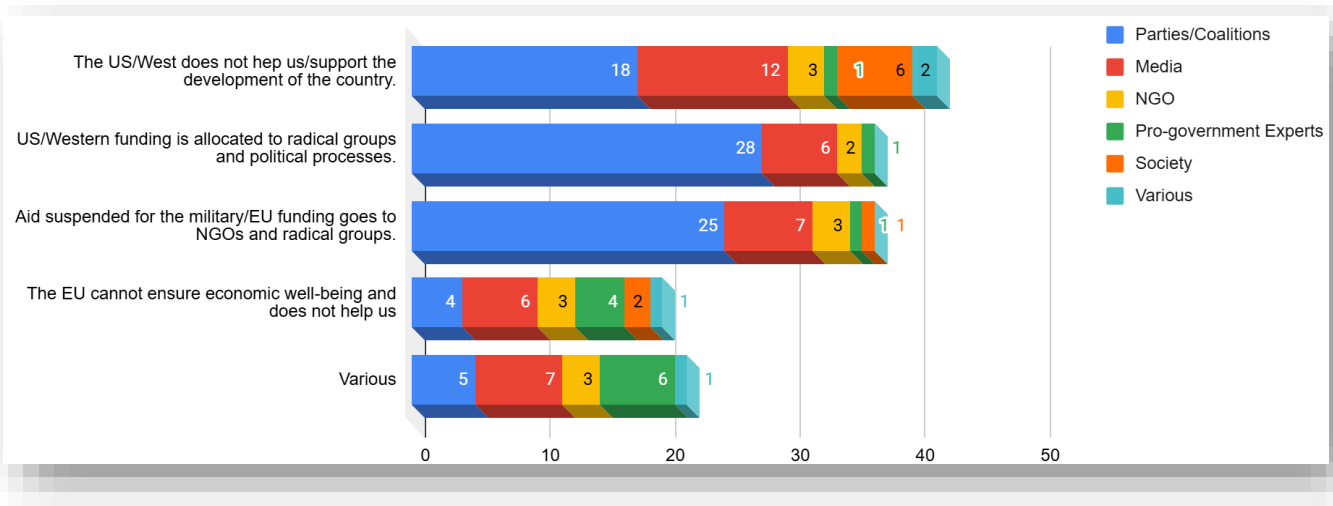
⁷² POSTV, Post Analytics, 24 July https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4245004

⁷³ Obieqtivi, Studio 8, 25 July https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4246233

⁷⁴ Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 12 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4252498>

⁷⁵ Radio Liberty, 9 July, 2024, „There will be other steps as well“ -The EU halted 30Mln EUR aid to Georgia”
<https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33027609.html>

Figure 23. Messages Related to Economy and Western Aid (July-September, 2024)



Both government and Kremlin-aligned actors criticized the political motives behind Western funding, while the ruling party predominantly expressed dissatisfaction with the suspension of military funding.

- **Shalva Papuashvili, Georgian Dream:** “If this is democracy, let them develop this kind of democracy in their own country... EU money goes to organizations that romanticize Molotov cocktails”⁷⁶.”
- **Kakha Kaladze, Georgian Dream:** “They withdrew funds from the army and gave it to [organizations led by] Gigauri and Lomjaria. This is their democracy, their approach.”⁷⁷
- **Davit Kartvelishvili, People’s Power:** “For a long time, we’ve caught USAID and NED red-handed funding anti-government opposition parties and their affiliated NGO sector in Georgia.”⁷⁸
- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “...That is, America and the West invest [money] in their own agents in Georgia, and this NGO sector is their agency... and frequently, whatever they do, 95% of it is against Georgia’s interests.”⁷⁹
- **Zviad Avaliani, Host:** “Foreign money enters the country aimed at influencing Georgian politics, influencing elections... let’s say it directly—against Georgian Dream, in favor of the radical National Movement and the collective National Movement.”⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Imedi LIVE, 18 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4245341>

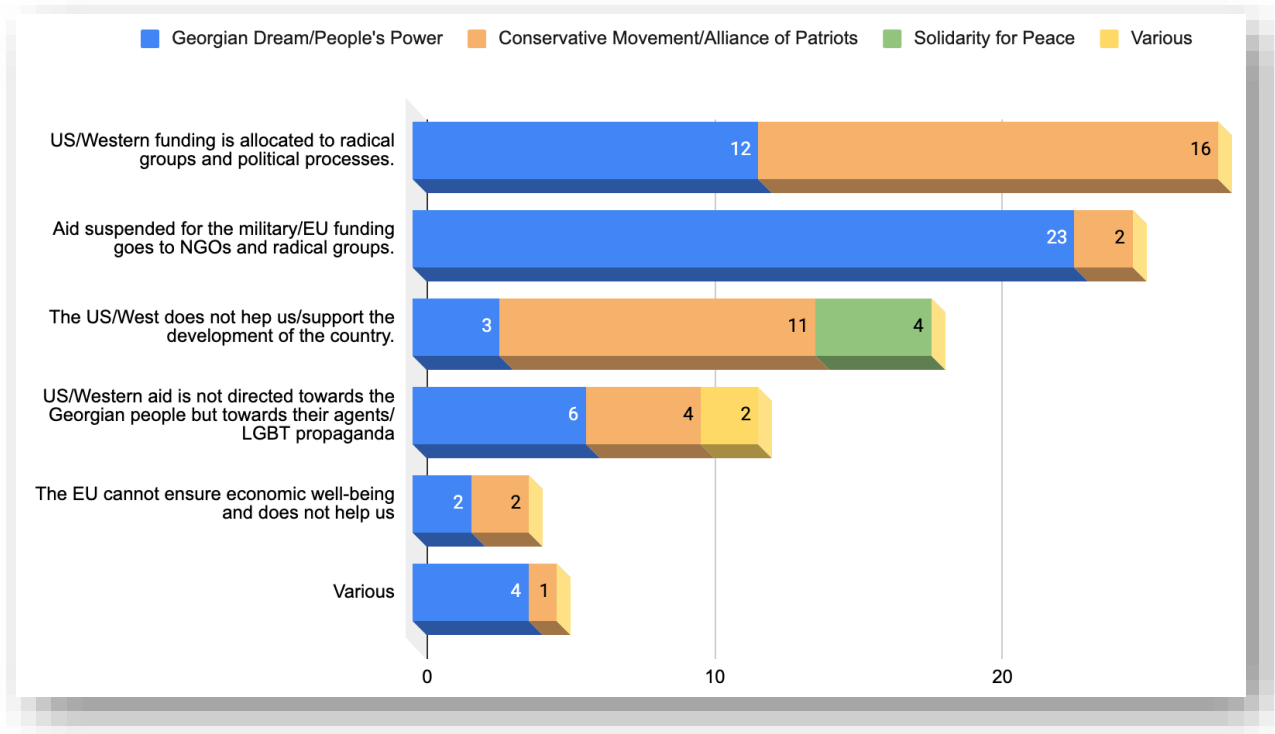
⁷⁷ Marshalpress, 10 July <https://mpn.ge/?p=50122>

⁷⁸ Marshalpress, 18 August, <https://mpn.ge/archives/52892>

⁷⁹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 26 August <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4249687>

⁸⁰ POSTV, Post Analytics, 27 August https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4249642

Figure 24. Messages related to economy and Western aid by Parties (July-September, 2024)



Messages promoting the advantages of the Russian market were relatively fewer and mainly voiced by Kremlin-aligned actors. However, at the same time, there were opinions that Georgia should find its place in alliances that are alternative to the West (such as 3+3 and BRICS) and that BRICS was creating a rift between the “collective West” and the “global South.”

- **Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “It’s been 34 years that you’ve been trying to export apples to America, to Miami—why haven’t you succeeded yet, I really wonder? We’ve been at war with Russia for 34 years, the Russian army is stationed here, and yet, somehow, apples still make it to Russia, one way or another.”⁸¹
- **Temur Fipia, Solidarity for Peace:** “We will enter the Russian, Kazakh, and Eurasian markets under more favorable conditions. Conditions will be created for us to integrate into those structures... not the Euro-Atlantic ones, but rather into the Eurasian space.”⁸²
- **Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host:** “BRICS formats are very appealing, but first and foremost, they’re expecting us in the 3+3 format, and it would be beneficial to take steps in that direction, as this could also advance our goal of territorial integrity.”⁸³

1.2.6. Relations with China

Anti-Western messages about China were relatively minor, mainly establishing the notion that:

1. The West opposes Georgia’s normalization of relations with China.
2. The West’s actions facilitate the China-Russia alliance.

Comments on Western criticism of relations with China were mostly made by government-aligned experts and media. Meanwhile, representatives of the ruling party emphasized that pragmatic policies made both the Chinese and Russian markets accessible; relations with China were seen as complementary, not contrary, to relations with the West.

⁸¹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 15 August, https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4248079

⁸² Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 18 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4253304&rc=1>

⁸³ Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 5 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4242434>

- **Magda Anikashvili, Journalist:** “We hear concerns regarding the development of Georgia-China relations, both from certain U.S. figures and from the EU.”⁸⁴
- **Goga Khaindrava, Movie Director:** “Why this kind of pressure? Because your value has increased, you’re the only gateway uniting great China—believe me, it’s a 22nd-century country—and the European Union. This relationship doesn’t suit America because they’ve had the whole EU ‘under their thumb’ for a long time.”⁸⁵
- **Irakli Garibashvili, Georgian Dream:** “We opened up the vast Chinese market, the Russian market—people today have full freedom of movement, trade, entrepreneurship, and realizing their talents.”⁸⁶
- **Irakli Kobakhidze, Prime Minister:** “Deepening political and economic relations with China is not an alternative to strengthening relations with the West, but rather a complementary factor.”⁸⁷

1.3. Sources

Parties. As seen in the figure below, the ruling party Georgian Dream, and its electoral ally, People’s Power (1071), made the most anti-Western and indirectly pro-Russian statements. The ruling party openly began making anti-Western statements in alliance with its satellite, “People’s Power,”⁸⁸ following Russia’s intervention in Ukraine, intensifying this rhetoric after Georgia was denied EU candidate status alongside Ukraine and Moldova in 2022.⁸⁹

The coalition of Kremlin-aligned parties, which includes Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, Alliance of Patriots⁹⁰, and Georgian Idea,⁹¹ ranks second in anti-Western messaging (788). The Conservative Movement,⁹² which has close ties to Aleksandr Dugin, the founder of the Eurasianist movement, and has previously engaged in extremist actions, advocates for a radical shift in foreign policy, a military alliance with Russia, and the replacement of liberalism with a Christian-conservative ideology. This alliance also includes the Alliance of Patriots,⁹³ known for fostering anti-Turkish sentiments and advocating political neutrality, and Georgian Idea,⁹⁴ which is known for promoting homophobic and xenophobic views.

The next in line in terms of anti-Western messaging is the “Solidarity for Peace”⁹⁵ party, which transformed from a public organization into a political party. It has close ties with the Kremlin and even proposes the signing of a new Georgievsk Treaty between Russia and Georgia.

⁸⁴ Imedi, ImediLIVE, 29 July 21:44-22:11 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ov_T9G-GIYY

⁸⁵ Marshalpress, 18 July <https://mpn.ge/?p=50896>

⁸⁶ Marshalpress, 8 September <https://mpn.ge/archives/54137>

⁸⁷ Imedi, ImediLIVE, 22:12-22:35 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ov_T9G-GIYY

⁸⁸ Georgian Dream and People’s Power, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/georgian-dream/>

⁸⁹ Media Development Foundation, Anti-Western Propaganda 2022, <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/251/>

⁹⁰ Alliance of Patriots, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/alliance-of-patriots-of-georgia/>

⁹¹ Georgian Idea, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/georgian-idea/>

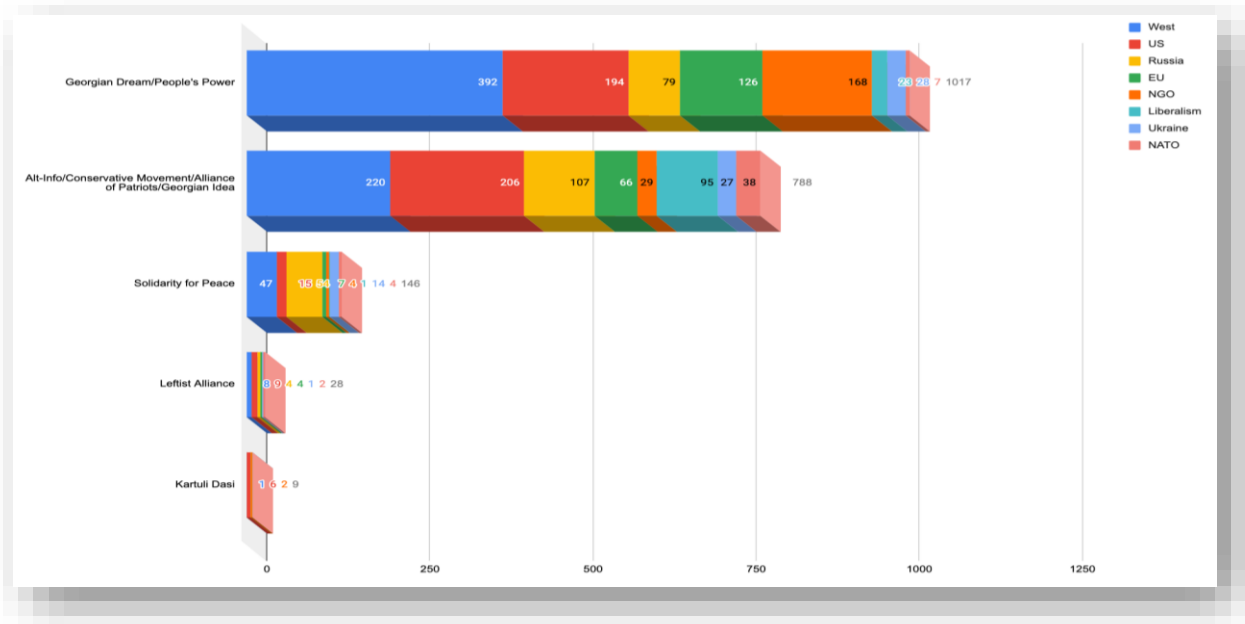
⁹² Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/alt-info/>

⁹³ Myth Detector, Alliance of Patriots, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/alliance-of-patriots-of-georgia/>

⁹⁴ Myth Detector, Georgian Idea, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/georgian-idea/>

⁹⁵ Solidarity for Peace, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/political-union-solidarity-for-peace/>

Figure 25. Sources of Anti-Western Messages by Parties/Coalitions (July-September, 2024)



Media. Media outlets that spread anti-Western messages, or frequently aired such views due to the frequent coverage of such stances by certain respondents, were classified based on editorial policy into two categories: (1) Kremlin-aligned/far-right and (2) pro-government.

Among Kremlin-aligned/far-right media, the highest volume of anti-Western messages was voiced by the hosts of Sezoni TV (318).⁹⁶ It should also be noted that on pro-Kremlin TV Alt-Info⁹⁷, members of the Conservative Movement affiliated with this TV station were the primary guests, making it virtually impossible to separate the media and the party. However, due to the electoral cycle, party members were categorized as respondents. Georgia and the World (242)⁹⁸ ranked second in this regard. In the far-right weekly newspaper Asaval-Dasavali,⁹⁹ anti-Western comments from respondents (260) outnumbered editorial comments (77). The same trend was observed with TV Obieqtivi, affiliated with the Alliance of Patriots (21 editorial comments, 159 from respondents). Comments were comparatively fewer both from the editorial side (16) and respondents (17) in the ERI media, which belongs to businessman Levan Vasadze,¹⁰⁰ the leader of the public organization with the same name and who has ties to Russian ecclesiastical and political circles.

Among pro-government media, POSTV disseminated the most anti-Western messages (182); the controlling stake in this outlet is owned by Viktor Japaridze,¹⁰¹ one of the leaders of People's Power. POSTV is particularly known for its homophobic and anti-liberal sentiments, even launching a special program called Anatomy of Liberalism. Next is the conservative online portal Georgia First¹⁰² (130), whose director Vato Shakarashvili joined the public movement Unified Neutral Georgia, founded before the elections. This outlet mainly translates works by Western conservative authors and Kremlin-aligned foreign propagandists and publishes works by authors from People's Power. In the pro-government TV Imedi¹⁰³ (24 editorial comments, 207 respondent comments), as well as the online agency Marshalpress¹⁰⁴ (7 editorial comments, 815 respondent

⁹⁶ Sezoni TV, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/sezoni-tv>

⁹⁷ Alt-Info, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/alt-info>

⁹⁸ Georgia and World, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/geworld-ge/>

⁹⁹ Asaval-Dasavali, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/newspaper-asaval-dasavali>

¹⁰⁰ Levan Vasadze, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/vasadze-levan/>

¹⁰¹ POSTV, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/pos-tv>

¹⁰² Georgia First, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/georgia-first-geo-firstcom>

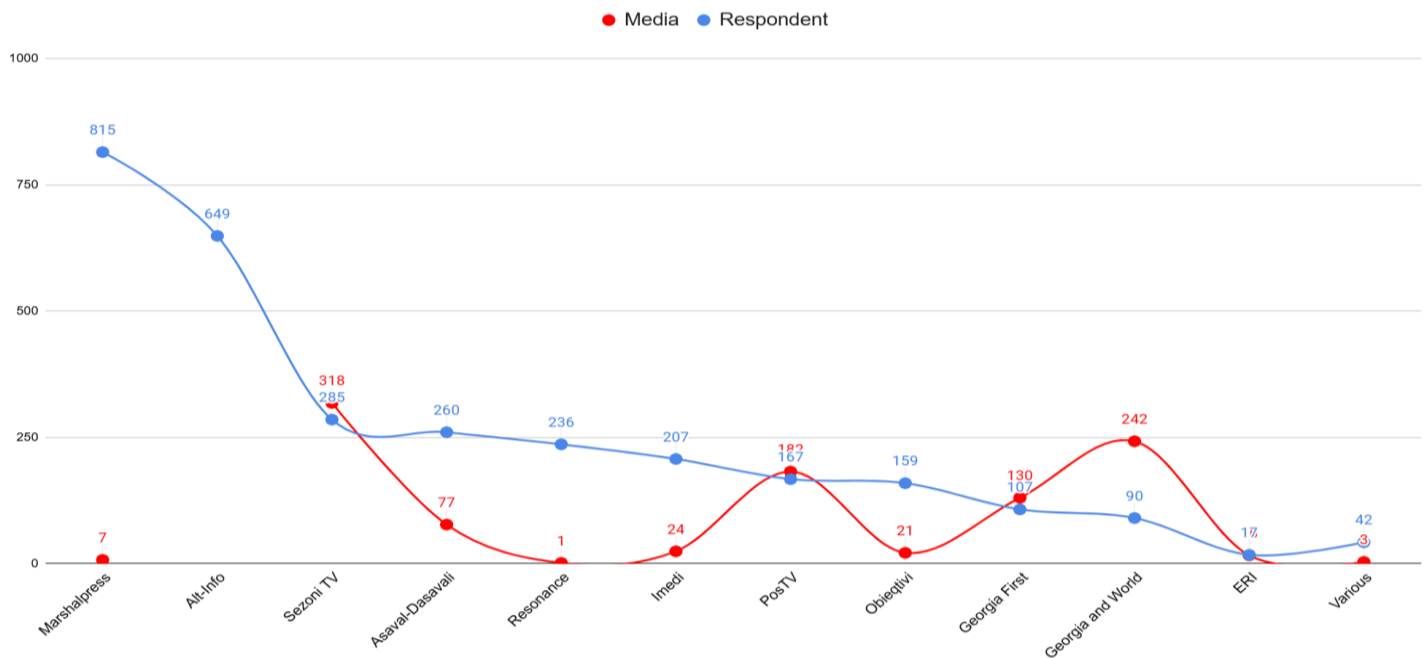
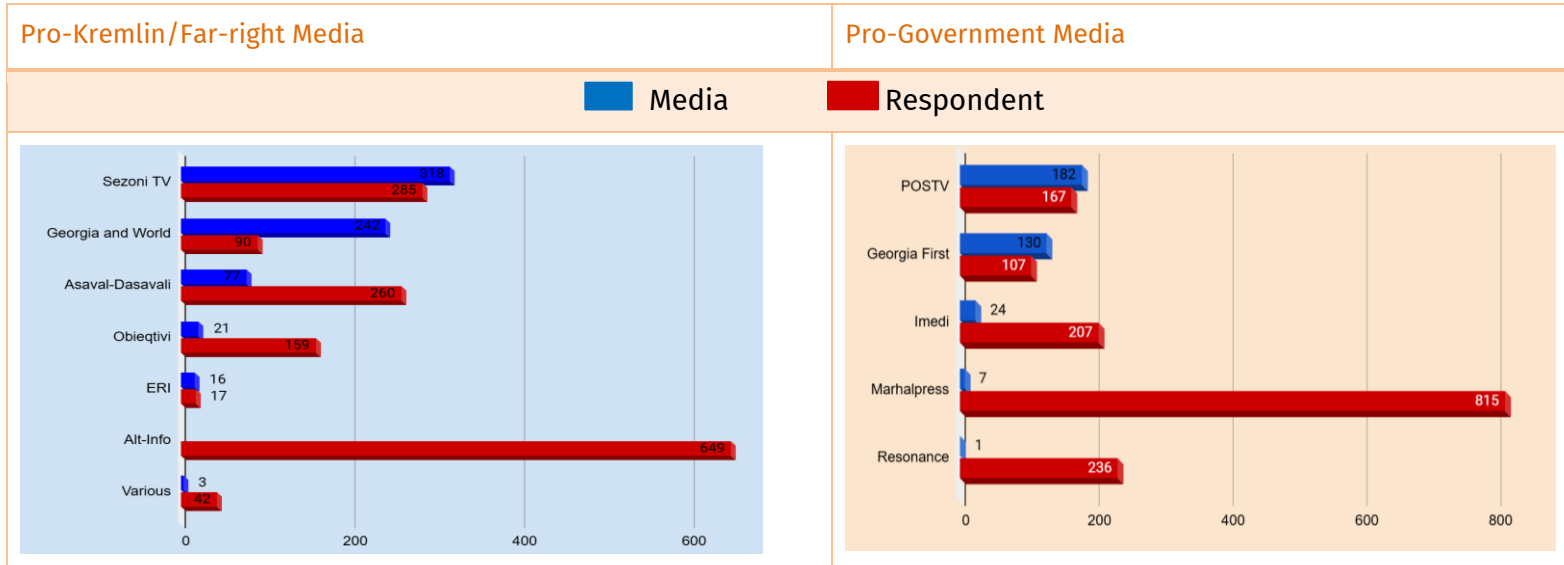
¹⁰³ Imedi, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/tv-imeri>

¹⁰⁴ Marshalpress, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/marshalpress>

comments), the abundance of anti-Western comments is primarily attributed to the respondents. The same situation is seen in the newspaper Resonance¹⁰⁵ (1 editorial comment, 236 respondent comments).

As illustrated in the diagram below, some media outlets are significant conduits of anti-Western messages either through the choice of respondents, editorial comments, or a combination of both. Additionally, a trend of selecting respondents based on the political affiliation of media outlets was observed. Despite being in coalition, Conservative Movement leaders mostly appeared on their own Alt-Info TV, while the Alliance of Patriots featured on TV Obieqtivi, which is affiliated with the party. Pro-government actors, as well as experts, mainly appeared in pro-government media, though their messages were also featured in Kremlin-aligned outlets.

Figure 26. Sources of Anti-Western Messages by Media Outlets (July-September, 2024)



NGO. Public organizations were also categorized into two types: (1) pro-government and (2) Kremlin-aligned.

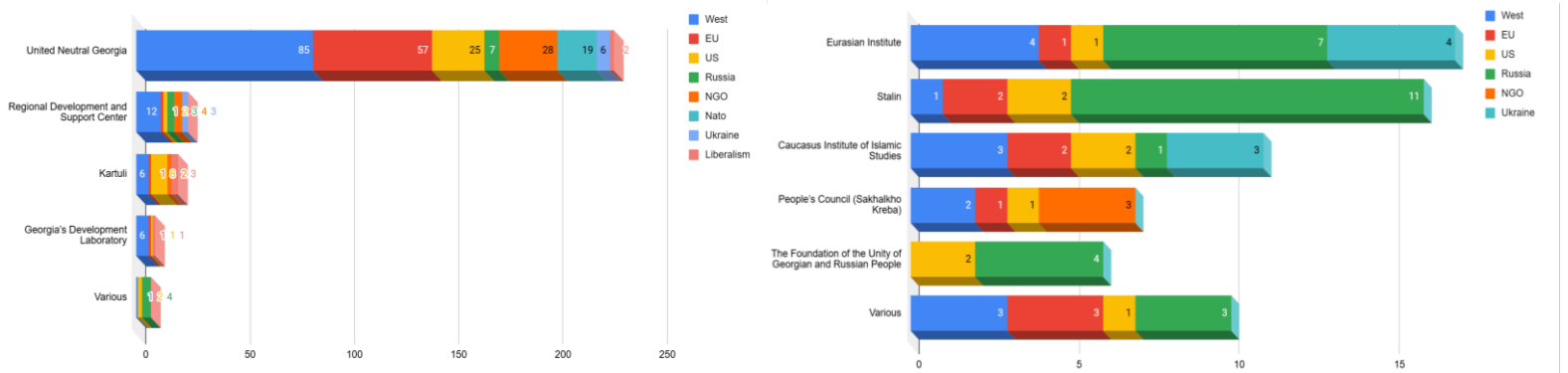
¹⁰⁵ Resonance, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/newspaper-rezonansi>

Statements from pro-government organizations (290) significantly exceeded comments from Kremlin-aligned groups (67). Among the pro-government groups, the highest number of anti-Western comments came from the newly established *Unified Neutral Georgia* (229), while comments from other organizations were comparatively fewer.

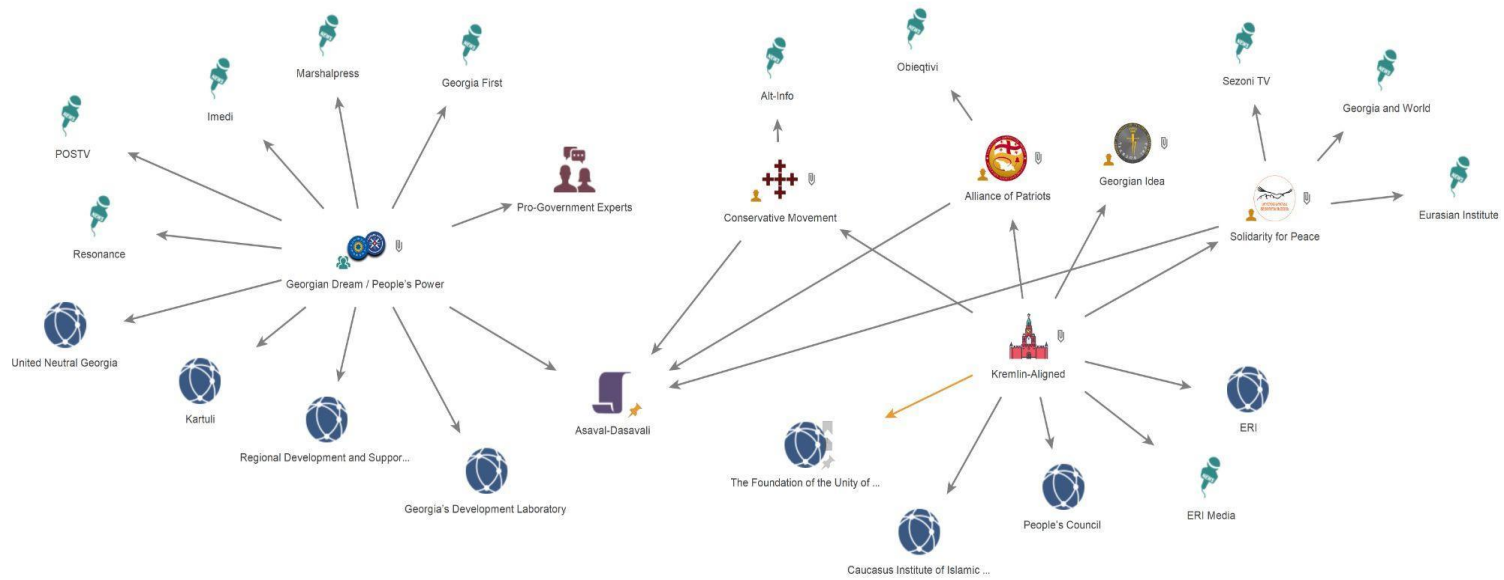
It is noteworthy that two pro-government organizations were founded right before the parliamentary elections: 1. *Unified Neutral Georgia*,¹⁰⁶ which includes Vato Shakarashvili, the director of the conservative publication *Georgia First*, and other pro-government experts; and 2. *Society Kartuli [Georgian]*,¹⁰⁷ established with the aim of defending national values.

Among Kremlin-aligned organizations, the highest number of anti-Western messages came from the Eurasian Institute (17), Organization Stalin (16), and the Caucasus Institute of Islamic Studies (11).

Figure 27. Sources of Anti-Western Messages by Public Organizations (July-September, 2024)



Infographic 1. The Sources of Anti-Western Messages by Pro-Government and Kremlin-Aligned Actors



II. Disinformation and Other Manipulative Content on Social Media

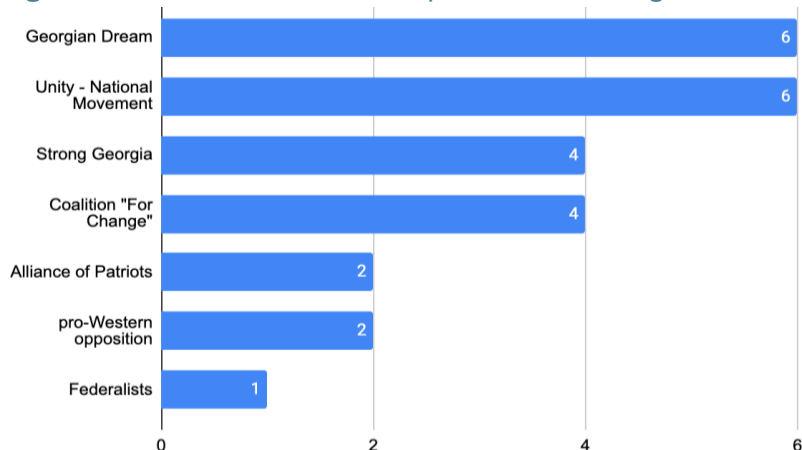
¹⁰⁶ United Neutral Georgia, <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/public-movement-united-neutral-georgia/>

¹⁰⁷ Society "Kartuli," <https://mythdetector.com/en/profiles/society-kartuli-georgian/>

During the period of July to September, "Myth Detector" identified 25 cases of disinformation and manipulative content against political parties. Additionally, in the pre-election context, individual Facebook users continued to share visual manipulations previously identified by "Myth Detector," which included content against both the opposition¹⁰⁸ and the ruling party.¹⁰⁹

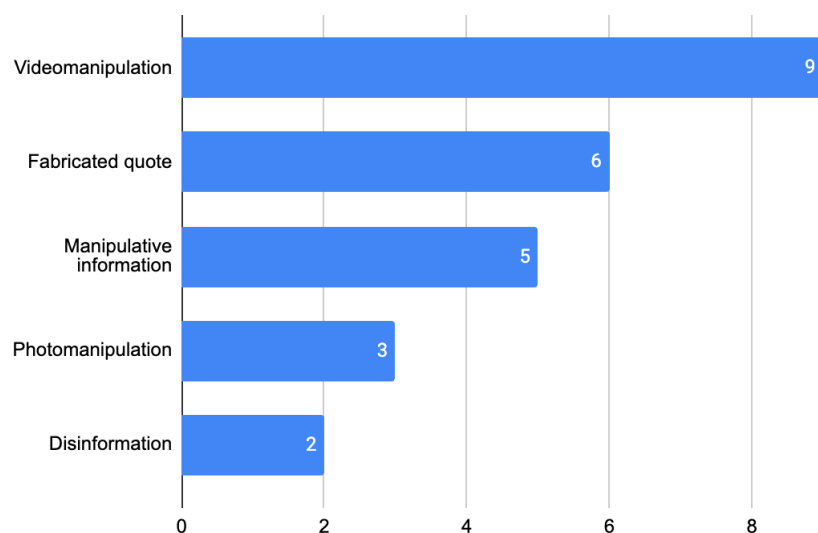
The targets of disinformation were coalitions, specific political parties, and political leaders involved in the elections, although the majority of the fake news—19 out of 25 cases—was directed against the opposition:

Figure 28. Disinformation and Manipulative Content Against Political Subjects



Various types of violations were revealed during pre-election monitoring, with the spread of visual manipulations being the most common. Among video manipulations, 2 cases involved gendered disinformation:

Figure 29. Typology of Disinformation and Manipulative Content



¹⁰⁸Myth Detector, 3 October, 2022. Video Fabrication Targeting Opposition Leader Giorgi Vasadze, <https://bit.ly/4fjLA8r>
Tekla Kharazishvili, 25 March, 2024. An altered video of Japaridze's visit to "Lie Detector" is circulating on Facebook <https://mythdetector.com/ka/japharidzis-daredaqtirebuli-video-vrtseldeba/>

¹⁰⁹ Myth Detector, 8 August, 2021. During the Meeting with Kaladze, the Kid did not Wear a Saakashvili-Supporting T-Shirt, <https://bit.ly/4fnPjBj>

Notably, the typology of false information sources differed depending on the target. In cases of content against the ruling party, the sources were mostly opposition supporters and members of the "Unity - National Movement" coalition. In contrast, the sources of false information against the opposition were predominantly media outlets with pro-government editorial policies, pro-government experts, and anonymous Facebook pages/accounts aimed at discrediting the opposition.

2.1. Disinformation/Manipulative Content Disseminated Against the Opposition

Target	Topic	Violation	Source
"Unity - National Movement"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Manipulation claiming that banning political parties is a common practice in Europe ● Manipulation regarding the banning of opposition parties and media in Moldova and Ukraine ● Altered video falsely depicting Bokuchava answering the question "Misha or your husband" ● Fabricated document suggesting that Koba Nakopia holds a Russian passport ● Fake election list of the "United National Movement" (UNM) including Megis Kardava, Bacho Akhalaia, Gia Khukhashvili, and others. ● Disinformation as if Zelensky said the "United National Movement" would start a war if it was in power 	<p>2 Manipulative claims</p> <p>1 Videomanipulation/Gendered disinformation</p> <p>1 Photomanipulation</p> <p>2 Disinformation cases</p>	<p>Georgian Dream members: Nino Tsilosani, Mamuka Mdinaradze, Irakli Kobakhidze</p> <p>Pro-government experts</p> <p>Anti-opposition Facebook pages ("Time for Truth", "Wise Critic", "Enemies of the country", "Politics")</p> <p>GD-supporter Facebook accounts</p> <p>Pro-government media ("Kvira", digest.ge, Resonance)</p> <p>Davit Tordia - the administrator of the GD-supporting Facebook page "Leader 41"</p> <p>Anti-liberal Facebook page "Georgia First"</p>
"Strong Georgia"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Manipulatively used quote from Ana Dolidze, falsely suggesting she linked the need for government change to car accidents ● Video manipulation showing members of "Lelo" singing "Misha Magaria" and an obscene song ● Edited video of Aleko Elisashvili expressing doubt about passing the election threshold ● Photomanipulation suggesting people did not show up at "Strong 	<p>1 Manipulative claim</p> <p>2 Videomanipulations</p> <p>1 Photomanipulations</p>	<p>Pro-government media (POSTV, Imedi).</p> <p>Facebook page "Gogaggg".</p> <p>Anti-opposition Facebook page "Shig Evropashi"</p> <p>FB page linked to Giorgi Gakharia - "Mikheil Bidzinauri"</p> <p>FB accounts supporting the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement</p>

	Georgia" meeting in Rustavi		TV "Imedi" employee
"Coalition for Change"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fabricated statement in Nika Gvaramia's name, alleging that "Georgian Dream" rigged the Georgia-Czech football match ● Manipulation as if Nika Gvaramia made anti-Turkish statements ● Out-of-context segment from Gvaramia's interview used for discrediting him ● Fake photo showing a scarecrow of Nika Gvaramia allegedly erected by a farmer in Kakheti 	<p>1 Fabricated Quote</p> <p>1 Manipulative claim</p> <p>1 Videomanipulation</p> <p>1 Photomanipulation</p>	<p>Facebook and TikTok Facebook profiles supporting the Georgian Dream</p> <p>Pro-government media (POSTV, Kvira, Resonancenews, for.ge, Reportiori)</p> <p>Anti-opposition Facebook pages and anonymous accounts ("Politics", "Mikheil Ganubajebeli "Natsi Khvitia")</p>
Alliance of Patriots/Conservative Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fabricated statement in Irma Inashvili's name, claiming Koka Morgoshia would be nominated as a prime minister candidate ● Fabricated quote attributed to Koka Morgoshia, thanking for his nomination as a prime minister candidate 	2 Fabricated quotes	"Healthy Power" - Facebook page related to pro-government Irakli Jankarashvili
Pro-Western Opposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Videomanipulation portraying opposition politicians calling for war ● Video manipulation in which leaders of the "Georgian Dream" contrast "war" from the opposition with "peace" 	2 Videomanipulations	<p>Facebook account supporting the "conservative movement" "We are already in Europe"</p> <p>Anti-opposition anonymous Facebook account "Politologist"</p> <p>Facebook and TikTok users supporting "Georgian Dream".</p>
Federalists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Altered video of the "Federalists," falsely depicting the party's name as *ederasts 	1 Videomanipulation / Gendered Disinformation	Facebook accounts supporting the "Conservative Movement" and the "Georgian Dream"

2.2. Disinformation/Manipulative Content Disseminated Against the Ruling Party

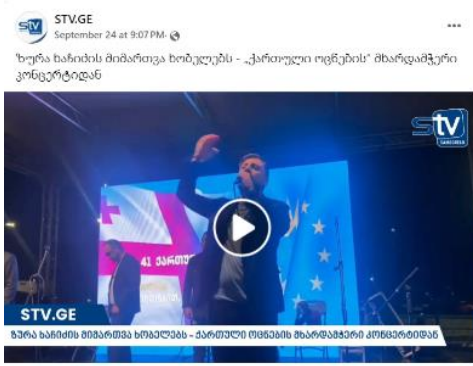
Violation	Topic	Source
3 Fabricated Quotes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fabricated quote attributed to Metropolitan Nikolaos Pachuashvili, allegedly accusing the government of a pre-election “scam” ● Fabricated quote attributed to Metropolitan Nikolaos regarding Bidzina Ivanishvili’s statement about “apologizing” ● Fabricated quote attributed to Metropolitan Iob, allegedly commenting on Bidzina Ivanishvili’s statement about the 2008 war 	<p>FB Accounts supporting the Opposition („Together for Georgia”, „Fight For Freedom)</p> <p>FB Accounts supporting the UNM</p>
2 Videomanipulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Edited video of a “Georgian Dream” banner, falsely showing the slogan “Towards Europe with corruption, tenders, and nepotism” ● Fake video falsely claiming “Georgian Dream” made a banner with Russian text 	<p>UNM Member Jano Zhvania</p> <p>FB Accounts supporting the UNM</p> <p>FB user supporting Alt-Info/Conservative Movement</p>
1 Manipulative claim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Manipulative statement by UNM leaders falsely claiming the government is blocking the receipt of 14 billion 	<p>“Unity - National Movement”</p>

2.3. Facebook Pages Posing as Regional Media Outlets Demonstrate Support for the Ruling “Georgian Dream” Party

"Myth Detector" monitored the activities of one regional media outlet ([STV.GE](#)) and three Facebook pages ([Guria Times](#), [Chiatura’s Hour](#), [Samegrelo Chronicle](#)) that position themselves as regional media. The observation revealed that all four Facebook pages actively [support](#) the ruling "Georgian Dream" party.

It is worth noting that STV.GE is among the media outlets that receive annual government contracts for budget-funded advertisements and information dissemination. The outlet's editorial policy is supportive of the "Georgian Dream" and mainly focuses on covering the activities of the ruling party.





The remaining three Facebook pages appear to use names suggesting they are regional media outlets, but they do not have registered websites. In reality, these pages act as supporters of the ruling party and as tools to discredit the opposition. Among them, Guria Times was identified as active during the 2021 local elections as well. Guria Times was observed to coordinate its activities with media outlets that follow pro-government editorial policies, for instance, they portrayed statements from the Chairman of the German Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, Michael Roth, as election interference and disseminated identical materials with identical headlines.



მორიგი ჩარევა საარჩევნო პროცესში - მიხედავს როთი ქართველ ემიგრანტებს ხმის მიცემის პროცესში დახმარებას სთავაზობს

1 ოქტომბერი, 2024

for.ge

მართლმადიდებელი ეკლესიის და საქართველოს მთავრობის მიმართ შეურაცხყოფელი განცხადებებით ცნობილი გერმანიის პარლამენტის წევრი, მიხედავს როთი ამჟერად წინასაარჩევნო პროცესში ერთვება.

გერმანელი პოლიტიკოსი საქართველოს ფარგლებს გარეთ მცხოვრებ ქართველებს მიმართავს და დახმარებას ხმის მიცემის პროცესში რეგისტრაციისთვის სთავაზობს, ამისათვის კონკრეტული ადამიანების საკონტაქტო ინფორმაციასაც ავრცელებს. ირკვევა, რომ ამ პროცესში როთის დახმარე ვინმე ნიკა თათარაშვილია.



შავარი ◯ პოლიტიკა ◯ სამართალი ◯ გაცნობი ◯ რედაქციონის ვებრედა ◯ ტექნოლოგიები ◯ საზოგადოება

სიხე / შავარი ამბები / მორიგი ჩარევა საარჩევნო პროცესში – მიხაელ როთი ქართველ ემიგრანტებს ხმის მიცემის პროცესში



შავარი ამბები პოლიტიკა

მორიგი ჩარევა საარჩევნო პროცესში – მიხაელ როთი ქართველ ემიგრანტებს ხმის მიცემის პროცესში დახმარებას სთავაზობს

2.4. Newly Created Facebook Pages that Discredit the Opposition

In the pre-election period, anonymous anti-opposition Facebook pages, some created recently and others over the past years, were actively involved in disseminating information against the opposition.

Among the newly created pages (May-August), "Myth Detector" [examined](#) four Facebook pages, three of which exclusively published opposition-discrediting posts, while one targeted both the opposition and the "Georgian Dream." Two of these Facebook pages ("Mikheil Bidzinauri," "Nationality Without Dignity") featured sponsored posts. The page "Nationality Without Dignity" has since been deactivated, but the others remain active.

Information from Facebook ads revealed that the page "Mikheil Bidzinauri" is connected to Giorgi Gakharia's party. As for the Facebook pages "Wise Critic" and "Reality," they were both created on the same day (May 27), coordinating their activities by frequently publishing identical anti-opposition posts. These pages did not post any content critical of the ruling party. Their activity was coordinated with the anonymous Facebook account

"[Mikheil Ganubagebeli](#)," which has long been involved in discrediting opposition figures and journalists critical of both the opposition and the government.

Launched August 2024

The image displays four screenshots of sponsored social media posts, each with a 'See ad details' button. The posts are from Mikheil Bidzinauri, sponsored by newsweek.ge. The first post (Aug 28, 2024) has an estimated audience size of >1M, spent $\\$100$, and 50K-60K impressions. The second (Aug 27, 2024) has >1M audience, $\\$100$ spent, and 20K-25K impressions. The third (Aug 26, 2024) has >1M audience, $\\$100$ spent, and 70K-80K impressions. The fourth (Aug 26, 2024) has >1M audience, $\\$100$ spent, and 15K-20K impressions. The posts feature various images, including a man in a suit and a group of people.

Examples of sponsored posts by "Mikheil Bidzinauri"

The image shows four screenshots of social media posts, two from 'ბრძენი კრიტიკოსი' and two from 'მიხეილ განუბაგებელი'. The top-left post (Aug 29) compares 2024 and 2013 with the text '“პრინციპული” დიაგა'. The top-right post (Aug 29) is identical. The bottom-left post (Aug 31) features a red banner with the text 'ნაცრადიკალი ექსპერტი' and a courtroom scene. The bottom-right post (Aug 31) is identical but with an orange banner. All posts show engagement metrics like likes and comments.

Example of coordinated dissemination of identical posts



Coordinated Dissemination of Gendered Disinformation