

III Monitoring Report

Detecting Propaganda and Fake news in Armenia

The monitoring is done by the team and experts of the Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), Yerevan, Republic of Armenia.

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CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	4
II. TERMS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THE REPORT	5
III. MONITORING METHODOLOGY	6
IV. MONITORING OF TV TALK SHOWS	8
4.1. “EVENING WITH VLADIMIR SOLOVYOV”	9
4.2. “INTERVIEW WITH AGNESSA KHAMOYAN”.....	21
4.3. “IN FRONT OF THE MIRROR”.....	26
4.4. “TOPICAL ISSUE”.....	32
4.5. “IN BETWEEN THE LINES”	36
4.6. “FREEDOM OF SPEECH”	38
4.7. “INTERVIEW”.....	39
V. HATE SPEECHES AND LABELLING IN PRESS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS	42
5.1. <i>ARMENIAN-RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS</i>	42
5.2. <i>RIGHTS OF THE LGBT COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES</i>	45
5.3. <i>ATTITUDE TOWARDS OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS -ARMENIA</i>	47
5.4. <i>FAKE USERS ON SOCIAL NETWORKS</i>	50
5.5. <i>PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS ISTANBUL CONVENTION</i>	51
5.6. <i>POLITICAL INTOLERANCE</i>	52
VI. PRINT MEDIA MONITORING	53
6.1. “ARAVOT” DAILY.....	53
6.2. “IRAVUNK” TRIWEEKLY.....	55
6.3. “HRAPARAK” DAILY.....	57
6.4. “HAYKAKAN ZHAMANAK” DAILY.....	58
6.5. “IRATES” SEMIWEEKLY.....	61
6.6. SUMMARY.....	62
VII. CONCLUSIONS	63
VIII. ANNEXES	65

I. INTRODUCTION

Within the period from November 1 to December 1, 2019, the Analytical Center on 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. The monitoring has also sought to detect the possible impact of Russian mass media on the Armenian press.

The current stage of the project was preceded by two stages of monitoring implemented during November 15-December 15, 2017, and November 1-December 1, 2018. During this period, talk shows “Time will show”, “60 minutes” and “Evening with Vladimir Solovyov” broadcast on Russia 1 and Russian First Channel, “Evening with Agnesa Khamoyan” broadcast on the 5th Channel (the former Ararat TV Channel), "Aravot", "Hraparak", "Hayots Ashkharh" daily newspapers, "Irates" semiweekly and "Iravunk" triweekly newspapers and a number of websites and social platforms were monitored. The peculiarity of this continual monitoring is that the outcome of each subsequent year is summarized with the reference to the previous year and with the emphasize on the observed recurrences and developments. However, the focus of the monitoring implemented in 2019 has been largely shifted from Russian television, since the results of the monitoring conducted for the subsequent three years have evidenced the continuing focus of the Russian target media on Ukraine, with only rare reference to Armenia. However, there was no record of large-scale dissemination of Russian propaganda in Armenian media, while an increased spread of hate speech, labelling and targeted propaganda or anti-propaganda has sadly taken place within Armenia itself.

II. TERMS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THE REPORT

N	TERM, ACRONYM	EXPLANATION
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.	Hate speech	Manifestation of public (social) speech expressing hatred or encouraging violence against a person or a group on account of a characteristic such as dissidence, gender, religion, ethnicity, gender identity, etc.
5.	EU	European Union
6.	EEU or EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
7.	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
8.	NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
9.	UNO	United Nations Organization
10.	PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
11.	RF	Russian Federation
12.	Cand. Sc. (Law)	Candidate of Legal Sciences
13.	LDPR	Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
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.	PAP	Prosperous Armenia Party
19.	BAP	Bright Armenia Party
20.	LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
21.	CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
22.	NSS	National Security Service

23.	CE	Council of Europe
24.	SDP	Social-Democratic Party
25.	NAS	National Academy of Sciences
26.	UATE	Union of Advanced Technology Enterprises
27.	MF	Military Forces
28.	CSF	Civil Society Forum
29.	NED	National Endowment for Democracy
30.	ISNA	Iranian Students' News Agency
31.	IS	Islamic State
32.	NUP	National Unity Party
33.	ACGRC	Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation
34.	SJC	Supreme Judicial Council
35.	SSFS	State Service for Food Safety
36.	RA Ministry of ESCS	Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Armenia
37.	RA CB	Central Bank of the Republic of Armenia

III. MONITORING METHODOLOGY

During the preparatory stage of the project, news releases of several TV channels were preliminarily monitored in order to target the main sources of information which may be regarded as propaganda. The main news releases broadcast on the following TV channels have been observed:

- ✓ Public TV of Armenia (First Channel)
- ✓ Armenian Second Channel or h2
- ✓ “Kentron” Armenian TV Company
- ✓ “ArmNews” Armenian TV Company
- ✓ “Shant” Armenian TV Company
- ✓ “Yerkir Media” Armenian TV Company
- ✓ “5th Channel” Armenian TV Company
- ✓ Russian First Channel
- ✓ Rossia 1 Channel

Monitoring of the mentioned sources has revealed that nearly all of the channels concerned make use of labelling definitions, as well as spread targeted information.

However, the most apparent propagandistic and labelling information can be found on ArmNews, 5th Channel and Rossia 1 Channel. A consequent decision was made to maintain basic and on-going monitoring of the news programs of the three above-mentioned channels within the period from November 1 to December 1, 2019.

The monitoring has hence included “Evening with Vladimir Solovyov” talk show broadcast on Rossia 1 Channel, “Evening with Agnessa Khamoyan” talk show broadcast on the 5th Channel, and “Topical Issue”, “In between the lines” and “In front of a mirror” TV programs broadcast on ArmNews, as well as "Aravot", "Hraparak", "Haykakan Zhamanak", "Irates", "Iravunk" newspapers, “Freedom of speech” and “Interview” programs of Yerevan.Today electronic newsletter, and a number of social platforms.

	Name	Broadcasting Channel or Way of Dissemination	Number
1	“Evening with Vladimir Solovyov”	Russian First Channel	21
2	“Interview with Agnessa Khamoyan”	5 th Channel	20
3	“Topical Issue”	ArmNews TV Channel	16
4	“In between the lines”	ArmNews TV Channel	5
5	“In front of the mirror”	ArmNews TV Channel	18
6	“Interview”	Yerevan.Today electronic newsletter	12
7	“Freedom of speech”	Yerevan.Today electronic newsletter	5
8	“Aravot”	Print Media	22
9	“Hraparak”	Print Media	22
10	“Haykakan Zhamanak”	Print Media	22
11	“Iravunk”	Print Media	12
12	“Irates”	Print Media	8

The monitoring has been intended to investigate the way the propaganda is carried out on Russian television and whether it is reflected on Armenian television, as well as to reveal the prevalence of the use of propaganda, anti-propaganda and labelling terms in Armenia. 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 among the public. At the same time, it has been crucial to detect the changes, if any, that might have occurred on the targeted TV channels over the course of a year.

For this purpose, the monitors have been provided with specially designed questionnaires and action guidelines requiring to watch daily broadcasts, write out main topics, names and positions of guests, as well as expressions and terms which the latter use 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.

The monitors have read the mentioned sources of news on a daily basis, have summarized the main topics of discussion and, where necessary, have 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, domestic developments, Ukrainian and Syrian crisis, and hate speech and hate propaganda in general.

Three stages have been incorporated into the implementation of monitoring: analysis of the 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. “Evening with Vladimir Solovyov”

21 broadcasts observed within the month have been dedicated exclusively to events and issues in Ukraine. The talk show consists of three parts. The first part of the talk show was mostly devoted to discussion regarding the anticipated Normandy format meeting, the new Ukrainian bill on land sale, Crimea, Donbass and Maidan. A brief discussion of Russian developments with a specially invited guest took place during the second part, and the events taking place in the international arena were reflected upon during the third part of the talk show.

Ukraine is always portrayed in a negative light. Video footages are shown at each broadcast after which they criticize and mock the President of Ukraine Zelensky and other politicians, calling them “Sorosyata” (used to refer to people who have now come to power and previously received various grants from Foundations founded by George Soros) and claiming that they have no idea how to govern the country, are unreasonable and display strange behavior.

It should be noted that certain expressions are repeatedly used by both guests and the host. For instance, while speaking about Ukraine, the main emphasis is placed on the fact that the President of Ukraine is an actor, rather than a President, that Ukraine is a criminal, poor and corrupt country driven by Nazi ideology, the authorities of which are killing and robbing its own people, and that Ukraine is being used by the West and is a headache for Europe, that Russians love the Ukrainian people and are ready to make peace, although Ukraine considers Russia an enemy. Solovyov often reminds that despite the ban on their talk show in Ukraine, people still watch it, and there is even a case launched against him by the Ukrainian authorities.

The talk show mostly hosts experts with pro-Putin, anti-Ukrainian, anti-American views and rarely invites experts with anti-Putin and pro-Ukrainian views. However, the latter appear to be deliberately chosen as people lacking public-speaking abilities, easily confused by their opponents’ arguments, allowing to insult or ridicule their country and their own dignity. During broadcasts, the anti-Russian standpoint is expressed mainly by two or three Ukrainian experts who often face disrespect. The overwhelming majority of guests are experts with anti-Western and pro-Russian rhetoric, and a minority are experts with pro-American and pro-German liberal outlook who point out that the West and Europe do not promote anti-Russian propaganda.

Criticism addressed to Russia’s policy and the anti-Ukrainian or anti-American moods in Russia is rarely heard here, but most of such speeches are interrupted by the host

or Russian and Ukrainian guests with pro-Russian rhetoric. The host is sometimes highly intolerant of dissident guests. He very often compares Ukraine and Russia and, abruptly interfering with the guests' speech, makes sarcastic comments. Experts with anti-Western opinions express their views within the frames of discussions regarding Ukraine and the West, emphasizing that it is America that interferes in internal affairs of countries, that has organized Maidan in Ukraine and has forced Europe to impose sanctions on Russia and now regards Russia as an aggressor.

The host is well aware of the developments taking place in Ukraine, he is very confident, prompt in instantly changing the subject and is an expert at presenting counterarguments to speakers. He emphasizes that Russia doesn't consider any country to be its enemy and that it has a positive attitude towards all countries. According to him, his talk show is not favored outside Russia since it offers a different opinion.

During the monitoring period, 21 broadcasts have been observed. All 21 broadcasts were devoted to discussions on Ukraine (throughout the broadcast, in the main or certain part of it), particularly on Zelensky and his inexperience, on the Maydan and Donbas. It is noteworthy that in 2018, 19 out of 21 monitored broadcasts were focused on Ukraine, and in 2017, only 7 out of 19 monitored broadcasts contained discussions on Ukraine.

It should be noted that certain **statements and terminology** have been repeatedly used by hosts and the same guests invited to different broadcasts regardless of the issues on the agenda. For instance, the terms and statements used with regard to the situation in Ukraine, were aimed at sending the following messages to the audience:

- ✚ Ukrainian citizens do not respect President Zelensky and claim that he has no idea what is happening in the country. And the Ukrainian Prime Minister behaves like a fool.
- ✚ There are no Ukrainians in Ukraine, and their language is Russian, only distorted. Ukrainians are a nation of cowardly, ungrateful, sniveling people. One can hardly call them a big nation. Ukrainians are led by Americans, though are not even aware of this.

- ✚ A few days earlier, residents of Odessa destroyed the monument to Zhukovsky (Soviet Commander, Soviet Union Marshal, four-time Soviet Union Hero), who had led Zelensky's grandfather, among many others, to battle. The president of the country defends neither the memory of his grandfather nor the honor of Ukrainians.
- ✚ Europe is tired of Ukraine and Russia.
- ✚ Even members of the Zelensky's faction are making jokes about the country being ruled not by politicians, but rather by wedding artists. No one is eager to know how they live in Donbass.
- ✚ We are getting things wrong: you can become a leader without having a diploma. Ukrainian leaders are not aware of the reason they have gathered for. They may have been approved by the Americans, or by Soros and Pinchuk, but these people will fail to live up to their voters' expectations.
- ✚ Think of what will happen if you lose Russia. Watch your spawn that destroy monuments, put them in jail, and free the country from the Nazis.
- ✚ Ukrainians are Nazis. According to Dmitry Gordon, who is a Ukrainian, Zelensky won't eat and won't sleep all day long and is striving to be remembered as a really good president, but wasn't it that very Gordon who was flattering and admiring Poroshenko? Not everyone like Zelensky is lucky enough to become president after being slapped by Philip Kirkorov (an episode of a movie starring Zelensky).
- ✚ There has never been any annexation. The annexation takes place in the heads of Ukrainians, and it was them who shouted "Get out, Nazi trash" in Crimea. Crimea has joined Russia at its own request, and it won't care for the Ukrainian murderous authorities.
- ✚ Zelensky is now playing a clown's role, distracting people from important issues. He is the master of Ukraine, but who is his own master?
- ✚ Ukrainians construct monuments in memory of Nazis.
- ✚ The stupid actions made by Poroshenko can be undone by Zelensky.
- ✚ You (Solovyev addressing Ochrimenko) are protecting the country's thief and murderer, the nasty scoundrel Poroshenko who has 15 criminal cases against him.
- ✚ Speaking Russian is now banned in Ukraine. There can be no reconciliation under these circumstances. The conflict is spreading like a cancer.

- ✚ I sometimes believe that I know Ukraine better than Zelensky does. He visited the tank producing factory named after Malishev in Kharkov and was horrified to learn that they had produced one tank within 10 years. The money allocated to the army has been looted for years. Where did they find so many fools to rule the country? You have elected Zelensky as your president (addressing Ukrainian representatives), now enjoy his concerts.
- ✚ Poroshenko has wasted the state money intended for the army and weapons. Ukraine strives to restore its territorial unity, with the issue of Crimea on the agenda. If Russia considers the Crimean question settled, it doesn't mean that other countries think likewise.
- ✚ I'm sorry for Maidan, I'm sorry we lost Crimea, but those who are responsible, the anti-democrats, are regarded in Ukraine as heroes, they didn't get punishment and they don't care for the people.
- ✚ Zelensky is not going to keep his promises, he's simply gaining time and brainwashing people. If he can't do that, it's even worse, let him come down from his throne. Poroshenko must be held accountable and punished for committing a genocide in his own country.
- ✚ Restored cooperation with Russia is essential for recovering Ukraine's economy and power. There is no other way possible.
- ✚ Ukraine's brains are still gone blank. The only thing Ukraine thinks about is territory. They want to legalize prostitution and drug use, sell territories to Europeans, but it isn't going to work with us.
- ✚ A man whose hands are in blood has been appointed to the position of defender of journalists. Ukrainians say that a soldier's life is more important than lives of 100 residents, whereas the safety of a peaceful population has always been a priority for Russian troops.
- ✚ I like Zelensky, but he can't run the country. I can state that the tradition of appointing idiots as assistants to the president of the country is still very much alive in Ukraine. Zelensky should start doing his job, rather than thinking about pleasing everyone and getting a Nobel Prize.
- ✚ Putin is a president, and Zelensky is an actor.
- ✚ Ukrainian leaders are criminals headed by Avakov (Interior Minister of Ukraine). The fact that he has appointed Anton Gerashenko as Interior Ministry Executive Representative for Security of Journalists seems a mockery.

- ✚ Okara also thinks that Ukrainian soldiers are more important. He calls himself a liberal, but in fact he is a Nazi.
- ✚ If I were the people, I would scratch Poroshenko's eyes out during his visits to the cities where people have been killed because of him. He should have been put to prison long ago.
- ✚ Do you know which is the most ideal country in the world? It's Ukraine. This tale was told by Ukrainians at the Kiev Economic Forum, and Zelensky called for investments. Ukraine is the poorest country of Europe, led by "Sorosyata" and Nazis.
- ✚ Zelensky is so much in love with himself, he's pleased with himself. Maidan was a geopolitical anti-investment program that brought Ukraine to poverty and didn't allow to make investments and didn't let Ukraine join China. Maidan did what western curators of Ukraine wanted it to do.
- ✚ Zelensky is probably tired of his presidency. He's starting to behave like Poroshenko, and the people who elected him are getting frustrated.
- ✚ Zelensky never became a real president. He makes up things to be proud of or reminds of facts from the past, since Ukraine has nothing to be proud of at present.
- ✚ What kind of investment are you referring to in this time of war? Ukraine can only sell and destroy. Neither Zelensky nor former criminal presidents have the right to speak on behalf of the people of Donbass and decide on their fate.
- ✚ Rada will discuss the law on sale of agricultural land. Zelensky first makes a decision and then asks the people. Pretty boy! The sale-related issue has been resolved, now the sale of land to foreigners and the referendum are on the agenda. Where did you find such a liar? Zelensky wanted to go down in history, and this step will make him remembered.
- ✚ Zelensky may not know, or in case he knows, then he's cynically lying, that there is no law referendum in Ukraine. Recently, he has personally granted citizenship to groups of Europeans.
- ✚ Zelensky is a fraud and a scoundrel; he has chosen a perfect time for robbing the country while people are poor and misinformed. This is a theft of the century. If Ukraine is willing to make war, then let it go to NATO.
- ✚ Kiev believes that the Normandy format is in his pocket, and the Minsk agreements can be deleted. People with mental instability have come together in Rada. How do they watch my talk show in Ukraine, if it is forbidden? They

- even opened a case against me in Ukraine. They would rather think about the sneaky ideologists of the Nazi organization “Bandera”.
- ✚ The impression is that Ukraine doesn’t need Donbass, but they are still talking about getting Crimea back. We can state that Ukraine is going to the Normandy format meeting without having a clear plan.
 - ✚ Germany has no idea that there are Nazis in Ukraine. People began to recall that Zelensky is not a Ukrainian, but a Jewish.
 - ✚ Zelensky is good at deceiving people, saying that they will solve all the issues by the referendum, while there is no law on referendum. Zelensky made this decision so that the Donbass people would hate him even more.
 - ✚ Sometimes, I’m ashamed of the speeches of my countrymen. I’m against this bill. Zelensky doesn’t listen to people at all.
 - ✚ 40 Ukrainian streets bear names of Nazi, Bandera and supporters of the Jewish genocide.
 - ✚ There is an impression that someone is sitting there reading the failed attempts of the Russians and trying to repeat them. There has been no one responsible for Ukraine for 26 years: there are French snooping around, or Americans, or Germans.
 - ✚ Totally random people have gathered in Parliament. Now the young Prime Minister is getting excited at the bill like a child and doesn’t realize that it’ll be his end. Poroshenko has always dreamt about this bill.
 - ✚ Zelensky's promises to eliminate poverty are nonsense.
 - ✚ No one invites Ukraine to European Union.
 - ✚ Trump has repeatedly shown that he is not fond of Ukraine.
 - ✚ Some Ukrainian politicians and Poroshenko prefer behaving like an ostrich. People are sick of the decisions and nationalism of the authorities and their eagerness to enter NATO or European Union.
 - ✚ Zelensky’s team consists of cheaters.
 - ✚ All problems started when Ukrainians turned their attention to the European Union and made up their mind to tear Ukraine away from Russia. Ukraine has wonderful people and stupid authorities.
 - ✚ Trump has recently spoken negatively about Ukraine.
 - ✚ Zelensky invited Macron to Kiev. He likes to invite European leaders, but the latter don't seem to like travelling to Ukraine.

- ✚ Ukrainian authorities are trolling their population, and political scientists are clowns.
- ✚ Even if Zelensky, unlike other Ukrainians, doesn't smoke marijuana, he still knows nothing. Ukraine wants to abolish Minsk agreements through Normandy format and raise the issue of Crimea.
- ✚ I don't regard Ukraine as a state.
- ✚ Lugansk wants to protect itself from Ukrainian radicals and nationalists.
- ✚ It turns out that there are many more mentally ill people in Ukraine than in Russia.
- ✚ Most deputies of Rada are inadequate fools.
- ✚ I don't care what Ukraine is going to do. All that matters is that it won't kill people and won't harm Russians living in Ukraine.
- ✚ Europe doesn't want you [Ukrainians]. You are a disgrace. You are fools, you are deceiving and robbing your own people.
- ✚ There are Nazi scoundrels in Ukraine. No Russian man or journalist can badmouth Ukrainians and call them bastards, as Ukrainians do to Russians.
- ✚ Many ministers are inadequate and need treatment. The leader of our largest faction is a US citizen. Despite the ban on dual citizenship in the country, there are people having 3 citizenships. Newly recruited people take drugs, prostitutes, and many are sleeping their way to the top.
- ✚ Zelensky won't be able to do anything, they will make a decision instead of him.
- ✚ Russia doesn't need Ukraine. Russia doesn't need even the Normandy format meeting. It's clear that Zelensky will not fulfill the requirements of the Minsk agreements.
- ✚ A Normandy format meeting will be attended by a president who has no idea of his country.
- ✚ Some Ukrainians are like animals.
- ✚ They didn't punish the people who robbed the country, but they have jailed an 85-year-old scientist because a flash drive had been allegedly found with him. They declared him a Russian spy and imprisoned him for 15 years.
- ✚ There is no point in talking about Crimea.
- ✚ We cannot come to an agreement with Ukraine and trust the fascist Ukrainians and we are hoping only for Russia.

- ✦ Zelensky has no support in the country and beyond. America doesn't really support him, and the domestic elite hasn't accepted him, either. He is the best in show business, but not in politics. He just wants to please people.
- ✦ When are the Ukrainians going to use their brains? They are stupid. When are the people going to realize that innocent people were killed, and the country was looted by a geopolitical order? They are deceitful traitors who must be killed like dogs for shooting innocent people.
- ✦ After the Maidan, people who had no idea of the country, pedophiles, came to power.
- ✦ Maidan was an operation designed to separate Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine will not be able to recover. The head of the country is an incompetent person, the Prime Minister is a Nazi homosexual, and they are driven by the ideology of bastards of "Bandera" organization.
- ✦ The people of Ukraine have been deceived by beautiful pictures of western life. Only the authorities knew the meaning of the revolution, and they managed to involve the romantic part of population into its implementation.
- ✦ Maidan has many beneficiaries: America, which says what to do and what to eat, France, Germany, Poland.
- ✦ People in Maidan wanted to join the European Union and wear lace panties ("lace panties" are often used to express the desire of Ukrainians to join the European Union and NATO). Neither Americans nor Europeans will ever treat Ukraine like Russia does.
- ✦ Those who were crooked, who organized the Maidan, are still in power today. They are Avakov, Kolomoisky.
- ✦ Ukraine was destroyed when bandits came to power. The president of Ukraine is just a nonsense.
- ✦ Ukraine is being used today, it has become not only an anti-Russian, but also an anti-European project.
- ✦ Becoming a president, Zelensky did not stop being an actor. He's ready to talk nonsense just to be applauded.
- ✦ Everything happening in Ukraine was authorized and ordered by the United States.
- ✦ Ukraine is fighting against Russia, but it's firing on Donbas towns and ill-treating Donbass people and retirees.

The main statements regarding the *United States, Europe and NATO* have been as follows:

- ✚ Bashar al-Assad sincerely admits that Trump is the best president the USA has ever had, because Trump has confessed that he loves Syrian oil. This is cynicism. I must admit that I love Trump. He is truly one of the best presidents of the USA, he's moving towards his goal breaking down the former system.
- ✚ Trump has created chaos in the United States. He has weakened the country, in the result of which America was replaced by Russia in the Middle East. Russia is a geopolitical competitor for the United States. Trump is a symptom of the diseases the USA has long suffered from.
- ✚ As for the 2020 elections, Russia is not comfortable with Trump, but he could be the least bad solution as compared to other candidates. Unlike Zelensky, he knows what he wants, and he has power.
- ✚ Trump's affection for oil is hilarious, but I'm more concerned about military psychology. Russia is the only country that can rebut the United States in terms of geography.
- ✚ The USA has a stake in every country. They do something only for their own sake, but I don't think America would wish to be involved in the affairs of an insignificant country like Ukraine for such a long time. Restoring friendly relationship between Ukraine and Russia is not in the interests of Trump.
- ✚ Zelensky must understand that he will never become a close friend to the United States.
- ✚ China was going to invest huge amounts in Ukraine, but Maidan took place in Crimea with the help of the United States. Ukraine prioritizes neither the national issues nor the investments, they think of satisfying the Western partners and America, even if it harms the people.
- ✚ The President of Bolivia has been overthrown. In fact, this happened because of the color revolution. Protesters in Hong Kong have burned people. Is it what we call a democracy, is it what America is called for?
- ✚ Americans believe that they are right, and everyone else is wrong. Everyone knows who started profligacy in Ukraine.
- ✚ The American law and democracy are a mystification for promoting their own interests. America would better protect the European countries from itself.

- ✚ Washington behaves in a selfish and unpredictable way, and Trump uses Europe as a commercial project which he wants to get tailored to himself.
- ✚ Look! When Tramp had an argument with Erdogan, he adopted the Armenian Genocide Resolution. Now that things are better between them, he has vetoed the Resolution. Do you understand what the American friendship means?
- ✚ Bolton is a traitor.
- ✚ Trump is a wonderful actor.
- ✚ There are contradictions among the elites in America; the country is on the verge of revolution.
- ✚ Crisis is a usual condition for America.
- ✚ America was looking for an enemy and found China in that role. America says that China is different: it's a communist country which means it's bad.
- ✚ America is writing a war scenario with Russia.
- ✚ America is naming two enemies: Russia and the "Islamic State". How can you possibly compare Russia to IS?
- ✚ America doesn't pay attention to its shortcomings and is looking for enemies to distract from them. In fact, America cannot fight even against Iran now.
- ✚ America has not fought against any powerful state. As a rule, they make war with countries which are already weak.
- ✚ Americans take Ukrainians for slaves and advise them against Russians and tell them how to live. The US Congress openly says that Ukraine is a weapon used against Russia, but Ukrainians still trust them. The Modern Ukraine shamelessly names its streets after Nazis and crooked rascals.
- ✚ America doesn't need an economically developed and united Europe. They are now opponents. America wants to split Europe, it doesn't need NATO.
- ✚ NATO still has a brain. They just can't decide if they should follow America or Europe.
- ✚ The West is telling Ukraine what to do. NATO has congratulated Ukraine on Freedom Day. What did Ukraine get freedom from? Who did it fight to get freedom? All officials in Ukraine have been appointed by America. America organized the Maydan so that Ukraine doesn't become a gateway for China.
- ✚ America wishes to make Belarus independent of Moscow's control. We love Belarus, we've always been in good relations.

- ✦ America wants to spread propaganda that Russia is pursuing aggressive goals regarding Belarus, undermining the sovereignty of the country, though Belarus is sovereign due to its alliance with Russia.
- ✦ America has no shame. America's time has passed, it's doomed to failure.
- ✦ America works on the younger generation of Belarus. There is less Russian television and media in Belarus than before. Even this talk show was going to be banned. This is purposely directed against Russia.
- ✦ America doesn't need Belarus. They just have a fear that the Soviet Union-2 will be created.
- ✦ America doesn't need a strong Europe.
- ✦ NATO views Russia as an enemy and you are striving to join NATO, you are destroying the monument to Zhukov. It's an unreasonable policy.
- ✦ The process of getting membership to NATO has sparked hatred between Ukrainians and Russians.
- ✦ Everything is against Russia in Ukraine. Russia is killing and ruining Ukraine. This is what America promotes.
- ✦ According to Trump's assistant, the issue of Ukraine's membership to NATO isn't on the agenda because Ukraine is conflicting with Russia. The USA doesn't want to make conflict with Russia, and Trump hasn't forgotten that initially Ukraine had not supported him.
- ✦ America has keen interest in the conflict between Ukraine and Russia.
- ✦ Such complaints take place because of weak authorities. Germans were convinced that Israelis were threatening them. The same situation is observed with Russia: Russia is blamed for everything. They brainwash people and advise them against Russia.
- ✦ Macron has recently diagnosed NATO's brain death and a crisis of international principles. Macron has finally realized that there is nothing Europe can teach.
- ✦ The only thing Macron is thinking about is that America used to listen to Europe, but now it doesn't even care about Europe.
- ✦ As far as I understood, Macron is striving to become Napoleon and unite Europe, that's why he wants to become a famous European politician or intellectual.
- ✦ Macron is being hypocritical, and we overestimate him.

- ✚ Europe is used to robbing. As long as a non-patriotic corrupt elite is able to come to power in Europe, they will defeat countries like Ukraine.
- ✚ Formerly, Germany intended to enslave Russians and eliminate them. Nowadays they kill Jews in Europe. France and Ukraine are anti-Semitic.
- ✚ Now Jews are substituted by Russians in Europe, they sow seeds of hate for Russians.
- ✚ Merkel promotes fighting against anti-Semitism because they owe it to the Jews. But in Germany, they create an atmosphere which makes the Jews feel bad.
- ✚ The West is in recession, the EU crisis is caused by lack of vision. Macron has mentioned about the end of Western hegemony, Trump is concerned about losing control over Europe, and Merkel is shocked by the agenda pursued by Macron.
- ✚ Macron would choose to become Trump, but he is not able to.
- ✚ Europe has lost Christianity and is therefore void of ideology.

Summarizing the series of the broadcasts observed within the one-month period, we can conclude that, by successively streamed broadcasts, the talk show seeks to communicate the following ideas to its audience:

- 1. Zelensky is Jewish, he is not Ukrainian, he is not aware of the situation in the country and is good for nothing. His reputation is the only thing he's concerned about.*
- 2. Ukraine is dominated by Nazi rules.*
- 3. The current Ukrainian authorities are inexperienced and do not know how to run the country. The newly appointed ministers damage Zelensky's reputation.*
- 4. The Ukrainian people cannot live without Russia.*
- 5. Ukraine is a headache for the United States and Europe.*
- 6. The USA has used Ukraine as a weapon against Russia.*

Resuming the results of the monitoring conducted within the previous years, we can come to the conclusion that the main theses communicated by the talk show in the previous period were as follows:

In 2018:

- 1. Poroshenko is inadequate. 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 common hatred towards Russia.*

In 2017:

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 was no annexation of Crimea by Russia. It was an 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 results of the monitoring implemented during a three-year period has clearly shown that the attitudes and viewpoints of experts regarding Ukraine and the United States have remained unchanged.

4.2. "Interview with Agnessa Khamoyan"

Similar to the previous year, the current monitoring has also recorded a so-called "shaped attitude" communicated by this talk show on a number of issues and an obvious adherence of guests to dissident or opposition forces. 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 viewpoint. The questions are prepared in advance, and proponents try to stick to them. It can be stated that the structure and a clearly shaped outlook of the talk show have not changed when compared to the results of the previous monitoring.

20 broadcasts, with the below mentioned main **topics**, have been monitored during the targeted period:

1. Broadcast on **04.11.2019**¹
Topic: Current domestic developments
2. **05.11.2019**²
Faith and Consolidation of the Armenian nation
3. **06.11.2019**³
Current domestic developments
4. **07.11.2019**⁴
Current domestic events. About education and teaching Armenian language.
5. **8.11.2019**⁵
Current domestic events. About education and teaching Armenian language
6. **11.11.2019**⁶
Current domestic events. Lavrov's visit to Armenia.
7. **12.11.2019**⁷
Domestic political processes
8. **13.11.2019**⁸
Education and culture. What is the current status on Karabakh conflict settlement?
9. **14.11.2019**⁹
Education and culture
10. **15.11.2019**¹⁰
Education and culture

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7M37eRTaFs&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=25&t=0s>

² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RiIFVMp5oMg&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=24&t=0s>

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pLZNDNsh-Lw&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=23&t=0s>

⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fstkoGaYRh4&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=22&t=0s>

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xt-rAqAiwok&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=21&t=0s>

⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ei7Be3eT6E8&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=20&t=0s>

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jllYyFqbeyw&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=19&t=0s>

⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEX_V9wzW2g&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=18&t=0s

⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-yPjLL02sM&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=17&t=0s>

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j6qa4mTwUg&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4lRRNgm&index=16&t=0s>

11. **18.11.2019**¹¹
In “Vernatun”
12. **19.11.2019**¹²
Domestic political opposition
13. **20.11.2019**¹³
Domestic political developments, economic forecasts and the current state of the economy.
14. **21.11.2019**¹⁴
The policy pursued by Nikol Pashinyan
15. **22.11.2019**¹⁵
The current political analysis
16. **25.11.2019**¹⁶
Domestic policy
17. **26.11.2019**¹⁷
Domestic political developments
18. **27.11.2019**¹⁸
Domestic political developments
19. **28.11.2019**¹⁹
Domestic political developments
20. **29.11.2019**²⁰
KAMAZ vehicles should have been donated by the decision of the city council.

The main topics of the observed broadcasts touched upon current domestic issues and foreign relations of Armenia. A small part of the broadcasts was dedicated to the United States and Russia, during which there wasn't such clearly emphasized and large-scale propaganda as on Russian television channels. The discussions were mainly focused on the relationship between Armenia and the United States.

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=twNS17xOJZU&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=56>

¹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spB9PjX65sw&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=11&t=0s>

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5FQAupZIT0&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=55>

¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iK9OXLpk5Dw&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=54>

¹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spB9PjX65sw&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=53>

¹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwgkfmCZNz4&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=10&t=0s>

¹⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fgqciNUA&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=9&t=0s>

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YSIjTVg2O1g&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=8&t=0s>

¹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IfcnM_k9Luo&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=7&t=0s

²⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFNdjgceG98&list=PLnu1d6PlghpSgWw4r9CaY9aQmR4IRRNgm&index=48>

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 were not involved in the discussion of different topics. Below is the list of **guest speakers** of the talk show:

- + Hripsime Arakelyan, member of Yerevan City Council, PAP secretary
- + Vahe Hovhannisyan, representative of “Alternative Projects Group”
- + Ani Samsonyan, “Bright Armenia” board member
- + Gagik Minasyan, RPA Executive Body member
- + Spartak Gharabaghtsyan, intellectual
- + Ruben Hakobyan, former member of National Assembly
- + Eduard Sharmazanov, member of RPA Executive Body
- + Hrant Bagratyan, economist
- + Narek Samsonyan, president of “Civil Consciousness” NGO
- + Andranik Tevanyan, “Political Economy” Research institute
- + Davit Sahakyants, filmmaker
- + Arthur Khachatryan, ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) EB member
- + Anjela Elibegova, expert on Azeri studies
- + Vahan Babayan, chairman of “Reformists” Party
- + Larisa Alaverdyan, former Armenian Ombudsman, human rights activist
- + Artsvik Minasyan, ARF EB member
- + Arthur Ghazinyan, chairman of “One Armenia” Party
- + Armen Ashotyan, RPA deputy chairman
- + Vardan Ayvazyan, constitutionalist
- + Sargis Avetisyan, chairman of “Solidarity” Party

The **messages** which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of the *domestic and political developments*, were as follows:

- + Khachunts (referring to “My step” faction secretary who also participated in “HuZang and Zang” performance) didn't attend a face-to-face meeting because they prefer staying behind the computer and writing offensive comments.
- + They are illiterate, that's why they fight against the Armenian language.
- + Kindness has become a content of a purse.
- + The reality we live in is becoming similar to a well-staged performance.
- + Our people behave like a sacrifice not knowing where to go.

- ✦ Pashinyan is telling outrageous lies. He never declared that Artsakh won't ever be part of Azerbaijan. I officially declare that Pashinyan is lying.
- ✦ Pashinyan is way out of the line when he compares his actions with those of Jesus Christ. He's got a pathology.
- ✦ As a parliament opposition, "Bright Armenia" is weaker than "Rule of Law" Party.
- ✦ Revolutions are a consequence of one disease and a reason for another.
- ✦ Pashinyan managed to sit on top of management pyramid on Nazar the Brave's principle.
- ✦ It's a battle of value systems. The European culture, which is a result of globalization, is trying to assimilate everyone. The end of liberalism is fascism. We, as a small nation, must maintain our value system. Sharp style shoes, lousy and messy style tend to undermine the national value system.
- ✦ Pashinyan said that people who were against shooting a film about Meline (Mel) Daluzyan, lost their trough. He called the state budget a "trough". Sooner or later, this dementia dominating in Armenia will disappear.
- ✦ The vocabulary used by an opposition candidate speaking from rooftops can't be used by a leader of the country.
- ✦ The RA Minister of ESCS Arayik Harutyunyan is eager to become a Siamese twin of Pashinyan.
- ✦ These ministers are like a ballast, they will drag Pashinyan down with them.
- ✦ Arayik Harutyunyan's goal is to break the Armenian spirit by distorting education. Pashinyan takes on the anti-national behavior of Arayik Harutyunyan. This ministry is designed to attack the whole system of values. Arayik Harutyunyan will settle this matter. They are implementing a program which is against our national codes.
- ✦ Pashinyan creates a false choice between the blue-haired ones wallowing in the subway and those who reject satanists, the ones wearing bast shoes and those having iPhones. Nikol Pashinyan is a political oligarch.
- ✦ Mediocrities cannot design a comprehensive development plan for the nation. Arayik Harutyunyan systematically forms an anti-Armenian, anti-Christian society in our country... It's an order given from outside or, which is even worse, it has been planned beforehand. It's better to be somewhat backward and live in a natural environment than to be advanced and follow a path to destruction.

Resuming a month-long monitoring of the broadcasts of this talk show, we can conclude that it mainly reflects the issues on the political agenda of the day, mostly expressed by dissident political opinions, with presentation of one-sided information.

Unfortunately, we often witness not only criticism of the actions of the Armenian authorities both on part of the hosts and guests, which could be only welcomed, but also distortion and manipulation of facts and misinformation regarding the actions undertaken by the authorities.

4.3. "In front of the mirror"

"In front of the mirror" is a program authored by Angela Tovmasyan who hosts one or more guests at a time for discussion of the recent issues most debated in the country by offering them questions which are formulated so as to convey the author's own viewpoints and attitudes.

During the targeted period, 18 broadcasts have been monitored, the main **topics** of which are outlined below:

1. Broadcast on 01.11.2019²¹
Topic: Nikol Pashinyan's policy is aimed against Artsakh.
2. 05.11.2019
What policy are we having today? Where is it leading us?
3. 06.11.2019
Violations of the constitutional order
4. 07.11.2019
Current domestic developments
5. 8.11.2019²²
6. Current domestic developments
7. 11.11.2019²³
Robert Kocharyan also wonders where the four billion are (referring to the second RA President who is currently involved in the criminal case as an accused. Preventive detention has been used towards him. The trial of his case is now underway).
8. 12.11.2019²⁴

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwhXrtOO2PM>

²² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tRcCltkQSe8>

²³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Lfjbh7_8wk

²⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9s48xdRyFs>

- Domestic political developments as perceived by the youth
9. 13.11.2019²⁵
Domestic political developments
 10. 14.11.2019²⁶
Commotion stirred up by “Prosperous Armenia” in NA.
 11. 15.11.2019²⁷
Education and culture
 12. 19.11.2019²⁸
Domestic political developments
 13. 20.11.2019
Domestic political developments
 14. 21.11.2019²⁹
Domestic political developments, NA
 15. 22.11.2019³⁰
Current domestic developments
 16. 25.11.2019³¹
Yerevan city budget for 2020
 17. 26.11.2019³²
Domestic political developments
 18. 27.11.2019³³
Domestic political developments
 19. 29.11.2019³⁴
Domestic political developments

One of the features of this program is certainly the list of the guests attending. It is noteworthy that a large part of the guests are supporters of the former authorities and former officials, who now represent tough voices of dissidence. The list of the **guests** hosted by the talk show is outlined below:

²⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqTs8gZ3QC0>

²⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfSTnGqfpoQ>

²⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rdriu6gUxPk>

²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=da4O78EbbUM>

²⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oD-lqeZl9XY>

³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KjicWodzHY>

³¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VSIT5NecXiU>

³² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oD-lqeZl9XY>

³³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96Gzc1zE8Po>

³⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lv7nCXb6FXI>

- ✚ Davit Shahnazaryan, politician, former head of NSS
- ✚ Andranik Tevanyan, Director of “Political Economy” Research Center
- ✚ Gevorg Kostanyan, RA former prosecutor general
- ✚ Andranik Mihranyan, political analyst, professor
- ✚ Marine Khachatryan, former member of the City Council
- ✚ Menua Harutyunyan, political analyst
- ✚ Konstantin Ter-Nakalyan, co-founder of “Adekvad” Congregation
- ✚ Gor Sargsyan, ARF youth wing activist
- ✚ Kristine Vardanyan, ARF youth wing activist
- ✚ Ruben Hakobyan, politician, member of the RA NA of the 1st, 2nd, 5th convocation
- ✚ Gurgen Yeghiazaryan, politician
- ✚ Azat Arshakyan, former deputy head of NSS
- ✚ Parandzem Meytikhanyan, Doctor-Professor of Philological Sciences
- ✚ Anahit Movsisyan, Associate Professor
- ✚ Israel Hakobkokhyan, multiple world champion in boxing
- ✚ Aghvan Vardanyan, politician, ARF former member
- ✚ Margarit Yesayan, former journalist, RA NA deputy of the 5th convocation
- ✚ Narek Malyan, founder of VETO movement
- ✚ Davit Sahakyants, animator
- ✚ Lilit Galstyan, ARF supreme body member
- ✚ Tehmine Vardanyan, member of “Luys” faction of Yerevan City Council, member of “Hanrapetutyun” Party
- ✚ Armen Galjyan, member of “My Step” faction of Yerevan City Council
- ✚ Menua Harutyunyan, analyst
- ✚ Mihrdat Madatyan, psychologist
- ✚ Vahan Babayan, chairman of “Reformists” Party
- ✚ Paruyr Hayrikyan, leader of “Union for National Self-Determination”

The **messages** which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of the *domestic and political developments*, were as follows:

- ✚ Pashinyan's actions are all targeted at Artsakh. The external forces that brought him to power must first do their best to establish monopoly in all spheres.

- ✚ Pashinyan sent his authorized representative, Arman Babajanyan (RA NA deputy), to a meeting with Nairi Hunanyan (sentenced to life imprisonment for capture of National Assembly and assassination of several state officials on October 27, 1999). He couldn't have gone there without Pashinyan's support.
- ✚ Pashinyan destroys the power structures.
- ✚ Pashinyan deals with the Artsakh issue in a way that even Azerbaijan has never believed possible.
- ✚ Contrary to Pashinyan, Artsakh will never be a part of Azerbaijan.
- ✚ Power belongs to a person who lacks knowledge, system of values and management skills. Power is misrepresented.
- ✚ To solve questions by voting in the square of small city-states or cities was quite ordinary to do 2500 years ago. Today it is regarded as backwardness. According to Pashinyan, people should be proud of it. Is there something to be proud of?
- ✚ Since Pashinyan said that everyone is a prime minister, no offense can be taken. He's not any better than everyone else.
- ✚ Health Minister Arsen Torosyan said that Valeri Balasanyan – the Artsakh hero, the general who won the war – is mentally ill. It's about a man who protected him, who let him have a peaceful childhood running under the table without a care!
- ✚ As a doctor, I'm ready to take Pashinyan's and Torosyan's (referring to the RA Minister of Health Arsen Torosyan) hands and take them to a psychiatric clinic, as I'm also interested in their diagnosis. This Torosyan has delusions of persecution.
- ✚ To be progressive doesn't mean to make a striptease show in the subway.
- ✚ Arayik Harutyunyan (referring to the RA Minister of ESCS) is threatening that satanic-themed concerts will be never canceled again.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan's fiction is from a cheap poetry. Seeing that people don't love him like they did before, he makes up tales about self-glorification.
- ✚ We are promoting Armenia as an environment conducive to transgender people.
- ✚ The victims of March 1 (referring to March 1, 2008) have been a tool for Nikol (referring to Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan) to gain power.
- ✚ One should talk straight to fools (speaking of ministers). The ministers are getting way too comfortable, and the 750,000 drams which they are getting

- instead of former 100,000 is not enough for them, and they want to make it double. When the time comes, they'll find themselves in political landfills.
- ✚ The forces cooperating with Pashinyan have no future. He will let them down anyway.
 - ✚ The leader of LGBT community in Armenia is Nikol Pashinyan.
 - ✚ When Pashinyan justifies financing the movie about Mel Ghaluzyan (European weightlifting double champion) by saying that she is a sportswoman, it is like saying that he has financed only the subtitles in a porn movie.
 - ✚ Half of the state system is either gay or gay-loyal.
 - ✚ Arayik Harutyunyan put himself in Moses's place. He walked with a rod as if he was the second Moses and was better than anyone.
 - ✚ The National Assembly is a sausage manufactory for Ararat Mirzoyan (RA NA Speaker).
 - ✚ We have a toxic analytical mind. Within five minutes, Lavrov quoted Pashinyan twice, saying that the Artsakh issue should be resolved so that both sides are satisfied. Pashinyan has turned the issue into a matter of populism: Artsakh is Armenia, end of story. Artsakh is in a deadlock and we will pay for it.
 - ✚ Nikol did wrong when he increased salaries without prior notice. I'm also against removing the Armenian language from universities. They want our nation to speak Russian and they want Russians to speak the language of Soros. Sounds as if Russian is very important for us and English is essential for Russians.
 - ✚ The person who holds the Prime Minister's post ... is not my Prime Minister. I've said that the person holding the post of Prime Minister is more likely to see the back of his head than the Istanbul Convention and the launch of Amulsar mine (a mine the reopening of which is a subject of public concern).
 - ✚ In Paris, Pashinyan was asked a question and gave an answer he should be ashamed of. He's a very special liar. I know a very respectable doctor who collects ten-dram coins to send Pashinyan to treatment. Pashinyan has a mental disorder.
 - ✚ Nikol is an advocate for gays.
 - ✚ He let down the people. Members of National Assembly are like children pleased with themselves. Everything tends to end one day. Your wife

- (referring to the RA Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan's wife Anna Hakobyan) has many children. Let her take her children's hands, rather than take your hand and travel all over the world. Today's authorities have come and crawled on our shoulders.
- ✚ Tell Pashinyan not to write poems: he has no talent. I have bad news for you: your Prime Minister doesn't love you. The Armenian language should be protected from this Prime Minister and his elite.
 - ✚ Arman Babajanyan is miserable in his role and I cannot compare him with Marukyan (referring to Edmon Marukyan, leader of "Bright Armenia" Party, head of the RA NA homonymous faction). Galust Sahakyan is a "tasty" man, which cannot be said about Ararat Mirzoyan.
 - ✚ Pashinyan has nothing to do with literature. The society will remain in stupor until Pashinyan signs a Karabakh-related document confronting us with a fait accompli. Pashinyan is taking us to a dangerous place. I have a personal score to settle with him, not just political. If we foolishly wait for Nikol to do things, we will have to face the accomplished fact, and we will be the ones ashamed.
 - ✚ Armenia is a gloomy country rather than a bright one.
 - ✚ Pashinyan made expressions inappropriate for international level: Vatican basements, splattering someone on walls... You can't just do that. Nikol's behavior constitutes irrational populism leading to misrepresentation of power.
 - ✚ Serzh Sargsyan transformed Nikol Pashinyan's demonstrations into a movement. It's like living in a sick joke. There has never existed an opposition like the one which now exists in Armenia. "Sodom-Gomor" brought Pashinyan to power (referring to foreign sponsorship).
 - ✚ The current authorities are delicately treating people like they're idiots.
 - ✚ Nikol is catching on very quick: he said he had nothing to do with Ter-Petrosyan, realizing that people didn't like him. If the Pope had taken Nikol seriously, he would have broken the ties with our country, as Nikol had bluntly blamed Rome for keeping corrupt individuals in Vatican's basements.
 - ✚ Pashinyan turned down everything that made him who he was, and that's the events of March 1. If he denies the past, then he will deny his present teammates, too. Nikol is the country's godfather of hatred.
 - ✚ Almost two years have passed, but there are no changes. Pashinyan is responsible for March 1, he must answer for the ten victims.

- ✚ We must hear Nikol say that he used to be stupid and now he's got smarter, or vice versa... as far as the road to the EAEU is a road to destruction. It's a road leading to the alliance of dictators. I didn't tell Pashinyan that he was stupid, I asked him whether he was getting things wrong, having in mind the Electoral Code.
- ✚ Pashinyan has been lying about serious issues. Armen Sargsyan (referring to the current RA President) has never demonstrated a principled approach. The political leader should not have meetings in the hallways.

Summing up the results of a month-long monitoring, it can be concluded that the main purpose of this talk show is to have the theses, directly or indirectly raised by the host, publicized and substantiated by different opinions through giving floor to the toughest critics of the current authorities.

With the aim of discrediting the current authorities, the talk show generates the public opinion with the help of representatives or supporters of former authorities, who generally disseminate unverified data, misinformation and hate speech.

4.4. "Topical Issue"

According to the format of the talk show, the host invites one guest for each broadcast to discuss the recent topical themes by offering questions which are mostly formulated so as to convey an already shaped attitude. Unlike previous talk shows, representatives of the ruling party and the parliamentary majority are also invited to take part in the talk show which allows the latter to communicate different opinions to the audience.

16 broadcasts have been monitored during the targeted period with the following **topics** discussed:

1. Broadcast 04.11.2019³⁵
Topic: Domestic political agenda. Nikol Pashinyan is number one anti-revolutionary.
2. 05.11.2019³⁶

³⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzbhC_Et1xI

³⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QJtQXBOQ16U>

- Domestic political issues, the issue of Artsakh.
3. 06.11.2019³⁷
Removing Armenian studies from schools and higher education institutions.
 4. 07.11.2019³⁸
Main issues of economy and management
 5. 8.11.2019³⁹
 6. Main issues of economy and management
 7. 11.11.2019⁴⁰
Domestic political agenda
 8. 12.11.2019⁴¹
Judicial-legal issues
 9. 13.11.2019⁴²
Social-economic issues
 10. 14.11.2019⁴³
Domestic issues, Artsakh.
 11. 18.11.2019⁴⁴
Scientific-educational issues
 - 19.11.2019⁴⁵
Domestic political agenda
 12. 20.11.2019⁴⁶
Scientific-technological issues
 13. 21.11.2019⁴⁷
Scientific issues. Should the Armenian language and the Armenian history be taught in higher education institutions?
 14. 25.11.2019⁴⁸
A visit of Armenian journalists to Azerbaijan
 15. 26.11.2019⁴⁹

³⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQxl4j1iG-E>

³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAz3q7-gLsk>

³⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E8Ul65Rc6do>

⁴⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cQcC0cOOof_U

⁴¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RmTpQ5nVB-E>

⁴² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yt56ZWVTmCE>

⁴³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yt56ZWVTmCE&t=141s>

⁴⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kV_Cfdr3m_Q

⁴⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r44EfzfiDyY>

⁴⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lGIFD2v8zQ>

⁴⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hK0WKwRzpKw>

⁴⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mbxj4ninlsw>

Legal and safety issues

16. 27.11.2019⁵⁰

Main legal issues

17. 28.11.2019⁵¹

Domestic political issues

Below is the list of **guests** hosted during the monitored broadcasts:

- ✚ Albert Baghdasaryan, member of the Supreme Council
- ✚ Manvel Sargsyan, ACNIS Chairman
- ✚ Samvel Farmanyanyan, former member of the RA NA
- ✚ Artak Manukyan, member of RA NA “My step” faction
- ✚ Suren Sahakyan, secretary of “Citizen’s decision” Social-Democratic Party executive body
- ✚ Aghasi Yenokyan, head of “Media Protector” Initiative
- ✚ Arsen Babayan, former deputy head of staff of the RA NA
- ✚ Bagrat Asatryan, former President of RA CB
- ✚ Ara Hakobyan, Chairman of “National agenda” Party Council
- ✚ Ashot Melkonyan, Director of RA NAS Institute of History
- ✚ Sophia Hovsepyan, member of RA NA “My step” faction
- ✚ Karen Vardanyan, UATE Executive Director
- ✚ Ashot Bleyan, Director of “Mkhitar Sebastatsi” Educational Complex
- ✚ Edgar Elbakyan, Commentator for the Artsakh Public Television
- ✚ Armen Khachatryan, member of RA NA “My step” faction
- ✚ Pargev Ohanyan, former judge

The **messages** which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of the *domestic and political developments*, were as follows:

- ✚ Unlike Robert Kocharyan (the RA second president), Serzh Sargsyan (the RA third president) was an inner instructor before coming to power. He instructed the subordinates and fawned the superiors. Kocharyan was only an instructor. In this regard, Levon Ter-Petrosyan had a higher level.
- ✚ Pashinyan declared that he wasn’t going to change the constitution. Constitution is the basis of any process. Pashinyan is therefore the number one anti-revolutionary for me. Whatever he says has no grounds. He may say one thing today and a different thing tomorrow. He manipulates trust of people.

⁴⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mbxj4ni>

⁵⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1oFj6D_wH4

⁵¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1oFj6D_wH4

- ✚ There is no honor for the head of our state in speaking about our language, our identity and religion being simply unaware of it.
- ✚ There is a unanimous public decision that the RA Minister of ESCS Arayik Harutyunyan does not belong to his place and does not realize what he is talking about. A government which does not realize that the Armenian language and religion are the pillars of our identity and throws the glove down, will not get away with it. Pashinyan's Facebook chat on this topic was like a stab in the back of the Armenian people.
- ✚ After the revolution, the status of the oligarchs changed. The Prime Minister is now calling them "large entrepreneurs". Previously, Pashinyan had regarded them as people responsible for the March 1 events. How would you call the picture of Pashinyan taken with Samvel Alexanyan if not a political patronage?
- ✚ Those who got rich by stealing, through monopolies and privileges, now have a greater chance of succeeding than others. But the voices of those who demand to shoot them and seize their property, will be better heard someday. If a person has never dealt with a bloody work (his hands are not bloody), he takes advantage of it and becomes rich. I know an official who bought part of a share package of an IT company at a symbolic price in order to make a profit on someone else's work. This is an abuse of authority.
- ✚ We don't have a parliamentary opposition. "Bright Armenia" serves Pashinyan's interests. Pashinyan is actively seeking an opposition to bad-mouth it and scatter it on asphalt. His current objective is to break the society, to divide it into black and white to make it easier for him to dominate.
- ✚ They want to abolish the Academy of Sciences removing the 11-page law.
- ✚ They should leave the National Assembly and communicate with citizens. Working in the executive bodies is not the same as drinking a glass of water.
- ✚ Serious things are happening in our neighboring countries, while our parliament is busy wasting resources on transgenders and the Istanbul Convention. You cannot even ensure the presence of your faction in the parliament. There are members of NA in your faction who have never authored a law and are not politically responsible. The number of trips is becoming bigger, but with a zero efficiency. Only the number of selfies has increased. Our NA members do not even distinguish between the for and against buttons.

- ✚ Teachers are public figures. If they are deranged, they should leave school.
- ✚ There are and there will always be cowardly judges. Completely independent judges do not exist. It all depends on the moral of the judge. There are judges who can't fly: they want to stay away from troubles. And there are bold judges. Those provide services to the authorities.
- ✚ The political system created in the result of the recent constitutional changes was intended for Serzh Sargsyan, and Pashinyan readily put on that political suit.
- ✚ The steps taken in the fight against corruption are not only insufficient but are also disparate and unsystematic.
- ✚ A year and a half that passed since the revolution, have been literally wasted. A launch of important political changes should have taken place instead. The fight against corruption is merely a political show.

Summarizing a month-long monitoring of this talk show, it can be stated that despite having a clearly-defined attitude towards the current authorities and their activities, the talk show provides a platform for representatives of the authorities to offer their counterarguments to observations made in respect to them.

4.5. "In between the lines"

"In between the lines" is Karen Bekaryan's authored program, during which the latter discusses the recent (occurring in the past week) topics and challenges of public concern and makes comments on events. Broadcasts sometimes include short reports reflecting the topic on the agenda.

5 broadcasts have been monitored during the targeted period with the main **topics** outlined below:

1. Broadcast on 01.11.2019⁵²
Topic: Foreign Minister's interview given to the BBC
2. 8.11.2019⁵³
Issue of Artsakh
3. 15.11.2019⁵⁴
About an official visit of Lavrov to Armenia
4. 22.11.2019⁵⁵

⁵² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gzdDjN316MU>

⁵³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1wyqizWLMQ>

⁵⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SKyEt-0MN_k

Domestic developments

5. 29.11.2019⁵⁶

Exchange of visits between journalists of Azerbaijan and Armenia

The **messages** which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of the *domestic and political developments*, were as follows:

- ✚ According to Zohrab Mnatskanyan, Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) is a great security challenge for our people. This is a result of linguistic cognition ... this is a deterioration of the situation. This text has been edited before being posted on the official website with the attempt to mislead our people. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is fully unaware of the right to self-determination. Self-determination of Artsakh is being greatly challenged.
- ✚ Pashinyan is disoriented while talking about the Karabakh issue which poses a challenge to the right to self-determination. He's making controversial statements. Pashinyan is distorting the essence of the negotiation process. He does not have the ability and vision for moving from point A to point B. Pashinyan has no idea about strategy.
- ✚ There was an important element in what Lavrov said: the regulation of Armenian-Turkish relations is a matter of bilateral agenda. Russia is pursuing its own interests in solution of regional problems to their advantage. Lavrov legitimizes Turkey's approach to Artsakh. The Foreign Ministry seems not to be willing to take account of this.
- ✚ The text of the Prime Minister's speech in Paris was re-edited for our public, which is unacceptable. The Prime Minister said what he said... He made a mistake that was heard by the entire world; it is unacceptable to re-edit it for one's own people. Pashinyan said that he was speaking on behalf of the Azerbaijani president. The term "intermediate status" used by Prime Minister shows his lack of knowledge or conspiracy.
- ✚ I prefer talking about Karabakh through my projects. Pashinyan blames his predecessors, and this does not fit into any ethical logic. In Milan, he also edited the words of Luke of the Gospel.

⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ndvbeLjrltI&list=PLq1nxWzeILqFZY78VGoZlBZG5N-BhdaRJ&index=18>

⁵⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RFJN4oGcJl>

- ✚ There has been no positive change in public sentiment. The day after the visit, the President of Azerbaijan kicked dirt in our face, and this had nothing to do with peace. Our Foreign Ministry did not give a proper response.

Summing up the results of a month-long monitoring, it can be concluded that by using a specific vocabulary, the analyst is seeking to provide the public with the thesis that the current authorities are not sufficiently professional and competent and are therefore damaging the society and the state.

4.6. “Freedom of Speech”

The results of the monitoring have shown that the program “Freedom of Speech” has a distinctive oppositional attitude and hosts mainly speakers from dissident or oppositional forces. The talk show raises issues actively circulated on the Internet. The host of the program clearly lacks impartiality and often formulates questions containing denunciations.

5 broadcasts have been monitored within the targeted period with the below mentioned **topics** of discussions:

1. Broadcast on: 08.11.2019⁵⁷
Topic: Robert Kocharyan
2. 18.11.2019⁵⁸
Domestic political developments
3. 19.11.2019⁵⁹
Draft budget for 2020
4. 21.11.2019⁶⁰
Karabakh conflict
5. 25.11.2019⁶¹
Economy

⁵⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jXBkR-JvOek&feature=emb_title

⁵⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_qR7Xmsyiw&feature=emb_title

⁵⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSBR77-LbVY&feature=emb_title

⁶⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXctRm-bsi0&feature=emb_title

⁶¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JwqOlhMSy_4&feature=emb_title

The topics of the broadcasts were related to the current events in the country and the Karabakh conflict. The broadcasts did not touch upon the United States, Russia and international relations in general. Opinions on the international community were expressed during discussions on the Karabakh conflict.

The talk show mainly hosts oppositional or dissident politicians and experts, the list of whom is outlined below:

- ✚ Victor Soghomonyan, the second RA President Robert Kocharyan's office manager
- ✚ Argishti Kiviryan, analyst, expert
- ✚ Vardan Bostanjyan, former member of NA, PAP
- ✚ Konstantin Ter-Nakalyan, cofounder of "Adekvad" Congregation
- ✚ Arthur Khachatryan, ARF member

The **messages** which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of *domestic developments*, were as follows:

- ✚ Robert Kocharyan is subject to political persecution.
- ✚ The authorities do not know how to resolve the Karabakh conflict.
- ✚ The human resource policy pursued by the authorities is wrong.
- ✚ Dismissals in law enforcement agencies are conditioned by the fear felt by Nikol Pashinyan towards accomplished officials.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan is a glutton.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan is unable to become a Prime-Minister and remains a journalist.
- ✚ The authorities are pursuing a social-populist policy.
- ✚ It's not Arayik Harutyunyan's fault, we must demand Nikol Pashinyan's resignation.
- ✚ There is no oppositional political force in the National Assembly.

Summarizing the results of a month-long monitoring of this talk show, it can be recorded that the talk show seeks to publicize clearly targeted opinions, mainly emphasizing the incompetence of the current authorities.

4.7. "Interview"

Taking into account the results of the monitoring period, it can be stated that the program has a clearly defined oppositional attitude and the guests hosted are mainly representatives of dissident or oppositional forces. The talk show raises issues actively circulated on the Internet. Each broadcast has a different host.

12 broadcasts have been monitored during the targeted period with the below mentioned main topics of discussion:

1. 4.11.2019⁶²
Karabakh conflict
2. 13.11.2019⁶³
Educational reforms
3. 18.11.2019⁶⁴
Human resource policy
4. 19.11.2019⁶⁵
RA economy
5. 20.11.2019⁶⁶
Institutes
6. 21.11.2019⁶⁷
History of Karabakh conflict
7. 22.11.2019⁶⁸
Work done by predecessors
8. 25.11.2019⁶⁹
Economy
9. 26.11.2019⁷⁰
State management
10. 27.11.2019⁷¹
Safety of construction work
11. 28.11.2019⁷²
Reviewing the NA activities over the year

⁶² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wzKFedI2OCU&feature=emb_title

⁶³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZxE8akejdQ&feature=emb_title

⁶⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1WD6ODg5_U4&feature=emb_title

⁶⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUcdaCn3a-8&feature=emb_title

⁶⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DTe7o4GYvEg&feature=emb_title

⁶⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=egRgBVGfg60&feature=emb_title

⁶⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JS6y3WLHjuA&feature=emb_title

⁶⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jxcfZzPWzBI&feature=emb_title

⁷⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqDL5HMLfOI&feature=emb_title

⁷¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pEnFGe8XHxk&feature=emb_title

⁷² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szpq31K0gqo&feature=emb_title

12. 28.11.2019⁷³

Health insurance

The monitoring period coincided with discussions of budget for 2020, hence several broadcasts were devoted to discussion of economy and budget issues. Most of the topics covered were related to the Karabakh conflict and the Armenian economy. There were no discussions about the US, Russia and international relations. The talk show hosted public figures and experts with dissident views, the list of whom is presented below:

- ✚ Aram Harutyunyan, member of “National Unity” Party
- ✚ Serob Khachatryan, educational expert
- ✚ Tatevos Avetisyan, economist
- ✚ Karine Achemyan, Chairwoman of RPA Women Council
- ✚ Yervand Bozoyan, political analyst
- ✚ Gegham Nazaryan, member of Alternative Projects Group
- ✚ Ishkhan Karapetyan, Chairman of the Center for Economic Development Initiatives
- ✚ Harutyun Mesropyan, Public Council member
- ✚ Arthur Hovsepyan, technical security expert
- ✚ Ani Samsonyan, member of the RA NA
- ✚ Gevorg Grigoryan, physician, health policymaker

The messages which can be characterized as propaganda or spread of hate speech, mainly in respect of *domestic developments*, were as follows:

- ✚ Kocharyan is a political prisoner.
- ✚ The authorities create an atmosphere of hatred.
- ✚ The alternative to this power is gathered in “Vernatun”.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan has a mental problem.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan is a terrorist.
- ✚ Nikol Pashinyan is to blame for the poor work of the ministers. We must demand Nikol Pashinyan's resignation.

⁷³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Al7JCyqb9gg&feature=emb_title

- ✦ There is unemployment in Armenia and the authorities are not able to solve this problem.
- ✦ People responsible for the sector are inefficient managers.
- ✦ State institutions do not function.
- ✦ Our authorities are irresponsible.
- ✦ Serzh Sargsyan (the third president of Armenia) had a great speech in Zagreb, and Nikol Pashinyan's speech in Milan was a shame.
- ✦ The authorities are populist.
- ✦ Many strategic roads and structures were built by the previous authorities, but the current ones are hardly able to repair them.
- ✦ The quality of life has not changed since the revolution and has even deteriorated.
- ✦ The authorities are not able to implement any program, that's why we have so much budget slippage.
- ✦ We have deaths at construction sites because the authorities are not doing anything.
- ✦ Authorities have been involved in a number of cases of corruption and are not committed to fighting corruption.

Summarizing the results of the monitoring of the talk show, it can be stated that the opinions heard during this talk show are similar to those expressed during the other programs of the same channel. The main target of the anti-propaganda is the current authority, which is presented through one-sided information.

V. HATE SPEECHES AND LABELLING IN PRESS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

5.1. Armenian-Russian and Armenian-American relations

Below are outlined the interesting publications on Armenian-Russian and Armenian-American relations observed during the monitoring period.

On October 31, 2019, in Yerevan, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Vanadzor office presented a report entitled "Russian Military Presence in Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine and its impact on human rights" funded by the European Union's Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum (EaP CSF) and National Endowment for Democracy

(NED). It is noteworthy that the Russian Embassy in Armenia expressed its surprise at the report on the presence of the Russian military base in Armenia, noting that: "It is inexplicable how such research can be considered objective taking into account the source of its funding.⁷⁴. ... "A number of nongovernmental organizations are trying to drive a wedge in Russian-Armenian relations using the externally supported media"⁷⁵, – says the announcement of the embassy. At the same time, in their comments or interviews, many social network users and some public figures also condemned the fact that the American and European funds were being spent on the research regarding the presence of the Russian military base in Armenia which could have a negative impact on Armenian-Russian relations.

Below is presented an excerpt from a press conference of another public figure, which contains information presented as a factual evidence and is intended for implementation of clearly targeted propaganda. "Armenia and Russia have not yet signed a document guaranteeing the absence of foreign troops in our country, as Armenia should first reconcile it with the United States, - this was the opinion of former SSFS chief Grigor Grigoryan which he expressed at the press conference, referring to Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's last year announcement, according to which Armenia and Russia were finalizing a draft document ensuring the absence of foreign troops in Armenia and a complete transparency of the process. The Russian Foreign Minister made such a statement in response to a reporter's question as to why they allowed Americans to build three biological laboratories in the territory of their strategic partner Armenia in 2016. "Russia is concerned that laboratories are being built along its borders by the United States, and this is a relevant concern. The United States does not allow Russia to inspect its biological laboratories and at the same time they are surrounding Russia with those laboratories. When Lavrov made this announcement, I said that the United States wouldn't mind because there had never been a case where anyone had gone into a Pentagon-based laboratory and had discovered a biological weapon there", - said Grigor Grigoryan. During a press conference held last December, Sergey Kopirkin (Russia's ambassador to Armenia) also didn't conceal that Russia was concerned about the establishment of US-funded biological laboratories in Armenia. He assured that the constructive

⁷⁴ <https://armeniasputnik.am/armenia/20191101/20960763/razmakayani-harcery-arevmtyan-gumarnerov-petq-che-gnnel-despanatun.html>

⁷⁵ <https://armeniasputnik.am/politics/20191031/20943887/arevtamet-kazmakerputyunnern-uzum-en-sep-xrel-yerevani-u-moskvayi-mijev-haytarutyun.html>

dialogue on the access and inspection of these laboratories by Russian specialists was underway⁷⁶.

Alexei Vinogradov, a deputy of Armavir City Duma in Krasnodar region of Russia, painted in black a memorial board on the territory of the Armenian Church dedicated to the Armenian military and political figure Garegin Nzhdeh⁷⁷. The Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the Russian Federation responded to this action. In particular, the Embassy's Facebook page states: “We regard the actions of Alexei Vinogradov, a deputy of Armavir City Duma of Krasnodar region, as an act of vandalism and arbitrariness within the territory of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which contradicts the established legal order. These actions are not in line with the spirit of Armenian-Russian relations and may lead to inter-ethnic tensions...”⁷⁸. This incident became the subject of widespread discussion largely on social media platforms, receiving rather harsh responses which further fueled tension in Armenian-Russian relations and caused anger in the Armenian community.

Within a month-long monitoring period, at least two articles have been published by the same website which communicated to the public that the Prime Minister’s actions were leading to the increase of the Russian influence in Armenia“...It was particularly stated that “the forces opposed to Pashinyan are trying to convince the society of a certain tension in Armenian-Russian relations. ... In this regard, it is important for Pashinyan to convince the public otherwise. For this purpose, the authorities are ready to make serious concessions. All this is well understood in the Russian Federation and they are also trying to take advantage of the moment. And it looks like Russia has achieved some serious concessions. Recently, Russian Defense Minister Sergey Shoygu arrived in Armenia. During the visit, it was announced that the military potential of the 102nd Russian military base in Armenia will almost double after its replenishment with new and upgraded armament and military equipment. This seems to be the concession made by our authorities. Russian military presence in Armenia is growing, hence doubling the Russian influence. This is a substantial concession, which is not consistent with the interests of Armenia, as it

⁷⁶ <https://168.am/2019/11/18/1205717.html>

⁷⁷ <https://mamul.am/am/news/165072>

⁷⁸ <https://mamul.am/am/news/165097>

increases dependence on its strategic partner which even the former government has not allowed⁷⁹:...”.

In another article posted on the same site, the author states that: “... Nikol Pashinyan, who has harshly criticized and condemned the Armenian authorities for their strive for pleasing and subordinating to Russia, is in fact more pleasing and subordinating to Russians and is more “adapted”, as you’d call it today, than his predecessors, and this isn’t an accident. Following the well-known Kurdish events in the north-east of Syria, he probably realized that “if he didn’t behave well, he would be the next one” and decided to show more obedience to Russians for the sake of his own chair. This shows that he would do anything for his chair”⁸⁰.

5.2. Rights of the LGBT community and public attitudes

As in the previous monitoring period, there were quite a number of publications and posts made by individual social media users regarding the LGBT community, especially based on the fact that within the given month, several events took place in Armenia which further intensified discussions on this topic. Particularly, in an article entitled “Transvestites held a LGBT forum in Tsakhkadzor”, the author reports that “...On November 9-10, 2019, an LGBT forum was held at the Kecharis Hotel in Tsakhkadzor. The forum entitled “Rainbow” was organized by Pink Armenia NGO which deals with issues of homosexuals. According to a Politik.am source, for the course of two days, almost the entire hotel was occupied by transvestites headed by the well-known Karabina, a famous transgender who had been honored with a reception by the RA Minister of ESCS Arayik Harutyunyan. Transvestites were very loud carrying out various activities throughout the day, and the entrance to the hall they were gathered in was guarded by bodyguards”⁸¹. This publication and other similar articles have received a very negative reaction on the social platform and beyond.

In different interviews, various politicians have shown a clearly negative attitude towards LGBT community members. For instance, member of the NA “My Step” faction Sergey Atomyan, referring to Vitaly Balasanyan's statement that there would be a flow of more than 10,000 LGBT people in Armenia if they continued to tolerate

⁷⁹ <http://politik.am/pashinyani-zijumy-hanun-gazi-gni-rusakan-azdecutyuny-krknapatkvum-e>

⁸⁰ <http://politik.am/pashinyany-hanun-atori-patrast-e-amen-banichokh-nver-rusastanin>

⁸¹ <http://politik.am/transvestitnery-lgbt-forum-en-anckacrel-tsaxkadzorum-lusankarner>

them, said in one of his interviews: "I feel bad about the LGBT community and the assumption that they will infiltrate Armenia under the current authorities is wrong"⁸². Another member of the NA, PAP representative Vardan Ghukasyan said during a briefing with reporters: "There you go talking about King Pap. King Pap was a gay. LGBT people are the devil's servants, they must take the government"⁸³.

Another member of PAP faction Gevorg Petrosyan is known to be regularly publicizing his opinion on this theme. In particular, he wrote: "Just an opinion ... It's a fact that there are a lot of hidden gays working in the state apparatus today. If gays think that their orientation is natural and fair, let them openly declare it and confess their orientation, just as we, the bearers of traditional orientation, do... Why? In order not to make their sexual orientation a matter of national debate. There are more important issues to discuss: foreign investments, economic revolution, high technology development, social security... Well, let's see who's the first "hero" ..."⁸⁴.

However, many public figures went even further expressing their opinions in this respect. During one of the broadcasts of the talk show "In front of the mirror", Konstantin Ter-Nakalian, co-founder of "Adekvad" Congregation, stated that half of the state apparatus is either gay or gay-loyal, to which the Public Council Chairman Styopa Safaryan⁸⁵ responded on his Facebook page: "Kochnews (media affiliated to the second RA President Robert Kocharyan) is sick with gay theme... how come we have so many gay experts? ..."⁸⁶.

According to activist Narek Sargsyan, "as far as representatives of the LGBT community have greatly contributed to the implementation of the "revolution", today they demand compensation." The activist believes that external forces try to destroy Armenia from inside and trigger a conflict among Armenians⁸⁷.

During the monitoring period, another event took place in the country which raised a wave of public concern. It was news about shooting of the movie "Mel". The movie is devoted to weightlifter Meline (Mel) Daluzyan and her ups and downs. The key

⁸² <https://www.1in.am/2653802.html>

⁸³ <https://www.facebook.com/yerevan.today/videos/vb.608041529315377/2702715783112098/?type=2&theater>

⁸⁴ <https://analitik.am/news/view/565588>

⁸⁵ Still a member of the Public Council at the time of the monitoring.

⁸⁶

<https://armnice.ru/%D6%84%D5%B8%D5%B9%D5%B6%D5%B5%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A6%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%AB-%D5%B4%D5%B8%D5%BF-%D5%A3%D5%A5%D5%B5%D5%A1%D6%81%D5%A1%D5%BE-%D5%A7%E2%80%A4%E2%80%A4%E2%80%A4%D5%AB%D5%B6%D5%B9-%D5%A7%D5%AC-%D5%B7/>

⁸⁷ <https://168.am/2019/11/04/1198382.html>

theme of the film is the story of a loving couple, Mel and Tsaghik (a conditional name), their struggle to protect the rights of sexual minorities, the road they've travelled together, and the changes to their relationship under the external and internal influences. "Mel" is among the full-length projects that qualified for the second round out of 65 applications submitted to the National Cinema Center of Armenia in 2019. The government allocated 20 million drams for the shooting of the film. Many people expressed their negative attitude towards the film. In particular, psychologist Mihrdat Madatyan said that Armenia should not have transgender "heroes"⁸⁸. The matter provoked strong public reaction, in response to which the RA Minister of ESCS Arayik Harutyunyan called on journalists not to pay tribute to people trying to gain political dividends in light of this, since those people were an avant-garde of the regression⁸⁹.

It is against this background that a local electronic periodical posted an article about a homosexual hanged in Iran. "In Iran, a man, who had been found guilty of violating laws on homosexuality, was publicly executed. According to The Jerusalem Post, the incident took place earlier this year, but the news broke only now. The 31-year-old Iranian, whose name was not mentioned, was hanged in Kazerun in January. He was accused of having sexual relations with men as well as kidnapping two 15-year-old children. Moreover, according to Iranian ISNA agency, the city residents expressed their satisfaction and gratitude to law enforcement authorities"⁹⁰.

5.3. Attitude towards Open Society Foundations-Armenia

The report on the previous monitoring included a brief overview of heated discussions provoked within the last months of 2019 by the public concern over the NGOs receiving grants from the George Soros Foundation (Open Society Foundations-Armenia). These organizations are presented to the public as national traitors, dangerous institutions that receive large amounts of money to serve foreign interests in Armenia.

⁸⁸ <https://armeniasputnik.am/society/20191028/20906628/kexm-te-dem-mel-vavaregrakan-filmi-shurj-krqery-chen-handartvum.html>

⁸⁹ <https://168.am/2019/10/31/1197091.html>

⁹⁰ <https://blog.168.am/blog/247253.html>

At this stage of the monitoring, particularly in mid-November 2019, open campaigns and periodic actions against Open Society Foundations-Armenia were continued with renewed vigor.

It is noteworthy that the main target of the campaign was not the NGOs funded by the Open Society Foundations-Armenia, but rather Prime Minister Pashinyan, whom one part of campaigners accused of "standing against" the so-called "Soros affiliates", whereas the other part blamed him for being influenced by "Soros affiliates" and believed that he should be saved from them.

The first group's campaign is more explicitly presented in the below outlined article, which particularly states: "The waters of Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan and Soros affiliates seem to have stopped flowing in one direction. The point is that after the revolution Pashinyan gave them authority and levers in the government. But today the situation has changed. Pashinyan has realized that he can get along without the help of the latter. He's not even bothered by anti-Soros groups and actions. Moreover, he's taking advantage of them, and this situation, along with Pashinyan's desire to play the game his way, cannot but disturb Soros affiliates. Their rhetoric has undergone an abrupt change in recent months. In the past, when Pashinyan was accusing Russia of unleashing or sponsoring the April war, Ioannisyan or Sakunts were applauding, claiming that this was what they called a sovereignty. Yet, when Pashinyan decided to curtsy to Russia sending humanitarian assistance to Syria or allowing Russians to access biological laboratories in Armenia, the question was changed into "Is this what we call a sovereignty?" In recent months, Soros affiliates have been targeting Pashinyan on almost every front, from budget to student rights violations. It is noteworthy that even the "Restart Initiative" supported by the Soros Fund has woken up: in particular, David Petrosyan urged in a threatening tone not to mock the striking students. This is merely a message which conveys that if Pashinyan goes on straying from the plan and playing on his own, Soros affiliates may hit him from behind, joining the already growing ranks of critics of Prime Minister and his team"⁹¹.

The second group's viewpoints were most often expressed through interviews and statements on social sites but were not limited to that. On November 20, the VETO public-political movement organized a protest in front of the office of George Soros's

⁹¹ <https://lurer.com/?p=344563&l=am>

Open Society Foundations-Armenia under the slogan "Freedom to Nikol Pashinyan". In a statement made earlier, they announced that the VETO movement had repeatedly noted that a foreign agency network had seized the power in Armenia and had targeted all the sectors vital for the state...In fact, the country is faced with a situation where Soros affiliates are holding Prime Minister hostage forcing him to move on by their own agenda, destroying the institutions that are the pillars of the state. We therefore demand immediate release of Prime Minister from this captivity"⁹².

The second group's standpoint is presented in a number of articles, one of which particularly states that: "It is obvious that Soros affiliates have been mobilizing forces in recent months. Besides Restart, many other NGOs, even regional TV companies, have recently received a considerable amount of money from the Soros Foundation for triggering discussions on judicial system reform. All this rush has two possible explanations. Nikol Pashinyan may be realizing that the judiciary are not giving up and the law enforcement agencies are still resisting the pressure and are not under his total control, which he is trying to gain through mobilization of Soros affiliates. The other explanation is that Soros affiliates are not even trying to hide their ambitions and their goal, that is to assume charge of the NSS and the police. This is actually a message for Nikol Pashinyan saying that they can strongly influence the situation if they don't get the positions so much desired by them"⁹³.

Another YouTube video shows how "Soros grants", according to the author, are distributed to regional TV companies.

It should be noted that during the monitoring period, the issue of creation of crematories was made a subject of discussion, regarding which the founder of the VETO movement declared: "... the artificial agenda on crematory is an entirely Soros-driven process that began many years ago. Back in 2013, a Soros affiliate Hovhannes Hovhannisyan published a work entitled "Cemeteries, crematoria or other solutions" ordered and financed by Soros office, bringing the issue of burial rituals change onto the Armenian agenda. The purpose of the Soros office is to fight against tradition throughout the world, and especially in our country. I hereby inform that similar

⁹² <https://zham.am/?p=49427&l=am>

⁹³ <https://lurer.com/?p=345642&l=am>

campaigns sponsored by the Soros office are intended for fierce struggle against national traditions and the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church”⁹⁴.

During many public appearances and interviews, the allegations that Soros is financing and supporting color revolutions in various countries and that the purpose of financing Armenian organizations is not charity, have been presented as facts. To seem more convincing, they list the names of below mentioned organizations and their leaders labelling them as experts serving the interests of foreign states and expressing and disseminating their views contrary to the interests of Armenia and its allies. Certain antagonistic organizations (such as the VETO movement, “Adekvad” Congregation) are targeting not only the Open Society Foundations-Armenia, but also a number of pro-democratic Armenian organizations, such as the “Asparez Journalists’ Club” NGO, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly-Vanadzor Office NGO, Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC) NGO, "Women's Resource Center" NGO, Union of Informed Citizens NGO, Armenian Progressive Youth NGO, Transparency International Anti-corruption Center, "RESTART" Student Civic Initiative, Coalition to Stop Violence against Women and others.

5.4 Fake users on 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 labelling. Labels, mockery, hate speech are mainly carried out against political forces or individual politicians, deepening 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 for 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 specific phenomenon or an individual(s). Even more concerning is that hate speech and anti-propaganda have recently transformed into calls for action.

⁹⁴ <https://news.am/arm/news/546589.html>

5.5 Public attitude towards Istanbul Convention

Another topical issue during the monitoring period was the ratification of the Istanbul Convention by the Republic of Armenia. The Committee to Protect Freedom of Expression has spread a statement saying: “There has been no shortage of deliberate misstatements and distortion of facts: online and print media, social networks are lamenting: the Istanbul Convention is opening doors for perverted morals, a breakdown of Armenian family and Armenian church, homosexual marriages, tearing children off the parents, spoiling traditions, etc. In fact, certain media outlets "specialized" in the subject have no difficulty in finding people who are willing to misrepresent reality, make biased comments, and spew hate”⁹⁵.

On November 2, "HuZank and Zang" performance took place by the Republic Square metro station in Yerevan. The performance, which received a state financial support amounting to 2 million 700 thousand drams, was considered by many to be satanist and anti-national. It was mildly criticized, to say the least, by a significant part of the intellectuals and was immediately accompanied by violence. It should be noted that the opponents of the performance saw a direct correlation between the performance and the ratification of the Istanbul Convention by Armenia, claiming that it was a result of the freedom granted by the Convention⁹⁶. During the presentation, which was accompanied by chants of "shame, shame," an incident took place. A young man tried to pour the bottle of brilliant green on the participants of the performance. He was shouting that he was going to pour it on satanists. “There won’t be any satanic phenomenon in my country. I'll fight for it no matter how many times you catch me. I'll still be pouring the brilliant green on them”, - shouted the young man who called himself Narek Sargsyan. He was arrested by police”⁹⁷.

On November 2, 2019, a joint closed-door session of the RA National Assembly on human rights and public affairs, state legal affairs and European integration was held, which was attended, among others, by CoE representatives - Vice-President of the Venice Commission Veronica Belcova and President of GREVIO Marceline Naudi.

⁹⁵ <https://www.aravot.am/2019/11/12/1077444/>

⁹⁶ <https://a1plus.am/hy/article/352468>

⁹⁷ <https://news.am/arm/news/542370.html>

Issues related to the Istanbul Convention, its ratification, the existing stereotypes were also discussed at the closed session. Alongside the sessions, members of the "Kamk" public initiative, joined by members of the VETO public-political movement, organized a protest in front of the National Assembly. The organizer of the protest, "No to Istanbul, No to perversion" Initiative viewed ratification of the Istanbul Convention as interfering with Armenia's domestic affairs, and regarded it as an action against national, spiritual and traditional family values of the Armenian people⁹⁸.

It is noteworthy that the press published a passage from Bulgarian MP Alexander Simov's speech at a roundtable discussion on legal response to the ratification of the Istanbul Convention organized on November 29 by the National Agenda Party Council, in which he stated that Slovakia and Croatia had rejected the Istanbul Convention. "The Convention is not about Europe, it's about school education, upbringing of children. The Istanbul Convention is a big trap which must be rejected. One of American-based NGOs in our country, "America for Bulgaria" NGO, was demonstrating a poster with a picture of two men, hand-in-hand, with a sign: "This is just love." This destroys human relations and values", - concluded Bulgarian MP Alexander Simov⁹⁹.

5.6. Political intolerance

Numerous vivid examples of political intolerance are presented above, based on the results of individual media monitoring. The standpoints and publications that were not involved in the programs under the systematic monitoring are presented here. It should be noted that a strong wave of political intolerance rose following the revolution, gaining more traction during the 2018 parliamentary and Yerevan City Council elections, when it was the political force itself that divided the society into the so-called white and black forces, of which the white were the people who assisted them and the black were those who would ever assume the role of dissidents critical of the current authorities.

⁹⁸ <http://panarmenian.net/arm/news/274600>

⁹⁹ <https://www.yerkir.am/news/view/187419.html>

Sadly, there is no shortage of mutually intolerant and offensive expressions during the current period of time. It is quite common to hear intolerant and offensive expressions from both the representatives of the current authorities and those who target the latter.

Particularly, on November 13, 2019, during a question and answer session with the Government in the National Assembly, Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan used expressions regarded as the focus area of the current monitoring. Thus, he has promised that those who would threaten the members of the NA working on the draft law which criminalizes "thieves in law", will be "rolled into asphalt". Also, while responding to the speech of an NA member who expressed his opinion during the debate, Pashinyan said: "... the man, who robbed half of the second city of Armenia, had better stay still or else he will be splashed all over the walls". Prime Minister noted that attention should be paid to everything he said or the scenes he mentioned would come true.

In a situation like this, the words used by people to criticize Nikol Pashinyan also give cause for concern and perplexity. Some of examples are given below: "An absolute liar Nikol Pashinyan has become a limited liar Pashinyan" (Volodya Hovhannisyan)¹⁰⁰, "It's a shame for Armenia to have a Prime Minister like you" (Zakar Khojabaghyan to Pashinyan)¹⁰¹, "The first and the last evil in the country is Nikol Pashinyan" (Gurgen Yeghiazaryan)¹⁰².

VI. PRINT MEDIA MONITORING

6.1. "Aravot" daily

"Aravot" is released five days a week (it doesn't come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper editions from 209/6043 to 230/6064. The newspaper has refrained from publishing materials containing violence, hate speech and labels.

¹⁰⁰ <http://159.69.84.120/?p=155169&l=am>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.yerkir.am/news/view/186452.html>

¹⁰²

<https://4news.am/2019/11/%D5%B0%D5%A1%D5%B6%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%BA%D5%A5%D5%BF%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A9%D5%B5%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B6%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%A1%D5%BB%D5%AB%D5%B6-%D6%87-%D5%BE%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%BB%D5%AB%D5%B6-%D5%B9/>

All editions of the newspaper contain the editorials of the chief editor Aram Abrahamyan. Almost all editorials are related to domestic political events. In his editorials, Aram Abrahamyan has refrained from expressing labels and offensive expressions and has presented objective analyzes.

The newspaper covered the theme of the Istanbul Convention in four articles:

- ✚ Edition N213/6047: The article entitled "Associate Professor of the Chair of the Armenian Language at Yerevan State University about "Istanbul Language of the Convention", refers to the poor translation of the Convention which could possibly be the reason of the misunderstanding.
- ✚ N221/6055: In the article entitled "Iliana Balabanova about the Istanbul Convention and its misperceptions", Iliana Balabanova states that the Convention is not about the protection of the LGBT community, but it is a convention against domestic violence.
- ✚ N222/6056: The article entitled "The Parallel between the RA and Georgia. Georgia has not opposed ratification of the Istanbul Convention" presents conditions under which the Istanbul Convention was adopted in Georgia and comparisons made with the current situation in Armenia.
- ✚ N229/6063: In the article entitled "The purpose of the Istanbul Convention is not the prevention of domestic violence but the introduction of gender ideology in schools", Bulgarian MP Alexander Simov presents the reasons for which Bulgaria refused to ratify the Convention and proves that it resulted in no serious effect.
- ✚ Although only one of the four articles presented the Istanbul Convention from a negative perspective, it should be noted that the newspaper provided conflicting views in this regard.
- ✚ N229/6063: The article entitled "Now we will be able to work more with the society and support the recovery of citizens' dignity" was published with the financial support of the EU and Open Society Foundations. The article is about the activities of human rights activist and founder of Women's Resource Center NGO Larisa Alaverdyan.

News covered by the newspaper regarding Syria is mainly associated with "Source of Peace" military operation implemented by Turkey in the northern part of Syria.

The newspaper articles on Turkey and the United States are linked to the debated in the US Senate and later adopted "resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide". In particular, the meeting between Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the US

President and the topics discussed therein are presented. There are no analytical reviews on the US Senate resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

There are reviews of the meeting between President Erdogan and the parliamentary faction of “Justice and Development” Party discussing Erdogan's visit to the US and his meeting with Donald Trump. There is also an article covering a session held by the Turkish Security Council to discuss the Armenian Genocide issue and the military action "Source of Peace" implemented by Turkey in the north of Syria.

The newspaper also covered demonstrations and events in Georgia. One of the articles talks about reasons for the rallies and gives information regarding the injured and detained people with a reference to BBC News.

6.2. "Iravunk" triweekly

“Iravunk” triweekly is released three days a week: on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday. The monitoring has covered the newspaper editions from 119(3170) to 131(3182).

There have been no materials on Syria.

The newspaper does not contain calls for violence, but all the articles therein include labelling and offensive statements aimed at the authorities. Each edition saves plenty of room for insulting and labelling the authorities and contains caricatures of government officials.

Like other newspapers reviewed, “Iravunk” also offered material on the resolution of the US Senate recognizing the Armenian Genocide, but even in this case, the paper referred to the "bad" work done by the Armenian authorities. In particular, it is noted that the decision is an additional diplomatic tool in our hands, although the current authorities are unlikely to be able to apply it for lack of relevant competency. The article also noted that the current authorities have tried to attribute the resolution to their own efforts, whereas, in fact, it is the result of the work of the previous two presidents (Serzh Sargsyan and Robert Kocharyan). However, another article, published in the same edition, states that none of the merits of the Armenian side has been taken into account, since the USA is merely willing to show Turkey that this is a way of its punishment in the strained American-Turkish relationship.

- ✚ N126 (3177): The article entitled "Georgia is now trying to make a “blue revolution”" reflects on rallies caused by the rise of petrol price in Iran and on how they were dispersed, and then touches upon the events in Georgia stemming from the public willingness to organize snap elections. The article also addresses participation of LGBT community representatives in these

demonstrations. The sanctions imposed on Iran by the United States, as well as the expectations of the USA and the EU from Georgia are also touched upon. The article published in the next edition N127 (3178), entitled "Roots of the Georgian “Blue revolution” go deep", again addresses Iranian and Georgian developments, only this time more attention is paid to economic consequences, particularly those which Georgia faced following the suspension of flights to Russia. Participation of LGBT community in Georgian events is touched upon once again, with a reference to the fact that it is the authorities who provide financial support to LGBT community in Armenia.

✚ N131 (3182): The article "Will Bishkek give a push to the Artsakh process?" refers to Prime Minister's wife Anna Hakobyan noting that she can't find her place and doesn't know what the first lady shall do, and addressing Anna Hakobyan's statements regarding Artsakh, specifically mentions the "*design of jewelry melted from bullets*". It further refers to Prime-Minister noting that Nikol Pashinyan has been calling Ilham Aliyev for a year asking him to make a statement saying that "the conflict should be settled on the ground of the interests of the people of Armenia, Karabakh and Azerbaijan." Then, the article also touches upon Aliyev's statement which he made at an event dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Baku State University declaring that he is against European integration and that they should uphold and promote traditional values. The article claims that Azerbaijan is taking steps to strengthen the state, while in Armenia, they are busy promoting the Istanbul Convention that tends to weaken traditional Armenian values and therefore weaken the state. Azerbaijan is achieving a better relationship with Russia and is not interested in opinions of ultra-liberal platforms. The article takes up a whole page with a small part at the end saying that, bearing all this in mind, Nikol Pashinyan has arrived in Bishkek with a little “luggage”.

It should be noted that the newspaper lacks objective criticism and analysis. Instead, within the materials published on Russia, Turkey and the United States, the newspaper includes articles that contain labelling and offensive information regarding the current authorities, tend to associate the authorities with Soros and claim that by adopting the Istanbul Convention an attempt is being made to weaken national values of Armenia and make it a puppet state.

6.3. “Hraparak” daily

“Hraparak” is released five days a week (it doesn’t come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper editions from 197(2721) to 219(2741).

There have been no reports on Iran, Russia and Syria during the monitoring period. Information regarding the United States and Turkey is confined to the Resolution of the US Senate recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

Various editions of the newspaper contain calls for violence, labelling and offensive expressions. All editions include editorials which address domestic political events and refer to both the former and current authorities, with harsh vocabulary and labelling used in both cases.

Labelling and offensive phrases are mainly used in connection with Soros and the Istanbul convention. During the monitoring period, the main publications have been related to the rallies organized by ARF youth branch and other students demanding the resignation of the Minister of ESCS following the amendments made to the Law on Higher Education, which make the disciplines of the Armenian language and Armenian history non-mandatory; performance of "HuZank and Zang" and the decision on financial support for the movie about Meline (Mel) Daluzyan. As far as the mentioned topics are all related to the RA Ministry of ESCS, Minister of ESCS Arayik Harutyunyan was in the center of the attention of the newspaper. His policy is presented in the newspaper as anti-national.

There were two cases when the newspaper used the name Zara Batoyan instead of Zaruhi Batoyan (referring to RA Minister of Labor and Social Affairs) and Gugo Osipyanyan instead of Gurgen Osipyanyan.

The newspaper has involved many articles on Soros and the Istanbul convention.

The articles present the Istanbul Convention as an opportunity to provide the LGBT community with privileges, inter alia in relation to marriage.

- ✚ N199 (2722): The author of the article entitled "Nikol is not a gift", notes that the revolution in Armenia was carried out with the support of Western countries and forces, particularly with the funds provided by Soros.
- ✚ N204 (2727): In the article entitled "And where is this Aryanland?", the author cites the words of a political analyst without mentioning his name: "What and whom are you explaining? Don't you see his melon head? He's a Turk".

- ✚ N208 (2731): The article entitled "Pashinyan has widely “opened” the Overton window" states that many of the participants of the revolution were representatives of the Soros Foundation and that observant people would have noticed that there was no inspiring national music during those days, and even after Serzh Sargsyan's resignation, they played rock, but not national music, and that during the days of the revolution Ararat Mirzoyan and Lena Nazaryan used colored smoke resembling the LGBT flag. Later, Nikol Pashinyan gave a ceremonial reception to the symbol of homosexuality Elton John. Moreover, they allowed a transgender woman to speak from the NA floor and financed a film telling the story of Meline (Mel) Daluzyan.

6.4. “Haykakan Zhamanak” daily

“Haykakan Zhamanak” is released five days a week (it doesn’t come on Sundays and Mondays). The monitoring has covered the newspaper editions from 196/4782 to 217/4803.

The newspaper covers developments in Iran, Turkey, the United States, Russia and Syria. Unlike other newspapers monitored, “Haykakan Zhamanak” contains news about different countries published on the 7th page of each edition.

There are editorials in all editions. The editorials either give positive acclaim to the reforms implemented by the government or are critical of the RPA and Robert Kocharyan.

Unlike other newspapers, "Haykakan Zhamanak" includes a sports section on the 7th page of all editions presenting the Armenian sports developments.

The newspaper has not refrained from using materials containing labelling and offensive expressions.

The newspaper has included articles concerning the Istanbul Convention:

- ✚ #197 (4783): The article “This is about denial of violence” refers to the closed-door meeting that took place in the RA NA between the delegation of the Council of Europe and members of the NA. The article specifically states that the closed-door format of the meeting was chosen by the CE representatives. The meeting was devoted to the issues related to the Istanbul Convention. The article presents the standpoints of three NA members regarding the meeting. Two of the NA members represent the faction of the political majority, and the third NA member is from the oppositional force. The first two members

have referred to the closed format of the meeting, rather than the content of the discussion, whereas the representative of the opposition has spoken critically of the Convention. As noted by the author at the end of the article, in 2010, in order to avoid any misperceptions, the Council of Europe provided an explanation clarifying what the Convention was about.

- #202 (4749): The article "He doesn't understand" contains an expression which says: "Judges who are whining under the walls of the courts"... Robert Kocharyan's lawyer, Hayk Alumyan, appealed to the Supreme Judicial Council, requesting to provide the list of "the judges who are whining under the walls of the courts" mentioned by Nikol Pashinyan.

Articles on the Resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide:

- #197 (4783): The article entitled "Resolution in the Senate" refers to the "Resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide" adopted by the US House of Representatives and presents the opportunities it offers. It further presents the three branches of power in the United States, explaining how they work and what the situation will be like if the resolution is adopted by the other two bodies. A small paragraph following the same article refers to the role of Kim Kardashian in the adoption of the resolution by the House of Representatives.

Articles on Syria:

- #196 (4782): The article "War for Oil" features the interview of "Voice of America" News Agency with analyst Laurie Blank, who shares her standpoint regarding the interests which the parties fighting in Syria have in Syrian oil resources.
- #200 (4786): The article entitled "Trump has approved" refers to the article published in the Associated Press which talks about the Pentagon meeting at which Trump has made a decision to protect oilfields and provides strategic data.

Almost every edition of the newspaper involves materials related to Turkey. These materials mainly refer to the actions implemented by Turkey in Syria. Information regarding tensions in Turkish-Greek relations is also referred to in articles.

Information about the United States can be found in almost every edition. It is mostly related to US actions in Syria, the impeachment of Donald Trump and the US resolution on the Armenian Genocide.

- #198 (4784): The article entitled "From Russian to Ukrainian gate" features the story of the impeachment of the US President Donald Trump. First, it presents the reasons and outcomes of the initial impeachment and, turning to the reasons for the second impeachment, explains the number of votes necessary for the impeachment and the consequences it may have for Donald Trump.
- # 203 (4789): The article "Clash of Opinions" again refers to Trump's impeachment, this time presenting the opinions of Republican Party members, senators, and congressmen on the issue of the impeachment. It also claims that it should yet be determined whether Biden has not intervened in the Ukrainian developments while being Vice-President of the United States.
- #214 (4800): The article entitled "Testing the S-400" refers to the tests of the Russian S-400 and states that the supplier and Turkey have agreed on signing a new contract. On that occasion, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo called on Turkey to refrain from using the system and replace it with the American Patriot system. In this regard, democrat Chris Van Hollen noted that sanctions should be legally imposed on Turkey.

The news about Iran is covered in the light of the tensions in US-Iran relations or the protests in Iran in connection with the increase in petrol price.

- #208 (4794): The article entitled "There is chaos in Iran" describes the beginning of the protests associated with the increased price of petrol, the reason of the increase, the number of demonstrators and the number of cities involved in demonstrations.
- #210 (4796): The article "There are 106 victims in Iran" refers to the demonstrations taking place in Iran. The article mentions the exact number of victims, which is denied by the authorities. The article also claims that internet access has been cut off during the protests in Iran, which the state presents as an effort of prevention of other countries' interference.

The news about Russia is related to the developments within the RA-Eurasian Economic Union and the CSTO framework. It should be noted that, during the

monitoring period, the mentioned sessions were the most remarkable event happening in Russia.

The newspaper has also published materials on the developments in Georgia describing the reasons for the protests and the important developments taking place therein.

6.5. "Irates" semiweekly

"Irates" semiweekly is released twice a week: on Tuesday and Friday. The monitoring has covered the newspaper issues from 71(992) to 79(1000).

The newspaper does not contain calls for violence, but there are materials containing labelling or offence. Labelling is often used in the articles regarding the Istanbul Convention and Soros. There are analytical materials about Iran, Russia, the United States, Turkey and Syria. In both "Iravunk" and "Irates" semiweekly newspapers, "Fascism" is a common phrase associated with Nazism.

The articles on the Istanbul Convention present it as a convention contradicting and violating national values and protecting rights of the LGBT community. At the same time, the current authorities are presented as defenders of the Istanbul Convention.

- ✚ N72 (993): The article entitled "In war, they fight till the end" is an analytical article, which cites provisions from the Convention stating legal and social consequences which Armenia may face in case these provisions are ratified.

Materials on "Open Society Foundations - Armenia":

- ✚ N73 (994): The article titled "The Soros international group is disappointed and aggressive" states that Soros wants Nikol Pashinyan to be more dependent on him and hence forces him to make non-popular changes, such as ratification of the Istanbul Convention. For this purpose, he has increased financial investments in Armenia, thus expanding the activities of the NGOs governed by him. The article claims that Soros has informed Nikol Pashinyan that the 102nd Russian military base in Armenia should be closed. The article also states that a closed-door meeting was held between Soros-funded organizations to discuss their future activities.
- ✚ N75 (996): The article titled "They say" states that a LGBT forum was held at the Kecharis Hotel in Tsakhkadzor with participation of high-ranking officials, who discussed issues related to the LGBT community. At the end of the day, the officials allegedly drove everyone home in their official cars.

- ✚ N75 (996): The analytical article entitled "In November 2019, Iran "put to work" the fourth step of the mechanism of restricting the obligations in the nuclear deal" refers to the policy pursued by Iran with countries in the region and with the West. The analytical article notes that despite deteriorating relations with the West, Iran is improving its relationship with countries in the region. The article also refers to Iran's nuclear program.
- ✚ N76 (997): The analytical article entitled "In November 2019, Iran "put to work" the fourth step of the mechanism of restricting the obligations in the nuclear deal" is giving a more detailed insight into Iran's nuclear program. The article presents Iran's nuclear program and further describes its phase-out management.

The newspaper editions N77 (998), 78 (999), 79 (1000) contain an expansive analytical article entitled "Armenia, get the main idea of Lavrov's statements: Russia has maintained its position, but has reminded that Artsakh-NKR is a subject", which describes the policy pursued by Russia in the region. Specific attention is given to Lavrov's role in the process of negotiation with Azerbaijan. The article also talks about special US-funded laboratories functioning in Armenia, with special reference to the fact that they are funded by the Pentagon, and that such laboratories also exist in Georgia and Azerbaijan. The article also mentions about Chinese laboratories operating in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan managed by special Chinese services.

6.6. Summary

The focus of all the newspapers is on domestic political events. Three of the five newspapers monitored have a strong oppositional stance towards the authorities ("Hraparak", "Iravunk", "Irates"), one newspaper has a pro-governmental position ("Haykakan Zhamanak"), and the fifth newspaper pursues an unbiased approach ("Aravot").

- ✚ Newspapers with opposing standpoints frequently publish articles with negative references to Soros and the Istanbul Convention. The articles on Open Society Foundations-Armenia or the Istanbul Convention claim that they harm the national values of Armenia, weaken the state and are specifically aimed at protecting the rights of the LGBT community.

- ✚ Labelling and offensive remarks in newspapers can be mainly found in the articles on Soros and the Istanbul Convention.
- ✚ Pro-governmental "Haykakan Zhamanak" does not include materials on Soros and the Istanbul Convention. The newspaper mainly presents the changes implemented by the authorities.
- ✚ As an unbiased newspaper, "Aravot" daily does not include materials on Soros, though it publishes articles about the Istanbul Convention, featuring both positive and negative sides. By giving less room to the Istanbul Convention and Soros, the newspaper has created and effectively used the opportunity to publish different materials, inter alia information on the events in neighboring Turkey.

Information on the United States, Russia, Iran, Turkey and Syria have been included in three newspapers: "Haykakan Zhamanak", "Aravot" and "Irates". Unlike "Iravunk", presenting international news is indeed among the aims of these three newspapers.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Within the monitoring period, one Russian TV program, six Armenian TV programs, five print media publications and numerous electronic news and social media platform publications have been reviewed. Summing up the results of the monitoring, we can draw the following main conclusions:

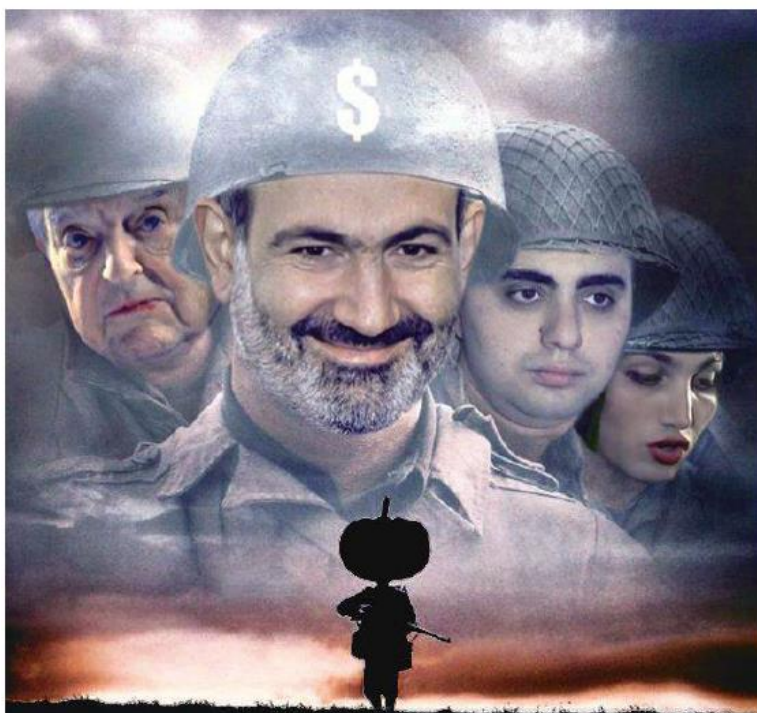
- ✚ The topic of Ukraine has been targeted on Russian television for years, involving more focus and greater resources with each passing year. Labelling is applied towards any current Ukrainian authority. Not criticism, but offensive, labelling and stigmatizing approach is used.
- ✚ Both Armenian print media and television are free from the Russian influence and mainly refer to the current events taking place in the country. There are few publications or comments on international relations or developments in neighboring countries.
- ✚ Presentation of domestic developments and events is mostly one-sided, sometimes reflecting extreme standpoints.
- ✚ Misinformation, presentation of allegations as facts, hate speech and formation of false public opinion are often used as tools.

- ✦ Hate speech and labelling have reached unprecedented volumes as compared to the previous years.

VIII. ANNEXES



ՉԱՄԱՐՅԱ «ԿՈՎԿԱՍԻ ԳԵՐՈՒՅԻ»
(ԼՂԿ-Ի ԵՎ ԻՆԽԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՄԻՋԵՎ ԽՈՐԱՅՈՂ ԱՆՋՐՊԵՏԻ
ՉԵՏԵՎԱՆՔՈՎ ԼՂԿ-Ի ԶՆՆԱԳՎԱՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ԿՎՊԱԿՅՈՒԹՅԱՄԲ)
ԼՂԿ-ն կարող է ճշալ, բողոքել, բայց դա կովկասյան հին
ավանդույթ է:



A GEORGE SOROS FILM
Նիկոլ փաշինյան
Վրկեղ արալիկին



**ԼԱԿ Է՛ ԿԱՏԱԿՈՒՄ ԵՆ
(ՆԻԿՈՒԻ ԿՈՂՄԻՑ՝ ԱՆՆԱԽԱՂԵՊ ԱՍՖԱԼՏԱՊԱՏՈՒՄ ԻՐԱԿԱՆԱՑՆԵԼՈՒ
ԿՊԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՄԲ)**

Կոռուպցիայի դեմ պայքարի կոմիտեից հայտնում են, որ Նիկոլի կառավարությունը նախորդներին չի զիջում հարկատուների փողերը ասֆալտին ցսելու պահով, ուղղակի ձեռքի հետ էլ ԼԳԲՏ-ներին է ֆինանսավորում, որ ասֆալտի համը դուրս չգա:



«Պարո՞ն Պետրոսյան, ի՞նչ եք խոսում, ասում է՝ դուք կուզե՞նա՞ք ձեր ընտանիքում... էդ ի՞նչ անձնավորված բաներ են, մի հատ էլ քֆուր դնեիք քվեարկելու վրա»:

ԱՐԱՐԱՏ ՄԻՐՋՈՅԱՆ



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