

FINDINGS OF MASS MEDIA MONITORING IN ARMENIA

(Detecting Propaganda: Second Monitoring)



Yerevan 2019



The project was implemented by the Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC)

Authors “Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation” non-governmental organization, during October-December 2018 within scope of Second Cycle: Measuring the public's views regarding International organizations and Monitoring of Media in Armenia on Disinformation and 'Fake News' project has been conducting monitoring of selected Russian and Armenian mass-medias and electronic media aiming to identify whether directed information is or propaganda is used, what kind of possible qualifications are available for the wider audience of Russian and Armenian news and media sites. Also, the monitoring considered the possible impact of the Russian mass media on the Armenian media.

REPORT ON FINDINGS OF MASS MEDIA MONITORING IN ARMENIA

The monitoring is done by the Expert Team of the Analytical Centre on
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I. INTRODUCTION

Within the period from November 1 to December 1, 2018, the Analytical Center for Globalization and Regional Cooperation Non-Governmental Organization conducted monitoring of the selected talk shows, newspapers, electronic periodicals of both Russian and Armenian mass media to examine the media coverage, the possible labelling and targeted information conveyed to wide audiences in the result of the activity of Russian and Armenian news and information periodicals, TV talk shows and websites. It also seeks to detect the possible impact of Russian mass media on the Armenian press.

In the stage of the project, news talk shows produced by a number of TV channels were pre-monitored to target the main sources that provide information which may be described as propaganda. As a result, the main talk shows of the below mentioned TV channels were observed:

- ✓ Public Television of Armenia (The First Channel)
- ✓ Armenian Second TV Channel or h2
- ✓ Kentron, Armenian TV Channel
- ✓ AR, Armenian TV Channel
- ✓ Shant, Armenian TV Channel
- ✓ Yerkir Media, Armenian TV Channel
- ✓ Ararat (since November 25, 2018, renamed to the 5th Channel), Armenian TV Channel
- ✓ Russian First Channel
- ✓ Rossia 1 Channel

The results of the observation have shown that nearly all of the mentioned sources use labeling terms and targeted information, but the most apparent propagandistic and labelling information can be found on Ararat TV (“5th Channel”), Rossia 1 Channel and Russian First Channel. Therefore, a decision was made to carry out the main and on-going monitoring of the news talk shows of the three above-mentioned channels.

The talk shows “Time will show”, “60 minutes” and “Evening with Vladimir Solovyov” broadcast on Rossia 1 Channel and Russian First Channel, as well as “Evening with Agnesa Khamoyan” broadcast on the “5th Channel” (the former Ararat TV Channel) have been re-monitored during the period from November 1 to December 1, 2018.

II. TERMS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THE REPORT

N	TERM, ACRONYM	COMMENT
1.	Monitoring	An overview which is carried out to control a certain status or condition and implement its quality assessment
2.	MM	Mass Media
3.	Targeted information	As a rule, targeted information is one-sided, incomplete, often inaccurate, disseminated to encourage formation of a certain public behavior or attitude.
4.	EU	European Union
5.	EEU or EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
6.	Propaganda	In the modern political discourse, propaganda implies an open dissemination of views, facts, arguments and other data, including intentional distortion of facts and provision of misleading information, in order to shape a public opinion or an attitude.
7.	NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
8.	UNO	United Nations Organization
9.	PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
10.	RF	Russian Federation
11.	Cand. Sc. (Law)	Candidate of Legal Sciences
12.	LDPR	Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
13.	DPR and LPR	Self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk "People's Republics"
14.	NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
15.	RA NA	National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia
16.	RPA	Republican Party of Armenia
17.	CC	Civil Contract Party
18.	LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
19.	CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
20.	IS	Islamic State
21.	FSB	Federal Security Service
22.	CE	Council of Europe

III. MONITORING METHODOLOGY

Within the period from November to December 2018, one Armenian and three Russian TV talk shows have been monitored:

Name of talk-show in English	in Armenian	in Russian	Broadcasting channel	Daily duration	Week frequency	Total
“Time will show”	«Ժամանակը ցույց կսա»	“Время покажет”	Russian First Channel	2 hours 45 minutes	5 times	22 broadcasts
“60 minutes”	«60 րոպե»	60 минут	Rossia 1 Channel	1 hour 30 minutes	5 times	45 broadcasts
“Evening with Vladimir Solovyov”	«Երեկոն Վլադիմիր Սոլովյովի հետ»	“Вечер с Владимиром Соловьевым”	Rossia 1 Channel	3 hours	5 times	21 broadcasts
“Interview with Agnesa Khamoyan”	«Հարցազրույց Ագնեսա Խամոյանի հետ»	“Интервью с Агнесой Хамоян”	5 th Channel	30 minutes	4 times	15 broadcasts

The monitoring has been intended to investigate the way the propaganda is carried out on Russian television and the extent to which it is reflected on Armenian TV. It has been of particular importance to reveal the topics and issues which are a focus for propagation and dissemination of targeted information, as well as the terminology used for promotion of such perceptions. At the same time, it has been crucial to detect the changes, if any, that have occurred on the targeted TV channels over the course of a year.

For this purpose, the individuals responsible for conducting monitoring have been provided with questionnaires and action guidelines requiring them to watch the daily broadcasts, write out the main topics, names of guests and their positions, as well as the expressions and terms which the latter have used as labels.

Subsequently, the summarizer has evaluated the number of times that the same topic has been covered in the same talk show and the number of times that the same person has participated in different talk shows. The summarizer has also analyzed the most frequently repeated definitions and opinions conveyed to the

audience. Finally, the summarizer has resumed the information, presenting the main statements and views promoted by the particular TV talk show. At the same time, comparisons have been made to show whether the information gathered during the current study differs from the information collected last year.

As deemed necessary, parallels have been drawn between the propaganda carried out by the Armenian and Russian media to show the extent to which the topics discussed and spread on Russian television are reflected in the Armenian media field.

From November 1 to December 1, 2018, the monitoring has covered 5 nationally distributed printed periodicals ("Aravot", "Hraparak", "Hayots Ashkhar" daily newspapers, "Irates" semiweekly and "Iravunk" triweekly newspapers), as well as the publications available in the press or on social networks. The monitoring has been conducted in order to establish whether propagandistic information is disseminated and if so, how it is performed.

The monitor has read the mentioned sources of news on a daily basis, has summarized the main topics of discussion and, where necessary, has written out separate statements or views.

Five topics have been selected for the purpose of monitoring: media coverage of NGO activity, materials about the West, European values, Ukrainian and Syrian crisis, and hate speech and hate propaganda in general.

Monitoring has been conducted via analysis of selected topics, interviews, reflection on events/news.

IV. MONITORING OF TV TALK SHOWS

Below is the analysis of the monitored TV talk shows presented by the topics, guests and statements used therein.

4.1. "Time will show"

As in the previous year, the talk show has an anti-Western rhetoric. Very often, questions addressed to pro-western experts are accompanied with sarcasm and neglect to show the latter's misconception and poor understanding of the situation in the world. Two of the hosts (Artyom Sheinin and Anatoly Kuzichev) talk with an emphasized negativity towards the western states, whereas the third

host, Yekaterina Strizhenova, stands out from the position of a naïve and peaceful hostess who often asks the most naïve and simplest questions, which in fact gives an extra weight to their message and rhetoric. The guests are mostly experts with anti-Western and pro-Russian rhetoric, with a small part of them expressing opposite points of view. Attempts are often made to humiliate the latter by making insulting expressions or gestures addressed either to them or to the states they represent. A major consideration throughout the talk show is to blame Ukraine for spreading Nazi ideology, provoking Russians and turning towards the West with complaints.

During the targeted period, 22 broadcasts, with the below mentioned main **topics**, were monitored:

1. Broadcast on 01.11.2018

Topic: A game about a concentration camp has been created in Ukraine. Warsaw has already become interested in it. An investigation is currently underway. Russia's sanctions against Ukraine are discussed. Angela Merkel and Kiev.

2. 02.11.2018

Topic: Russia-Cuba negotiations. What changes will the midterm elections bring to the USA?

3. 05.11.2018

Topic: Experts discuss the US foreign policy, the US decision on the avoidance of the nuclear transaction with Iran, and issues concerning the upcoming meeting of Trump and North Korean leader.

4. 06.11.2018

Topic: Ukrainian liberation day.

5. 07.11.2018

Topic: The midterm elections of the US Congress. Will Trump's attitude towards Russia change? NATO starts military exercises in the territory of Poland: Anaconda 2018.

6. 08.11.2018

Topic: The "price" of bombing. Ukraine's borders.

7. 09. 11. 2018

Topic: A spy stir between Austria and Russia. The American plan. New sanctions for Crimea and Dombas.

8. 12.11.2018

Topic: Elections in Dombas. Trapped by Special Service. Putin's Spy. European policy.

9. 13. 11. 2018

Topic: Same-sex marriages. Are such European values necessary?

Heating season breakdown in Ukraine. Experts talk about complications in US-Europe relations.

10.14.11.2018

Topic: Can bans be imposed on Russian ports in the Azov Sea?

Ministry of "Diet": live or survive?

11.15.11.2018

Topic: Vladimir Putin's press release on Singapore visit. Status of "Teacher". Is Ukraine getting prepared for war?

12.16.11.2018

Topic: Humanitarian disaster in Ukraine. A dialog with Japan. What is Ukraine arming itself for?

13.19.11.2018

Topic: Gas wars. Restrictions on the Russian-Turkish gas pipeline project imposed by America. Why does the West regard the "Masha and the Bear" cartoon as the Kremlin propaganda? Why was the construction of a new Orthodox Church in Ukraine postponed?

14.20.11.2018

Topic: Mass disorders, the Azov Sea and the US weapons. New demonstrations in Ukraine taking place for lack of heating and gas tariffs.

15.21.11. 2018

Topic: The Euromaidan after 5 years. Military balance. Buckwheat prices.

16.22.11.2018

Topic: New Ukrainian identification. The Azov Sea before the elections. What will Ukraine choose: to be or not to be?

17.23.11.2018

Topic: Black Friday (Discount Friday). Trump's "Cruel country". Ukraine.

18.26.11.2018

Topic: Kiev's military policy. Ships seized in the Kerch strait. Disorders in Kiev continue with "Death to Russia" slogans.

19.27. 11. 2018

Topic: Ukraine is in a state of war. Experts talk about the sanctions to be imposed by Russia on Ukraine. Who will meet Putin and Trump?

20.28.11.2018

Topic: What takes place in Ukraine? Who is to blame?

21.29.11.2018

Topic: The events in Kerch may become an excuse for imposing new sanctions on Russia. How much do the American values cost? Presidential elections in Georgia.

22.30.11.2018

Topic: G20 conference. Big politics in Argentina.

In 19 out of the 22 broadcasts monitored (in the main part of the talk show, throughout the talk show, or during its certain part), there were discussions regarding Ukraine, particularly the Maidan, Crimea and Donbass.

Discussions on Ukraine took place in 25 out of 45 broadcasts monitored in the previous year (in the main part of the talk show, throughout the talk show, or during its certain part). Therefore, the number has proportionally remained unchanged.

7 out of all broadcasts monitored were devoted to the West, Trump and relations with certain western organizations (NATO). Last year, the same number of talk shows was dedicated to the relations with the United States.

5 out of all broadcasts referred to the European policy as well as some European countries. Last year, none of the broadcasts referred to such topics.

Only one broadcast touched upon relations with Cuba, Japan, Turkey, Georgia and the G20. There have been no such references before.

The internal problems of the country were touched upon only during 4 broadcasts. In the previous year, 3 of the broadcasts touched upon the domestic political issues.

It was particularly interesting to observe the guests of the talk show who acted as the main disseminators of propaganda. The analysis has shown that the same guest-experts are usually invited to a number of broadcasts within the same talk show for the discussion of the same or different topics. The key point is that the talk show hosts quite famous people, such as Nikolay Platoshkin, Alexei Zhuravlyov, Nikolay Starikov and others. However, it is interesting to note that this year, as compared to the previous year there are many journalists and representatives of the scientific and educational sphere among the guests. At the same time, it is impossible not to notice that this year, unlike the previous year,

the same guests are invited less frequently. For instance, last year, Maxim Shevchenko, member of the Civil Society and Human Rights Development Council (adjunct to the RF President), participated in 13 out of a total of 23 broadcasts, and Michael Delyagin, Director of the Globalization Studies Institute, took part in 7 out of 23 broadcasts.

Below are the most frequently hosted experts famous for their extreme speeches and statements:

- Andranik Mihryan, Professor of Moscow State University, attended a total of 3 broadcasts and expressed views on the USA, Cuba and Saakashvili.
- Nikolay Platoshkin, Head of the Department of International Relations and Diplomacy of the Moscow University for the Humanities, participated in 3 broadcasts and talked mainly on domestic issues and Ukraine.
- Ukrainian political analyst Sergei Zoporazhsky and Ukrainian journalist Janina Sokolovskaya; each participated in two broadcasts and talked about issues regarding Ukraine.
- Polish journalist Yakub Koreyba, participated in two broadcasts and expressed views mainly on Ukraine.
- Writer Nikolai Starikov, took part in two broadcasts and spoke mainly on Trump, NATO and Ukraine.
- Deputy of State Duma Alexey Zhuravlyov, was hosted twice and spoke mainly on domestic political issues.
- Gevorg Mirzayan, Associate Professor of Political Science at the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, correspondent of the "Expert" magazine, took part in two broadcasts and spoke on Ukraine and the United States. Last year, he participated in the same number of broadcasts.
- Sargis Tsaturyan, correspondent of Regnum, Candidate of Historical Sciences, participated in two broadcasts expressing views mainly on Ukraine and the United States. Previously, he participated in 3 broadcasts.
- Andrey Nikulin, political analyst, participated in two broadcasts and talked mainly about relations with the United States.

It is noteworthy that certain statements and terminology have been repeatedly used and emphasized by guests of different broadcasts regardless of the issues on the agenda. Thus, the terms and statements used in regards to the situation in Ukraine were aimed at sending the following messages to the audience:

- *(Discussion of the restrictions to be imposed by Russia on Ukraine)* Anton Gerashenko said that Russia had resorted to sanctions; we have to do the same. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. They all are fools.
- We do not fool anyone, as you have said it many times here. Debts must be returned. We didn't forgive the Greeks' debts, and we won't forgive the Ukrainians' debts, either.
- The Ukrainians are Nazi. In 1943, Russia liberated them from the Nazis. Now, they're returning to it as ungrateful people.
- Ukrainians coming to Russia should complete a questionnaire regarding any anti-Russian protests they have ever taken part in since 2014.
- Berezhnaya will be prosecuted if they find out that Russia finances her actions against Ukraine.
- When you see the arrogance of Ukrainian politicians who have received education in Russia, the only thing you feel like saying is that the dogs have become furious.
- Ukraine has doubled its maritime boundaries and has declared about its intentions to arrest any suspects immediately after crossing the boundaries. There are some larger motives behind it. *Turning to Ukrainian guests in the studio:* You're pouring oil on the fire. You are pushing Russia into punching you in the face, so that you could later go to complain and we perfectly know to whom. *(He means the United States)*
- The Nazis are lecturing at the best gymnasium in Ukraine, they're spreading their ideology.
- We *(the Russians)* are shouting to America that the Slavonian states are an integrated whole, we are telling them not to cut away the healthy leg instead of the leg with gangrene like an ignorant doctor... it hurts us.
- There are many people in the world, including Ukraine, who suggest that the problem should be once and for all solved by war.
- The number of people who speak in favor of the Third World War is increasing all over the world.

- Neither Ukraine nor the world will recognize the elections in Donbas. As our previous leaders used to say, Ukraine is well-designed, but poorly tailored.
- Russia tries to use the church against Ukraine. You (*the Russians*) have made up that the westerners are all Russophobes. We hate the image of the Russian.
- Aren't the people who silently follow someone called a herd? Of course, they are (*he means Ukrainians*).
- *Addressing the representatives of Ukraine:* "Let's be honest and say that the fascist garbage flourishes in Ukraine. You cannot make a machine gun out of trash.
- We must teach them (*the Ukrainians*) a lesson. They provoke us, Russians, and then they turn their heads towards the west and begin to whine that we have hurt them. If there were no problem with the Azov Sea, they would make a problem in the Black Sea.
- As long as these Nazis are sitting in Kiev, we can't relax. We must tell them to go to hell, to the dustbin of history, to rest with their spiritual ancestors.
- *Addressing Ukrainian guests:* "In the near future, there are elections in Ukraine. Please, do not vote for Poroshenko. This mud is the reason of numerous victims, and now he will help the West find the blister on your foot to press it whenever needed.
- The President of Ukraine is a person with psychological problems, that's why his speech sounds that ridiculous.
- If people believe that Russia attacked them 4.5 years ago, what will they say now that the Ukrainian ships have crossed the border? They are brainless people. What are we trying to explain to people who have no brain? What will those people understand? They should be treated in psychiatric hospitals with appropriate drugs.
- Terrible things are happening in Ukraine. Ukrainians are turning into dumb people with primitive way of thinking.
- Ukrainians behave like fascists. They are preparing for war. Children are forced to dig trenches.
- Foolish and furious people are ruling Ukraine now.
- *Addressing Ukrainian guests:* "You will be healed, too. We'll heal you and all of your jarheads".

- I wonder what the Ukrainian leaders smoke before making these foolish decisions.

The main statements regarding the USA and Trump have been as follows:

- The Americans armed Georgia to its teeth, but it didn't help.
- Russians should place missiles in Cuba as far as the USA has stuck its nose in Europe and is placing its missiles there.
- Trump's cottage is in Florida. We (*the Russians*) should place missiles towards Florida.
- I have some memories from my childhood. We were taught to sing: "Yes to Cuba, no to Yankees". I'm still of the same opinion.
- Trump doesn't make payments to the NATO budget as much as he should.
- The US elections due on the 6th will determine if Americans have gone mad. Otherwise, they will elect democrats.
- Trump makes future congressmen even more dependent on him. Then he will find a scapegoat at CNN, New York Times or elsewhere.
- NATO is a very big terrorist group that unites European countries otherwise not related to each other.
- The victory of Democrats will open dozens of cases against Trump.
- If they make him (*Trump*) angry, he will restart plotting against Iran and other countries in order to show his strength.
- NATO will not cross the red line to open fire on Russia. That "fruit" is misleading you (*that "fruit" is a US official, Steven Blanc who said that NATO would help Ukraine if needed*).
- Historical experience shows that the war, especially the world war is beneficial for Americans.
- The USA says to Germany: "We love you so much. We don't want you to get cold. We love you so much that if you build a gas pipeline and use the Russian gas bypassing Ukraine, we'll tell you where to shove the instruments which you need to build it".
- In order to talk to cynical people and come to an agreement, you yourself must be cynical. You must become cynical to speak to America, but Russia is not cynical.
- We (*Russia*) are offered to "lie under the USA" in order to keep good relationship with it.

- Trump is interested in expansion of NATO, since he is the manager of American arms sales.
- The last brainy President of the West was George Bush Senior. The leaders of the Soviet Union kept them toned. Afterwards, the quality of their leaders began to fall.

The following views regarding Europe and European values have been highlighted:

- The Polish army is an army which can be destroyed by one shot.
- What Poland did was a sideshow.
- In order to fight with the Russians, they lack a fighting spirit.
- The discussion touches upon an Austrian army officer who has served to Russia and has spied for it since 1988. According to the hosts of the talk show, this is a lie which is spread by the efforts of Great Britain to spoil the good relations between Russia and Austria.
- Britain has put a nail into Austria's Chancellor Sebastian Kurz's derriere and is now hammering it, that's why he's talking things like that.
- This story about the Russian spy in Austria is nothing but a smoke, with a smell of gas. Germany is interested in this mess, that's why it makes the lie bubble bigger.
- What kind of values are these? (*keeping in his hand the books purchased from French bookstores*) Zhanna has 2 mothers, and Asya has two fathers.

The most remarkable references on Georgia have been as follows:

- Saakashvili has crossed the red line and has become a mockery. That's where Ukraine is headed.
- There are elections in Georgia and we (*Russia*) should try to control the further developments in this country. We have seen how far they can go (*he means NATO*) when we let them go out of control.

Summarizing the series of these broadcasts, we can conclude that, by successively streamed broadcasts, the talk show seeks to communicate the following ideas to its audience:

1. *Fascism and Nazism are flourishing in Ukraine.*
2. *The people and leaders of Ukraine are stupid.*

3. *Ukraine provokes Russia to taking measures against Ukrainians and then complains of it to the USA.*
4. *Ukraine encroaches on territories of other states.*
5. *Trump is not the kind of person who can be made quiet by a straightjacket.*
6. *NATO is a very big terrorist group, which unites European countries that are not related to each other.*

The results of the monitoring conducted last year brought to the conclusion that the main theses presented in the previous period were as follows:

1. *There are two Ukraines now. The first is the Russian Ukraine, the good one, and the second one is the fascist, the Nazi Ukraine.*
2. *Ukrainian movements are organized, financed and directed by the United States, Germany and Europe.*
3. *Ukraine is nothing without Russia.*
4. *There is no democracy in Ukraine; human rights are not protected; terrorism is ruling there.*
5. *The USA is an aggressor, who is simply pursuing an invader policy, and Russia is the mighty state able to confront this evil.*

Consequently, if we compare the results of the monitoring carried out during these two years, we can definitely state that the "Time will show" talk show has been infused with a clear approach adopted by Russia according to which the poor situation in Ukraine is becoming worse, and the relationship with the USA is growing from tension to conflict.

4.2. "60 minutes"

The talk show "60 minutes" could be renamed "60 minutes on Ukraine", since all the talk show broadcasts observed within a month were devoted to the events taking place in Ukraine and the problems faced by Ukraine. The events happening in the international arena, especially in Russia, are covered rarely and superficially, for a maximum of 10-15 minutes.

Ukraine is pretty much the only topic discussed. Ukraine is talked about only in the negative tone. Ukrainian experts have often to accept the disrespectful treatment demonstrated by harsh words, contemptuous smiles or interruptions of speech.

Representatives of Russian dissident political forces, who condemn Russia's policy on Ukraine, inter alia, annexation of Crimea, who criticize Putin and urge Russia to leave Ukraine alone and deal with its domestic issues, are offered an opportunity to talk in the talk show as well. However, the hosts are intolerant to the latter and often interrupt them or make their voices undistinguishable by talking loudly or simultaneously. Any alternative viewpoint is contradicted with arguments of the hosts. The talk show hardly ever calls for tolerance, mutual understanding and peace.

The talk show is released daily, with day- and night-time broadcasts. During the targeted period, a total of 42 broadcasts have been monitored, the main **topics** of which are outlined below:

- 01.11.18
 1. Day-time: Ukraine. Anti-Ukrainian sanctions imposed by Russia
 2. Night-time: Ukraine
- 02.11.18
 3. Day-time: Ukraine's response to Russian sanctions
 4. Night-time: Ukraine
- 06.11.18
 5. Day-time: Ukraine
 6. Night-time: Ukraine
- 07.11.18
 7. Day-time: Ukraine. The USA has offered Ukraine to buy American coal.
 8. Night-time: Ukraine
- 08.11.18
 9. Day-time: Inviolability of the world borders
 10. Night-time: Ukraine. American-Russian relationship
- 09.11.18
 11. Day-time: Ukraine. The Russian spy arrested in Austria.
 12. Night-time: Ukraine. Elections in Donbas.
- 12.11.18
 13. Day-time: Putin's conversation with Trump. Poroshenko has again embarrassed himself.
 14. Night-time: Elections due in Ukraine.
- 13.11.18

15. Day-time: Gas problem in Ukraine.
16. Night-time: 8 Ukrainian towns are left without gas. People are freezing.
- 14.11.18

17. Day-time: Situation with gas in Ukraine. Relations with NATO.

18. Night-time: Ukraine is conducting military exercises. Kiev prepares a Croatian scenario: occupation of territory, forced eviction and destruction of population.
 - 15.11.18

19. Day-time: Ukraine

20. Night-time: Ukraine, escalation of situation in the contact zone.
 - 16.11.18

21. Day-time: The USA and Ukraine voted against UN General Assembly's resolution on condemning Nazism.

22. Night-time: Ukraine
 - 19.11.18

23. Day-time: Ukraine. Completion of the construction of the "Turkish Stream" gas pipeline.

24. Night-time: Ukraine
 - 20.11.18

25. Day-time: Ukraine. Russian General Prokopchuk is a candidate for Head of Interpol.

26. Night-time: Ukraine. Russophobes are deeply disturbed. Ukraine and Lithuania threaten to leave Interpol if the Russian General is elected Head of Interpol.
 - 21.11.18

27. Day-time: The South Korean candidate has been appointed Head of Interpol. 5 years ago the Euromaidan began.

28. Night-time: Ukraine
 - 22.11.18

29. Day-time: Ukraine. Poroshenko ordered to take over the entire coastal area of Ukraine.

30. Night-time: Ukraine, NATO policy
 - 23.11.18

31. Day-time: Ukraine

32. Night-time: Ukraine, membership to NATO

- 26.11.18
 - 33.Day-time: Ukrainian military ships have crossed Russian state borders.
It's a military provocation.
 - 34.Night-time: Ukraine declares martial law.
- 27.11.18
 - 35.Day-time: Ukraine
 - 36.Night-time: Ukraine
- 28.11.18
 - 37.Day-time: Ukraine. Discussion of the incident in the Black sea.
 - 38.Night-time: Ukraine. Poroshenko sends infantry and military equipment to contact zones.
- 29.11.18
 - 39.Day-time: Ukraine is preparing for war.
 - 40.Night-time: Ukraine
- 30.11.18
 - 41.Day-time: Ukraine. The G20 summit to be held in Argentina.
 - 42.Night-time: Ukraine

In 38 out of 42 broadcasts monitored (throughout the broadcast, in its main part or in its certain part), there were discussions on Ukraine, particularly, on the Maydan and Donbas. In the previous year, Ukraine was discussed in 25 out of 45 monitored broadcasts (throughout the broadcast, in its main part or in its certain part).

6 out of all broadcasts monitored were devoted to relations with the United States, Trump and certain Western organizations. Meanwhile, 10 broadcasts were dedicated to the same topic last year.

The topics of Russian-Turkish relations and the G20 meeting were discussed during only one broadcast each.

As seen in the summary, almost all broadcasts were devoted to Ukraine.

It was particularly interesting to observe the **guests** of the talk show who acted as the main disseminators of propaganda. It is noteworthy that, unlike the "Time will show" talk show, an opportunity was also given to Ukrainian experts who presented alternative approaches and disputed the viewpoints expressed by other guests. Thus, the list of the most frequently invited, well-known guests and topics discussed within this talk show are presented below:

- Vadim Tryukhan, Ukrainian diplomat, Director of the European and Euro-Atlantic Integration Coordination Bureau of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, participated in 13 broadcasts and expressed his viewpoints on Ukraine, the United States and Europe.
- N. Ribakov, Deputy Chairman of “Yabloko” Party, participated in 8 talk shows and spoke about Ukraine, focusing mainly on the domestic problems of Russia.
- I. Korotchenko, Editor-in-chief of “National Defense” magazine, was hosted at 8 broadcasts and expressed his views on the USA and Ukraine.
- N. Platoshkin, Lecturer at the Moscow University for Humanities, participated in 7 broadcasts and spoke about Ukraine, in particular, the attitude of Europe and the West towards Ukraine.
- Franc Klinevich, Member of Federation Council of Russia, participated in 6 broadcasts and touched upon the themes of the United States, Ukraine. During the previous monitoring period, Franc Klinevich participated in 7 broadcasts and spoke on the United States, Ukraine, and the West.
- S. Markov, Director of the Institute for Political Studies, attended a total of 6 broadcasts and spoke about European values, political standpoints, the USA and Ukraine.
- Ukrainian journalist G. Tsimbalyuk expressed his views on Ukraine during 6 broadcasts.
- Political analyst V. Kornilov participated in 5 broadcasts talking exclusively on Ukraine.
- A. Zhuravlyov, Member of the Federation Council of Russia, participated in 4 broadcasts and spoke only about Ukraine.
- K. Bondarenko, Member of the V-VII convocation of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine, was present at 4 broadcasts and spoke about Ukraine, particularly about Poroshenko.
- Igor Morozov, Member of the Russian Federation Council, participated in 4 broadcasts and talked about the internal and external issues in Ukraine. During the previous monitoring period, I. Morozov participated in 4 broadcasts expressing opinion both on the United States and Ukraine and the domestic systems.
- Nikita Isayev, Head of “New Russia” political movement, participated in 4 TV broadcasts and mainly talked about the Ukrainian conflict. Last year,

he participated in 8 broadcasts expressing his viewpoints on Ukraine, sanctions imposed on Russia, participation of Russian athletes in the Olympic Games under the white flag, Russia's domestic problems, the USA and Syria.

- Yuri Afonin, Member of the State Duma Natural Resources, Property Rights Commission, took part in 4 broadcasts and talked mainly on Ukraine. During the previous monitoring period, Y. Afonin participated in 3 broadcasts expressing opinion on the United States and Ukraine.
- Vasil Vakarov, Ukrainian political analyst, participated in 3 broadcasts and talked about Ukraine. Last year, having participated in 4 broadcasts, he presented information about the situation in Ukraine

It is noteworthy that certain statements and terminology have been repeatedly used and emphasized by guests of different broadcasts regardless of the issues on the agenda. For instance, the terms and statements used in regards to the situation in Ukraine were aimed at sending the following messages to the audience:

- 80% of Ukraine's oil products are supplied by Russia and Belarus. We could make a collapse in Ukraine in a moment, if only we wanted to. Instead, we impose sanctions to warn about possible outcomes.
- Merkel is the only support for the Ukrainian regime in Europe.
- Merkel has arrived in Ukraine to elect a new president.
- The West has not responded to anti-Ukrainian sanctions in any way. It means that everyone is tired of the Ukrainian regime.
- The Ukrainians who bark like dogs and behave like beasts are about ten thousand people. The rest are normal people. These sanctions will affect ordinary people. Therefore, we should direct sanctions against the real enemies of Russia.
- The Ukrainians must understand that they should bring the Ukrainian regime to its end.
- The list includes those criminals who are being mean about Russia and at the same time are secretly coming to Russia to make money.
- The war between Russia and Ukraine hasn't started and I hope it will never do. We offer you our gas, but you refuse, although you are well aware that you can't survive without our gas. I advise that you change your authorities so that all your problems get settled.

- I want to address the Ukrainians. It's not Russia who imposes sanctions on you, it's your government. Do you know why you pay more for gas? You have to return two billion dollars to Washington. Who is your patriot? Is it Poroshenko? Poroshenko, who was relaxing in Maldives during the war, who has real estate in Spain, whose children don't study in Ukraine? That's who is fighting for your rights.
- Ukrainian authorities are a group of thieves and scoundrels.
- (*Addressing the Ukrainian guests*) You impose sanctions on the LPR residents. Doesn't this mean that you don't consider them part of Ukraine? We provide pension to the Crimean population and save them from the Ukrainian regime. You don't want to spend money on them, whereas Russia cares for their needs.
- If we (*Russia*) close our gas pipe, you (*Ukrainians*) will all die.
- The Ukrainian elite are going to make war with Russia. Ukraine's military exercises are provocative. Ukraine is the only country in the world, apart from the United States, which has destroyed several civilian airplanes.
- The Ukrainian leader is a thief, his fortune has increased eightfold. Military forces are destroyed, military property is sold away, the country has no economy.
- The Ukrainians today live a lot worse than they did before the Maydan. However, they live in hope. The authorities tell them that soon they will go to European courts, and dollars will shower on Ukraine. But it is obvious that they will get neither money nor Crimea.
- What should we do if you can't carry out proper public elections, if all your candidates are supporters of Bandera, if Washington tells you who to choose?
- Why do our individual entrepreneurs continue to finance the Ukrainian economy? Stop it. There are oligarchs who govern the economy. There are politicians who are oriented towards these oligarchs. These people must not be given any money. They must be removed from the governing levers so that a proper government is established in Ukraine.
- Ukraine completely clears its political field. There is no chance for real opposition to undertake any activities. Only those who do not represent danger for the Ukrainian regime can be oppositionists. Poroshenko has only one goal - to remain in power.

- What is happening in Ukraine is fascism. Ukrainian security services have turned into a repressive punitive body that uses force, terrorism, political assassination.
- Freedom of speech is being abolished in Ukraine. Anyone willing to raise a voice in defense of his country will be trampled.
- To frighten, to remove from the street and to prevent protests, to falsify elections - here's the recipe for the Ukrainian authorities to stay in power.
- Ukraine destroys itself in cultural, economic and political spheres.
- The subjectivity of Ukraine no longer exists. Ukrainians refused their identity back in the Maidan.
- We can't trust our western partners. Though, what kind of partners are they? They understand only the language of force.
- While Europe keeps silent, modern neo-nationalists are on the rise in Ukraine.
- Your (*Ukrainian*) political elite are crossing the red line. Nobody prevents you from electing Poroshenko. Nothing prevents you from adopting senseless decisions that lead to military escalation. But we can't allow your political leaders to justify fascism around the world.
- Monopoly of fools belongs to Ukraine. Fools are representatives of government there.
- In Ukraine, the government does not respond to any demonstration of fascist propaganda and does not punish anyone. This is a crime of omission committed by the government. The regime uses these people to continue to stay in power. Europe supports the Ukrainian authorities in this regard. The fact that America provides Ukraine with a serious weapon shows that Americans encourage the current regime.
- We will not strangle Ukraine economically. We'll wait till the new Ukrainian government makes the situation stable, till Ukraine has a new, pro-Russian president.
- I haven't seen a proper politician in Ukraine.
- A camp is operating in Ukraine where children are taught to kill the Russians.
- Polls show that the Ukrainians hate their authorities assigned to pursue interests of foreign states.

- There is both gas and hot water in Donbas. Get rid of your government and you will also have gas and hot water.
- Poroshenko had four years, but he did nothing. The country is at war; people are freezing and live in poverty.
- The Ukrainian authorities repeat whatever the Americans say. That cynical trader (*Poroshenko*) will not manage to do anything. He's not Hitler. Hitler, who was keeping his country fed, was an ideologist committed to his work. But Poroshenko has put his country for sale. This type of people won't end well.
- The moral and psychological state of the Ukrainian soldiers is declining.
- The Ukrainian side is shooting at residential buildings and making a terrorist war.
- Besides writing resolutions (*on international platforms*), Russia does nothing to fight against Nazism.
- Ukraine creates special camps where children are taught to kill the Russians. Have you heard any calls to kill the Ukrainians in Russia?
- America puts Ukraine in debts; it does nothing else for Ukraine. Where are you going to run from us? You are our dear neighbors. Soon we'll change your president and you'll start buying our gas. Each year our gas brings 3 billion dollars to Ukraine. Ukraine can't survive without it.
- Ukraine is ill-treating its former citizens (*residents of Donbas*). They will never want to become Ukrainian citizens again.
- There is no doubt that brainless Yanukovich, who gave up on the country in 2011, is to blame for everything. Americans and Europeans took advantage of this mess and tried to undermine our country. They organized a coup d'état, provoked a civil war, used us as a baton against Russia, and in fact acquired free labor. We are destroyed, the next is Russia, and you will be destroyed, too.
- The longer the war lasts, the happier Poroshenko will be. He is already eight times richer than before.
- Deputies of Supreme Rada use alcoholic beverages and take alcohol-impaired decisions (*regarding Ukraine's membership to NATO*).
- The whole world laughs at Poroshenko because he behaves like a street scoundrel.
- Time will come and the Ukrainian people will evaluate its president, as the Georgian people evaluated Saakashvili.

The following viewpoints regarding the United States and Europe have been emphasized:

- Europe does not regard Ukraine as a reliable gas carrier. First of all, Ukraine steals gas.
- We're used to taking into account the opinion of the United States, but can't you understand that whatever they say always stems from their interests? A country like the United States should never be regarded as a criterion of democracy. Why are puppets like America and Poroshenko afraid of the elections held in LPR and DPR? Because, as a result of any pre-election campaign, such territorial units and people living in them are becoming more independent. And America doesn't want Donbas to have its voice and its representatives.
- German special services are under the control of the US Special Services.
- The US has set up an external management in Ukraine, and everything uttered in Washington is recognized as an absolute truth in Ukraine.
- Russia always builds its foreign policy on the principle of providing assistance, not on the principle of money laundering. But the Americans will maximally weaken you (*Ukraine*) because if you are strong, rich and independent, nobody will need you except Russia. When your sponsor, your master, call it as you wish, will bring you to that inevitable condition, Russia will be the only country that will come to your aid.
- NATO soldiers are weak.
- The Germans are few in number, and they don't have a warlike spirit.
- The German Foreign Ministry has an impact on the Ukrainian society, and the full political control is exercised by the United States.
- The United States realizes that Russia is a serious threat by its spirit, its sense of justice, history and faith.
- Americans create terrorist groups and then pursue destruction of those groups. The same will be done with fascism when the time comes.
- No matter what resolution Russia proposes in the UN Assembly, the tendency is that the resolution would be rejected by the European Union and accepted by neighboring countries, such as Armenia and Belarus.
- Nazi marches are not forbidden in the United States.
- The nature of Poland-US relations can be described as a connection between a client and a prostitute.
- Trump speaks like an autistic child.

Thus, resuming the series of these broadcasts, it can be definitely concluded that the "60 minutes" talk show promotes an atmosphere of hatred.

- 1. Ukraine is presented as a neo-Nazi country that hates Russia and the Russian people, but it is denied that Russian aggression has caused the condition.*
- 2. During the program, it has been constantly emphasized that Crimea has always belonged to and will belong to Russia and that within a period of few years Crimea has developed more than for the last 25 years.*
- 3. It is emphasized that Donbas will never again be part of Ukraine.*
- 4. Ukraine has become the poorest country in Europe. It has no opportunities for development and without Russia's help will simply collapse.*
- 5. America, which manages and directs Ukraine, actually leads it to its collapse.*

Resuming the series of broadcasts monitored in the previous year, it was concluded that the main theses communicated during this talk show within the previous monitoring period were as follows:

- 1. Ukrainian movements are organized, financed and directed by the United States and Europe, as a result of which Ukraine makes war with itself, turning the country into an illegal state.*
- 2. What happens in Ukraine is fascism and terrorism.*
- 3. Declaration of independence of Donetsk and Lugansk is the decision of the conscious local population.*
- 4. Ukraine has no other option but to be with Russia.*
- 5. Crimea has always been and will be a Russian territory.*
- 6. Saakashvili is the main evil, which draws together bandits and scoundrels, whereas government officials are unable to prevent him from actively engaging in Ukrainian developments.*
- 7. The United States drags out the Ukrainian conflict because it has a keen interest to see Russia involved in a conflict.*
- 8. Russia wished to defeat the IS, but was openly threatened by America as far as America itself is providing support to the establishment of the IS.*
- 9. The USA has always violated norms of the international law.*

10. The United States, which don't have freedom and democracy, try to teach it to the whole world.

As can be seen, the attitudes adopted towards Ukraine, as well as the vocabulary used, have remained unchanged. This year, the topics of Saakashvili and IS have been discussed much less than in the previous year. Otherwise, the opinions expressed this year are not significantly different from the viewpoints expressed last year.

Comparing with the results of the previous monitoring, it should be said that the composition of the experts participating in the talk show is the same. The preparedness of the experts representing the viewpoint of Ukraine remains poor, but it should be noted that this year their speech has become professionally stronger.

4.3. "Evening with Vladimir Solovyov"

The overall impression of this three-hour talk show, broadcast in a five-day mode, is that its main purpose is to provide Mr. V. Solovyov with the opportunity to express his own attitude towards the topic of the day through a couple of well-balanced, accurate words uttered in between the statements of the guest speakers. Undoubtedly, his attitude greatly influences national moods, which is facilitated by his high intellect, complete awareness, apparent assertiveness, as well as by the extra weight added to his words by rounds of applause of the audience sitting in the auditorium. He does not consider himself propagandist as, in his own words, there is no concept of "propaganda"; instead, the journalists can either speak the truth, which cannot be considered propaganda, or spread false facts for which they may face prosecution. V. Solovyov attempts to persuade his broad audience that the program is not constrained by any political views and is free to make its own decisions, since it provides a tribune to liberals and dissenters allowing them to communicate different opinions in live stream. Indeed, the talk show hosts people with pro-Putin, anti-Ukrainian, anti-American views, alongside with people who express views deemed anti-Putin, pro-Ukrainian and strictly liberal. However, the latter are either selected by specific criteria or act according to the pre-designated plan: they seem to lack acute intellect, are not good at debating, are easily confused and are inferior to their opponents in reasoning and critical thinking skills. They are often indifferent to an obvious or disguised mockery of themselves or their country. Yet, criticism addressed to

Putin and his policy as well as to the anti-Ukrainian or the anti-American mood existing in Russia is not uncommon here.

During the targeted period, a total of 21 broadcasts have been monitored, the main topics of which are outlined below:

1. 01.11.2018
Topic: Russian sanctions against Ukraine. Situation in the Middle East.
2. 04.11.2018
Topic: Formation of the Kiev Patriarchate.
3. 05.11.2018
Topic: Separation of the Ukrainian Church.
4. 06.11.2018
Topic: Ukraine prepares a blitzkrieg.
5. 07.11.2018
Topic: Elections in Ukraine.
6. 08.11.2018
Topic: Is Moscow the 3rd Rome (*discussion revolves around Ukraine*). Recent changes in the United States.
7. 11. 11. 2018
Topic: Disclosure of the Russian spy in Austria.
8. 12.11.2018
Topic: Great political game (*Ukraine*).
9. 13. 11. 2018
Topic: Risks of nationalism in Ukraine.
10. 14.11.2018 p.
Topic: Calls for blitzkrieg in Ukraine.
11. 15.11.2018
Topic: The bitter reality of the 90s. February will mark 30 years after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Elections in Donbas and implementation of Minsk Agreements: standpoints of Russia and Ukraine.
12. 18.11.2018
Topic: Ukraine
13. 19.11.2018
Topic: Ukraine. Consequences of nationalism.
14. 20.11.2018
Topic: Why wasn't the Russian General allowed to take the lead on Interpol?

15.21.11. 2018

Topic: Nuremberg Trial of Ukraine.

16.22.11.2018

Topic: Ukraine celebrates the Independence Day.

17.25.11.2018

Topic: Provocation of Ukraine and adequate response of Russia.

18.26.11.2018

Topic: Demarche of Ukraine in Kerch Strait.

19.27. 11. 2018

Topic: Russia is becoming a monster. Who benefits? (*Discussion revolves around Ukraine*)

20.28.11.2018

Topic: Poroshenko announces reasons for seizure of Ukrainian ships.

21.29.11.2018

Topic: Tehran Summit.

19 out of 21 broadcasts monitored (throughout the broadcast, in its main part or in its certain part) were devoted to Ukraine, particularly, to the Maydan, Crimea, Donbas and Kerch. It is noteworthy that only 7 out of 19 broadcasts monitored in the previous year discussed the Ukrainian situation.

At least one broadcast was dedicated to the discussion of each of the following topics: Tehran's summit, failure of the Russian General to be elected Head of Interpol, the situation in the Middle East, recent changes in the United States, and disclosure of a Russian spy in Austria.

The United States and Europe are spoken of only in connection with issues concerning Ukraine.

It was particularly interesting to learn about **guests** of the program who were the actual disseminators of propaganda. Thus, the list of guests most frequently invited to the program, as well as the topics discussed, is presented below.

- Vasil Vakarov, Ukrainian political analyst, participated in a total of 13 broadcasts and expressed his viewpoints on Ukraine, the United States, Europe and Russia. During the previous monitoring period, Vakarov participated in only 4 broadcasts.

- Vyacheslav Kovtun, Director of “Expert” Ukrainian Center for Public Process Studies, participated in 11 broadcasts and talked on Ukraine, the USA, Europe and Russia.
- Vladimir Kornilov, political observer of “Russia Today” International Information Agency, participated in 10 broadcasts and talked about Ukraine, the USA, Europe and Russia.
- Spiridon Kilyinarov, member of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine, 5-7th convocation, participated in 9 broadcasts and expressed his views on Ukraine, the USA, Europe and Russia.
- Dmitry Kulikov, member of the "Vinivevsky" Club of "Russia Today" International Information Agency, participated in eight broadcasts and spoke mainly about Ukraine, the USA and Russia.
- Sergey Mikheev, Political analyst, participated in 7 broadcasts and talked on Ukraine, the United States and Russia.
- Leader of “Essence of Time” («Суть времени») Movement Sergey Kurginyan was present at 5 broadcasts and talked on Ukraine, the USA, Europe and Russia.
- Yakov Kedmi, Israeli social activist, was present at 4 broadcasts and presented his opinion on Ukraine, the United States and Russia.
- Ukrainian journalist Vladimir Skachko participated in 4 broadcasts and mainly talked on Ukraine.
- Member of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine, Igor Markov, was present at 4 broadcasts and mainly talked about Ukraine and Russia.
- Konstantin Zatulin, Member of the State Duma Committee on CIS Affairs, participated in 4 broadcasts and mainly talked about Ukraine and Russia.
- Editor-in-Chief of the "National Defense" newspaper Igor Korotchenko and Ukrainian journalist Vladimir Skachko each participated in 4 broadcasts and spoke mainly about the situation in Ukraine, actions of Russia and the Western standpoints.
- The following experts each participated in 3 broadcasts and expressed their opinions mostly on Ukraine, the West and Russia:
 - ✓ Ukrainian sociologist Evgeny Kopatko,
 - ✓ Atlantic Council Leading Expert /US/ Ariel Cohen,
 - ✓ Member of the Federation Council of Russia Alexey Kondratyev,

- ✓ Director of Center for Middle East and Central Asia Studies Semyon Bagdasarov.
- Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), participated in 2 broadcasts and talked on Russia's domestic policy, Ukraine, and the United States. It is noteworthy that during the previous monitoring period Zhirinovsky was four times hosted by the program.
- Oleg Morozov, member of the Federation Council on International Affairs, participated in 2 programs and spoke exclusively about Ukraine. During the previous monitoring period, Oleg Morozov was four times invited to the program.
- Vadim Tryukhan, Managing Director of “European Movement” («Европейское движение») NGO, Ukraine; participated in 2 broadcasts and spoke exclusively about Ukraine.

It is noteworthy that certain statements and terminology have been repeatedly used and emphasized by guests of different broadcasts regardless of the issues on the agenda. For instance, the terms and statements used in regards to the situation in Ukraine, were aimed at sending the following messages to the audience:

- It's not Ukraine or Ukrainians that we (*Russians*) consider hostile; it's the political regime in Ukraine. It is therefore necessary to apply hostile practical means to the hostile "relative". I believe these sanctions are appropriate but not strong enough.
- In any case, Russia has shown a discreet attitude towards Ukraine. It is testified by these sanctions as far as the authorities will change and we (*Russians and Ukrainians*) will again be brother nations.
- I don't know what they (*Ukrainian leaders*) smoke in those systems of theirs, but they all need treatment.
- Ukrainian presidents are constantly interfering in religious affairs. Yushchenko, too, remember? Like there's something oiled for them there.
- What will remain of the Orthodox Church without Moscow? A psychiatric hospital with a few mice in it.
- Whatever may be going on with Ukraine now, the tragedy is that we (*Russians*) have to deal with it.
- Poroshenko is defying God.

- There will be no martial law declared because the current government cannot afford it. It would mean closing up the media, imposing military censorship. Who would declare it? It requires force. You can declare it, but how are you going to implement it when the state apparatus doesn't work?
- In Ukraine, a number of other churches have been established, like Protestants, which, by the way, have been banned and excluded in many parts of Russia.
- Those who have been involved in politics know that politicians create problems for people and earn money. It is the logic of the current policy of Ukraine.
- Ukraine is not ready for the conflict with Russia.
- We were constantly told that Ukraine is making war with Russia, and Russia is making war with Ukraine. Poroshenko even used to call it a patriotic war, just recently has stopped doing so. But Ukraine has never fought against Russia. It is fighting people in Donbas who until recently have been Ukrainian citizens.
- Ukraine has failed the anti-corruption fight.
- The huge territory from Odessa to Kharkov had no connection with Ukraine.
- Poroshenko tries to frighten the people. But he has lost all important positions: the mobilization of the army has reduced, the church is attempted to be replaced by a "single-use condom".
- There are stupid people in every country, but is there a country of stupid people...?
- Ukrainian elections are aimed at misleading the people.
- The Ukrainians should be ashamed that such a president could possibly be re-elected.
- The Ukrainian state, the language, and so on has been invented by the Austrian special services.
- Ukraine is a headache for Europe and the United States.
- It (*Ukraine*) is a means of bringing claims against Russia.
- There is a law which exists specially for Ukraine, according to which all the oligarchs of Ukraine are growing richer and the people - poorer.
- The current situation in Ukraine will sooner or later come to its end; the mockery of the Ukrainian people by its authorities will be over.

- The condition of people is made worse with every step taken by this government (*Ukrainian*).
- After everything that happened in the Maidan, these people will never press the “stop” button.
- Ukraine and the United States are strategic partners, and Russia is the main liaison between them.
- I’m saying this as a citizen of Russia and I assure you, in all seriousness, that Crimea is ours, Kiev is ours, Odessa is ours, Dnepropetrovsk is ours, Kharkov is ours, and Mariupol is ours. And we (*the Russians*) will rid our cities from the plague of your (*the Ukrainians*) Nazism.
- Ukraine is begging for a million of dollars from international organizations.
- Ukraine's internationalism is false. Ukraine is choking under Nazi ideology.
- The entire ideology of these elections confirmed that the DPR and the LPR will never return to such Ukraine and will never again be part of a country that is planning to join NATO.
- The weakness of leaders of the Maydan is that their brains aren’t wired to think. Tomorrow they’ll make people ready for any step.
- We must have used more harsh measures and must have commanded to destroy their entire navy fleet.
- Poroshenko got slapped in his face. He simply has to stand up and confess that he has been slapped by Russia.
- The Ukrainians have resorted to dangerous, threatening actions towards the Kerch Bridge, in a strictly controlled territory.
- Ukraine has voluntarily entered into a system aimed to ruin Russia and fails to get out of it.

Below are the terms and statements used to present *the USA, Russian-British relationship*.

- In London, a new pseudo-analytical report named "Putin hears and sees everything" has been issued.
- There are about 200 Russian intelligence operatives and about 500 agents.
- Theresa May, who recently has slightly deviated from Moscow-related issues, has made some concessions. However, big businesses and supporters of radical solutions are still dissatisfied with her.

- If half of Russian experts living in the UK are Kremlin agents, then it's about 75,000 people.
- I am well aware of what the Americans want. They are pragmatists, cynical pragmatists who want Ukraine to remain an independent sovereign state.
- Russophobia of Americans is at its peak.
- Americans are voting instead of us (*Ukrainians*).
- I've been following the Ukrainian news and I can declare with full responsibility that if there had been no American intervention, there would have been no Maidan at all.
- Every small step taken by Russia is regarded by America as aggressive because what bothers them most is the destruction of Russia as their main strategic enemy.
- According to the information I possess, there is shooting on the border, and the shooters are Ukrainians. None of the European institutions reported on it and are not going to, because the US is pressuring them.
- This is actually the basis of the informational warfare of certain Western special services, which in fact appointed the current Ukrainian authorities.

Resuming the series of broadcasts monitored within one month of the current year, it can be definitely concluded that the main theses communicated during this talk show are as follows:

1. *Poroshenko is not adequate, and he leads his country to its destruction.*
2. *Ukraine is governed by Nazi rules.*
3. *The current Ukrainian authorities are appointed by the West, and when they leave power, the Russian and Ukrainian people will restore their good relationship.*
4. *Ukrainian elections are organized by Americans to confuse the Ukrainian people.*
5. *Ukraine is a headache for the United States and Europe.*
6. *Ukraine and the United States have been brought together by one thing in common, hatred towards Russia.*

Resuming the series of broadcasts monitored in the previous year, it was concluded that the main theses communicated during this talk show within the previous monitoring period were as follows:

- 1. The President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin enjoys unlimited trust and respect of the overwhelming majority of Russian citizens, being characterized by exemplary personal and professional qualities.*
- 2. Domestic development of Russia is on the right track due to Putin's effective policy. There are clear manifestations of economic growth and general development in the country.*
- 3. Russia controls the rules of the game in the Middle East and limits the ambitions of the USA.*
- 4. Crimea historically belongs to Russia. In fact, there had been not an annexation of Crimea by Russia, but the acceptance of Crimea into the Russian Federation at its own request.*
- 5. Ukraine ranks first in the number of crimes and in the level of poverty in Europe.*
- 6. America does not respect any agreement and does not comply with any international law; it intervenes in the internal affairs of all countries.*

The monitoring implemented during these two years has clearly shown that the experts' attitudes and viewpoints with respect to Ukraine and the United States have remained unchanged.

4.4. "Interview with Agnesa Khamoyan"

Compared with Russian talk shows, the Armenian talk show is rather weak in terms of its rhetoric. During the talk show, they never raise more than a single relatively "thorny" question, and, as a rule, it's not the proponent's personal question, but rather a statement based on a popular belief. The questions are prepared in advance, and proponents try to stick to them.

During the targeted period, 15 broadcasts have been monitored, the main **topics** of which are outlined below:

1. 02.11.2018

Topic: New elections by the old Electoral Code.

2. 05.11.2018

Topic: What opportunities will the snap elections create for the extra-parliamentary forces?

3. 07.11.2018

Topic: The up-coming snap parliamentary elections, the cancelled LGBT forum and further steps of the authorities.

4. 09.11.2018

Topic: What policy will be adopted towards the Artsakh issue after the parliamentary elections? Why did Armenia lose its presidency in the CSTO after all?

5. 12.11.2018

Topic: Why didn't the economy have a growth spurt, as the government promised?

6. 14.11.2018

Topic: What kind of Armenia will we live in after the December 9 elections?

7. 16.11.2018

Topic: About 2 months have passed since the search conducted in "Yerevan today", but they still won't release the editorial equipment.

8. 19.11.2018

Topic: What kind of elections is expected on December 9 and what kind of life is awaiting us?

9. 21.11.2018

Topic: What external challenges are facing the country and what kind of developments are expected?

10.22.11.2018

Topic: The snap parliamentary elections and external threats.

11.23.11.2018

Topic: The upcoming elections and the developments expected in the post-electoral period.

12.26.11.2018

Topic: The pre-election campaign has started. What kind of country do the political forces promise us in case they enter the parliament?

13.27.11.2018

Topic: It's the second day of the campaign, but there are already plenty of recriminations.

14.28.11.2018

Topic: During the campaign, even the New Year mandarin becomes the subject of politics.

15.30.11.2018

Topic: What to do to rescue the economy of the country and what policy orientation to accept?

The main part of the monitored broadcasts was dedicated to the discussion of issues facing the country at the moment, including the RA foreign policy. A very small part of the broadcasts was related to Syria, the USA, Trump and Ukraine and did not contain the obvious and extensive propaganda found on the Russian TV channels. The occasional statements and viewpoints regarding the international arena, expressed by guest speakers, and more often by the host of the talk show, despite being targeted at the Armenian audience, were in fact echoes of the same viewpoints expressed on Russian TV during the same time period.

Unlike Russian TV channels, guests of the Armenian talk show were exclusively specialists, experts or government officials directly related to the topic on the current agenda, and therefore did not participate in the discussion of different topics. Below is the list of guest speakers of the talk show:

- Daniel Ionisyan, Coordinator of “Union of Informed Citizens” NGO
- Sargis Avetisyan, Chairman of the Council for “Hamerashkhutyun” (“Solidarity”) Party
- Hrachya Hakobyan, Member of the NA "Yelk" (“Way out”) faction
- Artak Zakaryan, Former Deputy Defense Minister
- Bagrat Asatryan, economist
- Vahe Hovhannisyan, Representative of the “Alternative Initiatives” Group
- Armen Feroyan, Lawyer
- Arthur Ghazinyan, Director of Center for European Studies
- David Shahnazaryan, Politician
- Hrant Margaryan, Representative of ARF Bureau
- Karine Achemyan, Member of NA RPA faction
- Varuzhan Avetisyan, Number 1 of "Sasna Tsrer" Party
- Arthur Khachatryan, Number 3 of ARF Party proportional list
- Suren Sargsyan, Number 1 of "Citizen's Decision" Party
- Hayk Grigoryan, Representative of "National Progress" Party

The messages which can be characterized as propaganda, mainly targeted at the domestic audience, were as follows:

- Nikol Pashinyan is not a member of the CC Party; he is the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia. I'm not interested in whatever he said as a CC Board member. We were guided by the words he was saying from the platform as the leader of the revolution. We must be a little more honest: if something has changed, Nikol Pashinyan should explain that.
- Bolton hinted at getting prepared to returning land (*Artsakh*).
- And who said that Nikol Pashinyan is the smartest person in this nation?
- We have not excluded the option that these elections would be black and white, too. It's just that now we will see the people whom you cannot but divide into black and white.
- Next year intensive developments are expected in the resolution of the Artsakh conflict.
- We gradually approach a point where we need to be able to handle problems with jeweler accuracy, where a big reputation, populism, influence and so on, can bring to adverse impact.
- Pashinyan wants the RPA to participate in the elections.
- On December 9, we will have a more emotional, a more exciting parliament which will be against the former authorities.
- He (Nikol Pashinyan) is making failed attempts to politicize March 1, but I don't see any effort to disclose the truth. Unless there are international experts involved, there will be no disclosure. It will simply be a political tool in the hands of the ruling regime. Nikol Pashinyan uses March 1 for his political purposes.
- Armenia has not been supplied with armament since May.
- Well, how many years have passed since March 1? Our people are constantly living as hostages of March 1: the former ones are judging the present ones; the present ones are judging the former ones.
- The decline of Pashinyan's rating is very dangerous for the country. But it's a natural phenomenon. We just don't want it to happen sharply and rapidly.
- Nikol Pashinyan's statements are unacceptable. What's the meaning of pointing out contrast between everything (*about the importance of the Artsakh war and the revolution*)?

- In the revolutionary days of May, I saw that the social democratic values, which I profess, are in fact not represented, and Armenia goes in different direction.
- We don't see any social-economic vision demonstrated by the authorities
- We rejected the RPA, and we don't want to continue the patterns of the past.
- The CSTO member states perceive us as a pro-western country.
- But they have agreed that that these elections will be black and white elections, because the "bobo" ("scarecrow") Republican Party again participates in the elections.

It is noteworthy that during the monitoring period, all the broadcasts have had only a domestic policy focus with no other topic discussed. In the course of the debates on the domestic issues, critical and labeling statements were expressed directed at the current government, largely targeting Prime Minister Pashinyan.

4.5. Summary

Thus, it can be stated that this year, the Russian television has increased the number of broadcasts devoted to Ukraine and has reduced the amount of information regarding Saakashvili and Georgia. The same guests are hosted on different broadcasts on different TV channels and literally repeat the same ideas and viewpoints.

This year, the Armenian television is free of Russian influence. It must be noted that the program lacks discussion on international topics.

V. HATE SPEECH AND LABELING EXPRESSIONS IN THE MEDIA AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

5.1. Rights of the Russian-speaking population in Armenia

On November 8, 2018, the RF Commissioner for Human Rights Tatyana Moskalkova announced that the reduction of the number of Russian language classes in foreign countries should be regarded as a violation of rights of Russian-speaking population. "Reducing Russian language teaching in a number of countries causes serious problems and it is a violation of the rights of those who speak Russian. These countries are the Baltic States, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and many other countries, which deprive children of the opportunity to learn Russian",- Moskalkova said, as reported by RIA Novosti. The Ombudsman believes that the number of Russian schools adjacent to embassies in foreign countries should be increased. "We have to strengthen the fight for the Russian language in foreign countries, but not for the sake of the language, but for the sake of the people who have the right to preserve their culture, their Russian identity, and have the opportunity to get education in Russian," the Ombudsman said.

5.2. LGBT community rights and public attitudes

From November 15-18, 2018, the LGBT Christian Groups Forum was due to take place in Yerevan, but was announced to be cancelled. In an interview on November 6, Chief of RA Police Valeriy Osipyan told journalists: "I don't consider it appropriate to hold the forum in Armenia taking into account the risks and security considerations. We advised that the forum should not be held in Armenia".

It is noteworthy that the organization of the LGBT forum became a subject of heated discussions around Armenia growing into a wave of public dissatisfaction with very sharp, labeling and offensive formulations addressed to LGBT community representatives and advocates for their rights.

On November 16 and 17, NOAH PRIDE international human rights organization held public rallies in Yerevan dedicated to the LGBT Forum which

was due to take place in the Armenian capital. The main goal of the action was to support the LGBT activists in Armenia and the policy of the new Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan, who declared the development of the human rights movement in the country. Activists of Poland, Bulgaria and Ukraine held a rally with the slogans "Go ahead, Nikol" and "Hello, Yerevan".

In response to this, a protest action initiated by “For Social Justice Party” (ՀՄԿԿԿ) took place on November 22, 2018 in front of the government building. The participants presented the following demands to acting Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan: "First of all, we demand that a law prohibiting LGBT propaganda is adopted in our country, and we will do everything within the law to ensure that Armenia adopts such a law. And secondly, we urge the relevant authorities to control the external financing of NGOs. It is important to be alert to the sources of funding of NGOs and the programs which these funds are spent on, since there are programs which may or may not be serving our interests, and there are programs which simply jeopardize our security”.

Below are only a few publications or video materials, which, however, illustrate the general public attitudes and approaches:

At a press conference held on November 21, 2018, the now former MP Vardan Bostanjyan expressed an opinion that "LGBTs should either receive treatment or be isolated".¹

During a press conference held on November 22, 2018, the now former MP, theologian Vardan Khachatryan referred to the LGBT forum which was due to take place in Armenia in mid-November, particularly noting that this was a global process which has always been, but if it was reaching universal proportions, it would mean that the society had no future in front of it.²

Facebook user Samvel Melikyan posted a photograph of a member of LGBT community, as well as a photo of the same person with Minister of Education and Science Arayik Harutyunyan. The photo was shared with this particular remark: "The meeting of LGBT community active representative with the Minister of Education. It will be interesting to know the motives of the meeting and subject

¹ <https://www.facebook.com/168.am/videos/vb.104714256256071/2240388112911784/?type=2&theater>

² <https://168.am/2018/11/05/1036716.html>

of the discussion”³. This publication was posted on newspress.am website with the following title: "People who are alike are often friends. An active member of the LGTB community has met with Minister of Education".

During the political debate held on December 6, 2018 among 11 leaders of political forces taking part in the Parliamentary Elections, number 1 of the RPA list Vigen Sargsyan said while addressing the leader of "My Step" Alliance Nikol Pashinyan: "There are two active members of the LGTB community involved in the ruling party foundation. First, do you think you have obligations to these two activists for doing fundraising for your benefit? And second, what do you think is more important: national values or democratic liberalism?" In response to Vigen Sargsyan, Pashinyan said: "The members of the Founding Board of Trustees are all citizens of the Republic of Armenia. The person who is the subject of these rumors is a mother of four. During your party's rule, for the first time in Armenia, there was a list of high-ranking officials with different sexual orientation, and you are a representative of that government, and your government members are known as representatives of LGBT community in Armenia". In response, Vigen Sargsyan said that Pashinyan made "sexist" statements: "You have made a "sexist" statement. The LGBT community has the same rights as the others. Nobody should be judged by orientation. You have divided citizens into categories, but I do talk about other things. I don't know these women, they can be very good mothers; it's from their personal pages that we get to know about their orientation. My question is whether you think that you have obligations to the LGTB community or no?" Nikol Pashinyan answered that, according to Vigen Sargsyan's words, representatives of the LGBT community had the same rights as all the citizens of the Republic of Armenia, and the same thing was claimed by the women mentioned by them. "There is such a thing as syllogism: they say what Vigen Sargsyan said. He names these women LGBT activists; therefore, Vigen Sargsyan is a LGBT activist. I have obligations to the citizens of Armenia. I have no other obligation except the public ones.

³<http://newspress.am/?p=88966&l=am/nmany+znmanin+kgtne+lgbt+hamaynqi+aktivisty+handipel+e+krtuty+ev+naxarari+het+foto>

5.3. National intolerance

A strong reaction in social networks and electronic media was caused by a public selfie posted on Facebook by a private person, Asya Khachatryan, who later became better known as a blue-haired girl, with an Azerbaijani young man. Another user of the social network published a picture of the same young man wearing a uniform of Azerbaijani internal security forces. Asya Khachatryan said in an interview that she was not going to reveal her friend's personal details to the media and could only say that he did not serve in the internal forces. "Not every guy in a uniform serves in the internal security forces," she said. However, this topic became a subject of extensive and fierce debates on electronic platforms, creating an artificial division of the public between those who announced that they had many Azeri friends whom they loved very much, and those who declared that such behavior was a national betrayal.

5.4 Fake users of social networks

Recently, the number of fake users of social networks has reached unprecedentedly large volumes, making them the main players in promoting intolerance, misinformation, hatred and labeling. Labels, mockery, hate speech are mainly carried out against political forces or individual politicians, and this deepens public intolerance and formation and separation of public conflict camps. In this situation, an atmosphere of absolute intolerance towards dissent and opposition has been created, where people with alternative viewpoints are presented as traitors and are blamed in preventing reforms. Fake users have become a tool for forming and directing public opinion which is becoming a matter of concern since such targeted and organized propaganda forms a distinct public attitude toward a particular phenomenon or an individual(s).

VI. PRINT MEDIA MONITORING

From November 1 to November 30, 2018, the print media monitoring has covered 5 nationally distributed printed periodicals ("Aravot", "Hraparak", "Hayots Ashkhar" daily newspapers, "Irates" semiweekly and "Iravunk" triweekly newspapers). The results of the analysis are outlined below per each source of news.

6.1. "Aravot" daily⁴

It is released five days a week (it doesn't come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 203/5794 to 224/5815.

"Aravot" daily, as witnessed in the previous monitoring, is remarkable for its balanced and comprehensive information and the opportunities being provided for the expression of different views and approaches.

The editorial materials, monitored within the period from November 1 to November 30, covered politics and the political system.

There was no material published on Syria within the monitoring period. All the noteworthy analytics and the summary of interviews are presented below.

A number of analytical articles and interviews on international relations were published during the monitoring period, including Russian-American, Armenian-Russian, Russian-Ukrainian and inter-Caucasian relationships, particularly, the interviews held on November 1, 2018, with Martha Ayzvazyan, expert of the Armenian Center for Democracy, Safety and Development under the title of "There is little chance of confrontation between Moscow and Washington", and with Armen Ashotyan on the theme of "Georgia, Turkey and Azerbaijan have defended the territorial integrity of the countries".

An analytical article devoted to potential developments of Armenian-Russian relations was published in the November 27, 2018 issue under the title of "The Russians turned around the table: what do we want to "deepen and expand?" The article analyses the existing situation, particularly, the current developments concerning Russia and Ukraine.

It was remarkable to observe the viewpoints of foreign experts on Armenia's domestic developments. Thus, on November 10, 2018, an interview titled "My

⁴ www.aravot.am

impression is that Armenia is willing to work” was published with Anders Knape, newly elected President of CE Congress. While discussing the priorities of the Congress, the existing challenges, tools for local democracy development and other issues, the newly elected President particularly referred to the relations with Armenia. In response to the question regarding the contribution of the Congress in the development of local democracy in countries like Armenia, he said: "The basic principles of the Congress are democracy, human rights, rule of law. The key tools for ensuring the exercise of these principles are the monitoring mission, the election observation mission, as well as collaboration within a variety of political projects. It implies working with local authorities, associations, and governments. We are trying to find ways to improve the work of local authorities. The cooperation which we maintain with Armenia is of political nature. Armenia has always been and continues to be active in terms of cooperation. Armenia is on the map of the Council of Europe, and my impression is that there is considerable interest on the Armenian side in cooperation with the Congress”.

The article titled "That's a big concern for me" published in the November 16, 2018 issue, presented the standpoint of the UN Special Rapporteur regarding the failed LGBT conference in Armenia: "I was disturbed that this forum was canceled due to the concerns about the security of its participants," - the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to peaceful assembly and freedom of association Clément Nyaletsossi Voule said at the UN office in Armenia at a meeting with journalists referring to the recently cancelled LGBT forum in Yerevan. The UN Special Rapporteur also noted that the capacities and rights of NGOs working in the Republic of Armenia in the field of sexual and religious minority rights were reportedly restricted. With regard to NGOs, Clément Nyaletsossi Voule mentioned the existence of challenges which NGOs faced in the tax field: "There are certain requirements which put NGOs in an even worse condition than businessmen. Registration of an NGO is an easy and fast procedure, but NGOs in the regions complain about delays. It is important for civil society organizations to be able to benefit from public funds in practice”.

An analytical article titled "Abduction of Europe" was published on November 29, 2018, where European values and opinions were discussed.

The CSTO was referred to six times within a month; each time it concerned the situation around the position of the CSTO Secretary-General which was left open since Armenia formally recalled its representative Yuri Khachaturov from

his position of Secretary-General as the latter was involved in criminal proceedings in the RA as an accused. This resulted in an uncertain situation regarding who (which country representative) would take up the post of Secretary-General of the organization.

- **November 9, 2018**

“Nazarbaev believes that the post of the CSTO Secretary-General will pass to Belarus” - the material was prepared based on the report released by Tass news agency.

- **November 13, 2018**

“Pashinyan and "neutral" Putin. Will the official Yerevan succeed in getting from Putin a decision favorable for Armenia "under any scenario"?”- The material referred to the article of Russian daily “Kommersant” correspondent Andrey Kolesnikov, who, following his visit to Astana, reported that the main debate was between Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Acting Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan, and that the heads of the remaining member states of the organization, including Russian President Vladimir Putin, agreed on any scenario.

- **November 20, 2018**

“CSTO: Yerevan broke up the pattern” - an extensive analytical article particularly saying that the issue of the CSTO Secretary-General post was turned into an “Armenian issue” in its broadest sense with the efforts of our "allies" and our "strategic ally and old friend”.

“There should be none defeated or victorious” - an extensive interview with RA Acting Foreign Minister Zohrab Mnatsakanyan who clarified details on current developments in the CSTO.

- **November 23, 2018**

“Armenian-Belarusian controversial "shooting"; possible chances of Armenia for the post of the CSTO Secretary-General; and new potential proposals on NK conflict resolution” - interview with NKR former Foreign Minister Arman Melikyan.

- **November 30, 2018**

“The issue of the CSTO Secretary-General post is a small and not even essential question” – summary from Nikol Pashinyan's pre-election speech.

The newspaper has a website with "International" section in it. The section contains news stories from around the world, including the topics covered by the

current monitoring. European values are highlighted in cultural references, and it is mentioned that this or that Armenian singer or dancer or an artist is having a successful career in European cultural life. The newspaper website includes videos related to the scope of the policy and principles adopted by the newspaper.

6.2. “Hraparak” daily⁵

It is released five days a week (it doesn't come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 197(2483) to 218(2504).

There was no material published on Syria, Ukraine or NGOs during the monitoring period, but the remarkable analytics and interview summaries are outlined below.

The article titled “The cancellation of the LGBT forum was a shameful failure”, (November 7, 2018) presented the opinion of head of the Helsinki Association Vanadzor office Arthur Sakunts which he expressed during the discussion on "Civil Society Agenda before the Snap Parliamentary Elections", saying that by preventing the LGTB forum, the authorities failed to ensure the right of people to free assembly. The human rights defender regarded it as a shameful failure and reminded that after entering the National Assembly, political forces would take responsibility for their future actions.

During the monitoring of information on Russia and the United States, two articles addressing the issue from Armenia's point of view have been published. In particular, an interview with head of the Moscow-based "Unity" Center Smbat Karakhanyan, entitled "Russia is not the state which extradites its nationals", was released on November 10, 2018. The interview mainly focused on the interests of the USA and Russia in Armenia, as well as the refusal of Russia to extradite former Armenian high-ranking officials who were wanted by the Armenian government, but were citizens of the RF.

In another article, Editor-in-Chief of the Russian “National Defense» journal Igor Korotchenko referred to Armenia or Pashinyan as "Ready to lie under the United States" (November 22, 2018). The article said that the Azerbaijani "OXU.az" had recently published an interview with Igor Korotchenko on the regulation of the Kharabakh conflict. When John Bolton, the White House National Security Advisor made his well-known announcements in Yerevan

⁵ www.hraparak.am

during his Caucasian tour, Korotchenko wrote on his Twitter page that Armenia or Pashinyan "were already ready to lie down under the US" and noticed that at the time when Siria-related summit was taking place in Istanbul with the participation of France, Germany, Turkey and Russia, Yerevan "was flirting" with Bolton.

How one was even connected with the other is probably known only to Korotchenko, but neither the RA Ministry of Foreign Affairs nor the Armenian Embassy in Russia, for their part, did not react to these scandalous and insulting statements.

The CSTO topic was touched upon in five articles, in particular:

- **November 6, 2018**

"Who will replace Yuri Khachaturov in the CSTO" - Analytical article on the next CSTO Secretary-General.

- **November 7, 2018**

"There is a legal gap which should be put to use" - interview with a high-ranking MFA official, who remained unnamed and who commented on the legal regulation gap created as a result of the CSTO Secretary-General's recall.

- **November 10, 2018**

"Armenia should give up only on one condition" - Interview on the subject of the CSTO Secretary-General post with an unnamed source, who particularly noted that: "Apparently, the most likely scenario is the appointment of an acting Secretary-General."... Bartering is also possible: we allow Azerbaijan to receive an observer status at the CSTO, and Armenia keeps the position of Secretary-General for another year and a half.

- **November 17, 2018**

"A wait-and-see policy is used on the external front" - Analytical article containing an interview with a MFA unnamed source, focusing on the legal gap occurred in connection with the CSTO Secretary-General post, the possibility for a meeting between Mnatsakanyan and Mammedyarov and the possible resignation of the RA MFA in connection with the failure in settling the question of the CSTO Secretary-General post.

- **November 22, 2018**

"Armenia has turned the CSTO into its domestic hostage" - interview with Russian political analyst Stanislav Tarasov on the current situation in the CSTO. According to Tarasov, the scandal is created artificially, and Putin has made attempts to calm down the passions of this artificial intrigue by communicating

both with Pashinyan and Lukashenko. First of all, there are political forces in Armenia who are trying to depict the non-appointment of the Armenian representative as Pashinyan's failure. There are also external players, in particular, Lukashenko, who publicized the arrangements intended for internal consumption and made them a subject of public debates. That is, he played on Pashinyan's opponents' side. As for Aliyev, as a non-member of the CSTO, he managed to play a totally different game.

The peculiarities of the pre-election period

Bearing in mind that within the past six to seven months, the press has been mainly focused on internal political issues, as well as the fact that the NA snap elections have been scheduled for December 9, it is natural that most of the published articles have concerned the politics, which has not been the target of this monitoring, with the exception of a few summaries that have directly been related to black propaganda and political labeling.

Thus, the one-month monitoring of the “Hraparak” daily has shown that the latter has presented the current ruling party, "Bright Armenia" Party, "We" Alliance and "Sasna Tsrer" Party in a negative light, using specific labeling.

The materials of the newspaper are focused on Armenian reality and politics. There is no international section in the newspaper.

6.3. “Hayots Ashkharh” daily⁶

It is released five days a week (it doesn't come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 193/5138 to 214/5159.

There was no material published about Syria or non-governmental organizations within the monitoring period, but the noteworthy analytics and the summary of interviews, in particular, regarding Russia and the US, are presented below.

“Attempts are made to alienate Armenia from Russia and Iran” – an article (November 8, 2018) of Harut Sassounian, publisher and editor of “California Courier”. The latter expressed his thoughts regarding John Bolton's visit, particularly mentioning that President Trump's National Security Advisor John Bolton visited Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in October, conveying to

⁶ www.armworld.am

these countries the position of the White House on regional and international issues.

Bolton is well-known for his harsh foreign policy and confrontational approach.

During the meetings with Armenian officials, Bolton spoke about US sanctions against Iran that could affect the third countries, including Armenia. He also made an unexpected offer on selling American weapons to Armenia; he discussed the Armenian-Turkish relations and the regulation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

It is therefore obvious that Bolton tried to alienate Armenia from its strategic partner Russia and main trading partner Iran, since Armenia is blockaded by neighboring Azerbaijan and Turkey.

The article entitled "America will not sell weapons to Armenia yet" published on November 10, 2018, states that the policy pursued by the United States in our region is aimed at irritating Russia, making it lose its temper, and in fact it doesn't care about the interests of Armenia or Azerbaijan. In this regard, the attempts of weakening the relations of Azerbaijan and Armenia with Russia as well as delivering a diplomatic blow to Russia should be sought in between the lines of the statements made by the US President's National Security Adviser John Bolton during his recent visit to the mentioned countries. Of course, the US would like to establish its supremacy in the Transcaucasia, but it won't have enough potential, taking into account Russia's influence and its policy of maintaining amicable relations. Yes, Russia is not only interested in politics and its own perspectives in Transcaucasia, but also in the security and stability of these countries, since it needs strong partners and allies in the region. However, sale of weapon to the Transcaucasia by the United States pursues other goals. Thus, the Americans are first trying to touch the moods, to understand the reaction of different political elites, military experts and the publics to their ambitions. After that, they will analyze the information and make conclusions.

In the article titled "Will Trump's presidential powers be restricted?", published in the November 15 issue, the author, Harut Sassounian, the publisher and editor of "California Courier", said that the midterm elections held on November 6 would considerably limit President Trump's leadership of the United States as a dictator. During the first two years of his presidency, Trump often abused his authority by signing instructions and controlling both the executive

and legislative powers of the United States thanks to the Republican majority in the US House of Representatives and the Senate. During that period, Trump made numerous insulting remarks and acted as he deemed appropriate, ignoring any political, legal, and moral conduct. However, the unrestrainable activity of the president came to an end. Trump will no longer be able to do whatever he pleases with the newly elected Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. He cannot propose bills without consent of Democrats of the House of Representatives who will investigate the illegal actions of the president and his cabinet and will encourage the implementation of investigation on the special prosecutor's secret agreement with Russia during US Presidential Elections in 2016.

In the November 20 issue, there was an extensive article titled "Xenophobia is picking up traction in Russia", which states that "Hayots Ashkhar" has many times written about the attacks on migrants in Russia. The matter, as the newspaper clarifies, could not be overlooked for the simple reason that there are an estimated 1.5-2 million of our countrymen living, permanently or temporarily, in Russia. For the past five years, xenophobic moods have significantly gone down for a variety of reasons, and many have breathed a sigh of relief. However, the newspaper believes that it's apparently too early to rejoice because the threats are ever-real. The new policy of Russia toward migrants says that the country will be pleased to accept the people who feel themselves not Russians, but Russian-speakers and will do that by using fast-track mechanisms. According to the newspaper, the southeastern refugees from Ukraine will most likely easily pass the "test" in the new conditions. With regard to Armenians, Kazakhs and Kyrgyzs, there will be some difficulties, even taking into account Putin's requirement to simplify the procedure of immigration of "countrymen" from the EEU. In order to describe the reality of the constant threat hanging over immigrants in Russia, "Hayots Ashkhar" cited the words of the head of the RF Federal Security Service, Alexander Bortnikov, who spoke of "the growing number of radical groups calling for violence against immigrants" during the special services conference on November 7.

Domestic political life was referred to in a number of articles, but the most remarkable article, entitled "About the political addiction", was published in the November 9 issue. The author states that politics is often said to be a drug. And when you follow the behavior of our countrymen politicians during the pre-

election period, it becomes apparent that it's not a figurative expression, but a medical fact. The behavior of political actors is largely determined by the influence of natural drugs.

During the monitoring period, there has been only one article published on the subject of European values. The article, entitled "We are not Europeans", identifies the European values and, comparing them with the Armenian reality, claims that we, Armenians, are not Europeans. At the end of the article, the author insists that we obviously must become European as fast as possible".

The subject of the CSTO was referred to twice during the monitoring period:

- November 9, 2018

"The consequences of irresponsible actions" - The author believes that the problem was not in the charges brought against Yu. Khachaturov in connection with the investigation of March 1, but in the irresponsible and apparently illiterate behavior of our new authorities. In such circumstances, the issue should be previously raised before the partner countries, since the CSTO Secretary-General is responsible for the security of not only Armenia, but also of other member states. One can only imagine the serious crisis which may occur if the small Norway just arrests the NATO Secretary-General without discussing it with the United States and other member states. This is especially important, since the CSTO member states have no decision on the procedure for the recall and the principles of appointment of the Secretary-General. Thus, following the dismissal of Yu. Khachaturov on October 30, the CSTO members launched real information warfare around the options for the appointment of a new Secretary General. Azerbaijan was involved in this warfare with its well-known editor for Russian "Kommersant".

- November 20, 2018

"The problem is in the value of losses" - Vardan Grigoryan says in his analytical article: "We have repeatedly referred to inadequate steps of the new authorities which resulted in the early deprivation of Armenia of the CSTO Secretary-General post, the idea of which first entered onto the Russian and then the Belarusian and Kazakh diplomacy agendas. We purposely emphasize the phrase "first onto the Russian," as far as attempts are made to create an impression that the uncompromising stance demonstrated by our authorities with regard to the appointment of the CSTO Secretary-General is favored by Russia as means of restraining Kazakhstan and Belarus. If the evidence of the fact is realized by

Pashinyan, he will be able to make the right conclusions before the CSTO summit in St. Petersburg. Otherwise we can conclude that this bitter soup has been "cooked" not only by Pashinyan's former advisor A. Kharatyan, but also by Pashinyan's own efforts with far-reaching political goals.

Peculiarities of the pre-election period

Bearing in mind that within the past six to seven months, the press has been mainly focused on internal political issues, as well as the fact that the NA snap elections have been scheduled for December 9, it is natural that most of the published articles have concerned the politics, which has not been the target of this monitoring, with the exception of a few summaries that have directly been related to black propaganda and political labeling.

Thus, the one-month monitoring of the "Hayots Ashkharh" daily has shown that the latter has been providing an obviously positive coverage for the Republican Party of Armenia and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party, whereas the current ruling party, "Bright Armenia" Party and "Sasna Tsrer" Party have been referred to with clear labeling and in a very negative light.

6.4. "Iravunk" triweekly ⁷

"Iravunk" triweekly is released three days a week: on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday. The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 115(3026) to 128(3039).

There was no material published about Syria, Ukraine, the US or non-governmental organizations within the monitoring period, but the noteworthy analytics and the summary of interviews are presented below.

Interestingly, almost all the articles on the international relations published during the monitoring period are addressed from Armenia's perspective. In particular, in three extensive articles entitled "What do the new sanctions against Iran promise for Armenia?" (November 6, 2018), "Another obligation to orient between Russia and the United States" (November 16, 2018) and "And here we are again in the role of a "crossroads of great politics""(November 30, 2018), the Russian-American relations with regard to Iran are mainly discussed in the context of conflict of interest between Russia and US as well as the possible developments and risks to Armenia in this regard. The discussion led to the

⁷ www.iravunk.am

conclusion that the key issue for Armenia may be the revision of the foreign policy vector, by excluding the policy of "both ... and" and moving toward the pro-American field rather than following the Russian direction. It is essential that these articles mainly focus on the economic perspective (as well as application of sanctions) and its projection in international relations. Thus, in the first of the above-mentioned articles, the analyst believes that, having imposed new sanctions, the United States seeks to economically harm the exports of Iran's oil. But in the political sense, this actually leads to fierce clashes of the United States not only with Iran but also with Russia, China, Turkey and even Europe. The author discusses a number of possible solutions, and eventually concludes that none of the possible developments can be fully excluded, including the possibility of World War III. However, each of the potential options is a way of self-destruction for the US, which greatly reduces their likelihood. The optimal option for Washington will be the formation of a pro-American government in Iran, yet this is not the state where color games have real chances to succeed.

Returning to Armenia, it should be noted that even though there are apparent traces of serious American pressure towards Armenia, they are not enough, even in case of the current Armenian authorities, to make our country adopt a tough anti-Iranian, i.e. anti-Russian approach. After all, we must admit one simple fact that all the major countries around us, including Turkey, remain Iran-oriented. Let us leave aside many dual challenges - that's another issue. If Armenia adheres to the opposite position, it will immediately turn into an island surrounded by vital threats, with Artsakh conflict on the one hand, and the issues with Turkey on the other.

In the second of the above-mentioned articles, the author reflects on economic sanctions and their impact on Armenia, expressing an opinion that if the EEU Agreement with Iran becomes effective, it will have a binding character for all members of the Union, including Armenia. This document is economically viable for Armenia. And there is one big question: what will our government do in case the United States suddenly makes a harsh demand at least to join the sanctions against Iran and, at the very most, to close the border? Although, there is no need to demand that: the agreement between the EEU and Iran also provides for a free movement of a number of goods which fall within the zone of American sanctions. If we reject the entry of these products to Armenia, i.e. to the EEU, we'll have a problem with the Union. If we don't reject, what will the Americans say? In short, another global factor is becoming an issue of the agenda,

which does not give Armenia any chance of continuing to pursue a policy of "both...and".

Finally, in the third article, the author once again speaks of the economic interests of the US and Russia in the South Caucasus, making conclusions on the role and development that await Armenia and the Artsakh conflict as a result of Russian-American conflict of interests. "So, what can Putin and Trump agree on, if, of course, they ever agree? In any case, one of the key issues on the agenda of the meeting will be definitely Iran which cannot be discussed bypassing Armenia and Azerbaijan. The subject of the main Russian-American controversy with regard to Iran is well-known. These days, the discussions on the RF-Iran-India cargo transportation have considerably activated. Of course, there is also the option of alienating Iran from Russia by means of the South Caucasus, the attempts of which are felt in Armenia and Artsakh. However, this smells of a big war, and if Trump is not ready for war, then that just leaves the option of coming to an agreement.

Which scenario is more realistic? The upcoming meeting of Putin with Trump will hardly provide a complete answer to this question. But some signs will start to appear, including, undoubtedly, another escalation of the situation around Artsakh. We will see if there will be any agreements reached between Putin and Trump, but Artsakh-related escalation is almost certainly to be expected. We mean that in any case the situation seems to be approaching the endgame which can be either Russian or American large-scale control in the South Caucasus. No matter which option works, it will demand finding certain solution to Artsakh conflict, either by Russian or American model. So, let us not forget that recent statements on the settlement of Artsakh conflict have been made both by Washington and Moscow. But more fundamentally, it is hardly accidental that the geopolitical vector of Armenia became a top issue of the agenda exactly at this stage by way of keeping it in the Russian direction and moving toward the United States and withdrawing from all Russian inter-state structures. Finally, if Armenia completely alters the geopolitical orientation, and the US military bases replace the Russian ones, it won't be difficult to guess that the large-scale cargo transportation from Iran will cease in any direction. In a situation like this, how will the players react, especially Russia, then Iran, and finally the Turkish-Azerbaijani tandem, which, in its turn, has serious expectations from these cargoes? Maybe, it won't reach the extremes, but there is

one fact to face: the notorious role of "crossroads", which Armenia used to play according to school textbooks, seems to be confronting us again in all its horror.

In the article titled "And are there any supporters of Armenian-Russian relations among Pashinyan and his followers?" published on November 2, 2018, the author expressed an opinion that the new Armenian authorities, allowing a number of omissions in the domestic and foreign policy for about six months, appointing casual personnel on important positions, have eventually led to the dissolution of the National Assembly. The article presented an interview on post-revolutionary and pre-election Armenia with Konstantin Zatulin, the First Vice-President of the Russian State Duma Commission on CIS, Eurasian Integration and Links with Compatriots. In response to the question that in the light of the changed situation in Armenia, the Lazaryan Club was expected to add new members from Armenia as supporters of Russian-Armenian relationship, Zatulin said that they had reached out to those who were long known as supporters of Armenian-Russian relationship: "If you are asking why Nikol Pashinyan's supporters and colleagues are not involved in the club activities, I would like to say that it's not our fault. We have not forced the MPs of the "Yelk" faction to speak against the CSTO and the EEU and prepare a draft law on the suspension of Armenia's membership. Of course, now they are making different statements and are maintaining the same line to the EEU as the previous authorities, but as the famous saying says, "The Jacobin ministers are not Jacobins"".

During the monitoring period, there was an article on the subject of the CSTO Secretary-General post, which was published on November 21, 2018, entitled "Where does Pashinyan-Lukashenko duel lead to?", where the author evaluates and labels Pashinyan's foreign policy, expressing opinion that Pashinyan is unable or rather unwilling to withdraw the problem of the CSTO Secretary-General post out of the public platform. Clearly, he is mainly targeting Lukashenko, trying to present the remote dispute with him as a "high-spirited" fight of "tiny Armenia" against the "big and unfair" CSTO countries. But the question is whether this public "spat" is really against Lukashenko. Of course, even in such scenarios, Pashinyan will not directly raise the question of Armenia's withdrawal from the CSTO, as well as the EEU. But he will definitely try to kill one or two rabbits with one such stone. First, they will nurture the idea that the CSTO members put pressure on us, and then they will try to slowly aggravate tensions toward the CSTO and the EEU, or, more precisely, toward the Russian Federation so that they can use it in due time. And most importantly,

appearing at the CSTO summit with such "determination to fight", Pashinyan makes room for whims. The reason he's doing so became clear after the press conference given by him the day before. Thus, speaking about the argument with Lukashenko, he has pointed out that if no consensus is reached at the CSTO summit on December 6, they will continue to work towards a consensus, because the CSTO decisions are made by a consensus. This is a hint that he will fight for his standpoint till the end, with the possibility of vetoing any other candidate.

As in the previous monitoring period, the newspaper contained two extensive articles by Artashes Geghamyan titled "Launching a war in Nagorno-Karabakh to strike across Russia" (November 6, 2018) and "The time for the adoption of the new Belovezh agreement has come" (November 27, 2018), the first of which is particularly remarkable, since the author links the developments occurring in the region with a possible resumption of the war in Nagorno-Karabakh. He claims that if one tries to make sense of the recent events taking place in and around the South Caucasus region, he will involuntarily come to the conclusion that we're on the verge of a war: "Unfortunately, dear reader, this is not an exaggeration, but an outcome of an unbiased analysis of consistent information warfare carried out against Armenia. The acting Prime Minister not only considers it possible but also states that "the Armenian-Iranian border can be closed at any moment as a result of the US policy, and it looks like he is preparing the population of Armenia for such a course of events. Then, there is a question: "Who will close that border?" It is well known that the border on the Armenian side is kept by Russian border guards of the Russian FSB. It is indisputable that the closure of the Armenian-Iranian border will be a hostile act, first of all, towards Armenia, a strong blow to the RA national security interests. Moreover, it does not stem from the radical interests of the CSTO member states, in particular Russia and Kazakhstan".

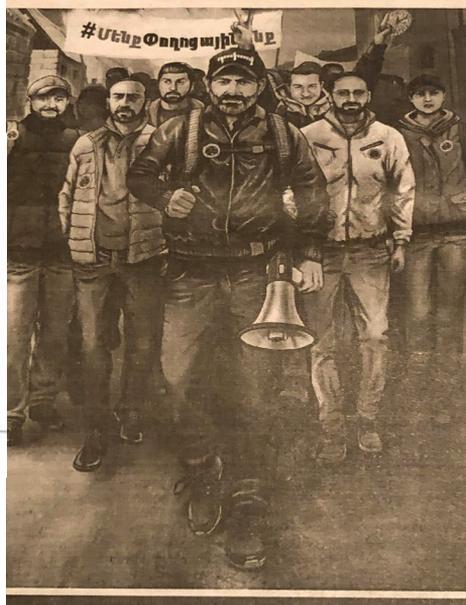
In the article "Will a Russian-Ukrainian war take place?" published in the November 27, 2018 issue, the author sees an American shadow behind the strain of Russian-Ukrainian relations, claiming that "the day before, the already tense relations between Russia and Ukraine deteriorated further. The most disturbing thing is that this time the disagreements have evolved into a military clash as small as it was. The military component has been demonstrated in the further development of the events as well, meaning that we cannot exclude the possibility of the extreme solution, i.e. the war. What is the main goal of all this? Depending on the answer to this question, it will be possible to have an insight

into the further developments. At present, there are two main versions which are circulated in connection with the operation of the Ukrainian ships. First of all, after the detention of the ships, the National Security Council of Ukraine decided to declare martial law with the possibility of its extension for two months as well as to bring the army to a high state of alert. According to the first version, this could be the main problem. The country is in the pre-election period, and the incumbent President Poroshenko is placed second or third out of all candidates due to his very low public-approval rating. If nothing changes, Ukraine will have a new president. With the martial law in effect, all the pre-electoral processes being banned, Poroshenko could try to change the situation in his favor. If he succeeds, he will cancel the martial law before the elections. If not, the pending elections will be cancelled by the extended martial law. The first version, despite having a good deal of logic, has a number of shortcomings. Firstly, such kind of military games with the Russian Federation are too dangerous for the Ukrainian president to play at his own discretion only for the sake of being re-elected. Negligence committed by a soldier, a bit more enthusiasm than needed, a button pressed by someone will be enough to turn the "innocent pre-electoral game" into a war with no chances to win. Finally, if you are 100% sure that your ships will be captured, you have to know that based on the statements made by their crew you can find yourself not re-elected, but sitting in court on the docks.

Secondly, it is a well-known fact that Europe is now seriously concerned about the escalation of Russian-American relations. Moreover, the threat made by the United States regarding its withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty) has provoked a real hysteria in Europe, as they know that they are the primary target. And if Poroshenko, for the sake of re-election, has launched such a dangerous game on his own initiative, he must have understood that Europe would also regard it as dangerous, perceiving it as an act of hostility. Thus, Poroshenko indeed may be pursuing pre-election goals, but it is unlikely that he would take such a reckless move without the green light given by America. Therefore, the trails of this extremely dangerous situation assumed by the second version, end with the Russian-American relationship”.

Special overview

The first and last pages of all the issues published during the period of monitoring contain caricatures of representatives of the government. The most remarkable ones are presented below:



6.5. “Irates” semiweekly⁸

“Irates” semiweekly is released twice a week: on Tuesday and Friday. The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 70(906) to 78(914).



⁸ www.irates.am

There was no material published about Syria or European values within the monitoring period, but the noteworthy analytics and the summary of interviews regarding the USA, the LGBT community and other topics are presented below.

It should be noted that, unlike other printed newspapers, the "Irates" newspaper has not been overloaded with pre-election topics and has regularly presented extensive analysis of international relations to the attention of its readers.

In its November 2, 2018 issue, the newspaper has published an interview under the title of "Sale of arms to any country takes place by a political decision" with political analyst Manvel Sargsyan. The latter discussed foreign policy challenges, in particular, the visit of John Bolton, the National Security Adviser to the President of the United States, the announcements made by him, the subsequent response of the official Moscow, as well as the US offer to sell arms to Armenia. The author expressed opinion regarding the sale of arms: "Supply of arms is a very complicated thing. For instance, why does Azerbaijan have problems with buying "Iskander"? It does have money. It's searching for "Iskander" all around the world. Arms are supplied to this or that country only by a political decision. They can sell arms to one country and simply give it to another, plus twenty times more money. We must understand this. Our political thought lacks realism. There is no clear idea about real politics. The international relations are built on three main vectors: national interest, balance of power, and international law. Who gets the arms? How is the balance ensured? For instance, Russia sells arms to Azerbaijan, but did it provide Armenia with "Iskander" for money? No. We should realize it. Now we have been given an access to one of the best weapons in the world. It's not a trifle. Russia is our strategic partner, we have many common interests. Our mistake is that we have been "under" Russia for all these years, regarding Russia as our only guardian. Even our security issues have been for many times solved by this country".

Three successive articles present extensive analytics on the relations between Azerbaijan and Iran, discussing possible reasons for escalation of conflict and probable scenarios resulting from it. The author of the article makes judgments about a certain modus operandi (rules of conduct) which has been adopted in the relationship between Azerbaijan and Iran since Heydar Aliyev came to power. "According to these rules of conduct, Azerbaijan does not interfere in Iran's internal affairs, and Iran doesn't convey its ideas of the Islamic revolution to Azerbaijan. The recent events in Ganja show that political forces

oriented at confrontation with Azerbaijan have moved to the political forefront of Iran. Clearly, the reason for this is not Azerbaijan but the situation that has been created around Iran, primarily due to the actions of the current US leadership”.

During the monitoring period, four extensive articles, describing US-Russia, US-Iran relations, have been published: "The United States and World Zionism do not leave Iran alone" (November 9, 2018), "Who and how “gave” Trump to Iran?" (November 16, 2018), “The process of settlement of disagreements between the US and Russia ended in deadlock” (November 9, 2018), "A non-moral president cannot be a moral leader of the American society" (November 23, 2018). The mentioned articles are remarkable not so much for the specific words or phrases, as for the clear pro-Russian orientation, on a parallel with strong anti-Americanism expressed via direct conclusions or referrals to the information reported by other media outlets. The authors of the articles mainly represent the role of Russia in international relations which they believe to be important, and the weakness of America as a subject of international relations. There are two extensive articles about the LGBT community where the LGBT activists, as well as their advocates are being talked about in a very negative light. In particular, the preface of an article entitled "One of defenders of rights of the LGBT community", published in the November 2 issue, already contained serious labeling and was actually a hate speech: "Meet another defender of the rights of perverts, Nina Karapetyants, who thinks herself a human rights defender and who was also one of the most active figures in the "velvet revolution", as they say, “more Catholic than the Pope”". Quoting the words of President of Helsinki Association Human Rights NGO N.Karapetyants that everyone has equal rights, the author of the article makes a legislative analysis and comes to the conclusion that “...those having anti-God, anti-human, unnatural, sodomic, destructive sexual orientation – the LGBT and other perverts – in spite of the predominance of human rights prescribed by the RA Constitution and international conventions and laws of the Republic of Armenia, do not have and in no case should have the right to directly and indirectly propagate perversion, whether by media, by social advertising in public spaces, by marching or otherwise”.

There was another article on the same topic, entitled "The enemy of God and men wants to lead us to our spiritual destruction", which was published in the November 13 issue. The author says that homosexual propaganda is not considered a crime on the grounds that homosexuality is not criminally

prosecuted, as it was during the Soviet regime. “However, we believe that one does not directly stem from another, since the legislator should be guided not by the fact that criminal liability for homosexuality and other forms of perversion is not envisaged, but rather by the reality that the propaganda of the perversion carries greater public risks, than homosexuality or lesbianism itself”. The author claims that among the prominent propagandists of perversion there are numerous so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are funded by the notorious Soros Foundation and various international organizations, and which are also referred to as "grant-eaters". In the end, the author concludes that this all is implemented for the purpose of physical destruction of people by means of HIV/AIDS and its dissemination within the policy of "Golden Billion", for no child has been ever born to a same-sex couple (consisting of homosexuals or lesbians), contrary to the order of God and nature.

The explanation above is certainly true, but it does not reflect the reality in full. This policy is, first and foremost, aimed at the spiritual destruction of a person (homosexuality and other forms of perversion, according to the Bible, are deadly sins leading to spiritual destruction) which is far more dreadful than the untimely physical destruction.

6.6. Summary

It is noteworthy that, compared with the previous monitoring period, the current topics have concerned the domestic events related to the velvet revolution and the special parliamentary elections due to be held after completion of the monitoring, as well as the Armenian-Russian relations in the light of the discussions of the CSTO Secretary-General post, Armenian-American relations in the light of the White House National Security Adviser John Bolton's visit and his announcements, the public attitude towards the LGBT community and, in some cases, the decline of Russian-American relations.

Particular attention should be paid to the fact that during the entire period of the monitoring, the "Bright Armenia" Party, “We” Alliance and "Sasna Tsrer" Party have been a target of a well-organized anti-campaign, a black PR attack clearly directed at the downgrade of ratings of oppositional parties and politicians.

Special Overview

Although this issue is beyond the time framework specified for the current monitoring, its importance and distinction make it worth addressing. During the recent months, i.e. within the first months of 2019, heated discussions began in the Armenian society regarding the NGOs which receive grants from the Soros Foundation. These organizations are presented to the public as traitorous and dangerous institutions, receiving big money for serving foreign interests in Armenia.

One of the published articles expressed a viewpoint that "...The enemy of Armenia and the Armenian people is not corruption ... because no nation and state have ever fallen victim to corruption. The enemies of Armenia are not Azerbaijan and Turkey, because no nation or state in the modern world will fall victim to external enemies or a war. The enemy of Armenia is the West, headed by the United States, represented by the local grant-eating community, which, consisting of faithless people, compromises the Armenian identity and its fundamentals, the church and the traditional family - by their juvenile justice and other type of disgrace, the public morality – by protecting the rights of all kinds of minorities, propagating their values and planting all kinds of degeneracy in our society...".

Moreover, a number of articles have been published during this period which have presented the amount of money received by each non-governmental organization as well as the purpose it was spent for, as claimed by the author.⁹

⁹ <http://www.shame.am/news/view/67006.html>, <http://www.shame.am/news/view/67000.html>,
<http://www.shame.am/news/view/66980.html>, <http://www.shame.am/news/view/66951.html>