MONITORING REPORT

March 6 – March 12, 2023

This report collates insight drawn from monitoring of the narratives trending across pro-Kremlin sites and social media in across twelve countries in Central and Eastern Europe, as they relate to Russia's war in Ukraine. The data were collected and analysed by a number of NGOs, think tanks and researchers, and collated by the Open Information Partnership (OIP), to promote knowledge sharing across the OIP network and the broader region. The analysis contained in this report is the result of each group's monitoring, it is not authored by and does not represent the view of OIP, the FCDO or Zinc Network.

Country-By-Country Overview:

- Armenia
- Baltics (Russian Language)
- Belarus
- Bulgaria
- Georgia

- Hungary
- Moldova
- Poland
- Slovakia
- Ukraine

Working Definition of Disinformation:

1. False or misleading information spread deliberately via Hostile State (HS)-backed or HSaligned outlets.
2. Not-attributable false or misleading information which fits with existing HS narratives, aims or activities.
3. Content based on verifiable information which is unbalanced or skewed, amplifies, or exaggerates certain elements for effect, or uses emotive or inflammatory language to achieve affects which fit within existing HS narratives, aims, or activities.
4. For the purposes of this report, disinformation also can be spread either organically through human ignorance and uncertainty or through poor journalistic standards, as long as the narrative in question verifiably originates with HS-backed or HS-aligned sources.

The following overview summarises developments in disinformation narratives by country, including new or shifting narratives and key cases. These development and insights primarily relate to narratives about the following themes:

- Anti-Western Narratives
- Narratives Discrediting Ukraine
- Battlefield Events
- (Negative) Economic Consequences of Sanctions
- Ukrainian Refugees
- Conditions of Russians and Russian-speaking Minorities
- Threat of War Expanding Beyond Ukraine
- Aid to Ukraine
- Conspiracy Theories

ARMENIA
Media Initiatives Center

THREAT OF WAR EXPANDING BEYOND UKRAINE	Publications: 10 Views: 57,584	In most cases the messages exploited fearmongering, warning the Armenian public that spoiling relations with Russia will mean a war for the country. Posts either warned that Armenia will become the "next Ukraine" or that Russia is the only hope Armenia has against its dangerous neighbours Azerbaijan and Turkey.
BATTLEFIELD EVENTS	Publications: 2 Views: 22,958	Reports on the alleged Russian military successes included the so far unconfirmed messages on the formation of a new effective mercenary group under "Gazprom" corporation, contrasted with highlighting the supposedly struggling and failing Ukrainian soldiers
ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES	Publications: 4 Views 23,151	Despite the diversity of specific sub-narratives in this category, the major focus was on the Georgian protests and portraying the negative reaction to the "foreign agents" bill as Western hypocrisy, drawing a comparison with US rather than Russian legislation.

Contextualizing most popular narratives

Armenian information space is dominated by the processes around Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: the area remains under blockade by Azerbaijan and the border between countries in unstable with increasing numbers of ceasefire violations in first half of March. Ukraine-related stories are not the top theme for mainstream media, but regular updates on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict are reported.

In Telegram, regular Ukraine-related reports constituted most of the content in the monitoring period. In instances where disinformation was reported pro-Russian opposition actors and Russian propaganda sources played the key role.

1. Threat of war expanding beyond Ukraine

In 9 out of 10 cases the content was shared by a media outlet or Telegram channel affiliated with proRussian opposition, namely, with the political force of former President Robert Kocharyan. Kocharyan is known to be a "friend of Putin", and currently leads the main opposition force in the Parliament against the government of Nikol Pashinyan. In 2 cases the Telegram channel "Armenian Vendetta" and the Media outlet "Yerevan. Today Rus" (both considered affiliated with Kocharyan) shared a post by one of the Members of Parliament from Kocharyan's faction, Andranik Tevanyan. The latter praised Georgia for refusing to become an arena for "Russia-West clash" and implied that it was the anti-Russian sentiment of the Armenian government that led to disastrous war with Azerbaijan in 2020.

Another message of importance was published by blogger Mika Badalyan, who was also an actor of significance during the previous (February 20 – March 6) round of monitoring. Badalyan is linked to the proKremlin media in Armenia and has plans to establish a local branch of "Tsargrad TV" – an ultraconservative channel, focused on promotion of the Russian Orthodox Church. "Tsargrad TV" in Russia is controlled by an oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, who financially supported Russian hybrid aggression against Ukraine in 2014 and has personal ties with a former aide to Putin, Vladislav Surkov – one of the architects of said aggression. While it is not known whether Badalyan has personal ties to Malofeev, he is in contact with the bloc of Robert Kocharyan, a pro-Russian opposition party in Armenia. He actively participated in opposition rallies linked to that party last year, and in his message this week he called Georgian men reportedly fighting in Ukraine "terrorists", thus arguably undermining the "Foreign Legion" of Ukraine and Georgia's prominent role in it specifically while at the same time portraying the support of Ukraine's self-defense as "terrorism".

In general, the Georgian protests and the "foreign agent" bill were actively covered. And while proRussian opposition criticized the protesters, pro-Pashinyan Baghramyan26 channel expressed opinion that increasing Russian influence in the region will be bad for Armenia. The channel in question ranks among the top ones in Armenia and is linked to the government; it has also produced the most popular disinformation message of the week – see below for additional context.

Similarly to the results of February 20 – March 6 monitoring, Mika Badalyan utilized the topic of NagornoKarabakh war to spread pro-Russian narratives. He also reminded his readers that "Ukraine congratulated Azerbaijan with the victory in 44-day war" [Ukraine indeed has a highlighted proAzerbaijani position, and pro-Russian activists in Armenia actively use this to portray Ukraine as hostile and unworthy of support]. In the same post he speculated that pro-Ukrainian activists in Armenia are trying to drag the country into war with Russia. This post also contained fearmongering: the readers were reminded that Russia is the „only ally" of Armenia, and that the recent events in Georgia show how Yerevan is allegedly pushed into war with Russia.

2. Battlefield events

Disinformation messages of this category focused on creating an image of Russian military success. This included posts on the alleged complete crash of Western-backed Ukrainian army and a successful new mercenary group created by oil giant Gazprom; both posts referenced pro-Russian sources, including a retired US Colonel Douglas MacGregor who is frequently referred to by sources such as RT for his consistent claims favorable to Russia, and a Z-channel Военкор Котенок Z, one of the most notably Russian "military correspondents" spreading disinformation with focus on military developments. Reports on Gazprom's mercenary group appear to be mostly unconfirmed.

3. Anti-Western narratives

In this category the sub-narratives were very diverse, including the messages that the West was responsible for sabotaging the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, claims that the West has provoked the war between Russia and Ukraine and that it profits from hostilities.

However, a more or less prevalent trend could still be established, as in 3 cases the topic of the posts were dedicated to the Georgian protests and the foreign agent bill that sparked them. In this context the West was called hypocritical, and Georgian foreign agent bill was said to be inspired by US FARA, rather than the respective Russian law. In one case, a Russian official blamed the West for escalating the conflict, and two other posts were quotes from pro-Russian statements in American media (see below).

4. Russian & Western disinformation sources

In 7 cases the source of posts was Russian state-controlled media: In 3 cases these were pro-Kremlin or Z-channels, in 4 cases – state-run media (TASS, First Channel, RT). Only in two cases these posts did not contain disinformation. [Note that these cases refer to reposts/retelling of Russian media content, not routine statements by various Russian officials. Such statements are a usual part of news cycle, both when they come from Russian officials, and when they come from US or other Western officials].

In 3 posts Western media or commentators were quoted to express pro-Russian narratives. Tucker Carlson on Fox News argued that Nordstream was sabotaged by US; former US army Colonel Douglas Macgregor argued that Russia is having great success in the battlefield, and an unnamed Western commentator squezzed nearly all anti-Western narratives in under-5 min speech. In all 3 cases the content was shared by Telegram channel „SisMasis", known for nationalistic, as well as anti-government stances.

Most popular post / Key actors

Despite the fact that almost 40% of the posts in the selection were published by sources in one way or another affiliated with pro-Russian opposition (Mika Badalyan, Armenian Vendetta, Yerevan.Today Rus), the 4 most popular posts actually came from Baghramyan26, a channel considered to be affiliated with the government. Baghramyan26 is the biggest Telegram channel in Armenia and it has a stable audience. The channel is anonymous, but it is believed to be affiliated with PM Nikol Pashinyan. The name of the channel refers to the address of the Armenian President's residence (Baghramyan street, 26/1). This channel does not usually spread disinformation or Russian propaganda. On the contrary, the war-related posts are either neutral or critical of Russia. However, it does criticize Ukraine and occasionally promotes anti-Ukrainian sentiment due to Kyiv's pro-Azerbaijani position in Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict.

Among 10 most popular posts 7 were categorised as „Not disinformation"; the other 3 contained Conspiracy theory & Threat of war expanding beyond Ukraine narratives. These 3 most popular disinfo posts were published by Mika Badalyan, „Armenian Vendetta" & „Xaytarak 18+". The latter channel is often posting radicalized content both regarding Armenia and Russia.

Trend prediction

In the past two weeks of monitoring "Threat of war expanding beyond Ukraine" narrative was consistently popular. This can be expected in the future also because traditionally pro-Russian actors and Russian disinformation used threats when addressing Armenian public. Before the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh and current Russian-Ukrainian war, Russia was portrayed as the only "savior", the only hope Amenia has to

resist the danger coming from Azerbaijan and Turkey. Nowadays (and in Ukraine-related context of the selected posts) it seems that pro-Russian actors actively use the fears and trauma related to Armenia's own existential threats to convince the public that not supporting Russia will bring even more destruction and war to Armenia.

BALTICS (RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE)
Civic Resilience Initiative

ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES	Publications: **5** Views: **359,142**	The key sub-narrative within this category presented Western states as hypocritical, accusing them, including Canada and Lithuania, of violent behaviour towards civilians. Such portrayal blurs Russian responsibility for human rights abuses in Ukraine and at home.
THREAT OF WAR EXPANDING BEYOND UKRAINE	Publications: **5** Views: **338,530**	Lithuania is a country most often targeted by the claims of hostile actions, including the alleged discreditation of Belarusian power plant that has long been a security concern for Lithuanian authorities. At the same time, Poland and Ukraine are also portrayed as aggressive states.
CONDITIONS OF RUSSIAN AND RUSSIAN SPEAKING MINORITIES	Publications: **7** Views **22,830**	Accusations of Russophobia remain a leading sub-narrative of the category, which were primarily promoted via the messaging on the Russian entry ban for several politicians – a step that was portrayed as a response to the infringement of the rights of Russians in the Baltic countries.

Contextualizing most popular narratives

In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania the actors within the local disinformation eco-system remain dedicated to promoting of the same three categories of narratives as during the previous week of monitoring. Lithuania has been portrayed as an aggressive country in the highest number of cases. Substantial amount of disinformation is linked to Belarus as a Russian ally, where the regime employs similar disinformation tactics to Russia and often pursues the same narratives in regard to the Western countries, with Lithuania and Poland in focus as neighboring states.

The most popular narrative this week regarded Anti-Western narratives (5 posts, 359,142 interactions). In particular, stories within this narrative accused the West and the Baltics of being hypocrites. For example, one post showcased a video in which there are random clips of (allegedly) Canadian officers beating citizens. The video is shown out of context, without any explanation trying to portray Canada as a hostile country. In other cases Latvia is being accused of killing migrants at the Belarussian border. In all of these cases the West (including the Baltics) are being portrayed as violent actors themselves, trying to discredit their empathy to Ukraine or their "hostile" reaction to Russia's actions in Ukraine. Other stories include attempts to discredit Western countries' systems, claiming that their leaders are incompetent or that their educational system is brainwashing children and spreads lies.

The second most popular narrative regarded the "Threat of war expanding beyond Ukraine" (5 posts, 338,530 interactions). The most popular sub-narrative within this group was "X country is escalating the war". In some cases, Belarus accuses both Lithuania and Poland for hostile, warprovoking actions. Lithuania is being accused of deliberately discrediting Belarus' power plant, while Poland is accused of escalating the conflict when they restrict the operation of checkpoints on the border with Belarus. Lithuania has voiced concerns about the Astrav power plant's safety issues (the power plant is located only 20 km from the Lithuanian border) for a long time (since its building process in 2011 and its launch from 2020). Belarus in response state that these Lithuanian remarks are not voices of concern, but hostile reactions to Belarus' economic and political well-being. Other stories try to point out that Ukraine is planning to occupy Transnistria or how France and the UK is planning to attack Russia.

"Conditions of Russians and Russian-speaking minorities" (7 posts, 22,830 views) remains another category of importance. The only sub-narrative that appeared in this group was "X country is Russophobic / Russian culture is being attacked", and its domination in the entire category highlights the importance of such messaging, particularly considering that this rhetoric was also trending during the first round of monitoring. This week, this narrative mostly focused on the story that Russia banned specific politicians from the Baltic region from entering the country, claiming that this ban was issued due to the region's Russophobic policies. Other posts reiterated previously popular narrative tropes. For example, the Soviet monument demolition issue in Riga's "Victory park" is regarded as (a) a needless expense for the country which is facing an economic crisis and

(b) as Latvia's efforts to "rewrite history". These stories reiterate the popular disinformation notion in the Baltic region that any desovietization act is held to be an act of Russophobia.

Compared to last week, we can see that there has been an increase of "Anti-Western" and "Economic consequences of sanctions" narratives. The former was briefly seen in the previous week, while the latter one hasn't appeared at all. Although the economic narrative does not figure so prominently and might be an outlier, due to the methodological approach of gathering data. That is to say, the economic narratives do not feature as much as the Russophobia or warmongering ("Threat of war expanding) narratives of the previous week. Although there were several important events in the Baltic region this week (Lithuania's reestablishment of statehood anniversary, Lithuania's municipality elections, Estonia's parliament elections), none of the cases so far addressed these events. Perhaps these stories need more time to develop.

Most popular post / Key actors

This week we witnessed some anomalies within the Baltic region's Telegram space in the Russian language. All of these anomalies came from the Telegram channel "Антифашисты Прибалтики" (Antifascist Baltics). This channel has 6,765 followers, while 4 of their most popular posts this week gathered 344,224, 323,485, 317,121 and 297,178 views respectively. This amounts to over 1.28 million views from 4 posts from a page which has less than 7 thousand followers. If one takes a look at the channel's statistics, it can be seen that their post view average is 7,355 and their citation index score is 81.0. This sort of viewership increase (by more than 40 times) throughout one week on 4 specific posts containing disinformation implies inauthentic behavior.

The most popular post shows a video, in which there are random clips of (allegedly) Canadian officers beating citizens. The video is shown out of context, without any explanation trying to portray Canada as a hostile country. The second-most popular post tries to mobilize people (inciting their civic duty) to supply the Wagner group with more ammunition. The Wagner group is described as the fighters who protect the interests of Russia in other countries. The third-most popular post tried to state that some Azov members who have been spotted in Latvia on the 16th of March will try to stage a provocation in which they (dressed in Russian symbols) will seize a Latvian social institution, mock Latvian children and elderly, force them to shout pro-Russian slogans and then massacre them. The fourth-most popular post tries to state that the EU and USA are entering into their biggest recession yet.

We can see that these posts do not cover a cohesive story. Rather they cover separate disinformation fields (from inciting fearmongering to engaging in anti-western sentiments). This further problematizes the reason for these posts' popularity. This group is run by anonymous administrators who claim that they are "antifa" and that their goal is to "fight Nazism, Russophobia and racism". They tend to share content from other disinformation channels (such as Baltnews or Posdnyakov [Поздняков] 3.0[1]) or Aleksey Stefanov, a Latvian correspondent in the Baltic states for Kremlin-owned Rossiya Segodnya, who also featured in the previous week's report with his ties to

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[1] A private TG group, which has 245946 followers. It actively spreads Russian disinformation, sometimes targeted towards the Baltic region. (https://t.me/+k_Z9AGYLs7g5ZGUy   )

another popular disinformation TG group in the Baltics – "Sprats in exile | Latvia News"["Шпроты в изгнании I Новости Латвии"].

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Trend projection for next week

The trend shows that Russian disinformation in the Baltic region mainly focuses on pushing the Russophobia narrative. However, unlike last week, this strategy was not followed up by inciting warmongering within the Baltic region (i.e. there weren't any posts which indicated an upcoming occupation of the Baltics from Russia). It is safe to assume that the Russophobia narrative will continue to be the most popular (as it has been for the past 10 weeks).

Narratives discrediting the West seem to be on the rise, so we might expect them to remain relevant last week. For the second week in a row, there were no stories regarding Ukrainian refugees. This suggests that we should not expect these narratives next week and could hint at a broader decline of this narrative in the region.

Looking at important dates for next week, we must emphasize the 15th of March, which marks Latvian Legion Day. No Latvian patriotic holiday is as despised by pro-Kremlin actors as this one. It commemorates the World War 2 Latvian Legion and falls on the date when this legion fought the only Latvian-led battle of World War 2 (against the Russian Red Army which sought to occupy Latvia). To ethnic Russians, the fact that Latvians eagerly fought against the Red Army (lengthening the Nazi German occupation instead of restarting Soviet one) destroys their national myth that "the Soviet Union had liberated Latvia". Therefore, Russian media (sometimes repeated by Western media) to this day regularly portrays the event as a pro-Nazi one. As a result, we might expect such disinformation stories, which spread the narrative that "Latvia is a Nazi supporting country" or other narratives of this type, which would discredit Latvia's integrity and sovereignty.

BELARUS
Belarus Press Club

NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE

Publications:
24

Views:
2,353,000

This group of narratives was mostly focused on accusations of Ukraine targeting civilians, with reference to the incident in the Bryansk region; it also relied on the portrayal of Ukrainians as Nazis and the idea that Western societies do not support Ukraine

BATTLEFIELD EVENTS

Publications:
4

Views:
161,000

Two publications within this narrative promoted messages that the West is using Ukraine as a pawn and that it profits from the war

ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES

Publications:
2

Views:
4,660

Anti-Western rhetoric took two major directions, the first one being an attempt to sow disbelief in the Western support of Ukraine and undermine the image of Western partners as reliable ones. At the same time, disinformation actors ridiculed the US leadership via personal attacks on Joe Biden.

Contextualizing most popular narratives

1. Narratives discrediting Ukraine

Among the narratives of the first group, the vast majority of messages concerned the narrative that Ukraine does not want peace.

The main event of the week covered by Belarusian pro-government telegram channels was Alexander Lukashenko's press conference that took place on March 7 2023 and was widely covered by Belarusian pro-regime outlets both on Telegram and beyond. The press conference was connected with the explosion (damage) of the Russian A-50 aircraft at the Belarusian airfield in Machulishchi.

Commenting on the incident, Alexander Lukashenko accused Zelensky of hypocrisy, saying that Zelensky was calling for a non-aggression pact between Belarus and Ukraine and, according to Lukashenko, was carrying out such operations in Belarus. At the same time, Lukashenko called Zelensky a nit and said that the challenge had been thrown down.

The pro-government channels boasted that the Belarusian special services had located and arrested the suspect (Nikolai Shvets). The suspect admitted in his testimony that he worked for the SBU.

In the first group, the narrative that Ukrainians are Nazis was also noticeable (the narrative is constantly present). This narrative was also used in the case of Dmytro Kotsyubaylo, who was called a neoNazi by the channel "Our Country", to whose funeral in Kiev the Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin was invited. The channel in question, "Nasha Zemlya" [Our Land] is often focused on satire and trolling, essentially weaponizing humour to degrade and ridicule the individuals/processes/events it targets.

Other narratives – the Ukrainian leadership is not sparing its soldiers and does not provide them with any credible training before sending to the places of active hostilities like Bakhmut; Ukraine is provoking war (especially, against the backdrop of news that the trail of the gas pipeline bombing leads to Ukraine). Sometimes there was news that the West was no longer supporting Ukraine.

2. Battlefield events

The second group of most popular narratives basically assures that Russian troops are succeeding, and Ukraine is losing the war.

The original trick was used by the "YP Premium" channel to promote the idea that reports of Russian war crimes are fake. The message said that there were no Russian war crimes because the court had sentenced ex-MSU student Dmitry Ivanov to a long prison term (8.5 years) for writing false articles about war crimes committed by Russian troops. The case was also used to justify the harsh sentences handed down by Belarusian courts against the opposition.

3. Anti-Western narratives

The third group of TOP stories of the week was devoted to anti-Western narratives. It quoted Scholz's statement that the time had not yet come to provide Ukraine with security guarantees. The "Yellow Plum" channel promotes a narrative about the incompetence of the US president, and doubts his mental capacity.

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Belarusian pro-government telegram channels mainly reproduce news from Russian sources and support the Russian version of events. At the same time, the channels selectively seek out antiUkrainian and anti-Western theories in the Western media. Almost always, Belarusian progovernment channels either quote local "experts" who have neither personal experience nor special knowledge, or reprint individual quotes from Prigozhin, Pushilin, Konashenkov and other talking heads of Moscow's aggression from Russian media.

To showcase the reliance of Belarusian media on Russian sources it should be noted that on 24 February, when covering the relationships between Russia and Ukraine, the state media rebroadcasted Russia's position. Media analysts noted that by doing so, they abandoned the information sovereignty principle, stated in the Information Security Concept of Belarus. This manifested through the choice of topics, dominant narratives and the vocabulary used. The events of the war were covered either selectively, with Russia's interests in mind (informing about Russian military successes and keeping silent about retreats or civilian casualties), or openly from proKremlin positions, when Belarusian media expressed support for the Russian army and the Russian leadership and devalued actions of the Ukrainian authorities, the armed forces and people of Ukraine.

Most popular/Key actors

The most viewed (1,208,828 views) publication was published by a Telegram channel "Belarusian silovik" reporting on the detainment of a person allegedly responsible for an attempted terrorist attack at Machulyshchi airdrome earlier in March (see above). The message praises Belarusian security services for their effectiveness, which is in line with the general rhetoric and even name of the channel that suggests intended whitewashing of the Belarusian law enforcement system under Lukashenka.

Trend prediction

Next week, in connection with the Constitution Day of the Republic of Belarus (15 March), stories are expected to praise Belarusian democracy and emphasise the alleged lack of democracy and human rights in Ukraine and in Western countries.

BULGARIA
Center for the Study of Democracy

| ANTIWESTERN NARRATIVES | Publications: 22 — Views: 474,820 | With the focus on the sub-narrative of the West being directly involved in the war, the key message claimed that Western mercenaries are employed to fight against Russia, leaving it no other choice than to defend itself. Anti-Western rhetoric was also heavily centred on discrediting the Georgian protests as orchestrated by the US. |

| NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE | Publications: 9 — Views: 34,075 | Two main directions of discrediting Ukraine were used by disinformation actors: accusing the Ukrainian military of atrocities committed against the civilian population, including children, and accusations that the Ukrainian government is fascist by the pro-Kremlin populist party *Revival* |

| BATTLEFIELD EVENTS | Articles: 6 — Views: 24,253 | The ongoing military stand-off in Bakhmut remains at the center of attention with claims that Ukrainian soldiers are fully encircled and that city will fall within a short period of time. |

Ukraine War
Disinfo
Working Group

Contextualizing most popular narratives

The second round of monitoring evidenced an increase in the number of anti-Western disinformation, which remains a top category of narratives. Narratives discrediting Ukraine maintain their ranking as the second most widespread category, however, in terms of the third one attention switched from undermining the idea of providing aid to Ukraine to the military developments, mostly in Bakhmut.

1. Anti-Western Narratives

The most popular sub-narrative in this bloc was *NATO/the US/the West is or will be directly involved in the war.* The Bulgarian media outlets and pro-Russian Telegram groups monitored disseminate the pro-Kremlin narrative that Russia is not at war with Ukraine but with the collective West. All military actions, including attacks on civilian population and residential buildings allegedly take place under the command of Western instructors.

Furthermore, disinformation media outlets such as *Pogled info* and *News Front* systematically claim that thousands of mercenaries from abroad have arrived in Ukraine, despite the fact that the recruitment of mercenaries is legally banned and prosecuted in many countries. See [sample 1](#) and [sample 2](#), for reference. Thus, for its own safety Russia has no other option than to eliminate all foreign soldiers fighting this pointless war.

Another popular leitmotif utilized by the media outlets and some Telegram channels is that the US proved its willingness to abuse any NATO member in order to satisfy its own needs.

Some of the Telegram channels propagated new sub-narratives, such as:
- Protests in Georgia are organized by the West – see the [example](#) constituting a post by Свободна и мирна България [Free and peaceful Bulgaria] shared from a Bulgarian telegram channel exploiting "Z" and "V" symbols of supporting the Russian war against Ukraine.
- The Western Elites are corrupt – see the [example](#) targeting Ursula von der Leyen and the EU as an allegedly corrupt entity in general.
- Japan will be the "Asian Ukraine" in a potential war between US and China – see a [post](#) by BG.Via, a source that produced the most popular publication of the previous week.

However, the three Telegram posts accumulated less than 4,000 total views.

The most popular Telegram post was in Russian from the group *ЗОВ - заЕДНО ОБЩение всеМИР* and it gained more than 330, 000 total views. In a video, the retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Keith Kellogg openly states that, on the territory of Ukraine, the U.S. is conducting military operations to defeat Russia. Kellogg considers the use of a foreign army to conduct U.S. military operations against Russia to be the "apogee of professionalism" by U.S. authorities.

It is worth mentioning that the Telegram group *ЗОВ - заЕДНО ОБЩение всеМИР* accumulates a huge portion of the total views from the monitored sources and for now posts only in Russian. The group aims to gather "all Bulgarians" (according to its Telegram description) and to promote peace, and enlightenment. Although the admins strictly forbid any political views and disinformation, the almost 3,200 members of the group mainly disseminate anti-NATO and proRussian publications, often with media attached to them.

2. Narratives Discrediting Ukraine

Sub-narratives about Ukrainians being Nazis and Western societies no longer supporting Ukraine were popular in this monitoring period. All the Telegram channels and media outlets monitored used a more sensationalist approach to amplify these narratives, mentioning sensitive topics such as the Ukrainian army allegedly killing children and raping women as well as Ukrainian citizens being called to the frontline to play the role of cannon fodder. See, for example, a [post](#) by Telegram channel InfoDefenceBulgaria, which additionally portrays Ukrainians as Nazis.

An interesting case mentioned on several times involves the Bulgarian candidate MP from the farright pro-Kremlin populist party *Revival* Atanas Stefanov. In a video, Stefanov threw the Ukrainian flag from the balcony of the capital's city hall, calling it "fascist". This was published also in Russian language in one of the Telegram groups.

3. Battlefield Events:

The most popular sub-narratives in this bloc are Ukraine is losing the war and Russian troops are advancing and achieving success. The disinformation shared mainly addresses the defense of Bakhmut, arguing that Bakhmut is completely surrounded and will be taken within days, because Ukrainian fighters can no longer hold their positions.

This claim is made although Moscow has been trying to take the eastern Ukrainian city for months in a grinding war of attrition. The monitored pro-Kremlin media outlets and Telegram channels claim that the ongoing war in Ukraine is definitely being won by the Russian side, whilst the situation for Ukrainian troops is gradually deteriorating, while there is no evidence to firmly support both arguments.

Most popular post/Key actors

The most popular publication of the week was a Telegram post in Russian from the group ЗОВ - заЕДНО ОБЩение всеМИР [ZOV – For United Community and Peace]. The publication that gained more than 330, 000 total views showed a video, where the retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Keith Kellogg openly states that, on the territory of Ukraine, the U.S. is conducting military operations to defeat Russia. Kellogg considers the use of a foreign army to conduct U.S. military operations against Russia to be the "apogee of professionalism" by U.S. authorities.

The publication showcases a popular Kremlin disinformation technique: utilizing the opinion of a foreign agent of Russian influence or impersonating a legitimate and trusted figure or entity, in order to create false credibility surrounding a narrative. This approach works especially well in Bulgaria, due to the fact that the Bulgarian society is among the worst equipped to withstand the impact of fake news outlets (Media Literacy Index 2021).

Trend Prediction

- Nord Stream explosions report will be a more popular topic next week, especially with the new disinformation narrative that emerged from this monitoring period that Ukraine blew up the pipelines.
- The defense of Bakhmut will continue to be a popular topic for discrediting the actions of the Ukrainian army, especially bearing in mind the heavy casualties on both sides.

GEORGIA
GRASS FactCheck

ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES

Publications:
5

Views:
100,000

Focus on discreditation of the Georgian protests and their portrayal as Western meddling into Georgia's internal affairs and drawing parallels between Ukrainian Euromaidan in 2014, picturing both processes as the attempt by the West to open "anti-Russian front".

BATTLEFIELD EVENTS

Publications:
4

Views:
16,400

Focus on the alleged successes of the Russian military which is portrayed in a positive light as applying maximum effort to protect civilians, contrasted with vilification of the Ukrainian armed forces that are pictured as farming civilian population in eastern Ukraine

Contextualizing most popular narratives

After the parliamentary committees in Georgia supported a draft law on "transparency of foreign influence", reminiscent of Russian legislation used to silence critical voices that would have labelled foreign-financed NGOs as agents of foreign influence, violated the constitution and went against Council of Europe and European Union norms, the Georgian parliament voted in favour at the first reading despite internal uproar and international outrage.

The draft law was voted on two days earlier than planned, sparking massive rallies in the capital Tbilisi in front of the parliament building in the city centre. Riot police tried to disperse tens of thousands of demonstrators for two days with water cannons and tear gas, with the newly elected ombudsperson and critics implying that, at least in certain cases, police used disproportionate force, but to no avail. The ruling Georgian Dream (GD) party was forced to U-turn and back down, withdrawing the draft law by not voting in favour of it on the second reading. This represents a victory for the Georgian civil society in its aim to restrict the government from altering the EU integrationoriented foreign policy.

In parallel with police forces trying to dissolve the protest, the disinformation machine of both progovernmental sources and pro-Russian propagandists was also working round the clock. Their messaging was sometimes in unison and sometimes complementary to each other (see GRASS Disinfo Briefs for more details).

Unsurprisingly the most active narrative observed in the monitoring of even the disinformation regarding Russia's war in Ukraine was that the West is interfering in Georgia's internal affairs (5 cases out of 50 pieces, reaching over 100,000 views and more than 4,300 interactions). Western actors have been blamed for instigating violence and plotting a revolution in Georgia to violently bring down the current government. For instance, TV Obieqtivi, a pro-Russian media in Georgia associated with a pro-Russian political party – Alliance of Patriots, shared disinformation that argued that "as soon as the Georgian government decides to play an

independent game, a bloody revolution will immediately take place, because the mood of the people in Georgia is created by organizations funded by foreign countries - agents of foreign influence", thus suggesting that the West is limiting Georgia's sovereignty and operating NGOs as their agents to influence public perceptions and even organize a revolution if necessary.

Another popular narrative, also relying on the idea that Georgian policies and public opinion are shaped by "foreign influence", is that the West is trying to drag Georgia into the war and open a second front against Russia (3 cases out of 50). Disinformation regarding Ukrainian refugees (2 cases out of 50) has also gained traction during March 06 – March 12 2023 (in total 5 cases out of 50, reaching more than 3,200 views and more than 2,000 interactions). This narrative suggested that the demonstrations in Georgia was orchestrated by Western actors and Ukraine in order to conduct a revolution, provoke Russia, and bring forces into power that would open a second front against Russia.

Disinformation also claimed that Ukrainian refugees, i.e. "boeviks" – Ukrainians with military experience - or other types of provocateurs, were involved in this attempt and that Ukraine was trying to destabilise Georgia with the hands of refugees in Georgia. One of such messages was distributed by Beka Vardosanidze: a notorious blogger with a sizeable audience in Facebook and Telegram, who constantly spread disinformation and have very close links to the pro-Russian media group and political party – Alt-Info/Conservative Movement. He is taking part in pro-Russian and anti-Western rallies, for instance in the last one on March 14 organised by Alt-Info when demonstrators took down and burned the EU flag in front of the Parliament. Verdosanidze spread disinformation on his telegram channel (also, he usually amplifies his content with other sources and Facebook is his main operating platform where he has several pages), claiming that an attempt of coup d'état was taking place in Georgia with similar scenario to the 2014 revolution in Ukraine. According to him, the aim was to provoke military actions from the Russian Federation and to create "an anti-Russian front".

He accused Washington of choosing Moldova and Georgia as its next prey (after Ukraine) that the US is trying to drag into the war with Russia. Vardosanidze also mentioned that Zelensky was playing a role in this revolution attempt in Georgia (Sputnik Georgia also claimed that Zelensky supported rioters in Georgia).

Disinformation on more Ukraine-centric topics was less popular in the overall information space in Georgia but still present. Disinformation on the battlefield events (4 cases out of 50, reaching more than 16,400 views) and narratives discrediting Ukraine (5 cases out of 50, reaching almost 12,000 views) included messages that Ukraine is losing and Russia is advancing successfully, Russia is only targeting military infrastructure not civilians, while Ukrainians are targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure.

For instance, Sputnik South Ossetia, (a separate unit from Sputnik South Ossetia), particularly in the Russianoccupied Tskhinvali region, claimed based on Ria Novosti that the Ukrainian troops shelled a residential area of Donetsk, destroying private houses. Also, Georgia and the World, a proRussian website and a printed newspaper that have time to time supported the policies of a proRussian political party – Alliance of Patriots, argued that Russia is not attacking civilians and women and children, but rather they are fighting fascist in Ukraine with the aim of demilitarisation and denazification of Ukraine. Sporadic messages also claimed that Ukraine was planning to attack Donbas first, that Ukrainian leadership is incompetent and that Russia is trying to make "liberated" territory prosper.

Most popular post/Key actors

The publication by Sputnik Georgia has received the widest viewership this week with 41,043 views. Published in Russian, it showcases the portrayal of the Western countries as meddling in the internal affairs of other states, a traditional anti-Western narrative applied by the Russian disinformation actors in the majority of target societies. The post is complimentary to the chairman of the ruling "Georgian Dream" Irakli Kobakhidze, who compared the demonstrations in Georgia to Euromaidan in Ukraine in 2014 and stated:

"What did Maidan bring to Ukraine? A war that, unfortunately, is still going on in this country today. This is the result of the processes that the radicals supported by Viola Von Cramon (MEP) want in Georgia. We will not act in accordance with the agenda of the radicals, but in accordance with the interests of Georgian society".

Negative comparisons between Georgian protests and Euromaidan in Ukraine are among the most widely presented disinformation messages of the week, and they employ the usual logical fallacy used by the Russian media and officials as they use fearmongering to discourage the protests, threatening Georgians that should they continue to protest their country will face military action and hostilities, like Euromaidan in Ukraine was followed by the Russian hybrid invasion in 2014. Such rhetoric, however, is manipulative since hostilities are a result of Russian aggressive foreign policies, not of the internal protests in sovereign countries such as Georgia and Ukraine.

Trend prediction

The ruling party has announced that they will strengthen the information campaign to persuade the public of the benefits of the draft law they just withdrew. This suggests that government-backed disinformation campaigns will only intensify and it can already be witnessed and is evident with the naked eye – Georgian Dream (GD) leaders increased hate speech and aggressive rhetoric against the opposition, civil society, Georgia's Western partners, and Ukraine. For instance, GD leaders, despite the withdrawal of the draft law, started labelling each CSOs and their representatives as agents of foreign influence and spies. Similar disinformation and smear campaigns are active in traditional and social media, as well, and current trend suggests that it is here to stay and increase in scope.

HUNGARY
Political Capital

NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE

Publications: **11**

Views: **8,356**

The dominant group of narratives for the monitoring period was most widely presented by the sub-narratives "Western societies don't support Ukraine", linked to the third category and undermining support for aid provision, and "Ukraine mistreats its soldiers/civilians". The latter sub-narrative widely relies on publications by the far-right MP László

BATTLEFIELD EVENTS

Publications: **7**

Views: **5,198**

Toroczkai falsely claiming that Ukraine conducts ethnic cleansing of the Hungarian minority.

Disinformation centred on the battlefield events remains focused on Bakhmut as a place of most intensive hostilities at the time. As during the previous monitoring period, the "Ukraine loses the war" sub-narrative remains key, and messages highlighting Ukrainian losses and understating Russian ones to present Russian military as having an upper hand remain relevant.

AID TO UKRAINE

Publications: **8**

Views: **1,319**

"Aid to Ukraine is weakening/endangering the countries that provide it" was a dominant subnarrative of the category, tied with the idea that Western societies recognize this threat and support for Ukraine is waning. A particular instance of this sub-narrative targets Hungarian opposition that supports the provision of arms to Ukraine.

Contextualizing the most popular narratives

This week, 32 out of the 50 sources contained disinformation narratives with the majority of articles and posts centered around 3 narratives (Narratives discrediting Ukraine, Narratives about the aid to Ukraine and Battlefield events), the total views being 18,031. During the week we monitored, there was a relatively strong focus on narratives discrediting Ukraine.

1. Narratives discrediting Ukraine

Narratives aiming to discredit Ukraine were also popular among pro-government, proKremlin and far-right sources. These actors used different narratives without one specific behind particularly popular. These included the message that life is allegedly better in Russia than in Ukraine because there is no same-sex marriage there. Another important narrative came from the far-right party leader MP László Toroczkai, who claimed Ukraine should give up territory to end the war and that Ukraine is committing ethnic cleansing of its Hungarian population by conscripting them. A new version of a previously sporadic narrative reappeared, according to which Ukrainian soldiers shoot their own comrades if they want to surrender.

**Ukraine War
Disinfo
Working Group**

2. Battlefield events

Many articles and posts dealt with the events of the war, especially the battle for Bakhmut and the alleged "hopeless position of the Ukrainian army", despite Western support. These included claims that Bakhmut is already surrounded or that Ukraine is depleting its military stockpiles thus will lose the war soon, citing pro-Kremlin sources. This message was spread by the governmentorganized media, pro-Kremlin media, and the progovernment far-right influencer Zsolt Bede.

Disinformation messages in this category are focused on Ukrainian losses and consequent understatement of the Russian ones. They also misleadingly claim that Ukrainian soldiers are fully encircled in Bakhmut, which contradicts the military situation on the ground where Ukrainian troops have an opportunity to withdraw without breaking through the encirclement with consequential heavy losses.

3. Aid to Ukraine

Government-organized media and far-right outlets tried to portray a picture that Western support of Ukraine is weakening and those who provide aid are warmongers. These actors claimed the Czechs are protesting against the aid en masse because of increasing economic difficulties, or repeated the claim that the Hungarian opposition wants to send soldiers to Ukraine. This latter was the main campaign message of the ruling party during the 2022 election campaign in Hungary, and it is a misrepresentation of a statement of the former joint-PM candidate Péter Márki-Zay.

4. Other
Another interesting narrative claimed that the US government is behind the antigovernment and anti-Russian protests in Georgia, trying to open a second front against Russia there. The narrative implies that the US caused the war in Ukraine, just to start a war against Russia, that Ukraine or its people had no agency in the matter, and that Russia is the victim.

Most popular post/Key actors

The most substantial number of views belongs to the messages shared by the governmentcontrolled outlet Origo. Within the monitoring period, these messages were focused on military developments and predominantly portrayed Ukraine as losing side, contrary to the alleged successes of Russia near Bakhmut.

Origo is popular Hungarian news-site which was bought by pro-government businessmen in 2014 and was later transferred to the government-controlled media conglomerate called KESMA, which owns hundreds of Hungarian media outlets. This essentially means that it is part of the state disinformation machine, as KESMA is suspected to revoice communication panels directly from a ministry. Almost all of the KESMA-owned sites are distributing the same messages in line with government communication. When it comes pro-Kremlin narratives, this site distributes messages of the Kremlin, without proper context and the guest/opinion articles are generally pro-Kremlin or anti-Ukrainian.

Trend predictions

Based on this round of monitoring, one can assume that as the Russian offensive around Bakhmut slowly progresses, pro-Kremlin actors try to "belittle" Ukraine and undermine the trust in its defensive efforts. Additionally, they wanted to paint the picture that Western support is waning for Ukraine. An event that could trigger these narratives was a debate in the National Assembly over the war in Ukraine, where FM Szijjártó and far-right party leader László Toroczkai gave speeches among others.

MOLDOVA
Watchdog

THREAT OF WAR EXPANDING BEYOND UKRAINE	**Publications:** 6 **Views:** 55,915	Messages within this category involved the continuing narrative about Ukraine's alleged aggression against the separatist region of Transnistria, but also tensions in Georgia
ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES	**Publications:** 3 **Views:** 445,235	With focus on Donald Trump's statements that he was ready to accept territorial surrenders from Ukraine to Russia and the Hungarian authorities' accusations of NATO and EU meddling in the conflict were peddled
NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE	**Publications:** 2 Views 19,390	The rhetoric featured both accusations of alleged provocations by Ukraine in Transnistria and other topics such as alleged Russophobia of Ukrainians

Contextualizing most popular narratives

During the last week, publications about Kyiv's alleged plan to attack the separatist Transnistrian region continued. Although by mid-week the subject had practically faded, at the beginning of the week there were strong statements from pro-Russian politicians. The most relevant is the statement by proRussian former president Igor Dodon. He commented on the information spread by the Kremlin's disinformation and its subordinates in Tiraspol and basically supported the narrative that Maia Sandu would like to draw Moldova into a war with Russia.

He also tried to legitimise the fake news campaign about the alleged terrorist attack foiled by the socalled special forces in Transnistria. More on this below.

On March 9, the so-called security authorities in Tiraspol declared that they had thwarted an assassination attempt on the separatist leader Krasnoselsky. The statement was prepared by the socalled KGB and was followed by a well-directed media campaign in advance. The credibility of the accusations is void, and they seem to have been prepared by the curators of the separatist region in the Russian FSB. It's a form of follow up after the intense campaign of the past weeks that included fake statements by the Russian defence and foreign ministries.

In addition to the topics above, the manipulation surrounding the events in Georgia played a big role. Commentators affiliated to opposition parties contributed most. They compared the reaction of the West and the Moldovan leadership to the Russian-orchestrated protests led by the Șor Party in Chișinău and the violent clashes in Tbilisi. They accused them of having double standards.

Another important event was the increasingly violent and intense protests by proRussian forces themselves, who are covering themselves with social slogans. They have accused the West of staging a campaign to unfoundedly accuse the Kremlin of being behind these protests.

Shortly after the KGB statements on alleged terrorist attacks in Transnistria, the socalled Foreign Minister of the region, Ignatiev, and then the so-called President Krasnoselsky commented on the situation. The former stated that the target was the separatist leader, i.e. Krasnoselsky. At the same time, Krasnoselsky himself implied that he did not believe in the reality of the whole story described by the Transnistrian KGB. He repeated the alleged KGB "facts", but added that he "does not know at what level in the Security Service of Ukraine the terrorist attacks were prepared" and other conciliatory remarks.

It is important to bear in mind the differences in positions and attitudes towards the Kremlin among the separatist region's elites. Thus, Ignatiev and the so-called ministry he heads, as well as the KGB, are totally subordinate to the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB). Meanwhile Krasnoselsky is the exponent of the Sheriff business group, which advocates maintaining the status quo and constructive relations with Chișinău and Kyiv. Sheriff and Krasnoselsky have not supported Russian attempts to destabilize the region and Moldova since the beginning of the invasion. Krasnoselsky recently maintained the same attitude when the Russian defense and foreign ministries accused Ukraine of preparing a military invasion of Transnistria. Then the so-called authorities in Tiraspol said they had no information that this was true. In essence, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the Transnistrian political and business elite is more on Ukraine's side.

Most popular post / Key actors

The most popular post of the week – 22,400 views - was published by Gagauzian Republic [Гагаузская Республика] channel. The Telegram post took Zelensky's statement about the protests in Georgia out of context, as the

author of the post claims that Zelensky would like for a war to start in Georgia, similar to Euromaidan, so that Ukraine is not the only country at war.

This Telegram channel has 33,024 subscribers and posts a lot of content related to the war in Ukraine, and regional issues. Contrary to its name, it does not post much content about Gagauzia region of Moldova. The channel supports Russia, discredits Ukraine and is allegedly managed by the Russian FSB

Trend prediction

Further disinformation and manipulation in the Moldovan informational space will most probably focus on the subject of the protests taking place in the Republic of Moldova, led by "Șor" Party and orchestrated by the Kremlin to destabilize the situation in the country.

The disinformation targeting specifically Ukraine will probably focus on the alleged attack on the OSCE Mission and Transnistrian leaders, supposedly planned by Ukrainian secret services to take place in February 2023. This disinformation was issued by the so-called Foreign Minister of Transnistrian region, Vitaly Ignatiev, and it is aimed at discrediting Ukraine in the eyes of external partners and creating the perception of a climate of insecurity in the Republic of Moldova. It is likely to have relatively middle-term presence in the local information environment and to keep being highlighted during the next round of monitoring.

POLAND

Fakenews.pl

UKRAINIAN REFUGEES	Publications: **3** ──── Views: **459,522**	Focus on portraying Ukrainian refugees as individuals predominantly not fleeing the war but aiming to make a profit at the expense of the host society
ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES	Publications: **3** ──── Views: **43,917**	Messages within this category were centered around accusations of pushing the international community close to WWIII by providing Ukraine with aid. Effort was made to blur Russian responsibility for the aggression against Ukraine and portray the US as an equally responsible party
NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE	Publications: **5** ──── Views: **2,779**	Discrediting efforts took two major directions, focusing on the allegations of incompetence of Ukrainian leadership that supposedly doesn't care about its soldiers as well as on accusations of corruption in Ukraine

Contextualizing the most popular narratives

1. Ukrainian refugees

According to pro-Russian messages, real refugees in NATO/EU countries are few in number, and more than 95% of Ukrainians are economic migrants. They are supposed to make their way to the West for the sole purpose of receiving financial support, placing a financial burden on their hosts. According to pro-Kremlin narratives, Ukrainian economic immigrants often return to Ukraine and continue to collect Polish benefits from there. They also increasingly commit crimes, stealing and assaulting Poles.

This week's leaders in spreading the narrative:

- Wolnemedia.net – a right-wing portal created few years ago as a place "without censorship". Became popular spreading anti-vaccine rhetoric and health-related fake news, which were also inspired by Russian disinformation. Since 24 February 24 2022, it has served as one of the leading hubs for anti-Ukrainian sentiments.
- Ostatni Sprawiedliwi (https://t.me/OSTATNISPRAWIEDLIWI/) – a popular far-right Telegram channel regularly spreading Kremlin-linked fake news.

2. Anti-Western narratives

This week's Anti-Western narratives are based mostly on accusations of sending "lethal aid" (weapons) to Ukraine which may lead to the world war and quoting pope Francis who said that war in Ukraine is a "clash of Empires", which is believed to be a proof that US and Russia are equally guilty. Also, Donald Trump is being quoted saying that if he wins the elections, US will largely limit its involvement in Ukrainian war, as it is more of Europe's concern.

This week's leaders in spreading the narrative:

- Polonia Christiana (pch24.pl) – a popular right-wing, conservative and religious outlet. Its narratives often treaded with Kremlin's disinformation, especially in "family and traditional values" related topics.
- Kancelaria Lega Artis (https://t.me/legaartiswsparcie/) – a fake law firm created during C19 pandemics to help anti-vaxers fight against quarantines, masks, vaccination certificates etc. Highly-profitable business resembling a law firm, but none of its employees are certified lawyers. After 24 February 2022 Lega Artis started to spread aggressive anti-Ukrainian disinformation. Currently Fakenews.pl is looking for partners to launch a project to reveal Lega Artis actions to the public.

3. Narratives discrediting Ukraine

Most of the narratives discrediting Ukraine try to demonstrate that the government in Kyiv is incompetent and unable to provide security for its citizens and soldiers. False allegations have been made about the lack of timely payments for some frontline units and the alleged stealing of incoming humanitarian aid from the West by the members of the government. According to Russian narratives, Ukrainians are fleeing enlistment in large numbers.

This week's leaders in spreading the narrative:

- Niezależny Dziennik Polityczny (https://t.me/ndp_pl/) – NDP is a well-known, established Kremlin's disinformation outlet. It started few years ago as a news portal directly spreading pro-Russian fake news. Its editors were proven not to exist and the outlet to be sponsored by Russia. It was banned several times and prosecuted by Polish Internal Security Agency, now it is active only on Telegram.
- Olej w Głowie (https://t.me/Olej_w_Glowie/) – popular far-right and conspiracy channel, emerged during C19 pandemics and now is spreading pro-Russian disinformation.
- Nasza Wolna Polska – far-right Telegram channel with news from "alternative" sources.

Most popular post/Key actors

Particularly popular were the narratives discrediting Ukrainian refugees. One year has passed and Ukrainians living in Poland are not treated as exceptionally by Poles as in the beginning of the Russian invasion, which is a natural course of things. Unconditional support (every Polish person helping refugees somehow with their own resources, without any conditions) changed into high levels of support ("we fully support them, but after one year they need to take their lives in their own hands" – way of thinking) so for Russian disinformation it is the best moment to destroy positive sentiments towards the refugees.

Trend prediction

More narratives and actions discrediting Ukrainian refugees are predicted. Upcoming parliamentary elections (autumn) will further enforce such rhetoric, especially by right-wing and far-right political parties. As we have proven in one of our reports for OIP, most of the Polish conspiracy channels created during C19 pandemics (such as Lega Artis) are now focused on spreading Kremlin's disinformation, especially related to Ukrainian refugees. Rising inflation, fuel prices and declining standards of living may enforce such narratives.

SLOVAKIA
Adapt Institute

AID TO UKRAINE	Publications: **12** Views: **250,669**	The plethora of anti-western narratives was dominated by the messaging attributing blame for the war to the West that has allegedly provoked it, at the same time stressing its decisiveness to use Ukraine as a pawn and prolong the war "until the last Ukrainian". Western alliances were also portrayed as weak and ready to fall apart.
NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE	Publications: **5** Views: **217,216**	Narratives discrediting Ukraine were focused on two contradictory messages stating that Ukraine does not want to fight, at the same time portraying it as a side that is not interested in establishing peace
ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES	Publications: **5** Views: **7,430**	This narrative promoted the idea that providing aid to Ukraine is not popular among Slovak citizens and goes against their wishes, with the focus on a "pro-peace" demonstration criticizing the supply of military aid to Ukraine.

Contextualizing the most popular narratives

1. Aid to Ukraine

Slovakia has sent military aid to Ukraine multiple times, which Minister of Defense Naď called beneficial not only for Ukraine which is facing an aggressor but also for Slovakia because it gives it a chance to modernize the army by replacing old technology with new. However, military aid has long been a target of Slovak disinformation actors who claim that it is ineffective, stolen, damaged and it prolongs the war.

The subnarrative about military aid unnecessarily prolonging the war was spread by two posts, both published by an opposition pro-Russian politician Ľuboš Blaha. He also spread another subnarrative about aid to Ukraine, this time in relation to an ongoing political dicsussion in Slovakia between the president and the ruling party about who has the constitutional right to decide about military aid to Ukraine. In this Telegram post Blaha claimed that sending military aid to Ukraine means joining the war against Russia and he accused the Slovak president and minister of defense of jeopardizing Slovak security.

2. Narratives discrediting Ukraine

These were claims about Ukrainians and Ukrainian politicians being Nazis or Neonazis, Ukraine not wanting peace, or the Russian invasion being justified because Ukrainian society is polarized. The claims about Ukrainians being Nazis were made by a far-right opposition politician Tomáš Špaček, an assistant of a member of a party called Republika (Republic) who will stand in the upcoming elections. Its popularity is currently approximately 7-9% of the electorate. The members of the party are currently members of the Slovak parliament and this will most probably not change after the election. Špaček is a new Slovak disinformation actor, gaining large popularity mainly in last 3 months. His popularity, however, first started to grow around July 2022.

The narrative about the Russian invasion being justified was a part of an opinion article in which the author claimed that Ukraine should break up (like Yugoslavia) into pro-european West, which could join the EU and pro-russian east. This article was properly categorized as an opinion, however the indication about the invasion being justified was problematic. This article was published by an outlet called Hlavné správy which was also the most popular actor from this week.

As we mentioned last week, Hlavné správy is also one of the most popular disinformation outlets in Slovakia. It is known for mixing disinformation content with factual articles based on information from credible sources. It is therefore much harder for the readers to distinguish whether an article is sharing disinformation or not. However, the outlet is continually spreading pro-Russian disinformation. The outlet was also recognized as dangerous by National Security Office in Slovakia, which after the beginning of the Russian invasion had the authority to block outlets spreading dangerous pro-Russian disinformation and Hlavné správy was one of them (as was Hlavný denník, which we highlighted previously). However, the National Security Office lost this authority after a few months.

Additional context from last week's report to keep in mind: *In March 2022 was released a video which convicted a former author from Hlavné správy, Bohuš Garbár, of espionage for Russia. The video showed Sergej Solomasov, a military attaché at the Russian embassy recruiting Garbár to become a spy. This video has also become the strongest proof of Hlavné správy's ties with Russia. This is not the only controversy surrounding Hlavné Správy. One of the authors was signing himself as Eugen Rusnák. In reality, it was a Russian called Jevgenij Paľcev spreading pro-Russian disinformation.*

3. Anti-Western narratives

This category was mostly focused on a sub-narrative claiming that Slovak government is trying to silence "alternative" media and narratives which are not in accordance with the government. This narrative was mostly shared in relation to institutions initiating proceedings against a TV channel called TA3 (which is not known for spreading disinformation) that broadcasted a problematic interview with Jeffrey Sachs in which he claimed that military aid to Ukraine prolongs the war, which is a manipulative pro-Russian narrative. This sub-narrative was mostly spread by an opposition pro-Russian politician Ľuboš Blaha, who has been supporting Russia, China and communism for a long time. His Facebook page was blocked by Meta because of spreading hate, disinformation a bullying. This is the reason why he is now active on Telegram. Currently, he is a member of a political party Smer-SD which is one of the leading parties in popularity polls. This is very important due to upcoming parliamentary elections in Slovakia in September 2023.

One article claimed that big crises like Covid-19 are being used to silence people. Although this might be true in some countries, it is not in Slovakia. However, this narrative is being used to spread another narrative – about the government using totalitarian techniques, which has the effect of reducing society's trust in democratic institutions. This article was published by a disinformation outlet called Hlavný denník which is known for spreading pro-Russian disinformation. The outlet was also recognized as dangerous by National Security Office in Slovakia, which after the beginning of the Russian invasion had the authority to block outlets spreading dangerous pro-Russian disinformation - Hlavný denník was one of those that was banned.

Another subnarrative about the military aid was spread by a pro-Russian politician Eduard Chmelár, who has long been spreading the narrative about Slovak society not supporting military aid to Ukraine and wanting "peace". It was one of the last week's dominant subnarratives. In his post, Chmelár is referring to pro-peace protests. These protests are, however, pro-Russian in reality. The reason is that these protests ask for no more military aid to Ukraine, which might mean Ukraine surrendering and Russia winning the war. Pro-Russian actors in Slovakia being disingenuously propeace was previously pointed out also by the Slovak Police department. Eduard Chmelár has been one of the most active "pro-peace" actors. He is a proRussian political commentator, a former candidate for Slovak president, and the founder of political party Socialisti.sk (Socialists.sk) which is currently not a part of Slovak parliament.

Most popular post/Key actors

The most popular publication of the week was published by a conservative outlet with proRussian ties "Hlavny Spravy" (see above), which also provided the most viewed message during the previous round of monitoring. The article in question, having received 180,500 views, is published in a blog section by Tomáš Jediný. Noticeably, there is no additional information on the author, for whom this publication is a first one, which might mark the appearance of a new pro-Russian author in the local information environment. Alternatively, however, it is important to bear in mind that "Hlavny spravy" often anonymizes its authors, so there is no opportunity to establish whether Jediny is an actual author of the publication.

The publication justifies Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine with a sub-narrative that positions the hypothetical partition of Ukraine as a positive development. Claiming that if Ukraine was divided, it would solve many problems, the author states that it should be divided into the proEuropean west which could join EU and pro-Russian east. It also compares the situation to the breakup of Yugoslavia. However, it tries to excuse and justify Russian invasion by claiming that the Ukrainian society is significantly divided. Moreover, it claims that since 2014 Ukraine is not a democracy.

Trend prediction

Politicians will most probably play a key role in the disinformation space due to the upcoming election and because some Slovak politicians often use disinformation as a tool in their political campaigns in order to gain more attention and supporters. We also think the anti-western narratives will continue being the most prevalent ones and we will probably see Špaček continue being active and gaining more popularity on social media.

UKRAINE
Detector Media

NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE

Publications:
18

Views:
6,829,803

The consistent accusations of Nazism and corruption remain a focal point of Russian disinformation for this category and are spread by the pro-Russian blogger like Anatoliy Shariy, seemingly criticizing the Ukrainian government for the sake of the common Ukrainian people. These claims intertwine with allegations of civilian harm caused by Ukraine to the people of the Donbas region, another traditional sub-narrative.

BATTLEFIELD EVENTS

Publications:
8

Views:
3,497,315

While maintaining attention to the military developments around Bakhmut, which were central to the narrative category during the previous monitoring period, Russian sources have also returned to the recurring accusations of Ukraine committing violence against the people in the Donbas region.

ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES

Publications:
7

Views:
1,209,694

The dominant messaging was focused on Georgian protests, comparing them to Euromaidan in Ukraine, and portraying both as acts orchestrated by the West for its own benefit and denying Georgians and Ukrainians their agency.

1. Narratives discrediting Ukraine

Contextualizing the most popular narratives

The second week of monitoring demonstrates the ongoing prevalence of three of the same categories in the disinformation eco-system targeting Ukrainians, with the chief category of narratives discrediting Ukraine having an increased number of publications and total outreach compared to the previous period.

Among the narratives discrediting Ukraine, consistent claims were posted accusing Ukrainians of Nazism. This is an old narrative of Russian disinformation that has been circulating in the information space for about nine years. During this time, Russian disinformation regularly tries to confirm it with all kinds of small fakes and manipulations. For example, this time in the course of monitoring, there was a message that Ukrainians are Nazis. The authors of the post made such conclusions because Ukrainians allegedly buy large dogs, while Russians buy small ones. A story of a Ukrainian TV channel about this appeared on the network, and the authors of the post considered such a choice of Ukrainians regarding dogs as a manifestation of Nazism. The post received a reach of 188,060.

Also, during the monitoring, there were messages that the Ukrainian authorities are corrupt and unprofessional. For example, on the Telegram channel of the pro-Russian blogger Anatoly Shariy, who left Ukraine a long time ago and is accused of treason, there was a post about the former head of the SBU. The authors of the report claimed that the ex-head of the SBU, Bakanov, is involved in criminal cases and that he probably has a number of his own spies in the Security Service. However, according to the authors of the reports, no one will raise any accurate suspicions against him because he is a friend of Zelensky. That is, the authors of the channel are trying to create the appearance that the Ukrainian government is corrupt and the Office of the President has usurped other departments in the country. This post has 1,042,396 hits.

2. Battlefield events

In addition, among the posts that discredit Ukraine, there were posts in which the Ukrainian army was accused of shelling Donetsk and civilians. This narrative has been circulating in the information space for nine years, regularly reemerging to claim that Ukraine shelled peaceful areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. With such messages, Russia, among other things, justified its attack on Ukraine. Allegedly, the Russian troops were forced to attack to protect the people of Donbas from the Ukrainians. During a year of full-scale war, Russian disinformation continues to spread such messages. In particular, this post stated that an eight-yearold boy died in Donetsk allegedly at the hands of the Ukrainian military. This post has 152,504 hits.

Among the narratives that describe the events at the front, there were posts about the course of military events. In particular, in the Bakhmut direction. The posts mostly said that the situation at the front is getting worse, and the Ukrainian authorities are lying and trying to hide the situation. That is, the authors of the posts tried to convince the audience that Ukraine would lose the war. For example, one of the posts stated that even "the Americans understand that it is time to withdraw troops from Bakhmut." This is how Russian disinformation tries to create the appearance that the situation at the front is constantly worsening, and the Ukrainian authorities allegedly do not understand this and disregard the lives of their soldiers. A post with this content gained 142,230 hits.

The channels given in the examples regularly spread disinformation about the RussianUkrainian war and try to discredit Ukraine. Almost all of them are anonymous sites as their authors are unknown. However, the list

also includes channels controlled by Russian intelligence, such as the "Legitimny" channel. It should be recalled that the SBU exposed a list of telegram channels managed by Russian intelligence. The list of proRussian Telegram channels was also exposed by the analysts of "Detector Media". For example, some narratives this week were recorded on the channel of the pro-Russian blogger Anatoly Shariy (see below). The channel appeared on Telegram on April 22, 2019 (1,042,570 subscribers).

3. Anti-Western narratives

Among the narratives that spread anti-Western rhetoric, the most numerous this week were posts related to the protests in Georgia. For example, posts were comparing the events in Georgia with the Ukrainian Euromaidan in a negative light; claiming that Georgia is following in the footsteps of Ukrainians; assuring that all this is the work of the USA, that such a revolution is beneficial to the countries of the West, etc. In such posts, the experience of the Ukrainian Euromaidan was depicted as something negative. Something not to be proud of and something that supposedly brought Ukraine to collapse.

 For example, there was a post in the Telegram channel of the pro-Russian blogger Tetyana Montyan, who is Ukrainian, but left for Russia and renounced her children, who live in Ukraine and support the Ukrainian army. This post has garnered 487,040 hits. There was also a post in the anonymous pro-Russian Telegram channel Spletnitsa. It said that European countries and the United States are practicing double standards, because they allegedly say nothing about the fact that in Paris the police used tear gas at protests against the pension reform, instead condemning the Georgian police, who threw Molotov cocktails at the protesters. This post got 141,578 hits.

 All these narratives are needed by Russia to try and turn the audience against the states of the West and to show that Georgia, like Ukraine, is allegedly governed from the outside. That is, propagandists seek to create the appearance that everything bad in countries that could be friends with Russia appears because of relations with the West. In particular, through the USA.

Most popular post/Key actors

 One of the most popular posts of the week concerned the life of people in the territories of Ukraine temporarily occupied by Russia. In particular, life in Lysychansk. This is a post (reach – 1,689,061) of the Redovka Telegram channel, which was also a source of the most viewed publication during the first round of monitoring conducted for this project (February 20 – March 06 2023) and briefly introduced in the corresponding report.

        The post said that the city does not yet have stable communication and electricity, but shops and the like are allegedly opening there. That is, the city is supposedly returning to a peaceful and normal life. By spreading such posts, Russian propagandists are trying to show that life under Russian occupation is better than life without occupation, under the control of Ukraine.

 Considering that the pro-Russian blogger Anatolii Shariy maintains his important role in the pro-Russian disinformation eco-system, it should be noted that it is not immediately clear that he is a supporter of Russia, as he periodically mocks the actions of both the Ukrainian and Russian armies. However, in Shariy's posts, many theses covertly support the actions of the Russian military or threaten the consequences of disagreement with the actions of the Russian leadership.

Shariy's channel, in the conditions of a full-scale war with Russia, does not promote overtly Russian rhetoric: its author, on the contrary, allegedly does not take sides in the conflict, seemingly defending the common people. Posts of a blogger are read by 83% of subscribers on average, indicating high engagement. Antidemocratic rhetoric can also be traced in his posts: he believes that the leadership of Ukraine is incompetent and subordinate to the West, whose high-ranking officials are also, according to him, not very intelligent. In particular, during the last three months, the blogger regularly criticized the decisions of the governments of the EU countries regarding the sanctions they introduced against Russia. In his posts, the blogger ridicules Ukrainian politicians, humiliating them and portraying them in a negative light; periodically asserting that the authorities do not think about Ukrainians.

In addition, Shariy from time to time tries to devalue the aid that Ukraine receives during the war. It is about help from international partners as well as private initiatives. During the Ukrainian counteroffensive in the Kharkiv region, Shariy also allegedly did not take sides, simply reporting what was happening, supposedly promptly and impartially. But when it became known about the first successes of the Ukrainian army in the Kharkiv region, the blogger reported that the Ukrainian authorities would send punishers to the liberated territories, from whom peaceful people would suffer.

Trend prediction

Next week, posts about the corruption of the Ukrainian government will probably be seen again, amid news of the resignations of officials. In particular, in Odesa. It is also likely that there will be posts related to mobilization in Ukraine. Such posts may appear against the background of news that the state-developed app Diya, used by Ukrainians to store important documents like ID cards and drivers' licenses as well as to request certain documentation from the state in the quick and easy digital format, may issue summonses to men. Such information is false, but Russian disinformation can use it as an excuse to spread new disinformation messages. Additionally, more disinformation is likely to be linked to the military developments in the Bakhmut direction.

List of Narrative and Sub-Narrative Headings:

1. ANTI-WESTERN NARRATIVES
1a. The EU and/or NATO and/or the West are weak and will break apart
1b. The West is using Ukraine as a pawn
1d. The West is losing interest in helping Ukraine / wants Ukraine to surrender
1e. The West/NATO provoked the conflict between Ukraine and Russia
1f. NATO/the US/the West is or will be directly involved in the war
1g. The West is profiting on the war in Ukraine
1h. The West will fight until the last Ukrainian
1i. Western leadership is incompetent
1j. The West/US is responsible for the sabotage of Nord Stream 1k.
Western media is lying
1l. The West is trying to divide Slavs/Orthodox Christians
1m. Western countries/institutions ignore the will of their people
1n. Western politicians care about Ukraine at the expense of their own citizens
1o. The West is hypocritical to criticize Russia's actions
1p. Non-aligned countries are choosing to side with Russia over the West

2. NARRATIVES DISCREDITING UKRAINE

2a. Ukrainians are Nazis

2b. Ukrainians are targeting civilians and commit other war crimes

2c. Ukraine was planning to attack Russia first

2d. Ukrainians refuse to fight / have low morale

2e. The Ukrainian leadership is corrupt and/or incompetent

2f. Ukraine is blackmailing Western governments

2g. There are tensions among Ukraine's leadership

2h. Ukrainians are pretentious/demanding/ungrateful

2i. Ukrainian civil society wants to make concessions to Russia

2j. Ukraine's leadership does not care about its people

2k. Ukrainians do not support Zelensky

2l. Ukraine mistreats its soldiers/civilians

2m. Ukraine's informational space is controlled by the state authorities / Ukrainian media is lying Ukraine is autocratic

2n. Ukraine does not want peace

2o. Ukraine deliberately stages provocations

2p. Ukraine should not/will not become a NATO/EU member

2q. Ukraine is not a sovereign state

2r. Ukrainian volunteers are corrupt

2s. Life under Russian occupation is better than under Ukrainian rule / 1ak. Russia is liberating Ukraine

2t. X country should not help Ukraine due to their past historical conflicts Ukrainian
victory is impossible

2u. Western society does not support Ukraine

3. BATTLEFIELD EVENTS

3a. Ukraine is losing the war

3b. Russia is not fighting at full capacity

3c. Russian troops are advancing / achieving success

3d. Reports of Russian war crimes are exaggerated/fake news

3e. Russia is not to blame for the global food crisis

3f. Recognizing Russia as a terrorist state will not help Ukraine

3g. Belarus is not participating in the war in Ukraine

3h. Mobilization in Russia has been successful

3i. Ukraine "referendums" are legitimate

3j. Russia's losses in the war are small

3k. Russia is only targeting military infrastructure

4. UKRAINIAN REFUGEES

4a. Ukrainian refugees are a threat to host countries' security

4b. Ukrainian refugees are spoiled/ungrateful

4c. Ukrainian refugees are prioritized over the host country citizens/inhabitants

4d. Ukrainian refugees abuse the aid being provided

5. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF SANCTIONS

5a. Sanctions hurt the West more than Russia

5b. Russia is unaffected by sanctions

5c. The West is to blame for inflation and the energy crisis

5d. Europe is threatened by an energy crisis

5e. The West does not follow/circumvents its own sanctions policy

5f. Western citizens do not support sanctions against Russia

6. CONDITIONS OF RUSSIANS AND RUSSIAN-SPEAKING MINORITIES

6a. Ukrainians discriminate against/terrorize Russian speakers
6b. X country is Russophobic / Russian culture is being attacked
6c. The West and its proxies are inciting Russophobia

7. THREAT OF WAR EXPANDING BEYOND UKRAINE

7a. WW3 is imminent
7b. The West seeks to open a second front against Russia
7c. X country is escalating the war
7d. The world is at risk of nuclear war/disaster
7e. X country is under threat/will be pulled into the war
7f. X country should maintain neutrality / align itself with Russia

8. AID TO UKRAINE

8a. Western military/financial aid is being misused/stolen
8b. Ukraine will use Western weapons to kill Russians/attack Russian territory
8c. Military aid unnecessarily prolongs the war/endangers civilians
8d. Aid to Ukraine is weakening/endangering the countries that provide it
8e. Western military aid is ineffective/will not influence the outcome of the war
8f. Ukraine is taking aid away from other countries in need

9. CONSPIRACY THEORIES

9a. There are Western biological weapons labs in Ukraine
9b. The war in Ukraine is part of a global conspiracy
9c. The war in Ukraine is staged/a hoax
9d. Western governments are using the war in Ukraine to limit the freedoms of their citizens 9e. Western leaders/institutions are Satanist
9f. Zelensky is a drug addict
9g. Ukrainians engage in organ trafficking
9h. Russia has a new secret weapon
9i. Ukraine will be divided up among other countries

Methodology

The Ukraine War Disinformation Working Group is partnered with LetsData for data collection and methodological development.

LetsData is an AI solution anticipating communication risks and opportunities in the face of illintended information campaigns. As a trusted technological partner within the UWDG, LetsData provides sophisticated data collection, processing, and analysis capabilities for further in-depth exploration.

LetsData uphold privacy and security principles regarding data collection and processing. To ensure this, we only use public data allowed to be collected and processed by each social media and website. The Ukraine War Disinformation Working Group analyses data from media outlets, public Telegram channels and public Facebook groups and pages. Within the project, we analyse all publications concerning Ukraine in 12 countries encompassing 200 pro-Russian sources:

1. Armenia - Telegram and media outlets
2. Baltics: Russian language segment of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania - Telegram and media outlets
3. Belarus - Telegram and media outlets
4. Bulgaria - Telegram and media outlets

5. Georgia - Telegram, media outlets, Facebook
6. Hungary - Telegram, media outlets, Facebook
7. Moldova - Telegram and media outlets
8. Poland - Telegram and media outlets
9. Slovakia - Telegram, media outlets, Facebook
10. Ukraine - Telegram and media portals

This assignment of channels is designed to provide a focus on Telegram as a relatively undermonitored but major and exponentially growing platform for disinformation, while still providing insights for countries in which Telegram is yet to develop a significant audience and Facebook is still the primary disinformation platform. To make results cross-country comparable, 20 sources will be used for each country. For countries analysing media outlets and Telegram channels, 5 media outlets and 15 Telegram channels will be analysed. In some cases, for instance, in Ukraine, there are 20 Telegram channels, with 5 Telegram channels being the channels of pro-Russian media that duplicate the website content. For countries analysing media outlets, Telegram channels and Facebook pages, 5 media outlets, 15 Telegram channels and Facebook pages will be analysed.

Data sampling

To analyze pro-Russian disinformation, a sample of 50 publications per week for each country will be created based on two criteria. The first criterion will be the source type: media outlet or social media: with 70% of the publications in the sample coming from Telegram/Facebook and 30% from web sources. The second criterion will be the reach of the posts, with half of the posts in each category (media outlet, Telegram, and Facebook) having the highest number of views. The other half of the publications in each category will be selected randomly to diversify the content and increase the capacity to comprehend the diversity of pro-Russian narratives.

The final sample for countries monitoring media outlets and Telegram will consist of the following:

- 15% top media outlets publications;
- 15% random media outlets publications;
- 35% top Telegram posts; • 35% random Telegram posts.

The final sample for countries monitoring media outlets, Telegram and Facebook, will consist of the following:

- 15% top media outlets publications;
- 15% random media outlets publications;
- 17,5% top Telegram posts;
- 17,5% top Facebook posts;
- 17,5% random Telegram posts;
- 17,5% random Facebook posts;

List of sources per country

Source	Country
@VardanGukasyan	Armenia

@bagramyan26	Armenia
@reartsakh	Armenia
@ArmenianVendetta	Armenia
@military_arm	Armenia
@mikayelbad	Armenia
@xaytarak_official	Armenia
@sisumasis	Armenia
@infoteka24	Armenia
@togarma301	Armenia
@Artsakh_Daily	Armenia
@armmirotvorec	Armenia
@RadarARM	Armenia
@infocomm	Armenia
@civilnetv	Armenia
@newsamarm	Armenia
@rusyerevantoday	Armenia
@togarma301	Armenia
@armeniasputnik	Armenia
@LurerH1	Armenia
@pppaskov	Bulgaria
@The_Smart_Village	Bulgaria
@druschbaFM_Bulgaria	Bulgaria

@InfodefBULGARIA	Bulgaria
@bulgariaz	Bulgaria
@svobodik	Bulgaria
@otizvora	Bulgaria
@istinabg1	Bulgaria
@vazrazhdanebg	Bulgaria
@simeonoffkss	Bulgaria
@todorangelov	Bulgaria
@dianadeleva	Bulgaria
@ocelqvane	Bulgaria
@ronyrony	Bulgaria
@ivaivatta	Bulgaria
@pogled	Bulgaria
@NewsFrontBulgaria	Bulgaria
@trudnews	Bulgaria
@snabgorg	Bulgaria

@informiran	Bulgaria
https://kuruc.info/	Hungary
https://www.origo.hu/	Hungary
https://pestisracok.hu/	Hungary
@magyarjelen	Hungary
https://hirado.hu/	Hungary
@kurucinfo	Hungary
@toroczkai	Hungary
@szentkoronaradio_official	Hungary
@nzona3	Hungary
@bodiabel	Hungary
@bedezsolt	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/oroszhirek.hu/	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/pestisracok.hu/	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/szamokadatok/	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/kkemenymag1	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/bayerzs	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/elemi.hu/	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/magyarnemzet.hu/	Hungary
https://www.facebook.com/stefideri	Hungary

https://www.facebook.com/bohardanielriporter	Hungary
https://aif.md/	Moldova
@Noi.md | Новости Молдовы	Moldova
@Accent_TV	Moldova
https://unimedia.info/	Moldova
@KP.MD: "КП" в Молдове	Moldova
@tirdea	Moldova
@Ungureanu112	Moldova
@Republic_Of_GaGauZia	Moldova
@moldavskii_piston	Moldova
@indexMD	Moldova
@gabrielcalin	Moldova
@romania_ru	Moldova
@dragosgalbur	Moldova
@MoldovaPolitics	Moldova
@turnulmaya	Moldova
@ivanovnamd	Moldova
https://www.facebook.com/groups/1874167932811420	Moldova
https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100086182868245	Moldova
https://www.facebook.com/latebuimistru	Moldova
https://www.facebook.com/ionchicu.md	Moldova
http://3droga.pl/	Poland
@narodowcy	Poland

http://pch24.pl/	Poland
http://ruchnarodowy.net/	Poland
http://wolnemedia.net/	Poland
@project_veritas	Poland
@anna_news	Poland
@WiadomosciCzasowOstatecznych	Poland
@siostryjasnowidzki	Poland
@polska_grupa_informacyjna	Poland
@ndp_pl	Poland
@infokju	Poland
@monikacichocka	Poland
@legaartiswsparcie	Poland
@OSTATNISPRAWIEDLIWI	Poland
@nwk24pl	Poland
@Olej_W_Glowie	Poland
@ruchoporupolska	Poland
@wolna_polska	Poland
@kanalstraznikow	Poland
https://www.hlavnespravy.sk/	Slovakia
https://bajecnezeny.sk/	Slovakia
https://www.hlavnydennik.sk/	Slovakia
https://spisiakoviny.eu/	Slovakia
http://www.ereport.sk/	Slovakia

@casusbellilive	Slovakia
@DKdenneSpravy	Slovakia
@zemavek	Slovakia
@InfoVojnaOfficial	Slovakia
@kulturblog	Slovakia
@ZvodkaOnline	Slovakia
@vimanadark	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/ChmelarEduard	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/heredos/	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/Spacek.republika	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/draxlerjuraj	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/Zdrojj	Slovakia

https://www.facebook.com/hricalubos1	Slovakia
https://www.facebook.com/Infovojna	Slovakia
@LubosBlahaSmer	Slovakia
@montyan2	Ukraine
@rezident_ua	Ukraine
@legitimniy	Ukraine
@readovkanews	Ukraine
@ASupersharij	Ukraine
@ZE_kartel	Ukraine
@mriya24	Ukraine
@spletnicca	Ukraine

@ukraina_ru	Ukraine
@stranaua	Ukraine
@dark_k	Ukraine
@skosoi	Ukraine
@sheptoon	Ukraine
@JokerDPR	Ukraine
@EQUILIBRIUM2019	Ukraine
@OpenUkraine	Ukraine
@mediakiller	Ukraine
@OlgaSharij	Ukraine
@Novoeizdanie	Ukraine
@Vestnik_Konservatora	Ukraine
@yuryvoskresensky	Belarus
@pul_1	Belarus

@sewerfsefsd	Belarus
@belarusian_silovik	Belarus
@sputnikby	Belarus
@mlynby	Belarus
@ontnews	Belarus
@ATN_BTRC	Belarus
@Nashazemla	Belarus
@shpakouski	Belarus
@Azarenok_TV	Belarus

@dzermant	Belarus
@vashy_slivy	Belarus
@glav_tur	Belarus
@berezina_bel	Belarus
@ZhivetZheBelarus	Belarus
@lgbelarussegodnya	Belarus
@minskctvby	Belarus
@BISRby	Belarus
@zmeymarini4	Belarus
http://geworld.ge/ge/	Georgia
@SputnikGeorgia	Georgia
https://ge.news-front.info/	Georgia
http://www.obieqtivi.info/	Georgia
https://sezonitv.ge/	Georgia
@worldpolitkal	Georgia
@beqanews	Georgia
@crossroadwar	Georgia
@realoba	Georgia
@power_of_light_Q	Georgia
@PolitNewsN1	Georgia
https://www.facebook.com/groups/2534318576632286	Georgia
https://www.facebook.com/qartuliideaa/	Georgia
https://www.facebook.com/PatriotuliGverdi/	Georgia
https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100083209576803	Georgia
https://www.facebook.com/groups/399500355414390	Georgia

https://www.facebook.com/groups/534652040223283/	Georgia
@SputnikAbkhazia	Georgia
@sputnikossetia	Georgia
@rubaltic	Baltics
http://respublika.lt	Baltics
http://grani.lv	Baltics
http://dv.ee	Baltics
http://obzor.lt	Baltics
@balt4post	Baltics
@antifalivland	Baltics
@news_lv	Baltics
@estlatlitv	Baltics
@baltictea	Baltics
@volna_lt	Baltics
@topbalt	Baltics
@baltologija	Baltics
@zhemchuzhina_new	Baltics
@zkbalt	Baltics
@volna_lv	Baltics
@baltiknews	Baltics
@free_baltic	Baltics
@latvijasbalzams	Baltics
@russkaya_litva	Baltics