

# ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA









# ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA

MEDIA MONITORING REPORT

2014-2015

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

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# INTRODUCTION

Monitoring of hate speech and xenophobia in Georgian media that Media Development Foundation (MDF) has been conducting for years now, prompted the organization to monitor anti-Western attitudes too. The experience gained in this area has shown that anti-Western rhetoric is often applied in xenophobic and homophobic contexts and it is associated with unjustified fears, which is an accompanying process of modernization. Such expressions are directed against open society and as monitoring results show, they are also loaded with political connotation because it is precisely the politically active media outlets and political actors that spread such ideas or incorrect, misleading interpretations of clearly anti-Western nature. Such rhetoric largely repeats the narrative of Russian media outlets targeting Russian-language audience, i.e. citizens of post-Soviet space, with the aim to influence them.

This edition is the third part of a set of media monitoring reports<sup>1</sup> and describes trends of anti-Western propaganda. The first chapter of the edition provides quantitative data of media monitoring by anti-Western propaganda sources; the second chapter contains the analysis of types of messages; the third chapter reflects propaganda techniques and corresponding examples whilst the fourth chapter is dedicated to Russian propaganda in Georgian media; and a separate chapter overviews anti-Western attitudes by sources, including other media outlets avoiding the identification of Russian sources; political parties and organizations affiliated with them; representatives of current and former authorities; religious servants and representatives of public.

The project was implemented within the framework Advancing National Integration in Georgia program and aimed to expose, among other phobias, anti-Western attitudes and identify their sources.

## METHODOLOGY

This study covers the period of one year (17 February 2014 – 18 February 2015) and is grouped by those sources which were most vocal in expressing anti-Western attitudes. They include: media, political parties and public organizations affiliated thereof, representatives of current and former authorities, religious servants, and other representatives of public i.e. all those respondents that are not categorized as a separate group. The monitoring was focused on highlighting separate messages promoted by these sources and the frequency of repetition of those messages; one sided or free interpretation of incorrect facts without offering alternative opinions to audience; and in case of media, violations of professional standards.

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<sup>1</sup> I – Hate Speech and Xenophobia; II – Homophobia and Gender Identity.

The monitoring covered six newspapers (Asaval-Dasavali, Rezonansi, Prime Time, Kviris Qronika, Alia, Kviris Palitra<sup>2</sup>), main news programs and talk shows of five TV channels (Georgian Public Broadcaster, Imedi, Rustavi 2, Kavkasia and Maestro), primetime talk shows of the media union Obiektivi and the Tabula TV company, and six news and information websites (Sakinformi, InterpressNews, Netgazeti, PirWeli, Reportiori, Georgia and World). Examples of other media outlets as well as instances which occurred outside the monitoring period are not reflected in the data and are provided for illustration purposes alone.

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<sup>2</sup> Since December 2014, the monitoring switched from print edition to online edition of the newspaper.

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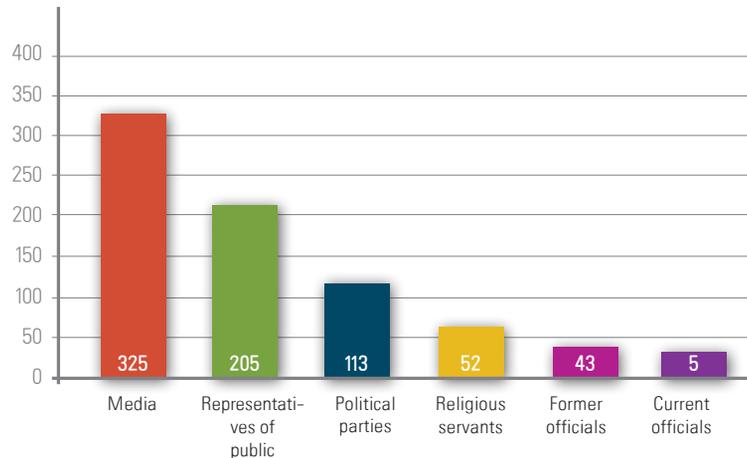
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## 1. MAIN FINDINGS – QUANTITATIVE DATA

According to a year-long monitoring, main sources of anti-Western propaganda are media (325) and other representatives of public (205), followed by political parties (113), religious servants (52), representatives of former authorities (43) and representatives of current authorities (5).

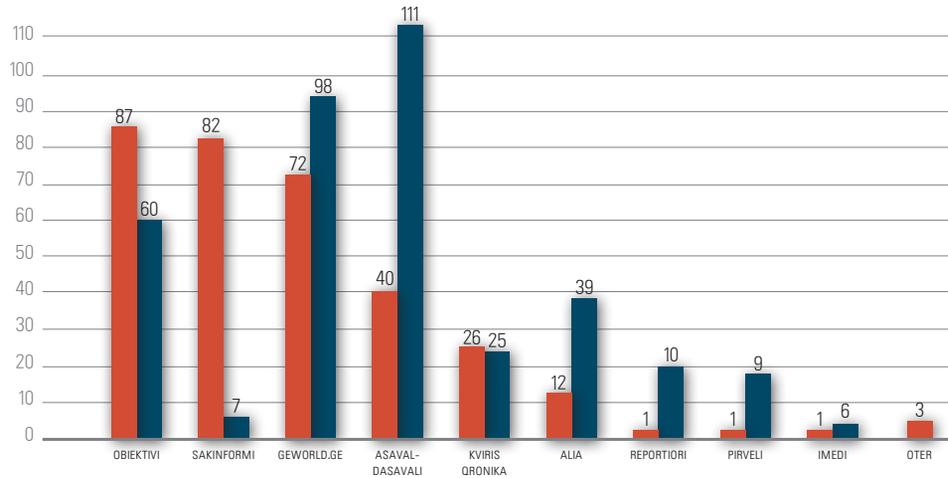
Chart 1. Anti-Western attitudes by sources



Among media outlets, anti-Western attitudes were most aggressively promoted in the TV talk show of the media union Obiektivi (87); this was followed by the online news and information agencies Sakinformi (82) and Georgia & World (hereinafter referred to as Geworld.ge) (72). Among print editions most outstanding in explicitly expressing anti-Western views were newspapers Asaval-Dasavali (40) and two others which fall within the Alia Holding – Kviris Qronika (26) and Alia (12). The news agencies PirWeli and Reportiori had one such expression each; Imedi TV channel carried a report in which journalistic standards were violated and anti-Western sentiments fanned by the provided interpretation of the story. The category of “other” in Chart 2 includes earlier statements of current Georgian Public Broadcaster correspondent in Brussels, Giorgi Popkhadze (3). At the time of those statements, Popkhadze was an employee of the media union Obiektivi, though he made the statements in an interview to other media outlets.

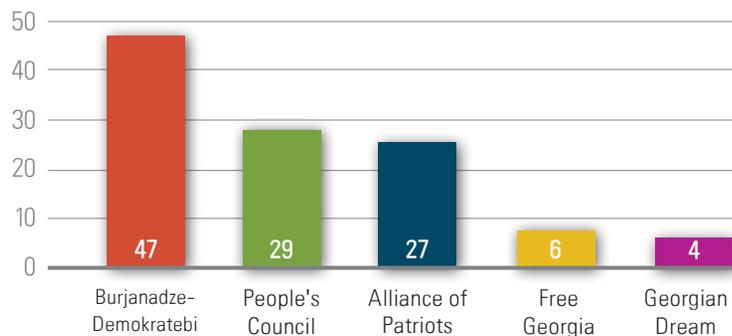
Those media outlets with anti-Western rhetoric being part of their editorial policy selected respondents accordingly and both journalists and their respondents permanently promoted the only position that fitted into that editorial policy or incorrect information. Chart 2 shows sources of anti-Western attitudes by media outlets and their respondents.

**Chart 2. Anti-Western rhetoric by media outlets and respondents**



From among political parties, anti-Western attitudes were most frequently expressed by Nino Burjanadze–United Democrats and the parties that set up the election bloc with Nino Burjanadze–United Democrats for the 2014 local elections (47), also People’s Council, a movement also affiliated with Nino Burjanadze–United Democrats(29); and Alliance of Patriots (27). These were followed by Free Georgia (6) and Georgian Dream (4).

**Chart 3. Sources of anti-Western rhetoric by political parties**



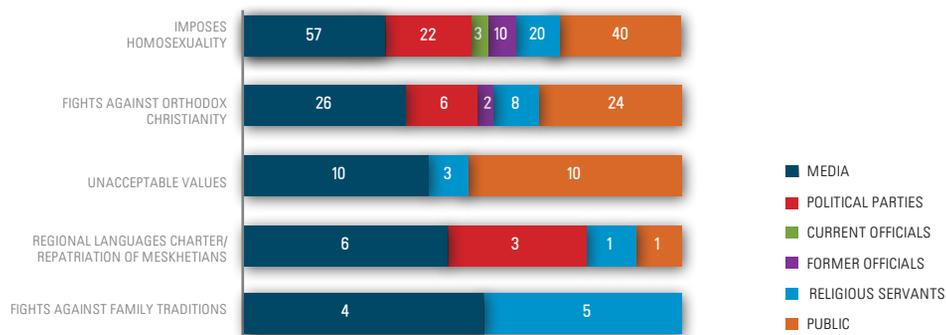
Authors of all five anti-Western statements of current authorities were representatives of the government of Abkhazia-in-exile: the Minister of Education and Culture (4) and the head of the bureau of advisors to the government of Abkhazia (1). Of total 43 anti-Western messages expressed by former officials, the majority were made by high political officials and other civil servants of Eduard Shevardnadze government (1995-2003) with the former law enforcement officials (ministers of security, defense and internal affairs) and the public defender amongst being most vocal.

## 2. TYPES OF KEY MESSAGES

Key messages coming from those sources which we categorized – media, political parties, current and former officials, religious servants and other representatives of public – may be divided into three groups: 1) topics related to values and human rights; 2) interpretation of political processes; and 3) issues related to institutions – non-governmental and international organizations. These messages were associated with subjective interpretations or in often cases, with the discussion of incorrect facts in the context of threats.

1. A dominant topic in the category concerning values and human rights was related to the “legalization” of homosexuality, pedophilia and perverse mode of life by the West – a discourse accompanying the consideration of the draft antidiscrimination law in the parliament of Georgia and was portrayed as part of the package of Associations Agreement with the European Union (152); in another discourse, the West was portrayed as a fighter against Orthodox Christianity whilst this fight, in certain cases, shown as the opposition to Orthodox Russia (66); intolerance of Western values involved various issues (23), issues of the protection of minority rights – topics such as the ratification of Council of Europe’s Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the repatriation of Georgian citizens deported from Meskheta region during the Staline regime, which were discussed in relation to the Association Agreement – were associated with threats of separatism “inspired” by the West (11); issues of gender and sexual identity were portrayed as the fight against family traditions (9).

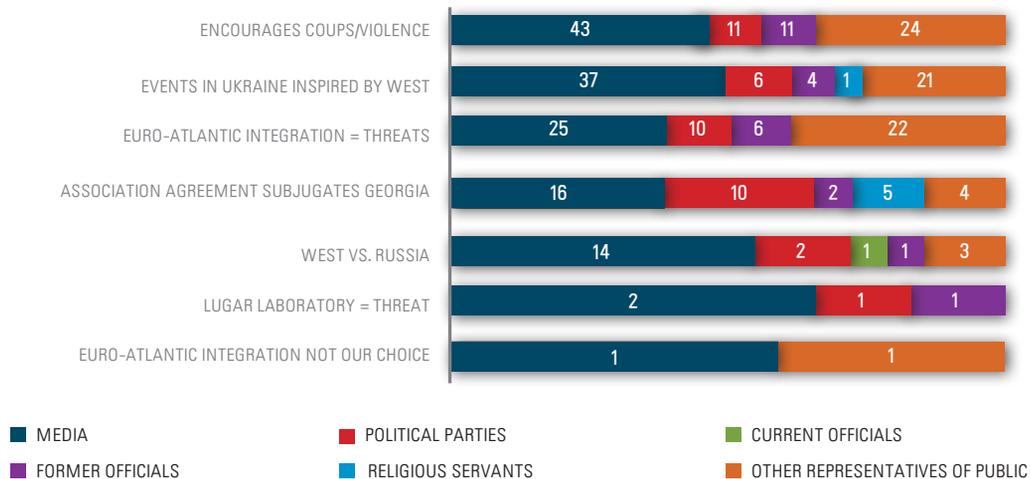
Chart 4. Types of messages concerning values and human rights



2. Political topics were divided into two groups: a) issues concerning the foreign policy of the West and its cooperation with Georgia in international format and 2) messages concerning the domestic politics of Georgia.

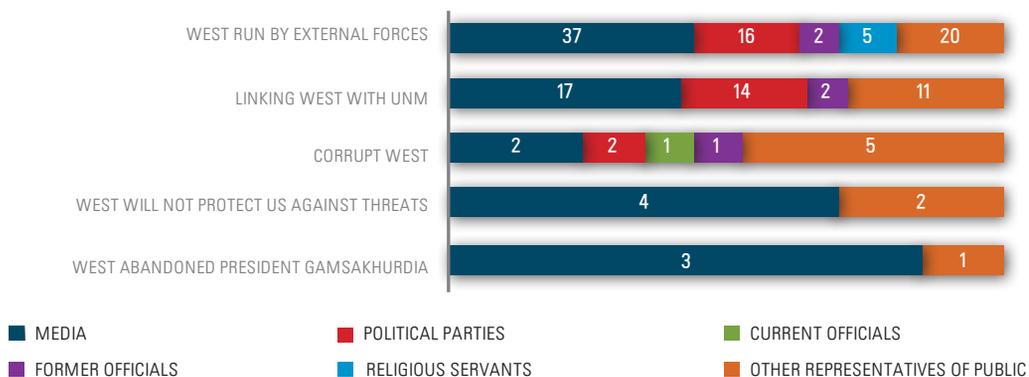
a) The dominant opinion in the first category was that the United States and the West, in general, are offenders and encourage coups in various countries (89); events in Ukraine were portrayed as action undertaken by the West against Russia (69); the Euro-Atlantic integration was associated with the expansion of Turkey and loss of Georgian territories (63); the Association Agreement was interpreted as a tool to subjugate Georgia and destroy its economy (37); Russia was portrayed as a counterweight to the West (21) whilst Richard Lugar Center for Public Health Research as threat (4). Two messages conveyed the opinion that NATO and the EU are not the choice of Georgian people and this process lacked legitimization on the part of people.

**Chart 5. Types of messages concerning foreign political processes and international cooperation**



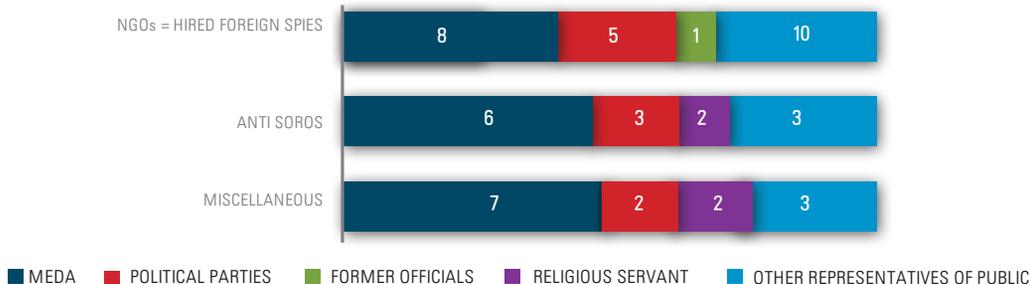
b) Yet another dominant opinion was that Georgia is led by external forces and lacks independence (80); former ruling party – United National Movement – was associated with the West in a negative context (44) and the West was portrayed as corrupt world (11); that the West will not protect us against threats (6) and President Zviad Gamsakhurdia was abandoned by the West (4) were those two opinions that were though heard but less frequently.

**Chart 6. Types of messages concerning the domestic politics**



- In the third group two messages were dominant, concerning the institutions supporting open society, namely, non-governmental organizations which were portrayed as hired spies of foreign counties whilst international organizations were portrayed as branches of special services (24); the founder of Open Society Georgia Foundation, George Soros, was portrayed as a fighter against Georgian identity (14). With regard to non-governmental organizations, their active protest against the draft law on surreptitious recording was attributed to the United States’ “interest” to gain control on the access to surreptitious recording listening.

**Chart 7. Types of messages concerning institutions**



### 3. MESSAGE BOX

In this section we tried to group various messages which were repeatedly promoted by various sources thereby taking on the form of sort of message boxes. The examples provided below may be regarded as patterns of formulating identical content.

Separate examples will be discussed in terms of various propaganda techniques, such as Ad nauseam, sowing doubts, a false dilemma i.e. black-and-white thinking, demonization, and disinformation.

## AD NAUSEAM

Ad nauseum approach uses tireless repetition of an idea. This may be a simple idea or a simple slogan that is repeated so often that people begin to take it as the truth. The techniques of uncertainty, doubts is also used, aimed at undermining the credibility and creating uncertainty.

### Example 1. The US assisted us with water and diapers

**Message:** The West cannot protect us against threats.

**Sowing doubt:** May the US be regarded as our strategic partner or not?

The above message, formulated in identical wording, is promoted by an MP from the ruling party, the editor-in-chief of online news and information agency Sakinformi, a journalist and a respondent of Kviris Chronika newspaper. All these statements about the US were made in relation to Russia-Georgia war of August 2008.

The image displays four speech bubbles, each representing a different source of the same propaganda message. The messages are identical, focusing on the US providing 'water and diapers' to Georgia. The sources are: ZAZA PAPUASHVILI (25 March, 2015), ARNO KHIDIRBEGISHVILI (1-7 December, 2014), GIORGI JIKIASHVILI (3-9 November, 2014), and GOGA KHAINDRAVA (11 December, 2014).

Source	Message
ZAZA PAPUASHVILI <i>Geworld.ge, 25 March, 2015</i>	"Russia is our eternal neighbor... We got worries, <b>water</b> and <b>diapers</b> from the West!" <sup>3</sup>
ARNO KHIDIRBEGISHVILI <i>1-7 December, 2014</i>	"If Russia was the number one strategic partner, it would have supported Georgia with an army but not with the <b>diapers</b> ."
GIORGI JIKIASHVILI <i>Journalist, 3-9 November, 2014</i>	"America that has announced itself as a strategic partner, could yield nothing then <b>water</b> and <b>diapers</b> ."
GOGA KHAINDRAVA <i>Kavkasia, Spectri, 11 December, 2014</i>	"We saw what kind of support we received in 2008, it was just <b>water</b> and the <b>diapers</b> , American ship couldn't even dear to enter Poti..."

### Example 2. Victoria Nuland and cakes

**Message:** Events in Ukraine inspired by the US

The ruling party MP, the businessman Levan Vasadze and a presenter of media union Obiektivi try to illustrate a "destructive" role of the US in Ukrainian development by the act of Victoria Nuland in Kyiv in 2013, when she brought tea and cakes to protesters in Maidan.

<sup>3</sup> This statement is not included in quantitative data since it is made beyond reporting period (February, 2014-2015). The statement is quoted as an illustrative example in this case.

## RESPONDENT

"This war, the burning of the center of Kiev – was not it done by Americans?! **Victoria Nuland was distributing sweet loafs to the opposition in the center of Kiev...** Russian aggression in eastern Ukraine is the result of the coup d'etat staged by the Americans in Kiev."

LEVAN VASADZE

Businessman, Imedi, *Reaktsia*, 13 February, *Interpressnews* and *Geworld.ge*, *Reportiori*, 14 February, 2015

## GEORGIAN DREAM

Soso Jachvliani, MP: "There [in Ukraine] great interests have Russia, also Europe and America... When you go there and clearly take sides, it should point that you are not right."

Mirian Bokolishvili, journalist: "Whom do you mean?"

Soso Jachvliani: "That American diplomats who go there and give out sweet loafs and something. If someone supports me in such a way, I will overthrow any government".

Prime Time, 24 February, 2014

## ANCHOR OF OBIEKTIVI TV

"In fact it is a plot against Russia... Have not you seen **Nuland's sweet loafs**? Many such sweet loafs are distributed all over the world. This loafs are symbol of bribery".

VALERI KVARATSKHELIA

GPB, I Studio, 25 January, 2014

## FALSE DILEMMA TECHNIQUE

A false dilemma or black-and-white thinking is the approach of presenting only two choices and propagating one of them as the better choice. A false dilemma in the examples provided below is revealed not in the use of identical phrases but rather in setting identical alternatives.

### Example 3. Russia as counterweight to the West

**Message:** The West imposes homosexuality, incest, pedophilia and perverse mode of life.

## BURJANADZE - UNITED DEMOCRATS

"I will never accept **legalization of homosexuality, incest**, in our country this is unacceptable, and if the choice is: **legalizing incest** or staying where we are, and I am not in **Russia**, I am in Georgia, then I would like to stay in my country."

NINO BURJANADZE

Pirveli, 2 May, 2014

## FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER

"If we have a choice, we should choose the **Russian orientation**, rather than nontraditional orientation.. Only thing we get is depravity, wickedness and abuse of our religion and traditions."

TENGIZ KITOVANI

Asaval-Dasavali, 5-11 May, 2014

## FORMER PUBLIC DEFENDER

"Let's see what are on the agenda of the today's world – **same-sex marriage, legalization of child adoption for the same-sex couples**.. and Georgian people prefers Russia to the such West!"

NANA DEVDARIANI

Asaval-Dasavali, 15-21 September, 2014

## POET

"The **Russians** are not instructing me **to marry my cousin** or to marry a boy, why everything is reversed in our country?"

REZO AMASHUKELI

Alia, 3-6 October

## Example 4. Homosexuality as a counterweight to Euro-Atlantic integration

**Message:** The West imposes homosexuality, incest, pedophilia and perverse mode of life.

<p><b>MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF ABKHAZIA</b></p> <p>„If <b>pederasty</b> is needed for Georgia to join EU and NATO, then I, Dima Jaiani, will <b>never want to join NATO</b>”.</p> <p><b>DIMA JAIANI</b> Prime Time, 31 March, 2014</p>	<p><b>BURJANADZE - UNITED DEMOCRATS</b></p> <p>„We will soon find ourselves in a similar situation with Europe and America where <b>sexual minorities</b> dictate the agenda!.. Then, <b>we must say no to such EU</b> which disregards thousand-year-old Georgia traditions and belief!”</p> <p><b>GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI</b> Asaval-Dasavali, 7-13 April, 2014</p>	<p><b>CLERGY</b></p> <p>„What does <b>EU</b> request from Georgia? Do we have to pay with immorality on the way to <b>Europe</b>? is this what we are dreaming of? If this is Europe, do <b>we need deprave partner like this?</b>”</p> <p><b>GIORGI RAZMADZE</b> Alia, 30 July, 2014</p>	<p><b>ACTOR</b></p> <p>„If we must become like <b>Konchita</b> then I, as a regular citizen of this country, am <b>against European integration</b>.”</p> <p><b>GURAM PIRTSKHALAVA</b> Kviris Chronika, 19-25 May, 2014</p>
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## Example 5. NATO integration tantamount to loss of territorial integrity

**Message:** NATO = a threat of losing territorial integrity.

<p><b>BURJANADZE - UNITED DEMOCRATS</b></p> <p>„If we are ready to <b>give up Abkhazia and Samachablo for a NATO</b> base, let's say this loudly“.</p> <p><b>NINO BURJANADZE</b> Saqinform, Kviris Chronika, 2 February, 2015</p>	<p><b>ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS'</b></p> <p>„Some would exchange the lands for NATO... I want NATO, I want technologies and military aid, but I want it with my country's lands, <b>not without the territories...</b> And this is not going to happen.”</p> <p><b>IRMA INASHVILI</b> Reportiori, 27 November, 2014</p>	<p><b>ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS'</b></p> <p>„How can they [NATO] help us? They won't even open that training centers were we are supposed to train some rebels, and the situation in Abkhazia will change tragically... “</p> <p><b>DAVID TARKHAN-MOURAVI</b> Obiektivi, Night Studio, 26 November, 2014</p>	<p><b>FORMER PUBLIC DEFENDER</b></p> <p>„More of Georgia in <b>NATO</b>”... this means – cheap Georgian soldiers sent in different hot spots throughout the world... The rest will turn into the military base of NATO, Georgia will <b>lose the chance to return its unity for good.</b>”</p> <p><b>NANA DEVDARIANI</b> Geworld.ge, 10 December, 2014</p>	<p><b>SAKINFORMI</b></p> <p>„Washington will achieve its goals – Georgia will enter <b>NATO</b> freely in a new borders, without Tskinali and Sokhumi and without any problems with Russia... That is why US is forcing Georgia to <b>recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia!</b>”</p> <p><b>ARNO KHIDIRBEGISHVILI</b> Sakinformi, 30 June, 2014</p>
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## DEMONIZING

This technique implies portraying opponents as inhumane through false accusations and unjustified generalization.

## Example 6. After all, Hussein did not kill people

**Message:** The US is offender.

**Sowing doubt:** May the US be regarded as our strategic partner or not?

### EURASIAN CHOISE

“What was better? The regime of Saddam Hussein, during which people lived there?.. They weren't killing anyone... Let's take statistics and compare, how many people died during the Hussein regime and how many died after the United States invasion...”

ARCHIL CHKOIIZE

Obiektivi, Night Studio, 23 August, 2014

### MEDIA-UNION OBIEKTIVI

“Yes, Hussein was no angel either. Neither Kaddafi was nor Assad is such, but we know how people used to live there... [America] went there and, let us say, those who lived and those who existed there are now killed... May we regard such country as a strategic partner?”

BONDO MOZINARASHVILI

Anchor, Obiektivi, Night Studio, 27 August, 2014

## DISINFORMATION AND DEMONIZING TECHNIQUE

Disinformation about Richard Lugar Center for Public Health Research established in Georgia within the framework of US-Georgia cooperation in the field of biological safety, was aimed at demonizing the USA.

## Example 7. Viruses of Lugar lab to threaten Georgian people

**Message:** The US is offender.

**Sowing doubt:** May the US be regarded as our strategic partner or not?

### FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER OF GEORGIA

“The virus of Meningitis was intentionally spread by that laboratory, which was founded by Micheil Saakashvili with the support of Americans! But this is just a beginning, in future we will have the viruses that causes male impotence and female infertility. This is the most effective tool for depopulation of the nation... it should be underlined that similar laboratory was built in Ukraine”

TENGIZ KITOVANI

Asaval-Dasavali, 23-29 June, 2014

### PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

“Considering that today there is a global genocide, aiming for both spiritual and physical destruction of, everything gets clear. So it is suspected that these viruses [from the Lugar Laboratory] are being spread on purpose... This is aimed at the final destruction of the Georgian people, Georgian identity.”

ELIZBAR JAVELIDZE

Geworld.ge, 28 May, 2014

### SAKINFORMI

**Titled:** “Take-off phase and Richard G Lugar death factory”

5 May, 2014

“It's too bad that Georgia is not in partnership with the “underachieving” Russia that has economy of raw materials, however it is in partnership with the civilized, hi-tech Europe! That is producing nothing more than viruses in the Lugar laboratory in Georgia.”

ARNO KHIDIRBEGISHVILI

8 December, 2014

## 4. RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA IN GEORGIAN MEDIA

The Russian propaganda, now also dubbed as hybrid warfare and even reflected in strategic documents of Russia,<sup>4</sup> has attracted special attention of the international common after the events in Ukraine. EU countries are actively discussing steps to counteract the Russian propaganda.

According to Baltic to Black Sea Alliance, the Kremlin propaganda targets numerous Russian-speaking population of Baltic States, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine as well as that segment of population that is used to receiving information in Russian.<sup>5</sup>

The most recent public opinion survey conducted by the International Republican Institute (IRI) in February 2015<sup>6</sup> shows that Georgian TV channels are the main source of news about international developments, including in Ukraine, Russia and the EU, for 97% of Georgia's population and the share of those who watch Russian TV channels comprises 9% plus 2% of those who are consumers of Russian internet websites. According to the same survey, 39% of respondents use the Russian social network Odnoklassniki.

It can be said that in case of Georgia we observe not a direct, flagrant Russian propaganda but rather an indirect propaganda which is underway through denouncing the West – an anti-Western propaganda scheme implemented by means of Georgian media. According to findings of our monitoring, this problem is not characteristic for mainstream media. Anti-Western attitudes and Russian narrative are most vividly observed in the media union Obiektivi which is a general broadcast licensee and broadcasts via cable networks. No information is available about TV ratings of Obiektivi because it is not a customer of TVMR Georgia, the only company measuring TV viewership in the country.

Among those media outlets which openly use anti-Western rhetoric (see Chart 2, p. 10), only three – Obiektivi, Sakinformi and Geworld.ge - identify the Russian sources of their information. One reprint of anti-Western information from a Russian source was seen in case of news and information website PirWeli and one in case of Reportiori. The table below shows those Russian sources which are used by these media outlets.

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<sup>4</sup> Overview of foreign policy of the Russian Federation (2007) and the state security strategy of Russian Federation (2009) identify the enhancement of informational influence on former Soviet countries as a strategically important area.

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.bbsa.lv/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Policy-paper\\_SHORT.pdf](http://www.bbsa.lv/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Policy-paper_SHORT.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/iri\\_georgia\\_public\\_2015\\_final\\_0.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/iri_georgia_public_2015_final_0.pdf)

**Table 1. Russian sources in Georgian media**

<b>OBIKTIVI</b>	1TV.RU ЦСДФ - Центральная студия документальных фильмов	RT Poznavatelnoetv	РЕН-ТВ Россия 1	Россия 24	TV Про	TV-RIIP.NNM.RU
<b>SAKINFORMI</b>	REGNUM RT Взгляд	warfiles.ru Свободная Пресса	Накануне.RU IA REX	Российская газета Politikus.ru		clubs.ya.ru
<b>GEWORLD.GE</b>	РИА Новости	телестудия МГИМО	www.georgians.ru			
<b>PIRVELI</b>	novinite.ru					
<b>REPORTIORI</b>	РИА Новости					

The media union Obiektivi aired the documentary “Crimea – Way Back Home” by Andrei Kondrashov (which was broadcast by Rossiya 1 TV company) in Russian language whilst the internet portal Geworld.ge offered its readers the transcript of this film.

Apart from identified Russian sources, Obiektivi airs various Russian video materials and English-language films without identifying their sources. For example, the talk show of Obiektivi aired the English-language film “Sodom” and the presenter said that he could not say anything about the author of the film. The film itself used a false dilemma approach portraying the West as the hotbed of immorality whilst Russia as the fighter against homosexuality and a positive alternative to the West.

### **FABRICATION OF INFORMATION: GEORGIAN–UKRAINIAN PARALLELS**

Attempts to create artificial reality by fabricating information and mislead society by demonizing the West were undertaken in relation to Ukraine. Some examples either literally repeat or very much resemble the pattern which Georgian media outlets followed when reporting on domestic political events of Georgia.

### **FABRICATION ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONCENTRATION CAMP BY THE EU IN UKRAINE**

**Russian source:** politikus.ru

**Georgian media source:** Sakinformi

Based on the Russian source, politikus.ru, Sakinformi published a material alleging that the EU, with the participation of a Turkish company, was constructing a concentration camp for political prisoners. The material was

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/iri\\_georgia\\_public\\_2015\\_final\\_0.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/iri_georgia_public_2015_final_0.pdf)

accompanied with photo-fabrication of a Nazi concentration camp, on the one side, and on the other side, a photo featuring the construction site and captioned as the Zhdanovka concentration camp (4 April 2014).

### FABRICATION ABOUT TRADE IN BODY ORGANS IN UKRAINE AND GEORGIA

**Ukrainian source:** Slovo.net.ua

**Georgian media sources:** Sakinformi, Ambebi.ge, Asaval-dasavali

**Sakinformi:** “Foreign doctors equipped with special gear have been seen among the right-wing sector and Ukrainian army, removing organs from dead and severely injured persons... The likelihood that several supporters of European integration will move to Europe earlier than others is very high, but part by part” (Sakinformi, 24 June 2014).

The material is illustrated with a photo of mutilated corpse, also a photo featuring former US and Georgian Presidents, George Bush and Mikheil Saakashvili, as well as the former First Lady Sandra Roelofs.

Allegations about Sandra Roelofs using prisoners as animals for experiments and their organs to produce TB medication were permanently published in Asaval-Dasavali newspaper, while the news and information website Ambebi.ge reprinted the material from the Ukrainian Slovo.net.ua alleging that the trade in body organs in Ukraine has become a family business of Saakashvili. This material was accompanied with a fabricated photo featuring Mikheil Saakashvili and Sandra Roelofs and body organs against the EU flag.

### FABRICATION ABOUT BLACK AND US INSTRUCTORS ARRIVING IN UKRAINE AS MERCENARIES

**Russian source:** warfiles.ru

**Georgian source:** Sakinformi

Based on warfiles.ru Sakinformi published a material titled “Ukrainian armor crewmen – black mercenaries out of 180 US instructors having arrived in Ukraine!” illustrated with a photo of mutilated corpse and a photo of US instructors planning a military operation. Another material published based on the same source too titled “Georgian speaking naked African, who worked as a military advisor to Saakashvili in August 2008, was captured in Ukraine in August 2014” was accompanied with photos featuring unidentified people with color skin, one of which has a Russian caption saying a serviceman of Ukrainian army in 2014 whilst another – an instructor of Georgian army in August 2008 war.

**Note:** The fabrication of identical construction was exposed by the Ukrainian portal stopfake.org, which was set up to counteract the Russian propaganda, and concerned the incorrect information about the arrival of “Afro-American mercenaries” to Kharkov<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> [http://eurocommunicator.ge/geo/view\\_myth/39](http://eurocommunicator.ge/geo/view_myth/39)

## FABRICATION ABOUT THE IMPORT OF US MANUFACTURED BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS TO UKRAINE

**Russian source:** REGNUM

**Georgian source:** Sakinformi

**REGNUM:** “Bacteriological weapons, manufactured under the supervision of US specialists, were brought into Ukraine from Georgia just recently... It is planned to send lethal products to Luhansk and Donbas and sell them at a low price” (12 June 2014). The material is illustrated with photos of servicemen wearing gas masks.

## 5. ANTI-WESTERN SENTIMENTS ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES

### 5.1. Media

#### BROADCAST MEDIA

##### OBIEKTIVI, TALK-SHOW NIGHT STUDIO

Presenters, respondents and viewers expressing their opinions during phone-ins of talk-show Night Studio on the media-union Obiketivi were most distinguished for inciting Anti-Western sentiments among broadcast media. The TV company is also in the lead of Turkhophobic and Islamophobic sentiments and is affiliated with political movement Alliance of Patriots, which, for the first time ever, received seats (5.37%) in self-government bodies at the local elections in 2014.

Taking into account that viewers’ comments during this program are similar in their content, the diversity of opinions existing in society is missing from the program and the hosts agree to the opinions of viewers, we considered opinions expressed by viewers in phone-ins as the editorial policy of the talk show itself. Opinions expressed by the guests of the program will be discussed in the section of political parties and other representatives of the society.

Main messages articulated by Obiketivi implied that the West was imposing homosexuality (14); fighting against Orthodox Christianity (10) and family traditions (2). America was portrayed as an offender, inspirator of coups (13); Euro-Atlantic integration was associated with threats, including with Turkish expansion and loss of territorial integrity (13). Presenters of the program insisted that Georgia is run by external foreign forces (10); Russia was portrayed as a counterweight to the West (10), developments in Ukraine – as a provocation of Western forces (8) and EU Association Agreement with Georgia was interpreted as a tool to subjugate the country and destroy its economy (3). It should be noted that accusation of non-governmental organizations of being hired agents of foreign secret services by the presenter of the program was related to the criticism by these NGOs of the Georgian Government for systemic problem in the legislation on secret surveillance (1). Statement against George Soros, the founder of Open Society Georgia Foundation (1) and other messages (2) were also observed.

Separate examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Soso Manjavidze**<sup>8</sup>: “... If such rough pressure continued and we were made to make a choice between same-sex marriages and other “fascinating” things or EU membership, the Georgian people would say no to EU and Europe in general and choose directly northern vector of political orientations” (4 March, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Valeri Kvaratskhelia**: “If you believe that you are real Orthodox and you really don’t want to allow this in your country, you also have to admit that NATO and Europe is not what Georgia aspired to. We are Orthodox, therefore our choice is harmonious relationships with an Orthodox country” (18 May, 2014).
- **Bondo Mdzinarishvili**: “In other words, this [EU Association] is the fight against Orthodox Christianity” (21 March, 2014).

### America – offender/inspirator of coups

- **Valery Kvaratskhelia**: „Those who constantly cry about Stalin’s repressions, but say nothing about so many crimes committed by America, beginning from the genocide of the aboriginal population of the American continent, continuing with Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan... Have you ever heard about any protest by these so called humanists about that terrible vandalism, that unimaginable cruelty which Americans committed in Japan... “ (21 December, 2014).
- **Valery Kvaratskhelia**: „Of course, as long as US is in the region of Caucasus, the dirtiness like the so called Revolution of Roses, Orange Revolution and other troubles are very possible. They were invented to strengthen American regime... US will try to bring the force it prefers to the government of Georgia, which is selling out the country’s interests and does not represent the will of the Georgian people” (24 September, 2014).

### Euro-Atlantic integration = threats/loss of territories

- **Valery Kvaratskhelia**: „The mission of the NATO is invented by the people who create the situations such as the one that has just developed in France [terrorist attack on Charl Hebdo]” (Geworld.ge, 14 January, 2015).
- **Bondo Mdzinarishvili**: “We saw how Yugoslavia fell apart into separate EU countries, into small republics... In light of this development, when Europe assists Georgia in building houses... does this mean that Europe tries to distance us from Abkhazia and Tskinali regions [occupied territories by Russia]” (17 July, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement enslaves Georgia

- **Nino Ratishvili**: “In the economic part signing [EU Association Agreement] enslaves Georgia” (19 May, 2014).

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<sup>8</sup> Member of the Tbilisi Sakrebulo (City Council) currently.

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Valeri Kvaratskhelia:** “What is happening in Ukraine is the West’s conspiracy against Russia”... (23 February, 2014).

### Russia vs. US

- **TV Viewer:** “We should strive for saving the Christians, but not for introducing American life-style here. If we don’t stop being hostile towards the Russians and Abkhazians, if we are going to obey America in everything, it is better to clean the Russian boots then” (4 November, 2014)

### NGOs – hired spies of the foreign special services

- **Bondo Mdzinarashvili, anchor:** “They [NGOs] are in fact foreign states’ mercenaries in Georgia. They are agents who live here and are Georgian citizens... That is why they are so keen to take the eavesdropping rights from the state law enforcement agencies and to give it to the mobile operators established by a foreign country” (19 November, 2014).

### OTHERS

We grouped statements (3) made by Giorgi Popkadze, the Obiketivi correspondent in Europe, separately. Since 2 November, 2014 he has been a corespondent of the Georgian Public Broadcaster in Brussels, however these quotes were made before his appointment in the Public Broadcaster and in other mediums.

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Giorgi Popkhadze:** „It was Soso Jachvliani [GD MP] who introduced the term – “bottom givers”. Wasn’t he the one, who fought tirelessly against the pederasts?! Is it not discriminatory for Georgia to enter Europe with its ass? I am asking the political majority: don’t you remember yourselves lecturing us about Misha Saakashvili and accusing him of gathering “bottom givers” and homosexuals around us! [regarding adoption of Anti-discrimination law by the Parliament of Georgia]” (Kviris Chronika, 5-11 May, 2014).

### Scepticism re: signing of EU Association Agreement

- **Giorgi Popkhadze:** “I am asking who needs your Georgian wine in France or Italy when similar wine costs 2 euros in France? Georgian wine cannot compete with well-known French brands established on the market over 100 years” (Kviris Chronika, 19-25 May).
- **Giorgi Popkhadze:** “It should be discussed what will be the cost of EU Association Agreement for us... majority of people do not know its pluses and minuses. We are signing the agreement without even discussing it” (Alia, 26 June).

### TV COMPANY IMEDI

A single case when an unbalanced story of anti-Western content was aired in mainstream media occurred in Panorama program on the Imedi TV channel (23 March, 2014). The presenter of the program, drew an unjustified parallel between

the annexation of Crimea and a statement of the member of Armenian parliament, Shirak Torosyan, about a revolt in Javakheti, and associating it (without identifying either a source or origin of this statement) with the position of ethnic Armenians living in Georgia.

- **Soso Katsitadze, presenter:** “What are the attitudes in Javakheti after the annexation of Crimea? The member of Armenian parliament Shirak Torosian threatens with the revolt in the event of Georgia’s NATO membership. Indeed, Georgian citizens of ethnic descent do not have uniform attitude towards the construction of Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway. Here the reason is NATO and Turkey too.”

An attempt to manipulate with the public opinion can be observed on the part of both the presenter and the author of report, journalist since the respondents selected for the report are only those individuals who share similar opinions, these opinions are generalized through associating them with the entire group of Georgian citizens of Armenian descent; and these opinions are covered as triggering anti-Turkish and anti-NATO sentiments.

- **Guram Rogava, journalist:** “However, citizens of Armenian ethnicity living in Georgia are against this strategically important project [Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway]. For them the problem is Turkey.”

The reporter attributes this attitude to the entire ethnic group (Georgian citizens of Armenian descent) relying on the comment of a single respondent – Mels Torosian, the editor of the Akhali Satave newspaper, who, for his part, speaks about potential threats based on rumors, not facts:

- **Mels Torosian, the editor of the Akhali Satave newspaper:** “The key aim of the railway is the unification of Turkish people. That caused huge discontent because those firms which are constructing this railway have already spread reports that the Georgian government will entrust the security of the railway to Azerbaijanis. You are better aware of the relationship between Azerbaijan and Armenia than I. The railway means not only the rails but stretches of land running along them – a kilometer on one side and a kilometer on another side; that means that Azerbaijanis will control the entire Javakheti.”

The Imedi TV did not undertake measures to ensure due accuracy and avoid misleading the audience. The report did not provide the position of the Georgian government concerning allegation articulated by the respondent that the government intends to entrust the security of the railway to Azerbaijanis. By failing to seek comment from the government, the media outlet proved to be spreading rumors and artificially encouraging tensions. Even more, it is absolutely unacceptable for the journalist to generalize the theory proposed by the respondent and cover it in the context of threats and ethnic conflicts.

- **Guram Rogava, journalist:** “The aim is the unification of Azerbaijan and Turkey and to force Armenians living in Georgia to emigrate.”

Imedi TV company violated Article 13(2) of the Code of Conduct for Broadcasters (Broadcasters shall provide reliable and accurate information, shall not report any untrue or misleading information); shall not report any untrue or misleading information); Article 14(4) (As a rule, broadcasters should not rely on a single source but seek to obtain information from other sources); Article 16 (4) (Broadcasters should separate fact from opinion. One-sided interpretation of opinions should be avoided); Article 18 (1, 2) (1. To ensure a fair and impartial coverage of political events, broadcasters should bear in mind that impartiality does not mean providing equal time to every opinion but ensuring an adequate coverage of significant opinions. 2. The programme or report will be considered biased if it lacks comprehensive information on important facts, is based on minor facts, misleads the audience intentionally or unintentionally, or conveys biased views of a person in a hidden form).

## PRINT MEDIA

### NEWSPAPER ASAVAL-DASAVALI

Asaval-Dasavli newspaper, which is distinguished for its xenophobic and homophobic coverage, was also in the lead in terms of anti-Western rhetorics in print media.

Dominating messages in Asaval-Dasavli included the opinion that the West tries to impose homosexuality on Georgia (15), fight against Orthodox Christianity was presented as a global attack against Georgian spirituality and values (5), former ruling party – UNM was linked with the West (5), the West was portrayed as a corrupt world (1) and inspirator of events in Ukraine (4). The opinions that Georgia is run by external foreign forces (4), and the West betrayed the first President of independent Georgia Zviad Gamsakurdia due to his pro-Georgian national stance (4) were expressed as well. NATO integration was presented as a danger to territorial integrity (2), and Europe and US as violent forces and inspirators of EuroMaidan (1).

#### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Title:** “The Pederasts are coming!”  
**Dimitry Chubinidze:** “This God-given land is attacked by tanks from furious Russia and by asses from the disgraceful West, pardon me for this expression!” Georgia is stuck between two disasters today; one has the smell of fire and gunpowder, another smells like stinking transsexuals, homosexual and transvestites” (5 – 11 May, 2014).
- **Dimitry Chubinidze:** “Yes, my country is dead today and it does not matter where they put it – into Putin’s Eurasian net or Euro American gay club!” (31 March – 6 April, 2014).
- **Giorgi Gigauri:** “Sooner or later “LGBT people” may demand to serve in the Georgian army, ...since Georgia is heading to NATO integration, gays will also want to put on fancy dresses and lesbians will put on trousers in our army!” (10-16 November, 2014).

#### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Giorgi Gigauri:** “They fight against Georgia today too, there is a total global attack against the ancient Georgian apostolic Orthodox Church, and its goal is to destroy this last citadel of the Georgian spirituality and values!” (22-28 December, 2014).

### NATO = loss of territorial integrity

- **Giorgi Gigauri:** “We have lost one fifth of the country while chanting “NATO-NATO!” We continue chanting “NATO-NATO!” and finally, by entering the North Atlantic Alliance we will pay final tribute to those lands that are now occupied“ (9-15 June, 2014).

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Giorgi Gigauri:** “It is obvious who staged the coup in Ukraine from one photograph: there is a logo of the Maltese Mason Order on a tent on Maidan!.. The Maltese order is definitely not just distributing hot pies to the demonstrators!” (10-16 March, 2014).

### US – inspirator of coups

- **Jaba Khubua:** “Most likely Europe and US will organize another “colorful revolution” in Georgia, with an intention to overthrow Russian rule, or even worse – they will replicate the scenario of Evromaidan in Tbilisi!” (12-18 May, 2014).

### Georgia is run by external forces

- **Dito Chubinishvili:** “It is a terrible fact – the majority of high-school graduates wrote abnormal essay on their University entrance exams. They knew they would fail with their national-patriotic ideas, since the Ministry of Education is full of people who adopted the “Law of pederasts”, Jehovah followers and with the puppies of Soros. Not to mention the fact that, it’s been a long time since Georgia is a servant colony to two patrons” (30 June - 6 July 6, 2014).

### The West betryed Zviad Gamsakurdia

- **Zaza Davitaia:** “And of course, Zviad would have never said: ‘I am Georgian, therefore I am European!’... “Be also sure that Zviad would have not allowed wantonness of bureaucracy controlled from and bought by foreign countries! That is why Zviad Gamsakhurdia was killed!” (7-13 July, 2014).

### Linking the West with UNM

- **Giorgi Gigauri:** “Yes, if Saakashvili, who created and encourage the man-rapeing system, is a guest of honor for EU, for the Georgian people EU too is associated with the creator of the man-rapeing system Saakashvili!” (22-28 December, 2014)

### Corrupt West world

- **Jaba Khubua, journalist:** “God forbid, but if it is officially confirmed that those Bildts are the bribe taker pseudo politicians, Georgia will lose its last hope about the democracy of Europe and USA!” (11-17 August, 2014).

### NEWSPAPERS KVIRIS CHRONIKA & ALIA

We have grouped newspapers Kviris Chronika & Alia together since they are operating under one Alia media holding and authors of the quotes are the same. Similar narrative was observed in both papers: that Georgia is run by external

foreign forces and it is a colony of America and used against Russia (7); along with the attempt to link opposition UNM with the west (7) there was an opinion that homosexuality is imposed by US and Europe (5); Ukrainian events were presented as a conspiracy of the West (3), and NGOs as hired foreign secret agents fighting against the national values, with their fundings left beyond the control of the government (3). European Charter of Regional Languages designed for the protection of minority rights was presented as a insidious plan against the Georgian State (2), and EU Association Agreement – as a document causing problems (2). These newspapers also emphasized a possibility of repeating Maidan scenario in Georgia by the West, in order to create additional problems to Russia (1) and portrayed George Soros as a person against Georgian national values (2) and other topics (6) were discussed.

Individual examples:

### Georgia is run by external forces

- **Shorena Gogoladze:** “It is about the work of the EU Commission which will define the way of life and economic issues for us, but in fact it will define our policies. This Commission is considered the parallel government of Georgia and that is what his holiness the Patriarch opposed.” (Alia, 6 March, 2014).
- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “Today everyone knows that for America, Georgia is not an ally, but an unimportant colony used to annoy Russia and to criticize Kremlin, or to send death squads to some Middle Eastern country and seemingly to fight against terrorists... So, it is simple – whether the Georgian people reject being America’s proxies and the “friendship” that brings nothing, which today is taking us towards the abyss with cosmic speed...” (Kviris Chronika, 22-29 December, 2014)

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Gela Zedelashvili:** “This man [Philip Dimitrov] is the head of EU Representation in Georgia and allows himself to preach to us with wise countenance. No, nobody demands gay marriage, but you will not avoid understanding that homosexuality is not a crime and accepting pederasty” (Alia, 11 March, 2014).
- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “Yes, if America finally sets the intention that those perverts should enjoy special privileges in any part of the world it will make this intention true. I am sure, Georgia will be one of the first among their targets (we will be used to the maximum extent as a testing lab for various experiments)” (Kviris Chronika, 7-13 July, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages = threat

- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “This [Charter of Regional Languages] is a provocation against Georgia and the Georgian people, this is the common plan by the occultists, antichrists sitting in the European parliament, and their Georgian allies – the “Nationals. sect”. This plan aims at the degradation and destruction of Georgia” (Kviris Chronika, 6-12 October, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **Gela Zedelashvili:** „So we signed this agreement [Association] just to make our hard life even harder... Taking garlic in and out happens mutually it will be like two years ago, when Arabs or Iranians took all garlic from Georgia, then

brought in Iranian and let us eat that trash... Yes, don't think signing association agreement is like eating lobio [bean], soon they will count even our forks and spoons, so that they have real data. If they count asses of chicken and turkey, soon they will count our fingers and toes. This is an obligation people?!“ (Kviris Qronika, 24-30 November, 2014).

#### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Gela Zedelashvili:** „Things in Ukraine are going just like Americans wanted. They have managed to cause chaos and unrest in the middle of Europe very simply“ (Kviris Qronika, 19-25 May, 2014).
- **Nino Samkharadze, journalist:** “The West has imposed death on Poroshenko, in the person of Mikheil Saakashvili... If Poroshenko disappoints the West, his liquidation will not be a problem and by this time they will prepare Saakashvili for the presidency of Ukraine” (Kviris Chronika, 16-22 February, 2015).

#### The West – inspirator of coups

- **Nino Samkharadze:** “Here [in Georgia] the Maidan scenario will be activated and the West will create a new headache for Russia by placing the most radical anti-Russian forces in the Caucasus” (Alia, 12 February 2015).

#### Linking of the West with UNM

- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “Where is Georgia going, towards the Europe which defends the mortal enemy of every Georgian and destroyer of the country Saakashvili with its teeth?!“ (Kviris Cronika, 22-29 December, 2014).

#### NGOs – hired spies of foreign special services

- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “This fifth column [the NGOs] are little girls and boys “educated” beyond the ocean and depleted of the national values, who are acting with direct instructions from the American CIA”... (Kviris Chronika, 15 –21 December, 2014).
- **Khatuna Elbakidze:** “Authority is not in control of the funds flowing from the West to those NGOs, who later start fighting against the church and dear to organize defamatory campaigns against it. The NGOs wearing the masks of the defenders of human rights, they fight against national values, lobby various sectarian groups, publicly or secretly propagate immorality and try to abuse traditional Georgian family and family values” (Kviris Chronika, June 16-22, 2014).

#### Anti-Soros

- **Giorgi Jikiashvili:** “Soros and his “Soros cocks” are in the list of people with anti-Georgian ideology. Moreover, this group of vicious people is the face of evil, unbelievable disaster, unlike any misfortune that has happened throughout the painful history of Georgia”... (Kviris Chronika, 10-16 November, 2014).

## ONLINE MEDIA

### SAKINFORMI

Most vivid expressions of anti-American attitudes (17) were observed in online-portal Sakinformi which apart from its editorials, as shown in the chapter “Russian Sources in Georgian Media”, often relied on open Russian sources.

The media outlet itself was often a source of fabricated misinformation (see p.19). The West was accused of being an inspirator of Ukrainian events (11), to illustrate that developments in Ukraine and Georgia were far from the will of local population, authors often made references to “alien” identity [ethnic, religious] of local political leadership. The same messages accusing the West in imposing homosexuality (9) and fighting against Orthodox Christianity (6) were observed in this case as well. The web-portal associated the Euro-Atlantic integration with threats, particularly with the loss of territorial integrity and Turkish expansion (5), the European Charter of Regional Languages (4) and Richard Lugar Center for Public Health (2) (see p.17). Ratification of the EU Association Agreement was presented as the destruction of Georgian economy and threat to lose Russian market (6). Apart from traditional accusations against NGOs (2), George Soros (2), and other permanent topics (17), the message sowing doubts about whether Euro-Atlantic integration is a choice of Georgian people was revealed as well (1).

Separate examples:

### US-offender/inspirator of coups

- **Title:** “Caucasian Summer” – The Author of revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and Armenia is USA “ (29 January, 2015).
- **Arno Khidirbegishvili, Saqinform editor-in-chief:** “I openly claim that what happened there [terrorist attack on Charl Hebdo] was done by American intelligence services... Hollande made a statement that the sanctions against Russia make no sense anymore, France and the West in general suffer civilization disaster, not just economic one, and America punished him in response.” (11 January, 2015).

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- “Saknformi underlines that coup in Ukraine is the same Western scenario as it was done in Georgia in 2008. The aim in both cases was to involve Russia in extended military conflicts (26 February, 2014).
- “In both cases the West chose as provocateurs the leaders among whom there were no Georgians or Ukrainians: Saakashvili-Saakyan, former MIA minister Merabishvili – Sekhniev, just like many others are for example ethnic Armenians, like Timoshenko – Grigyan and new Ukrainian MIA minister Avakov – Avakyan, while Klichko and Yatseniuk, however strange it is, are ethnic Jews” (24 26 February, 2014).

### The West imposing homosexuality

- “The photos display the people of unidentified sexual orientation. Those Valkyries from NATO should be the men dressed in woman’s clothes. This is how debauchery is being popularized; this is how they assure the society that these kinds of decisions are adequate” (24-13 November, 2014).
- **Arno Khidirbegishvili:** “The homosexual Europe, just like in the 1940s, will wag its ass to let fascists hurt Russia!” (24 February, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- „In Bildt’s opinion Orthodox Christianity is worth than Islamic fundamentalism, it is the main threat to the Western civilization because it is trying to regulate family relations and does not support gays and transgender“ (28 April, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement enslaves Georgia

- „ Entering EU causes closure of enterprises, killing livestock, cutting down of gardens and vineyards – EU turns its new members into export markets, decreasing industry and agriculture there! “ (April 4, 2014).
- “So after signing the Association Agreement with EU on 27 June, Georgia will get its first “Eurobenefits”: the export of Georgian wine, mineral water and agricultural products to Russia might be halted and this will finally destroy Georgian economy” (30 June, 2014).
- **Arno Khidirebegishvili:** „...By signing Association Agreement with EU Georgia will get empty like Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, Georgian workers will go to Europe, and here only Chinese and Iranians will be left; Armenians will populate Samtskhe-Javakheti, and Azeris – Kvemo Kartli” (26 May, 2014).

### Euro-Atlantic integration = threats

- **Arno Khidirebegishvili:** “Georgia will be called transit territory with gas pipelines, railroads and highways, with a US military base a NATO camp training international terrorists” (Saqinform, 5 January, 2015).
- **Arno Khidirebegishvili:** “This railway [Kars-Akhalkalaki-Tbilisi] will be used to supply NATO military base manned mainly with Turkish servicemen deployed in Armenian populated Akhalkalaki” (20 October, 2014).
- **Arno Khidirebegishvili:** “As to Adjara, it will be overwhelmed by Turkish population and the region itself will move to Turkey by that time!” (Asaval-Dasavali, 26 May, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages = threats

- “By signing Association Agreement with EU, we Euro-Georgians will not only finally lose Abkhazia and South Ossetia, but we may also lose Samtskhe-Javakheti, Samegrelo, Adjara and Kvemo Kartli... [From the ratification of the European charter for regional languages] there is one step to proclaiming autonomies of Samegrelo, Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli” (23 December, 2014).

### NGOs – hired spies of foreign special services

- “Gharibashvili is right when he says that the campaign against illegal monitoring – “This impacts you, they are still listening to us!” is organized by people hired by the West, and this campaign is directed against the state and is destructive” (May 12, 2014).

### Anti-Soros

- “Anti Christ means the replacement of the Christ. Everything from Christ is being replaced by Antichrist. “Black” should turn into “white”, “evil to “kindness”, ”women to men” and vice versa! P.S. George Soros is coming to Georgia tomorrow...” (14 November, 2014).

### NATO and EU is not a choice of Georgian people

- **Arno Khidirebegishvili:** „The fact is the people cannot remember when did they make choice in favor of NATO and EU...” (24-30 November, 2014).

Geworld.ge was openly sympathizing with Russia which, as an Orthodox country, was fighting against the “pervert” West and was the only country legally prohibiting homosexuality (13). Russia was portrayed as the only power able to protect us from Islamic terrorism (2). The following messages were also dominant on the news portal: Georgia is run by external foreign forces (11), the West is a source of violence and state coups (11), the West played its role in Ukrainian events (10), Western values are unacceptable for Georgia (5), the West fights against Orthodox Christianity (4) and family traditions (2), Euro-Atlantic integration poses threats (4), EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia (3), the West is linked with UNM (2), NGOs are agents of foreign secret services (2) and other (3) interpretations.

Separate examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Davit Mkheidze:** “On the one hand, there is immoral, perverted West which openly tries to impose its new ‘values’ on the world, in short, to Sodomize the entire world, and on the other hand, there is Orthodox Christian Russia; let me remind readers that Russia is the only state in the world which legally banned the propaganda of homosexuality for 100 year” (19 March, 2014).
- **Keti Khomeriki:** “Do you agree with the idea that USA is the land of sin, gays and thousand dirty things?” (6 March, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Iza Tamazashvili:** “Europe’s moral that our government aspires is as follows: if we try to defend our traditional Orthodoxy and walk on the path of Jesus we will be punished. According to their morale we will be punished if we try to preserve Georgian national traditions”... (30 October, 2014).

### The West fights against family traditions

- **Armaz Saneblidze:** “The new document of the gender inquisition is prepared by the European Parliament committee for the women’s rights and gender equality. Besides prohibiting promotion of traditional family in the children’s books, the European feminists demand changes in the EU legislation in order to correct women’s face” (9 October, 2014).

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- “USA and EU forced Ukrainian Nationalists to overthrow the legitimately elected president, then again USA and EU initiated the punitive expedition with the support of hired foreigners (Officially named as “Antiterrorist operation”). They were even more evil than their fascist predecessors” (7 August, 2014).  
(Two accompanying photos depicting bleeding corpses belong to the Russian newspaper Комсомольская Правда).
- **Davit Mkheidze:** “In fact, government in Ukraine was violently overthrown by a Jewish-Armenian and Baptist-Catholic group, which freed one Armenian prisoner right after coming to power, and appointed an Armenian pederast as a minister” (26 February, 2014).

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Tamar Davituliani:** “The number of “American advisors” is rising and they are involved in decision making in all strategic institutions... The same happened before too: public was not aware that dispersal of rallies and demonstrations was recommended by such “aides” and 26 May operation of punishment that resulted in victims and numerous injured people was “justified” by these “advisors” for the sake of Saakashvili!” (11 February, 2015).

### US-offender/inspirator of coups

- **Giorgi Gachechiladze:** „They are pushing us towards Maidan. The Maidan, the authors of which scenario are in the CIA, State Department, and President’s administration in general” (10 September, 2014).
- **Davit Mkheidze:** “...These “humanist” Yankees have murdered all the Indians; This is America of those racists who were killing millions of uncle Toms by slave labor, while the descendants of those Toms were burnt alive by Ku Klux Klan until 1960-ies... these are the “democrats” who defend their country’s “national interests” thousands of miles away from it – they ruthlessly bombed the Orthodox(!) Serbia... these are the Americans who say they fight against terrorism, but in fact help and finance the radical Islamists, if their actions are directed against Russia (for example, in Syria)” (5 March, 2014).

### Euro-Atlantic integration = threats=Turkish expansion

- **Iakob Lejava:** “It’s easy to understand what we should expect in the near future because of NATO – the Turks brought in by the Nationals have got on our heads this way in 10 years, and when they come here in the name of NATO, they will turn us into Turkey finally. Most probably, in 2 or 3 generations we shall lose our language, faith and homeland!” (18 April, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **Jaba Jvania:** “On June 27, the government of “Kots’s”[Georgian Dream] finalized historical bluff, they have signed the Association Agreement with European Union. Georgia got itself into a big trouble with this step. To be brief, west oriented liberals have fulfilled their sacred mission, they have torn the country away from its historic roots and have transferred it to the virtual “Euro-rule” (12 November, 2014).

### West will not protect us against threats

- **David Mkheidze:** “So, maybe at least now the heads heated by the NATO “new league” and “golden cards” will cool down? In the case of the Islamists’ aggression from Iraq it will be Russia who saves us, just because it will have to defend its own territory in the North Caucasus“ (10 September, 2014).
- **Jaba Zhvania:** „...Who will protect Georgia’s security: Europe which insults half the world (Muslims, Christians, religion in general) in the name of the freedom of expression, is engaged in cultural-ideological extremism, and then cannot protect its own citizens from the terrorist acts the Islamists commit in response?!“ (14 January, 2015).

### NGOs – hired spies of foreign special services

- **Iakob Lezhava:** “Can anyone name even one success that Georgia reached with the help of the West (if we don’t count as success the so called NGOs that have multiplied like mushrooms, and also the campaign these organizations are waging to discredit the Orthodox religion and establish the Sodom-Gomorrah sin (!) as a norm!” (20 February, 2014).

### Anti-Soros

- **David Mindiashvili:** “... They also know that this man [George Soros] fights against national values... He does not hide that he is ready to sponsor liberal movements, help people with lost orientation and lead them to Europe” (26 February, 2014).

### NEWS AGENCIES REPORTIORI AND PIRVELI

Antidiscriminative content of both news agencies are reprinted from the Russian sources.

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Риа Новости, Der Freitag:** „Ukraine is the model project for US and EU, which is an illustration of our Western values: look, what is doing the oligarch President, who has sent regular army and fascist-like marauding battalions to attack his own population; the Prime Minister, who is working for America and a boxer, who has become the Mayor of Kiev” (Reportiori, 17 February, 2015).

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **novinite.ru:** “Bulgaria and other countries that have not adopted gay marriage yet, will be inspired by other states that have good practice of same-sex marriages. In the case if they agree with this [EU] directive and accept it, the gay couples who marry in the EU countries, will get a right to adopt children from any EU country, including Bulgaria” (Pirveli, March 12, 2014).

## 5.2. POLITICAL PARTIES

### BURJANADZE-UNITED DEMOCRATS

Main narrative of Burjanadze-United Democrats was that Georgia is run by external foreign forces (10), legalization of homosexuality, incest is imposed by the West (9), UNM is associated with Western forces (8), conditions of EU Association Agreement are enslaving (5), Euro-Atlantic integration is threat, perspective to lose territorial integrity (3), the European Charter of Regional Languages is threat (1), the West is fighting against Orthodox Christianity (3) and other (7) topics.

Some examples:

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Temur Shashiashvili:** “Both the Nationals and the Georgian Dream are ruled from the single center – the sects that exist in the West...”(Geworld.ge, 24 September 2014).
- **Nino Burjanadze:** „We must have good neighborly relations with the West, but this does not mean we must be ruled by Washington just like we used to be ruled from Moscow during USSR” (Pirveli, 26 November, 2014).
- **Temur Shashiashvili:** „Dispersal of the rally by Saakashvili government on 26 May was directly sanctioned by the US Ambassador John Bass!.. Yes, Americans gave the full carte blanche to the Georgian government on 26 May – go, beat, shoot and kill your own people!“ (Asaval-Dasavali, 26 May-1 June, 2014).

### The West is imposing homosexuality

- **Dimitri Lortkipanidze:** „The issue of sexual discrimination is direct propaganda, legalization, which causes major threat to the moral interests of the society “. „Do we pay tribute to Europe, or do we pay it to the devil, explain to me?“ (Maestro, Subjective Opinion, 28 April, 2014).
- **Jondi Baghaturia:** “And in the process of this rearrangement, why should we be swallowed by any of those? Either a red Russia or gay Europe? Or may be EU that is mainly focusing on gays...” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, July 31, 2014).
- **Guram Palavandishvili:** “Putting ‘sexual orientation’ on a same list means that the European Union demands from us that homosexuality be recognized as a norm” (Asaval-Dasavali, 7-13 April, 2014).

### The West is fighting against Orthodox Christianity

- **Temur Shashiashvili:** “The world does not need nation states any more... indeed those landmarks have been exploded where the civilization and Orthodoxy started” (Asaval-Dasavali, 3-9 November, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement= destroys Georgian economy and agriculture

- **Dimitri Lortkipanidze:** “What our government enthusiastically signed [Association Agreement] in reality is a state crime! Yes, this is a devastation of Georgian villages and the economy in European style!” (Asaval-Dasavali, 21-27 July, 2014 ).
- **Jondi Bagaturia:** „They lie to people that when we sign the agreement European market will open for Georgia... This article [on food safety] means that a Kakhetian granny’s yogurt or Imeretian granny’s cheese won’t be allowed to be sold in Georgia any more... So if Georgian peasants cannot sell their products any more, this means that we must become a market for the Turkish milk products... “ ( Alia, 23-26 May, 2014).

### NATO = loss of territorial integrity

- **Nino Burjanadze:** „People must decide – do we reject a chance to solve the problems of Abkhazia and Samachablo in return for an illusionary membership in NATO?“ (Rezonansi, Alia, 19 November, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages = loss of territorial integrity

- **Jondi Baghaturia:** “I am sure, such initiatives of the Council of Europe and the West [ratification of the Charter of Regional Languages] are directed to the disintegration of our country... I believe this law is treacherous. What is going on in Ukraine? There is discussion in the regional context and there is the disintegration process” (Alia, 7 October, 2014).

### NGOs – hired spies of foreign special services

- **Temur Shashiashvili:** “I know several youth organizations, they receive dozens of millions from foreign sources and they fight against National ideology instead” (Asaval-Dasavali, 26 December –1 February, 2015).

### Anti-Soros

- **Temur Shashiashvili:** “The percentage of representatives from Masonic society, liberty Institute and other Sorosians in the Georgian Government has been increasing since 1993... In 2014 the local elections brought the process of Sorosization to the top level. The mission is accomplished. I certainly sent my congratulations to Norland about this. Today the victory lies not on the side of any political party, but the winner is the center that rules both of these parties” (Asaval-Dasavali, 23–29 June, 2014).

## PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY

People’s Assembly affiliated with Burjanadze-United Democrats was promoting same messages: West is imposing homosexuality (6), fighting against Orthodox Christianity (1), US is in charge of state coups (5), developments in Ukraine are orchestrated by the West (3), UNM was linked with the West (5), NGOs with – foreign secret services, and they must be regulated (4). Alongside the assertion that the West is corrupt world (2), the Euro-Atlantic integration (1), Richard Lugar Center of Public Health (1), and EU Association Agreement (1) were presented as threat.

Separate examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “Certainly my lord! Our parliament is welcoming the Europeanization and is ready for legalizing the pederasty!.. As far as I am aware of this agreement [Association], one of the large articles is dedicated to establishment of LGBT institution in Georgia”(Asaval-Dasavali, 30 June – 6 July 6, 2014 ).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “American ideologists declared that they defeated the Soviet Union. Now they are to defeat Orthodox Christianity” (Alia, 11-14 July, 2014).

### Euro integration = loss of territorial integrity

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “I see no benefit in signing this agreement [association]. Quite the opposite... Russia will step up

its aggression. Western Georgia will soon be separated from eastern Georgia! The border will be delineated in Gori. I am not blaming Russia?!” (Kviris Chronika, 30 June – 6 July, 2014).

#### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “Just like America and NATO dismembered Georgia on purpose, they are doing same thing to Ukraine!.. We Georgians could not be turned into Romans, Persians, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Russians, and I am sure they won’t be able to make us into Americans and Europeans either!”(Asaval–Dasavali, 14–20 April, 2014).

#### US – inspirator of coups

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “They [America] will re-stage the Maidan here, just the way they did it in Ukraine. When those “zonderkommandos” used to drag the public officials out of their offices, when they were pouring cold water over them, they used to beat and punish them. Snipers were sitting on the roofs and used to shoot the peaceful population. All the above was organized by the Central Intelligence Agency”(Kviris Chronika, 27 October – 3 November, 2014).

#### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “What is there to celebrate about if we are not crazy?! Sale of 10 bottles of wine in Europe instead of 10 million unsold bottles in Russia?” (Aasval–Dasavali, 30 June – 6 July, 2014).

#### Linking of the West with UNM

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** „All filth that happens in our country comes from the West... We do not want Europe that greets murderer Saakashvili with the applause“(Geworld.ge, 24 December, 2014).
- **Lasha Amirejibi:** “Mrs. Ashton is not aware what the [United] National [Movement’s] broom in the ass means ... All perverseness comes from them; had it not been for Europeans and Americans, the United National Movement would not have acted so wantonly” (Alia, 10 July, 2014).

#### Corrupt West world

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “No justice exists in Europe and America, everything is decided by money. Today members of the European Peoples Party support Mikheil Saakashvili, don’t we know that this support is based on corruption?” (Asaval–Dasavali, 19–25 January, 2015).

#### NGOs – hired spies of foreign special services

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “Kojoradze, Gigauri, Lomjaria and others are financed from abroad, directly saying, they are the agents. When you act against your county with financial support from abroad, you are an agent... Georgian identity is under the question. If this problem is not addressed, soon existence of Georgia will be under the question”(Geworld.ge, 25 June, 2014).

### The West betrayed Zviad Gamsakhurdia

- **Elizbar Javelidze:** “How can I trust the West, which has killed Zviad Gamsakhurdia because of his national policy and is eagerly protecting Saakashvili who loathe the Georgian people and is against and Orthodox?!” (Asaval-Dasavali, August 11-17, 2014).

### ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS

Alliance of Patriots which employs its own media platform, the media-union Obiektivi, and is one of major sources of Turkophobia and Islamophobia, was focused on allegations about the imposition of homosexuality (6) and the portrayal of Euro-Atlantic integration as threat and prelude to Turkish expansion (6). The case of Greece was presented as proof of the Western fight against Orthodox Christianity (2), thereby favoring pro-Russian attitudes. America was portrayed as an offender (4), Association Agreement as a failed prosperity (4), European Charter of Regional Languages and repatriation of Meskhetians as threats (2); allegations that external forces were meddling in domestic affairs of Georgia (1), Ukrainian developments were orchestrated by the West (1) and other messages (1) were promoted.

Separate examples:

### The West imposing homosexuality/ perversion

- **Vaja Otarashvili:** “We don’t need Europe that promotes the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah. I prefer to let the country be destroyed to the ground zero, rather than hand it to lesbians and pederasts.” (Geworld.ge, 8 May, 2014)
- **Irma Inashvili:** “Let me say outright – they accommodate any ‘whim’ of the West!... I have met with lots of Armenians lately and they feel offended because the so-called Anti-discrimination law lists ‘sexual minorities’ next to ‘ethnic minorities’” (Asaval-Dasavali, 2-8 June, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi:** “Europe actually destroyed Greece, erased its economy, trampled upon its culture, morals, orthodox Christianity...”
- **Bondo Mdzinarishvili, presenter:** “In other words, this is the fight against Orthodox Christianity.”  
**Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi:** “Of course and seeing that, pro-Russian sentiments have been on the rise there because Russia is the Orthodox Christian country too” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 21 March, 2014).

### Euro-Atlantic integration = Turkish expansion

- **Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi:** „In these [NATO] training centers the trainers won’t be Americans, or French, or Germans... Mostly they will be the Turks... Just like there mostly were Turks until now, which I never liked and still don’t“ (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 6 September, 2014).

### US – offender

- **David Tarkhan-Mouravi:** “We must see that Obama administration is not trying to stop conflicts anywhere. It makes all conflicts protracted. This causes more money and enrichment at the same time. Nobody cares that people die and states are destabilized” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 17 February, 2015)

### Events in Ukraine inspired by US

- **David Tarkhan-Mouravi:** “What they [Obama administration] did to Ukraine? Because they have taken Kiev under control and made them lose 2 years. They made them lose Crimea...” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 18 November, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **David Tarkhan-Mouravi:** „If we sign political, economic [association agreement with EU], we shall put ourselves in a difficult position like that of Greece, Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria and even Portugal... Can we handle this?“ (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 20 May, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages/deported Mesketians=threats

- **David Tarkhan-Mouravi:** “We must demand that a prohibition be written [in the Association Agreement] that no regional status be granted to Armenian language, Azerbaijani language... We must write down that no Meskhetian Turks be accepted except of Georgian origin. Those who are ethnic Georgians are welcome, those who are not – no... No same-sex marriage...” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 26 March, 2014)

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Vaja Otarashili:** “You should not have an illusion, that there is either an oppositional or positional parties there [Parliament]. We have a Georgian parliament controlled from abroad. It takes just one wink, or rise of a flag and they will immediately adopt an anti-discrimination law.” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 27 January, 2015).

## FREE GEORGIA

Policial party Free Georgia was mainly declaring that the West interfered in Georgia’s domestic politics (5), and events in Ukraine was orchestrated by the US (1).

Some examples:

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Kakha Kukava:** “In Soviet times, if you wanted to become the First Central Committee Secretary, you should have paid a visit to Kremlin, should have informed them that current First Secretary is not being loyal to Moscow. Same as today... why do Bidzina Ivanishvili and Misha Saakashvili pay twenty and forty millions for American lobbyists?”

What matters is to convince Washington, nobody cares for Kukava, Jijilashvili or the voters” (Maestro, Maestro’s 9’s o’clock news, 11 November, 2014).

### Events in Ukraine inspired by US

- **Vasil Chichinadze:** “Everything that is happening in Ukraine and in the Middle East is directed by America. If it were not in the interests of Washington, it would have ended in a month”(Geworld.ge, 15 October, 2014)

## GEORGIAN DREAM

Anti-Western rethoric of individual members of the ruling coalition Georgian Dream concerned the following topics: the involvement of US in the events in Ukraine (1) (see p. 14-15), imposed homosexuality (1), the West as an offender (1), linkages of the West with UNM in response to criticism of Georgian government (1).

Some examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Gogi Topadze:** “They are set in their own ways... there are some topics that cannot be appreciated by everyone ... they impose the laws about: gay marriage, gender relations, sexual, I don’t even know how to put it delicately; if two men get married, they adopt a child, it means that this child will also grow up in misunderstanding...This is what Europe demands from us. Of course it is not as categorical as the initially proposed law; we have made several amendments to make it more dissent, but in my opinion this is not going to be acceptable for Caucasians” (Netgazeti, 15 May, 2014).

### The West as an offender

- **Nukri Kantaria:** “There is already a shortage of British in London and they are gradually decreasing and now they try as much as they can [to reverse the process], because it became overcrowded with immigrants, mainly Afro-Americans, Arabs, Turks and other people. Locals are becoming a minority and they start to panic. This is not the case only with Britain.... Radicalism is apparent. That [Anders] Breivick is ill, but why he became ill? There are certain bacilli and you see that. When we arrived in London, it happened there too – someone killed people in a street and then he was liquidated too. Things are in disorder in this regard.”(Netgazeti, 28 March, 2014).

### Linking the West with UNM

- **David Saganelidze:** “Unfortunately, in both Europe and America there are too many politicians with rotten minds just like Saakashvili, who let themselves criticize the present government only because it has chosen the right road” (Asaval-Dasavali, 29 December – 11 January, 2015).

### 5.3. REPRESENTATIVES OF CURRENT AND FORMER AUTHORITIES

Anti-Western sentiments in homophobic context (3) were mainly expressed by the Minister of Education and Culture of Abkhazia Dima Jaiani. He also made comments about corruption of European leaders (1). Before his appointment as the minister, Dima Jaiani was a member of People's Assembly directly affiliated with Burjanadze-United Democrats. Another statement regarding Russia as a counterweight to the West (1) was expressed by the head of the advisory bureau of Abkhazian government.

Individual examples:

#### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Dima Jaiani, Minister of Education and Culture of Abkhazia:** „Pederasty is not Europe! And of Europe is pederasty, then I don't want such Europe!“ (Asaval-Dasavali, 18-24 August, 2014).

#### Corrupted Europe

- **Dima Jaiani, Minister of Education and Culture of Abkhazia:** “It may sound unbelievable, but I do agree with Goga Khaindrava that whole Europe, may be not all of it, but still is involved in corruption. As far as I am concerned, it is all about money, Greek court made a political decision” (Rezonansi, 17 October, 2014).

#### Russia vs. US

- **Londer Tsaava, The head of the advisory bureau of Abkhazian government:** “The main goal of this revenge is return of the power; afterwards they can easily satisfy their wild instincts by walking over the dead bodies. However, during the revenge, you need some other circumstances, the Natss [UNM] cannot depend solely on their overseas fathers, they need people too ... May be it is better to stop being dependent on only one idol and have some other big players enter the game, I mean Russia, this way we will not be in constant fear not to make Uncle Sam angry”(Ge-world.ge, 11 December, 2014).

### FORMER OFFICIALS

Respondents grouped in this category emphasized the superiority of Russia over the West and this dichotomy was employed in the context of so called fight against Orthodox Church and also, foreign and domestic policy issues.

Of total 43 anti-Western messages expressed by former officials, the majority were made by high political officials and other civil servants of Eduard Shevardnadze government (1995-2003) with the former law enforcement officials (ministers of security, defense and internal affairs) and the public defender amongst being most vocal.

Separate examples:

### West imposes homosexuality

- **Valery Khaburdzania, former State Security Minister:** “This is liberalism... They don’t have ethnic basis and the idea, but the state needs the idea. So, America is looking for ideas and unfortunately it has found the idea that is called hemophilia versus homophobia. This means that dirty people impose their way of life on the society” (Geworld.ge, 6 March, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Valery Khaburdzania, former State Security Minister:** “Western Orthodoxy is just nonsense, it is like Konchita – a woman with beard...” (Kviris Chrnika, 2-8 June, 2014)
- **Temur Mirianashvili, former advisor of the President Shevardnadze:** “Georgians can be saved by the partnering with the Orthodox Russia...This is why the servants of America, fifth column in Georgia is fighting against Russia. All those NGO’s receive money from the West. They don’t care about their motherland (Asaval-Dasavali, 8-14 December, 2014).

### US – provoker of violence and conflicts

- **Kakha Targamadze, Former Minister of Interior Affairs:** “Western special-service agencies are trying their best to drag Georgian in a long-term war with Russia, in order to repeat the case of Ukraine here and fulfill their job on our account“ (Asaval-Dasavali, 13-19 October, 2014).
- **Temur Khachishvili, former Minister of Interior Affairs:** “Exactly Americans were the ones, who financed the August war of 2008... Unfortunately we were unable to understand Zviad, when he first observed the imperialistic evil face of the West” (Asaval-Dasavali, 13-19 October, 2014).

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Nana Devdariani, former Public Defender:** The interests of Georgian political elite are the opposite of the interests of Georgian society. They obey to the West without any second thought, but Georgian Society still prefers Russia to West!” (15-21 September, 2014).

### Eurasian Union vs. Euro-Atlantic integration

- **Temur Khachishvili, former Minister of Internal Affairs:** “We must join Eurasian Union, which means that Georgian peasants and producers will bring their products to the Russian market without any tariffs and payments... This is the real road to prosperity and restoration, which is blocked by NATO and EU, with their agents in Georgia – the Nationals and the forces on their orbit!” (15-21 December, 2014).

### International organizations = special intelligence agencies

- **Valeri Khaburdzania, former Minister of Security:** “I consider organizations like IRI, NDI, USAID and others as intelligence services... these NGOs are tasked with gathering information for their country, analyze this information, recruit people, and so forth” (Alia, 25 September, 2014).

## 5.4. RELIGIOUS SERVANTS

Religious servants not only expressed their dissatisfaction about human-rights-related issues, but also made anti-Western interpretations of political developments. A dominant topic was a narrative that the West imposes homosexuality (20), discussions accompanying the consideration of the draft antidiscrimination law in the parliament of Georgia were shown as something solely designed to ensure the realization of LGBT rights and presented as part of the package of Association Agreement with the European Union. The West was presented as a fighter against Orthodox Christianity (8) and family traditions (5), and its unacceptable values were emphasized (3). Interference of external forces in Georgia's domestic issues (5), EU Association Agreement as a cause of our problems (5), George Soros as a fighter against Georgian identity (2), events in Ukraine orchestrated by the West (1), European Charter of Regional Languages as threat (1) and other topics (2) were discussed.

Some examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality

- **Theodor Gignadze, deacon:** “Georgians can be as easily degraded as it happened to French or English people, only God can save us from this!” (Asaval-Dasavali, 12-18 May, 2014).
- **Spiridon Abuladze, Archbishop:** “What are they thinking about when they come and propagate homosexuality and the sin of Sodom? Are not they even worse than Rukhnaddin or group of demons?.. They come here; they finance Georgia and then force people to become homosexuals. In case you don't turn into a shameless and sinful homosexual, they threaten not to give any more grants. Are we the offenders after all?” (Alia, 6-12 May, 2014).
- **David Kvlividze, archpriest:** “By the hurried, unthought steps we shall go not to Europe but to disintegration. We may finally lose Abkhaz's and Ossetians through this law [Anti-Discrimination]” (Netgazeti, 29 April, 2014).
- **Giorgi Razmadze, priest:** „In England they allow a 9 years old child to choose his sex, if he is boy how to become a girl and vice versa, by using various methods and drugs... They want to do such things in Georgia too. That's how it started in England, adoption of certain laws, and in the end same-sex marriages were allowed“ (Asaval-Dasavali, 26 May-1 June, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Ibni Akiashvili, archbishop:** “It is not surprising that ecclesiastics are not acceptable for them (EU)! This way, it is easier to combat the veracity” ... it is not a coincidence that “NATO” bombed Yugoslavia on the Easter day, plus the bombshells had an inscription: “Happy Easter”! They have intentionally set Orthodox countries against each-other... it's true that Russia has never treated Georgia as a country of the same faith; it has brought lots of trouble and has never been a good example of an Orthodox country. Nevertheless, I choose my kneeled Orthodoxy, rather than faithless American and Godless Europeans! “ (Asaval-Dasavali, 9-15 June, 2014).
- **Basil Mkalavishvili, priest:** “You have no idea how they struggle against the Orthodoxy all around the world. Let

me remind you that Jehovah supporters were sent here as an agents, they have paved the way for the next round of enemies. Soros and Brzezinski have financed the settlement of evangelists, Salvation Army and other similar groups in Georgia... How could they dare, on May 17, to try to legalize their international day of gays?" (Alia, 25 June, 2014).

- **Elizbar Dekanoidze, deacon:** „Yes, he said that Orthodox Christianity is more dangerous than Islamic fundamentalism, and this is the Europe they want to lead us to?“ (Alia, 1 May, 2014).

### The West fights against family traditions

- **David Isakadze, deacon:** “Large amount of money is allocated to destroy the family institution, this way is easier for the dark powers to rule the world!” (Asaval–Dasavali , 27 October – 2 November, 2014).
- **David Isakadze, dean:** „Of course the family is the union of a woman and a man, and the argument Ms Lunachek [EU MP] is voicing can be used to justify incest too, so should we listen to such people?!“ (Geworld.ge, 16 April, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **Elizbar Diakonidze, deacon:** “So, do we want to enter the European Union? It is a first time I see how the nation is celebrating its the rape! What you are celebrating – the just signed for the devastation of the country?“ (Alia, 2 July, 2014).
- **Basil Mkalavishvili, priest:** “I am addressing the priests who were celebrating the signing of an Association Agreement; we should have organized a protesting demonstration at that time, rather than in Anaklia” (Alia, August 5, 2014).

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Giorgi Razmadze, priest:** “Republican Party is a successor of National Movement. EU would never allow us to have our national government instead of National Movement. If we look through the Georgian history, we’ll see that we have always been knocking on the doors of Russia, Persia or Osman. Today we are running to EU and USA” (Alia, 10 June, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages = threats

- **Giorgi Razmadze, deacon:** “Now they will give status to the regional languages, they will linguistically equalize Armenian and Azeri. This is totally unacceptable... We must not agree with the Europeans on everything, on the contrary, we must enter the European family without mixing our values “ (Alia, 7 October, 2014).

### Events in Ukraine inspired by the West

- **Elizbar Diakonidze, dean:** “Disintegration of Ukraine proceeds by the scenario the West had tried in Georgia... There is the same trace everywhere, same scenario by which the West acts and their first target is the Orthodox religion” (Geworld.ge, 12 March, 2014).

### Anti-Soros

- **Basil Mkalavishvili, priest:** „Instructions from another stepfather of Saakashvili, George Soros were at work too – remember the words of Soros: “I am conducting experiments in Georgia!”, and American ambassador was also part of this dirty business... This is the force that is being directed against the Church by George Soros and American ambassador” (Geworld.ge, 19 November, 2014).

## 5.5 OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PUBLIC

The most active among representatives of the public was businessman Levan Vasadze who made his fortune in Russia. He is closely associated with the Georgian Orthodox Church and his rhetoric is ethno-centric and clearly anti-Western. Other active groups among this category are popular writers, actors and other public figures of Soviet times known as so called intelligentsia. They, as communicators, may still influence public opinion. Respondents in this section also include representatives of different organizations, who either promote ethno-centric ideas or openly support pro-Russian orientation, and people released as political prisoners.

This group also made homophobic statements in anti-Western context (40); other dominant topics included: the West is fighting against Orthodoxy (24), US and Europe are offenders and inspirators of coups (24), Euro-Atlantic integration is threat (22), events in Ukraine are triggered by the West (21), foreign forces interfere in domestic affairs (20), the West is linked with UNM (11), NGOs are branches of foreign special services (10), EU Association Agreement is a cause of problems (4), and other topics (29).

Separate examples:

### The West imposes homosexuality, perversion, incest, pedophilia

- **Rezo Amashukeli, poet:** “Because of their misbehavior and because of those, whatever they are called – the LGBTs, 85% of the population inclined towards Russia, since they would never tell us to marry our cousin who is also a boy...” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 13 August, 2014).
- **Levan Vasadze, businessman:** “The hurry and undemocratic nature of the adoption of anti-discrimination law has finalized the dictatorship of the Western liberalism in Georgia... The West has made the fatal mistake by proclaiming immorality to be a norm ” (Kviris Palitra, 20 January, 2015).
- **Levan Chachua, released as a political prisoner:** “In Europe the society already discusses the possibility to acknowledge pedophilia and incest as one of the sexual orientation. They have even created a term – Incestophobia” (Alia, 1 August, 2014).
- **Gio korkotashvili, Georgian Mission:** “They are trying to frighten us with this message – If you do not want to be part of Russia, you will have to stick to the pedophiles, pederasts and incest propagators. Who is going to fall for that?!” (Geworld.ge, 8 May, 2014)

- **Tamar Kiknadze, Political Scientist:** “One of the feminist Portuguese MP filed an inquiry to European Union, requesting a sexual education of children starting from Kindergarten. This is practically legalization of pedophilia... we are dealing with real anomaly now, and then comes Konchita...” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 2 June, 2014).

### The West fights against Orthodox Christianity

- **Gulbaat Rcxiladze, Eurasian Institute:** “The devotion to the Orthodoxy of the nations like Serbia, Russia, Georgia and others demonstrates their independence and “disobedience” to the western instructions... The West desires to weaken this colossus – Russia, in order to seize the geopolitical domination over the Eurasian continent” (Geworld.ge, 2 October, 2014).
- **Tamar Kiknadze, political scientist:** “They say directly – Orthodoxy is not the religion supportive of democratic processes and strengthening of institutions... and if you choose this European way, you will have to think about this religion. Are you ready to reject Orthodoxy which is the same thing as your identity?!” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 27 April, 2014).
- **Shota Apkhaidze, person released as a political prisoner:** “By this step [award of Rusudan Gitsiridze, bishop of the Evangelic Baptist Church of Georgia with the Secretary of State’s 2014 International Women of Courage Award] America has shown us that it will always support its allies, that it prefers Evangelical-Baptist Church over the Orthodox one... “ (Geworld.ge, 12 March, 2014).

### Western values

- **Rezo Amashukeli, poet:** “You came here with your candies, with McDonalds and with your shows in order to take away the whole generation from us, you have taken away youth, nobody wants to read a book. You fight vigorously against the church, but why? Because you want to erase my existence and my sustainability, you want us to be like those in Europe... What do they want (America)? to eradicate my culture and everything I have ? All those shows serve exactly this purpose.” (Obiektivi, Night Studio, 13 August, 2014).

### US – offender

- **Alexander Chachia, Moscow based political observer:** “United States will find a pretext and bomb any country who want to develop and use their resources for the benefit of their population... After the defeat of Hitler’s Germany US CIA has taken up the token of fascism “ (Geworld.ge, 11 February, 2015).
- **Alexander Chachia, Moscow based political observer:** “The present leadership of the US is just like a monkey with a grenade in his hands” (Geworld.ge, 8 October, 2014).
- **Rezo Amashukeli, poet:** “I am addressing you, Mr. Norland, you don’t have history and morality, remember, how you created your state? And name a country where you entered and did not make lakes of blood? Why don’t you leave us alone?” (Alia, 5 February, 2015).

### Euro-Atlantic integration = threats/Turkish expansion

- **Aleksandre Abdaladze, Armenologist:** “Turkish troops will trigger serious processes against the Georgian national

awareness. ..Therefore, the Euro-Atlantic integration, along with other issues, threatens us to be turned into a military base of Turkey. I, as well as any reasonable Georgian, am against any integration” (Geworld.ge, 26 March, 2014).

- **Hamlet Chipashvili, political scientist:** “What is the result of our loud aspirations towards the NATO? the answer is: 20% lost territories, hostility from a neighboring country with nuclear power; dead soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan; Georgia has become a poor country knocking on the door of NATO and Brussels does not really approve it” (Asaval-Dasavali, 15-21 September, 2014).
- **Geidar Jemal, chairman of Islamists’ Union in Russia:** “The assault on Yugoslavia was the enactment of NATO mechanisms and also a proof of US dominance over Europe... Those were barbarian methods of war which distinguished America as early as in the WWII, when they marched across peaceful Europe – like in Dresden where more people died than in Hiroshima and Nagasaki” (Obiectivi, Night Studio, 30 March, 2014).

### Nato and EU are not the choice of Georgian people

- **Levan Chachua, person released as a political prisoner:** “This European integration process in Georgia is going on as a silent sabotage... The government is signing it while avoiding society. Therefore, I say it directly: this agreement is illegitimate” (Geworld.ge, 3 April, 2014).

### Georgia is run by external foreign forces

- **Levan Vasadze, businessman:** “Is our country independent or is it an insignificant republic which is still run by ambassadors and non-governmental organizations financed by the West? The West needs Georgia in this region very much, perhaps to no lesser degree than Georgia needs the West” (Kviris Palitra, 7-13 April, 2014).
- **Goga Khaindrava, director:** “All the conditions are created to hamper the country to be able to protect its own rights. It should always be dependent on Washington or Moscow, Brussels or may be Beijing” (Kavkasia, Spectri, 11 December, 2014).

### EU Association Agreement subjugates Georgia

- **Tamar Kiknadze, political observer:** „It’s a fairy tale that Georgia can win anything on the European market that is full with goods. The West’s main mission for Georgia is to fight against Russia, that is what they need Georgia for” (Geworld.ge, 4 February, 2015).
- **Zviad Iremadze, Anti-Globalization Centre “Iverians”:** „As to EU, the Baltic states are a clear example of what can happen to us as a result of getting close to this organization... Riga – a city that was great in the Soviet time, and where people were making their honeymoon trips, is left without people now“ (Geworld.ge, 28 May, 2014).

### European Charter of Regional Languages, repatriation of deported Mesketians=threats

- **Mamuka Areshidze, expert:** “After signing the Association Agreement, we will be categorically demanded to return Muslim Meskhs in the country. We may also be obliged to Grant the status of local regional languages to all the ethnic minority languages!.. Neither politically nor economically Georgia is not ready for this and we may face serious cataclysm” (Asaval-Dasavali, 16-22 June, 2014).

### US vs. Russian

- **Archil Chkoidze, Eurasian Choice:** „Unfortunately, the West and US do everything to push Georgia into a conflict with Russia and then claim that Georgia has become a victim of aggression... The war was not started by the Georgian side, it was started by Mikheil Saakashvili under the orders from America, which has been lately confirmed by John McCain” (Pirveli, 26 May, 2014).

### The West will not protect us against threats

- **Archil Chkoidze, Eurasian Choice:** „In my opinion this unrest in Ukraine was instigated by the West, despite this they turned out powerless before Russia... In order for us to protect our citizens and their security we must develop close ties with Russia. Because it is obvious that the West cannot protect security of Georgia” (Netgazeti, 26 May, 2014).

### Linking of the West with UNM

- **Goga Khaindrava, director:** “If you think that Irakli Gharibashvili or Bidzina Ivanishvili invented the words “cohabitation”, you are very wrong. The Georgian government was ordered by very important international powers, and the US administration told them directly – do not touch the Nationals, or we shall break your hands, kill you with hunger, you won’t be able to enter Europe or do anything” (Alia, Reportiori, 4 February, 2015)
- **Rezo Amashukeli, poet:** “Who is this McCain? – an incurable disease?!” Georgian society turned against Russia and leaned more to the West initially, but Americans and Europeans patted Saakashvili head and this bloody gang for so long, that 80 % of the public turned back to Russians!” (Asaval-Dasavali, 4-10 August, 2014).

### Corrupt West world

- **Goga Khaindrava, director:** „Carl Bildt’s example shows that today Europe is living by political corruption and bribes work even in the hell. Unfortunately for us, the leader of the world democracy [USA] stinks! Yes, a part of the world political establishment is suffocating in stench!” (Asaval-Dasavali, 20-16 October, 2014).

### NGOs – hired spies of foreign secret services

- **Levan Vasadze, businessman:** “By the way, I absolutely agree with the statements of Irakli Garibashvili many of the foreign-financed NGOs are enemies of the country” (Kviris Palitra, 20 January, 2015).
- **Rezo Amashukeli, poet:** “They are not partners [NGOs], they are your [US ambassador] paid agents!” (Kviris Chronika, 9-15 February, 2015).

### Anti-Soros

- **Givi Sikharulidze, actor:** “They are well trained puppies of Soros. Dark forces of the world pay them a great lot of money to pervert and bury the history, culture, traditions of the small nations” (Asaval-Dasavali, 14-20 April, 2014).
- **Former member of Special Forces, incognito source:** “As you are aware, previous government was just appointed by that time. Everything was financed by Soros money. This was also his order [Detention of priest Basil Mkalavishvili] they had to demonstrate to America, that they punish the priest who harasses the Jehovah followers” (Reportiori, 28 October, 2014).

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As the findings of one-year monitoring show, anti-Western attitudes in Georgia are fanned not only by certain media outlets but such rhetoric is applied by pro-Russian political parties and on separate occasions, by members of the ruling party and government, former public officials, religious servants as well as representatives of society – the so-called intelligentsia comprising writers, actors and other public figures of Soviet times. Yet another source of such rhetoric are ethno-nationalistic and pro-Russian groups who openly support Georgia's integration into the Eurasian Union.

**Mainstream media.** Save few isolated cases, openly anti-Western declarations are not observed in mainstream media that reaches and influences large groups of society, however, the frequency of inviting of late representatives of radical groups as respondents by certain media outlets and the inability of hosts to challenge them in a qualified manner with the help of facts and actual data represents a problem.

Yet another problem is poor professionalism and lack of awareness of issues discussed, enabling respondents to spread misleading information not only via propaganda media outlets, but also that media which has a different editorial policy.

● **Recommendation:** Media must ensure a comprehensive coverage of events and topics and challenge any misinformation by checking the facts and supplying society with accurate information.

Bearing in mind the shortage of research and human resources in media outlets, journalists and producers must use that experience, expertise or findings of various studies and monitoring that nongovernmental organizations have accumulated.

International organizations should support the cooperation between media and nongovernmental organizations in order to ensure that results of activities implemented under various projects reach target groups in a more effective manner. In this regard, a special emphasis must be placed on those media outlets that reach larger audiences and have stronger influence on society.

**Georgian Public Broadcaster.** The Public Broadcaster, which is required by the law to produce programs in minority languages, must play a special role in filling the information gap created due to language barrier in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions which are largely populated by ethnic minorities who do not know the state language. As the survey on the knowledge and attitudes towards the EU in Georgia, conducted by the Caucasus Research and Resources Center in 2013, reveals<sup>7</sup>, population of these regions are less informed about the processes of integration and their main sources of information are non-Georgian media outlets.

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<sup>7</sup> [http://www.epfound.ge/files/eu\\_survey\\_report\\_2013\\_final\\_eng\\_.pdf](http://www.epfound.ge/files/eu_survey_report_2013_final_eng_.pdf)

- **Recommendation:** With the switchover to digital broadcasting the problem of the spread of signal of Georgian Broadcaster will be solved and the broadcaster must use this possibility to produce programs in minority languages, including about the topic of European integration, in order to ensure that every citizen of Georgia receives proper information about ongoing processes.

**Propaganda platforms.** The monitoring revealed such media outlets on the Georgian media market which differ from classic media platforms in that they promote only one-sided opinions, spread accusations and information that is based only on the narrative of one person or a journalist him/herself or Russian sources. It is this peculiarity that turn this category of media into tools of propaganda. In this particular case, this propaganda is of anti-Western nature and often combined with xenophobia and homophobia.

- **Recommendation:** It is important that the influential media outlets, on the one hand, provide society with accurate information about the process of Euro-Atlantic integration, and the government, on the other hand, stop strengthening marginal media with financial contributions or other forms of cooperation. Professional associations and nongovernmental organizations should continue monitoring and expose inaccuracies and violations of professional standards through media criticism.

**Transparency of media ownership.** Legal requirements of financial transparency of media outlets do not apply to online and print media in Georgia. In the conditions when the advertising market is small and media is not a self-sustainable business, the Georgian media market sees the emergence of new online news and information portals and TVs while society is not informed about those particular business or other interests associated with the emergence of new actors.

- **Recommendations:** It is important to conduct monitoring of media owners, their business or political links, in order to ensure society with information about particular interests, possible conflicts of interests and all those aspects which are important to establish the reliability of media.

**Government and ruling political party.** It is a welcoming fact that the government of Georgia has drawn up the 2014-2017 strategy on communicating and informing about Euro-integration issues. However, mixed and conflicting messages coming from separate representatives of the ruling political party and executive government, create ambiguity in society.

- **Recommendation:** The ruling political team and the executive government must act in a more coordinated manner in their communications about strategic topics. At the same time, political parties and representatives of government should develop an internal self-regulation mechanism to react to instances of hate speech and homophobia which is characteristic for anti-Western discourse.