

# GRASS Disinfo Brief: Putin's War of Choice

4 July – 10 July

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# Ukraine War Disinfo Narratives in Georgia

## 4 -10 July

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### Main Findings

- The most prevalent narrative with 9949 interactions and 146800 views concerned Georgia's foreign policy. Pro-Russian propaganda actively disseminated the message that Georgia should abandon European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations, start negotiations with Moscow in order to **align with Russia**, and even legally **host Russian military bases in Georgia**.
- The second most dominant narrative was the traditional message that **the West seeks** to open a **second front against Russia in Georgia** and **would punish Georgia** for not doing so. The narrative continued to be centred around the EU, claiming that the **EU demands Georgia to joins the war** against Russia in exchange for **granting the candidate status**.
- The following messages remain consistently disseminated and reoccurring as in previous weeks: Russia is unaffected by sanctions, sanctions hurt the West more than Russia, the military aid prolongs the war, Ukraine is losing the war, and Poland will annex Ukraine.
- Ukrainian government became a target of harsh criticism, and a message that the Ukrainian leadership is corrupt and/or incompetent has re-emerged.

- A new message appeared stating that the West, namely the EU and the US, may no longer provide assistance to Ukraine.

## **Russia's Proxies' Grand Plan for Georgia: No More EU and NATO Integration, Start Talks with Russia, and Legalise Russian Military Bases**

Pro-Russian sources have been particularly vocal in the previous week in suggesting "alternative" ideas to overhaul Georgia's foreign policy, and thanks to Alt-Info's massive outreach with such content, those messages have been the most prevalent, gathering around 10 thousand interactions and 150 thousand views:

- One of the leaders of pro-Russian Alt-Info and its affiliated political party Conservative Movement, Irakli Martinenko, [stated](#) that once the war in Ukraine ends, so would end the support for the Western integration aspirations in Georgia. According to him, as the support for Euro-Atlantic integration would fade in Georgia, the West, mainly the EU, would come up with new and more attractive integration offers to exploit Georgia. However, Martinenko argued that the Georgian public should not be manipulated by these offers and that **Georgia should reject a foreign policy course of Euro-Atlantic integration.**
- Alt-info [claimed](#) that Ukraine would inevitably lose the war against Russia, and then Russia would set its eyes on Georgia. According to Alt-Info, Russia would have objections regarding Georgia's constitutional article on NATO integration. Zurab Makahardze, one of the group's leaders, stated that the only political party that could respond to Russia's appeals in the right way would be the Conservative Movement (established by Alt-Info), **i.e. carry out Russia's demands concerning Georgia's policy towards EU and NATO.** He explained this „correct approach“ and announced that

**Georgia should say no to the EU and NATO and negotiate an alliance with Russia, and even host Russian military bases in Georgia.**

- According to Makahardze, Georgia would, either way, fall under Russia's sphere of influence, and Georgia should negotiate to align with Russia and get under its influence on favourable terms. Makharadze elaborated on the favourable terms which would benefit both Georgia and Russia and argued that Georgia should play the function of Russia's ally in the Caucasus and avoid creating a neo-Ottoman zone of influence or establishing a NATO military base in the South Caucasus. Shota Martinenko, **Alt-Info's** another leader, [voiced](#) the same messages during an interview on Russian propaganda radio - *Комсомольская правда*.
- Makharadze stressed that the solution to restoring territorial integrity would be to allow Russia to legally **maintain its military bases in the occupied territories**, for instance, **for 50 years** and thus guarantee Russia's security in the South Caucasus. Makharadze also claimed that one of the primary negotiating points for Georgia should be to offer Russia to build a railway that connects Russia with Iran through Abkhazia. He argued that creating the transport corridor would be beneficial for all of the countries of the region, and this would be an argument for why Russia should let Georgia live in a federation state with Abkhazians. Makharadze argued that the return of displaced persons to the occupied regions could happen after proposing security and economic projects of vital interest to Russia. Makharadze declared that they would **offer such favourable terms to Russia** that the Kremlin would be insane not to accept. He summed up that security, territorial integrity, and demography are of fundamental importance for Georgia and for Russia, these are military dominance in the South Caucasus, economic transit to the south and a guarantee that there would be no NATO

bases here. Hence, Alt-Info suggested **abandoning NATO and EU integration** aspirations and negotiating with Russia based on the annumerated interests.

- Lali Moroshkina, a celebrity well-known for spreading disinformation and propaganda, [claimed](#) at the Sputnik-Georgia press centre that **Georgian political scientists should start visiting Moscow to negotiate and participate in debates to achieve peace and restore territorial integrity**. Moroshkina proclaimed that it is essential for Georgia to conduct a dialogue with Russia about the existing problems and to get out of the crisis. However, it is worth reminding Moroshkina that in reality, it is the Russian side that is sabotaging the existing negotiating platform between Georgia and Russia on the issue of occupied territories - the Geneva International Discussions format.
- In addition, the pro-Russian Facebook [page](#) claimed that Georgia should say no to the EU, proposing the false dilemma that the orthodox Georgian should choose either **Christian Georgia or the filthy EU**. Another pro-Russian propagandist [stated](#) that the **EU demands** that Georgia **legalise same-sex marriage and even paedophilia**.
- A fringe Facebook account [attacked](#) the Ambassador of the United States to Georgia - **Kelly Degnan**, claiming that she **is a part of a conspiracy against Georgia and supports the coup d'état**. This Facebook user also announced protests against the diplomatic corps in September, particularly targeting the EU office in Tbilisi, which he labelled as "Saakashvili's (Georgia's ex-President and leader of the largest opposition party, currently imprisoned) sect".

## How is the Crusade against Nazism going thus far? - Military Situation on the Ground through Kremlin Lenses

Vladimir Putin [claimed](#) that Russia had not even started its military campaign in Ukraine "in earnest" and [dared](#) the West to try to defeat Russia on the battlefield. However, the reality suggests otherwise. Russia is already [bringing](#) more reserve forces close to Ukraine. According to the British intelligence update, many of Russia's reinforcements are "ad hoc grouping, deploying with obsolete or inappropriate equipment," suggesting that Russia has already devoted and, in fact, exhausted much of its manpower and equipment. After capturing Luhansk, the Russian army is taking an [operational pause](#) to rebuild its strength for further attacks. Hence, Kremlin propaganda mouthpieces actively backed up the claim of its chieftain and also continue to portray the Ukrainian army as Nazi and the Russian military as saviour.

- A Facebook page [published](#) footage of the Russian military "liberating," i.e. occupying Ukrainian cities. The propaganda video shows that the Ukrainian people welcome and hail the liberating Russian army. A caption of this post states that **Russia has superiority over the US and Europe**. This video is part of the Kremlin's strategic narrative that Russia is liberating Ukrainian territory from Nazis and fascists.
- Sputnik-Georgia [furthered](#) the narrative that the Russian army is liberating Ukrainians by publishing a classic war-time propaganda piece. According to Sputnik, Ukrainian soldiers were maltreating Ukrainian people in Mariupol. Sputnik told a story of eleven families living in a sports complex Olymp near Moscow, who described that Russians are treating them very well, curing them for free, performing operations and providing physiological help. The families concluded that their **lives changed for the better after Russian and DNR soldiers entered Mariupol**.

- A video was [broadcasted](#) on the air of Alt-info, according to which Giorgi Kardava, Chairman of the far-right pro-Russian Conservative Movement political party (established by the Alt-Info group), **blamed Ukrainians for abusive treatment**. In particular, the footage showed how cruel Ukrainian soldiers were punished in the army. Kardava stated that hundreds of videos describe the brutality of Ukrainian soldiers, including undressing women and children and executing people by the lynching trial. He argued that even Georgian people were more humane in the 1990s.
- Lali Moroshkina, a celebrity known for spreading disinformation and propaganda, [criticised Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky](#) for asking for money to reconstruct Ukrainian cities amid the ongoing war, with thousands of casualties and injured and captured Ukrainian soldiers. Moroshkina stated that the action of president Zelensky is an appalling cynicism because he is bargaining to rebuild cities, some of which have been already lost in the long term. She labelled **Zelensky as an "evil" and a "clown"** and his fundraising efforts for reconstruction an unprincipled piggishness and moral lunacy that overstepped every boundary.
- A Facebook account [posted](#) a video of a former United States Marine Corps intelligence officer and a convicted sex offender Scott Ritter. In an excerpt from the video, Ritter praised the Russian battalion commanders and stressed that they were the best Russia has ever had. He reiterated that Russian victory was inevitable, and Ukraine had already been defeated in the war. He pointed out that **Russian soldiers make miracles**; therefore, he concluded that Russia was on the way to its victory, and nothing could hold it back.
- To justify the claim that Western countries provoked the war in Ukraine, a Facebook user [disseminated](#) fake news claiming that Ukraine's Presidential Advisor Oleksiy Arestovych said that losing Kyiv would not mean anything to them because the

decision-maker centre is in another country. Based on this false information, the user concluded that due to the incompetence of its leadership Ukraine as a state no longer existed.

- On the air of Alt-info, Zurab Makharadze, leader of Alt-Info and Conservative Movement (established by Alt-Info), [persisted](#) that Ukraine was doomed to defeat in the war and stated that no one had an illusion that Ukraine would acquire victory in the war. He voiced the claim that **Ukraine was attacked by Russia due to its NATO aspirations** and, in this context, drew a parallel with Georgia and sounded the alarm.
- One of the leaders of Alt-Info, Irakli Martinenko, also stated that Ukrainian soldiers wanted to withdraw from Severodonetsk and Lysychansk, but they had to maintain positions for political reasons. In particular, Kardava asserted that in the case of retreat, Ukraine would not be able to push the fake message that Ukraine would go on the counterattack, which was Ukraine's political objective at the time. Shota Martinenko, another prominent figure in Alt-Info's group, took his argument further, stating that contrary to Mariupol, Ukraine soldiers did not want to be captured in the city, which is why they retreated as soon as the Lysychansk siege began. Martinenko also said they would be less likely to reinforce their positions in Sloviansk, and in case of a threat of a siege, **Ukrainian soldiers would flee the city.**
- The pro-Russian Facebook page [claimed](#) and **celebrated that the whole of Eastern Ukraine was now under Russian control**, posting a video showing how Russian soldiers raised a red Soviet flag on a building. The video footage also includes Putin congratulating Russian soldiers on a successful operation in the Luhansk region.
- Another Facebook page ironically [argued](#) that amidst the "achievements", i.e. referring to failures of the Ukrainian “Nazi regiment of Azov”, "volunteers" from around the

world and the Ukrainian armed forces, Russia has now reminded the US that **Russia has to retrieve Alaska.**

- Sputnik-Georgia once again [emphasised](#) the superiority of the Russian army. This time Sputnik focused on comparing the artillery ammunition. Sputnik emphasised that Russia's artillery utilised shells that, contrary to NATO's Excalibur shells, can hit moving targets, are more precise and effective and less expensive.
- A pro-Russian outlet, *Georgia and the World*, [commented](#) on Boris Johnson's resignation, joining Russian propagandist's joy. Namely, the newspaper claimed that **Johnsons had to quit his job due to Russophobia**. Similar messages were visible in the Russian propaganda ecosystem as they celebrated Johnson's resignation and perceived it as a **symbol of Ukraine's defeat**.
- Hamlet Chipashvili, in his editorial piece on pro-Russian outlet Isari.ge also [lashed](#) out against Johnson, claiming that he resignation was due to not just the act of sexual assault committed by his party member but the economic crisis, 10% inflation, **immense military-financial aid to Ukraine, and sanctions imposed on Russia** that have had a heavy impact on the United Kingdom.
- One of Alt-Info's leaders, Irakli Martinenko, [conveyed](#) the message that the area that would remain from Ukraine after the war would not be able to exist as a state: either it would become the **territory of the West, namely Poland, or Russia will completely conquer Ukraine**.
- Pro-Russian newspaper *Georgia and the World* [quoted](#) the false claim about the **biological laboratories in Ukraine** persistently voiced by the chief of Russia's radiation, chemical and biological protection forces, Igor Kirillov. According to Kirilov, the US, and its NATO allies, in particular, Germany, used Ukraine and other countries in the

post-Soviet space as a **testing ground for biological weapons**. As he claimed, several projects serve the interests of the Central Medical and Sanitary Service of the Armed Forces of the GFR. Kirillov also stated that the Bundeswehr (German armed forces) studied Crimean-Congo fever deaths in Ukraine to obtain as many pathogenic strains as possible from the dead people.

## **Economic Sanctions: Counterproductive for the West and a means to punish Georgia**

Economic issues have remained one of the regular topics discussed by pro-Russian sources. Remarkably, the messages that Russia is unaffected by sanctions and the sanctions hurt the West more than Russia have been constant. However, pro-Russian propaganda tends to keep up with international developments and this time, it also tried to defend certain oligarchs' properties from confiscation.

Counterproductive for the West:

- Georgian celebrity and pro-Russian influencer Lali Moroshkina, talking at **Sputnik-Georgia's press centre**, [insisted](#) that the governments in the European countries would soon no longer be able to cope with the **drastic energy shortages**, which would lead to a complete collapse of Europe. She concluded that there would be no Europe before the winter, and the same developments would also be observed in the US. According to Moroshkina, the **Biden Administration is doomed to complete failure** since the US president would not be able to explain to ordinary citizens why their houses are cold in the freezing winter and why they do not have enough food to feed themselves. Based on this, Moroshkina predicted mass protests across the country.

- Pro-Russian TV channel Alt-info [replicated](#) the message that the EU is facing the most profound crisis of its existence, claiming that countries dependent on Germany or France would inevitably find themselves in an exceptionally grave situation.
- Giorgi Kardava, Chairman of the far-right pro-Russian Conservative Movement political party, in the broadcast of Alt-Info, [repeated](#) one of the centrepieces of pro-Russian propaganda about economic sanctions that the **Western-imposed sanctions** on Russia have been in vain and **counterproductive**.
- Editor-in-chief of the pro-Russian media Saqinform.ge, Arno Khidirbegishvili, published an editorial [article](#) dedicated to downplaying the impact of the Western sanctions on Russia. Regarding the discussion that the assets seized from the Russian central bank and the country's oligarchs could be used to rebuild Ukraine, Arno Khidirbegishvili insisted that the West contravened "Roman law" by violating private property rights, the cornerstone of democracy, as this plan intends to confiscate not only the assets of the state "aggressor Russia" but also of private individuals—the oligarchs. Additionally, Khidirbegishvili blamed **the West**, saying they would not hesitate to **announce sanctions against Bidzina Ivanishvili**. Saqinform also claimed that another person who "annoys the West and Ukraine" and may become the subject to sanctions is Prime Minister Gharibashvili, who might be punished for not imposing neither national economic sanctions against Russia nor sending troops to Ukraine and **dragging Georgia into the war by attacking Russian military bases in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions**.

## Punishing Georgia

- During July 7 programme aired on the channel, pro-Russian Alt-Info's speakers [reiterated](#) false claims that the **West is increasing its pressure on Tbilisi, blackmailing the country** with punishment and possible use of sanctions against the government if the latter refuses to "stand on the right side of the history" and impose the sanctions on Russia and support Ukraine.
- In an [editorial](#) on the pro-Russian Isari.ge, Hamlet Chipashvili conveyed the message that the **sanctions hurt the West more than Russia**. Moreover, Chipashvili claimed that the US and the European leaders created the world crisis in an effort to increase their own profits. Chipashvili also argued that **Brussels only wants** to impose sanctions on Russia and **open a "second front" in Georgia**, adding that the EU will grant Georgia membership candidate status only if Georgia fulfils these two criteria.

## **Fearmongering Narrative of the War Expanding Beyond Ukraine into Georgia**

Threatening the Georgian public with the war against Russia has remained one of the most common tactics for the disinformation actors. Anti-Western groups use that narrative to criticise the West for their "desire" to drag Georgia into the war with the Russian Federation and promote the false causality between the EU membership candidacy status and opening a second front in Georgia. The ruling Georgian Dream government exploited every opportunity to label the opposition parties as warmongers and brand themselves as the guarantors of peace and stability in Georgia. It is important to note that three MPs that formally left the Georgian Dream government (as they claim to speak the truth to the public openly) became vicious critics of the West and have since openly attacked the foreign diplomats in Georgia, blaming them for trying to instigate a war in Georgia.

- The former **Georgian Dream MP**, Dimitri Khundadze, who, with the other two MPs, left the GD party and became "independent" MPs, spread another anti-Western disinformation, stating that the **only way Georgia to receive the EU candidacy status was if the country starts a war against Russia**. One of the leaders of the pro-Russian political party Alliance of Patriots (AoP), Giorgi Lomia, in an [interview](#) with its affiliated TV Obieqtivi, stated that granting the EU membership candidacy status is a political decision. According to him, the EU has clearly said to Georgia that they are welcoming Ukraine and Moldova with open arms, but not Georgia because of **not joining the sanctions and not opening a second front against the Russian Federation**.
- The editor-in-chief of anti-Western publisher "Saerto Gazeti" (*Common Newspaper*), Vakhtang Kharchilava, has also [linked](#) the EU membership candidacy status to the opening of the second front against Russia. He claimed that the **12-point reform agenda criteria** outlined by the European Commission, in fact, **has the hidden 13th condition that was not publicly enshrined in the text**. According to him, this additional requirement is **to remove the "Georgian Dream" government with every means possible and to transfer the power to the groups who would start a war against Russia without hesitation**. The pro-Russian Alt-Info has also [claimed](#) that the EU would not grant Georgia a candidate status because **joining the war against Russia is a prerequisite** and sending fighters to Ukraine and imposing sanctions is also a must.
- The anti-Western outlet "Saerto Gazeti" has shared the opinion of the writer, Elizbar Javelidze, who [claimed](#) that the Ukrainian political leaders seek to drag Georgian into the war with Russia. Javelidze noted that "the leaders of Ukraine scold us: why don't you start a war. If Ukrainian children are killed, should not Georgians be killed, as well?!". He has also speculated that Georgia has fought a war against Russia three times and no one helped the country even with "a single dollar", and that the West is now

supporting Ukraine with billions because the leader of the Western empire, **the USA, benefits from both weakening Russia and destroying Ukraine.**

- The pro-governmental commentator and philosopher Zaza Shatirishvili has once again come to the [defence](#) of the alleged informal ruler of Georgia, billionaire ex-PM and the founder of the ruling Georgian Dream (GD) party Bidzina Ivanishvili, who has some financial issues with the Swiss banks. Shatirishvili claimed that there is a very **high level of coordination between Western countries and institutions to somehow force Georgia to open a second front against Russia.** So, according to Shatirishvili, Bidzina Ivanishvili was targeted by the US, who put pressure on Swiss banks to practically sanction Bidzina Ivanishvili by restricting him from having free access to his own money deposited in these banks, hoping to **force Bidzina Ivanishvili to use his influence over the ruling GD party and drag Georgia into the war.**
- Another so-called political expert and propagandist, Nana Kakabadze, [claimed](#) that the West is seeking to open a second front in Georgia. According to her, the West is pushing the current GD government to do so, but if they are not successful, **the West will try to change the government in Georgia** and bring such groups into power which would enthusiastically **drag Georgia into the war.**

## **Propaganda Narratives Regarding Military Aid to Ukraine: Contradicting Narratives Continue**

In a way, time is on Ukraine's side, allowing more Western weapons to arrive on the frontline. Ukraine needs to close the gap in the artillery balance and is also amassing critical quantities needed for a counterattack to retake the Southern regions, most notably Kherson. Western artillery systems are proving extremely effective, especially the HIMARS, by which Ukraine

has allegedly successfully bombed numerous command posts and ammunition depots, debilitating Russia's attacking capabilities. Therefore, it is no surprise that **Russian propaganda** has **targeted** Western **military aid** to Ukraine, its defence ministry even stating that they destroyed two HIMARS:

- Based on the Bulgarian military publication, [Sputnik-Georgia claimed](#) that Ukrainian soldiers sold the French-supplied CAESAR self-propelled artillery systems to Russia for 240 000 dollars. According to the publication, the black market for weapons was created a long time ago, and it is possible to buy Ukrainian FGM-148 Javelin missiles for just 30 000 dollars, six times less than the actual [price](#). Sputnik stated that **Western weapons are often "lost" in Ukraine** and end up in Asian and African countries; therefore, billions of dollars and euros are wasted. Sputnik asserted that the United States and NATO would not continue to participate in such "philanthropy", and **Ukraine's partners would reduce the funding and the scale of the Lend-Lease project of the Armed Forces of Ukraine**. Furthermore, according to Sputnik, a series of defeats of Ukraine's armed forces and catastrophic losses of manpower and military equipment undermine the West's resolve to support the Kyiv regime's fight against Russia with arms and finances. A Facebook user also [stated](#), based on a Bulgarian military outlet, that Ukrainian soldiers sold 2 CAESAR mobile howitzer vehicles to Russia for \$120,000 each. This claim reverberates the Kremlin's propaganda message that **Western military aid is being misused, stolen or sold on the black market**. This aim, alongside the subnarrative, that Ukraine is losing the war and military aid is in vain, aims to persuade the Western governments not to provide further military assistance to Ukraine.
- *Georgia and the World* [cited](#) Russian Defence minister Shoigu, saying that "the collective West is trying to prolong the conflict in Ukraine and continues to provide large-scale arms support to the Kyiv regime, while **arms supplied to Ukraine end up on**

**the black market** and in the Middle East." This indicates the synchronisation between top-level Russian officials and its propaganda mouthpieces and their coordinated information campaigns.

- The anti-Western page [claimed](#) that the US and NATO are providing arms to Ukraine to fight against Russia "until the last Ukrainian."
- A Facebook user [posted](#) a video of Scott Ritter, a former the United States Marine Corps intelligence officer and a convicted sex offender, arguing that the **weapons sent to Ukraine would prolong the conflict** and result in higher Ukrainian casualties. Ritter opined that those who care for Ukraine should be committed to ending the war as soon as possible, referring to halting military assistance. Also, according to Ritter, everyone who wears a Ukrainian flag pin should "go to hell."
- The leader of pro-Russian Alt-Info and its affiliated political party Conservative Movement, Giorgi Kardava, [claimed](#) that the Republican party would likely regain control over the US Congress after the midterm elections this fall, questioning the continuance of US military aid to Ukraine. According to Alt-Info, Republicans are split on the issue of weapons deliveries to Ukraine, and pro-Trump candidates often argue on Fox News that the Biden administration wastes American taxpayers' money by sending arms to Kyiv. Alt-Info also asserted **that most Americans do not care about Ukraine.**
- Another Facebook page [stated](#) that European Commission is withholding credits from Ukraine due to believing that Ukraine would not be able to repay. Based on this, the page concluded that Ukraine would be sacrificed and Russia would emerge even more powerful and with more territory after the war's end.

## Attention, Moscow is Speaking: Russian Disinformation on Facebook and Instagram

During the week of July 4-10, Russian propaganda sources have [continued](#) claiming that it is **Ukraine, not Russia, that is disrupting Ukrainian grain exports**, when in fact, Ukrainian ports on the Black Sea are under blockade by the Russian navy. Also, disinformation pieces, referring to Turkish presidential aide Ibrahim Kalin's interview with the local TV channel, falsely claimed that **Turkey has now officially [supported](#) the Russian "special operation" in Ukraine**. However, in the interview, Kalin said exactly the opposite – he repeated a number of times that nothing legitimises Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

Further, the Kremlin propaganda machine has widely distributed the statement made by Russia's Ministry of Defence (Minoborony), saying that the Russian troops were withdrawn from the Snake Island as a [goodwill](#) gesture from Moscow, thus ignoring successful missile and drone strikes conducted by the Ukrainian forces prior to their departure from the island. **Russian disinformation actors have also targeted Ursula von der Leyen by [fabricating](#) the statement** she, in fact, made in support of Ukraine's EU integration – disinformation sources have falsely claimed that the president of the European Commission wished for the death of Ukrainians. In another development, based on the comments section under the Le Figaro article, Russian propaganda has [insisted](#) that the **"French are angry" at Zelensky for demanding more support from Paris**. Furthermore, according to another false story from the anti-Ukrainian sources, it is [Ukraine](#) that should be blamed for the 2022 Monkeypox outbreak.



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