

CHINA'S “WOLF WARRIOR” POLICY IN THE MEDIA

(THE CASE OF GEORGIA)

CHINA'S POLICY AGAINST MEDIA INVOLVES ACTIONS
“AGAINST THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION AROUND THE WORLD” (RSF 2022)

CHINA'S APPROACH, AS “WOLF WARRIOR DIPLOMACY”
(QUOTE FROM THE MOVIE - “战狼” - THE “WOLF WARRIOR” 2015)

„კვილუზა ღირი სინა შურანლიტაბისტოის“ -
(RSF 2022)



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SUPPORTING FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD

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“ JEWELS OF PROPAGANDA: “

“Going against the will of the United States seems to require a figure as great as Charles de Gaulle. He was able to reject the use of the dollar, he was able to remove the NATO headquarters and American bases out of his country, and he was able to negotiate independently with China and the USSR.”

(, 29.11.2021, Sputnik Georgia)

“

“The lives of Americans are rapidly deteriorating; unprecedented inflation threatens to devalue the dollar and impoverish the country. The only chance of survival seems to be to rob such prosperous countries as Russia and China. “In the game.”

(Viktoria Nikiforova, 13.12.2021, Sputnik Georgia)

“

“

“For the past 30 years, it has been a phantom country engulfed in the darkness, a horrible and ridiculous mirage that had emerged with its embroidered shirts, Mova (Ukrainian language), and torchlight processions near the old Soviet gas pipelines. This was a country - pipeline, but now the pipeline is empty, and all this darkness has dissipated like smoke. All that remains is the “Ukraine” — the occupied territory, a suitcase without a handle. In recent days, the American owners have been hastily packing with explosives ready to throw them away. It is not even a pawn—it is a dice that Russia and America have been casting throughout their big game.”

(Viktoria Nikiforova, 13.12.2021, Sputnik Georgia)

“

“

“Today, America is losing power with a domino effect. It is impossible for Washington not to see the kind Taiwanese people taking disguised Chinese flags out of their hiding places, while the sincere Ukrainians are Russians.”

(Viktoria Nikiforova, 13.12.2021, Sputnik Georgia)

“

“

*“This chaos makes the USA richer.
Sanctions cannot restore peace and ensure security.”*

*(Zhao Lijian - Press Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China,
06.04.2022, Imedi TV)*

“

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INTRODUCTION

If you look superficially at the data generated by research, the direct influence of the Chinese state or companies related to the government on the Georgian media market could be more impressive. For example, one might recall that out of 93 foreign companies registered in the country's media market, only eight are affiliated with China. Therefore, the question arises of why we spend the resources and time to study this segment. There is a simple answer to that.

There is virtually no Georgian media outlet with a clearly stated editorial policy regarding the People's Republic of China (PRC). No ideological, value-based, political, or other types of benchmarks are used in evaluating the news related to this state, their leadership statements, or the decisions of Xi Jinping's policies. Therefore, the traditional Georgian media is highly superficial, eclectic, and unsystematic when covering news related to China. Information is also extremely scarce. In the absence of a specific vision, and when the awareness of the threats coming from China is not the starting point during the analysis of Georgian-Chinese relations, the whole context is linked to the current moods related to the war in Ukraine, before that - to the pandemic. Other types of information may never get into the Georgian media space.

Therefore, if a person is interested in China-related information and begins to search for it using Internet resources, the organizations founded by Chinese citizens, the companies, or the alumni of various Chinese universities become the primary sources and means of information and knowledge. Researchers, students, and journalists quote and use these portals and information resources as reliable information, as there is little else available in the Georgian language to read, consult or consider.

Here lies the secret of the success of China's propaganda machine. In countries like Georgia, the main task is to create and maintain a positive image of the PRC. Therefore, the presence of constantly updated positive propaganda resources online, when access to alternative information is practically nonexistent - is the most effective and, at the same time, significantly cheaper approach.

Along with the emergence of alternative media resources and the growth of the information stream, it is natural that the PRC will have to adjust its current policies. Still, today the need for it needs to be added to the agenda.

GOAL

The present research aims to analyze the impact of the PRC on the Georgian media and the scale and extent of that influence, both in terms of content and systemic approach.

Today, in light of the world's challenges, we deal with systemic and fundamental changes in global security architecture. According to the strategic documents of practically all international organizations, those enormously mounting challenges can be attributed to **Russia, China, and Terrorism**.

Georgia has declared politically and constitutionally confirmed the inevitability of NATO integration and aspired to its membership. At the same time, the PRC is one of the principal trade partners of Georgia and expands its partnership not only in economic relations but also in politics, education, culture, and many other areas. The globally increasing polarization accompanied by the growing partnerships makes the research on China's influence operations in Georgia rather interesting.

Quoting research done in the NATO member state (2020), North Macedonia shows that **“based on many details, no country, no matter how small, is unimportant to China's global strategy to reinforce its positions, control the global discourse and reject all narratives that do not align with the Chinese government's interests”** (A. Krisinovska 2020). This experience tells us that we must develop strategies at the development stage of China's influence operations.

GROUNDS FOR THE RESEARCH

WHY CHINA?

“The biggest prison for journalists” - This is what Reporters Without Borders (RSF) call the PRC, and their latest report (RSF 2022)¹ tells us about China's oppressive media policy. According to the report, there are 122 detained journalists in China today. RSF 2022 stresses that the PRC's policy against the media includes domestic actions and **“against the right to information worldwide”** (RSF 2022).

¹ See Reporters Without Borders 2022 Report, <https://rsf.org/en/rsf-s-2022-world-press-freedom-index-new-era-polarisation>

“China (175th), one of the world’s most repressive autocratic regimes, uses its legislative arsenal to confine its population and cut it off from the rest of the world, especially the population of Hong Kong (148th), which has plummeted in the Index” – can be read in the press release that the organization issued immediately after the publication of the report.

Both Freedom House (2022)² and Reporters Without Borders have highlighted in recent reports on China's media system that President Xi Jinping has revived a Maoist-era media culture that considers access to information a crime and providing information outside the country - an even more serious offense. Since coming to power, President Xi Jinping has systematically tightened the Communist Party's control over media organizations within the country and created significant obstacles for foreign journalists.

In 2013, i.e., immediately after Xi Jinping came to power, a special Communiqué of the Third Plenum of the eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China was adopted (chinafile.com 2013)³, which defines in detail the threats carrying monumental significance for the Chinese Communist Party and the tactics and strategies to overcome them.

The Communiqué identifies one of the main challenges: "Promoting the West's idea of journalism" (chinafile.com 2013). The plenum believes that "there is an attempt to challenge the founding principle of the PRC - **the media and publishing system in the service of Party discipline.**"

The Communiqué outlines the Party's approach to tackling this menace, which involves increasing control over the media, which implies that those loyal to and share the ideology of the Party's general secretary, Xi Jinping, shall unconditionally control all media.

The Communiqué calls for the "reinforced management of all types and levels of propaganda" to "cut off all avenues" for spreading the ideas and views inconsistent with the Party ideology. "Western democracy" (chinafile.com 2013) and liberal values related to it are identified as ideological threats.

It took considerable time for the West, including NATO, to define Xi Jinping's policy and its possible consequences as a threat during the NATO London Summit⁴ in December 2019 (Voice of America. 2019). In the special

² See the Freedom House 2022 press release, <https://freedomhouse.org/article/china-despite-restrictions-citizens-conducted-hundreds-protests-across-china-recent-months>

"Contrary to what the Chinese Communist Party wants the world to believe, individuals throughout China are standing up to Beijing's machine of censorship and repression to make their voices heard," - said Michael Abramowitz, the president of Freedom House.

³ See the English translation of document 9, <https://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation>

Its Paragraph 5 is entirely devoted to the criticism of the Western attitudes towards media: "Defining the media as "society's public instrument" and as the "Fourth Estate;" attacking the Marxist view of news and promoting the "free flow of information on the Internet;" slandering our country's efforts to improve Internet management by calling them a crackdown on the Internet; claiming that the media is not governed by the rule of law but by the arbitrary will of the leadership; and calling for China to promulgate a Media Law based on Western principles. [Some people] also claim that China restricts freedom of the press and bang on about abolishing propaganda departments. The ultimate goal of advocating the West's view of the media is to hawk the principle of abstract and absolute freedom of the press, oppose the Party's leadership in the media, and gouge an opening to infiltrate our ideology."

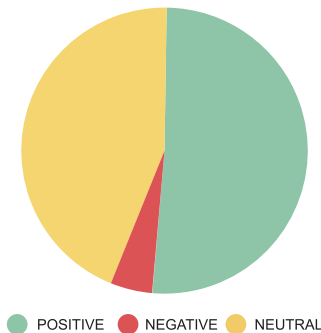
⁴ See Voice of America's coverage of the 2019 NATO London Summit, <https://www.amerikiskhna.com/a/nato-summit-china/5225673.html>

Communiqué and strategic documents (NATO 2022) at all subsequent high-level meetings and finally, at the 2022 Madrid Summit,⁵ it was noted that PRC's ambitions, coercive policies, and hybrid operations represent the greatest threat to NATO interests, to the security and values of NATO member states. Among other matters, NATO mentions a possible alliance between Russia and China as an increased threat, especially after Russia invades Ukraine.

THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The media outlets directly supported by the PRC closely follow the strategic communication narratives discussed in the theoretical framework of this research, more precisely:

- The complete elimination of China from content carrying a negative context (for example, no mention of the place of origin of the virus in connection with the Covid-19 issues);
- The constant emphasis on China's superiority, and
- The formation of the image of China as an exceptionally reliable country.



In the Georgian-language online media, positive information and stories on China, which convey China's interests, significantly exceed media materials containing criticism of the PRC.

See also the post-London Summit Declaration, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_171584.htm, where we read the following: “We recognize that China’s growing influence and international policies present both opportunities and challenges that we need to address together as an Alliance.”

⁵ See NATO's Strategic Concept 2022, https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2022/6/pdf/290622-strategic-concept.pdf
“The PRC's (PRC) stated ambitions and coercive policies challenge our interests, security, and values. The PRC employs various political, economic, and military tools to increase its global footprint and project power while remaining opaque about its strategy, intentions, and military build-up. The PRC's malicious hybrid, cyber operations, confrontational rhetoric, and disinformation target Allies and harm Alliance security. The PRC seeks to control key technological and industrial sectors, critical infrastructure, and strategic materials and supply chains. It uses its economic leverage to create strategic dependencies and enhance its influence. It strives to subvert the rules-based international order in the space, cyber and maritime domains. The deepening strategic partnership between the PRC and the Russian Federation and their mutually reinforcing attempts to undercut the rules-based international order run counter to our values and interests.” - Paragraph 13 of the section on the Strategic Environment of the 2022 Concept.

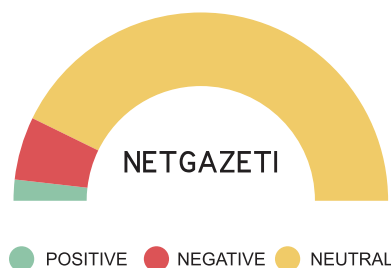
Online portal sinomedia.ge significantly reduces media activity after the pandemic's start, which is in complete agreement with China's so-called "low-visibility profile" information policy.

During the same period and despite the subdued media activity, sinomedia.ge actively covered the issues of cooperation, trade, and export between the representatives of the government of Georgia and China, as well as current topics of international politics, including the US-China relations and the so-called US-initiated "CHIPS Act" (The US-China chip war). While the sharply positive materials prepared by Sinomedia aimed to create a positive image of China and demean the idea of the West, no counter-balancing materials and resources can be found in the Georgian language online media. Even in the "low-visibility profile" period, sinomedia.ge eagerly covered US-Taiwan relations in a one-sided and biased manner. This topic became especially relevant in the Georgian media following the visit of the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi.

sinologia.ge maintains a slightly different stance from sinomedia.ge and prepares materials on international politics and cultural-historical issues related to China, some of which are aimed at telling the history of Georgia-China relations and, on the other hand, presenting an alternative image of China in the international arena.

chinesestories.ge mainly uses cultural, educational, and historical content in the materials regarding China, which, judging by its content ratings, is highly recognized by the audience. Media materials on the possibility of receiving education in China are particularly noteworthy.

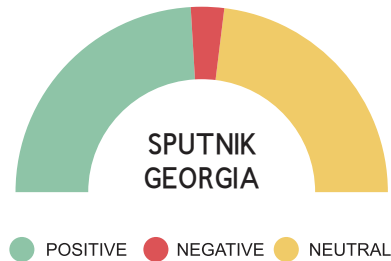
The local reputable media organizations cannot counterbalance the content created by China's propagandist Georgian-language media because of the shallow coverage of issues and the need for a well-defined editorial stance concerning the range of the PRC news.



An interesting example in this regard is the online edition Netgazeti, which in the information related to the pandemic, has never stressed the place of origin of the virus - indicative of an editorial decision not to stigmatize and discriminate against China and its residents. Even though one could encounter in-depth and coherent materials on Netgazeti (for example, the media on the

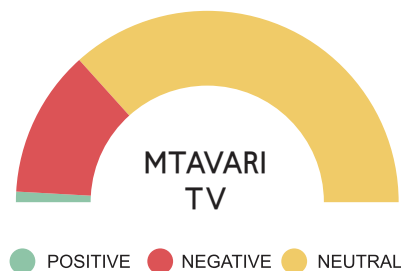
topic of Taiwan offered the audience a history of the conflict, its aspects, and an overview of the current Sino-American relations), here, too, China is referred to in a neutral and positive tone. A positive manner comes mainly from the advertising materials.

We have to clarify here that in the case of Netgazeti, the latter is detached from the editorial content, only referring to the advertisement. Still, the reality is that even the Georgian-language independent media actors cannot balance them out and cannot provide the audience with counter-balancing news against the materials created under the influence of the narratives prepared within the framework of China's propagandist strategic communications.



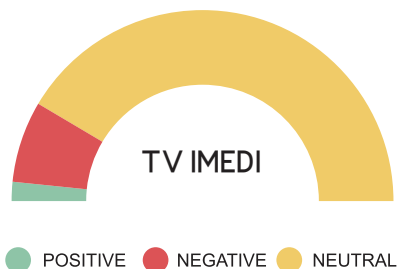
Another media platform that promotes China in Georgia is the Kremlin media outlet – **“Sputnik-Georgia,”** which unequivocally follows Beijing's narratives and, apart from political matters, uses social (health care, education) and cultural topics to popularize China actively.

The general tendency is that while reporting on the PRC in TV media, the shallowness supersedes confusion. Except for the Public Broadcaster’s program - the 42° Parallel, it is pretty clear that the TV Media selected for monitoring has no defined editorial policies about reporting on the China-related content. The mood of the coverage is neutral, mainly or neutrally buoyant. The press relays to us what they receive from their sources without any analysis or without asking additional questions.

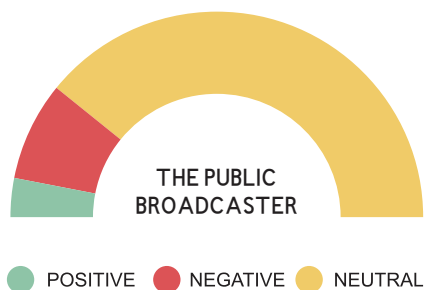


Mtavari TV - does not have a defined editorial policy in this respect, and its news never specifically relates to China or the events therein. The mentioned issue is interesting for TV to the extent that it becomes relevant in the context of other topics, such as the pandemic, the war in Ukraine, etc. In addition, it has to be noted that regarding Covid-19, the channel somehow follows

Beijing’s narrative and seldom mentions the connection of the virus’s origin with China. In addition, the shallow manner of reporting –without any context and additional critical analysis- spreads narratives like: “*We condemn any political provocations directed against China – the European socialists.*”



TV Imedi is the only one of the reviewed media outlets where in the news related to the pandemic (1,368 stories in total), a reference to China is made everywhere with the following sentence: “The pneumonia outbreak started in China in December 2019.” Like Mtavari Channel, TV Imedi does not have a precise editorial approach and interest, so its audience receives an equal amount of materials from the news programs that taunt, mock, criticize, and glorify China.⁶



The Public Broadcaster – if we only take its legal obligations, it is supposed to be an alternative to the chaotic and disorderly media narratives related to China in the broadcasting/information space. Unfortunately, it has no fixed editorial policy, just like TV Imedi and Mtavari News broadcasts. Here we find both the news on the “oddities of China” and the information on technological innovations and progress, although still told in a shallow manner. It should be noted that the Public Broadcaster is the only one among the media outlets selected for monitoring where materials are not specifically related to any context but directly to the PRC.

For the reporting period, the only difference in Georgian TV media is made by the socio-political analytical program “**The 42° Parallel**” run weekly by the Public Broadcaster. The mood of coverage is strongly positive. Glorification of Chinese politics, particularly of the order and control established by the

⁶ See IV. 2. TV Imedi Company

Communist Party, and criticism of Western liberalism are regular topics in the show. For example, here are some lines from the host:

- China is the only state that aims to change the international order and has the potential to do so, as it is a growing economic, technological, political, and military power;
- The very fact that the PRC, under the leadership of the Communist Party, initially became part of the world capitalist system, managed not to collapse as a result of Western pressure, and averted the fate of the former socialist countries is already an outstanding achievement;
- There are no signs of a rapid collapse of the PRC and its ruling Party – an idea much discussed ten years ago;
- **China is mobilized and consolidated, has coped with the coronavirus pandemic effectively, and its conservative and nationalist policies are being used as a civilized alternative to the liberal order of the West.** Still, the euphoria is premature. **How successful China will emerge after abandoning its export-oriented economy remains to be seen.**

Observations on the Public Broadcaster confirm that China's strategic interests are being realized in Georgia. Their media policy is working successfully - not directly through the money of Chinese taxpayers, but with the media content created under the financing from the Georgian citizens, which further worsens the existing imbalance in the Georgian-language media content that favors positive reporting on China.

China connections are noticeable among owners and sponsors of broadcasting companies. Three of the 233 companies that own media are from the PRC. Among the 2,427 entities placing advertisements in the Georgian broadcasting market, eight companies are related to China, and one is enlisted in the large taxpayers register. These numbers may seem insignificant to someone, but if we consider that only 10 of the 195 countries in the world (Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, etc.) are among media owners and/or sponsors in Georgia, that is a different story.



KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Assessment of and systemic response against China's influence operations must be implemented in the initial stages. Accordingly, a strategy and an action plan must be developed.
- It is necessary to raise the awareness of journalists and media managers working in Georgia regarding the PRC. It is essential to develop and implement educational modules.
- It is necessary to promote the creation of in-depth, critical media materials on the PRC, for example - through contests.
- Cooperation with partner countries with more knowledge and experience in dealing with Chinese influence operations is necessary.
- It is necessary to ensure the consistency of research in this regard.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of the present research is to analyze the impact of the PRC on the Georgian media and the scale and extent of that impact, both in terms of content and systemic approach, in the context of China's Communist Party strategy.

The task of the content analysis of Georgian media is to study how China is covered in Georgian press, how the strategic mission of the Chinese Communist Party - through propaganda and tactical approaches on the "cultural front" to achieve the formation of public opinion in the form the Chinese Communist Party desired, and to control the public view.

The task of the systematic media analysis is to assess the share of the PRC and its affiliated business actors in both media ownership and the advertising market. Also, on the example of Georgia, analyze how the Marxist model of the media interacts with the Western model of the press.

We have used several media theories as the theoretical foundations of the research, such as the so-called Four Theories of the Press (including the communist media system), as well as the theory of Polarized Pluralism. We have also used the "framing" theory⁷, which helped us to outline the messages and techniques used by the media as manipulation instruments. Also, we have used the Agenda-setting theory⁸, which will help us analyze the hierarchical

⁷ Framing theory is used by researchers in mass communication to indicate different ways/approaches the information is conveyed. Namely - metaphor, example, a key phrase, and visual markup (Gamson, Lasch, 1983). Framing theory implies that the media and journalists frame information in a certain way. Goffman (1974) associated the framework with the means of speech, the art of communication.

⁸ In a 1972 article, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw discussed the relationship between news placement in the media and audience demands. They focused on the fact that stories positioned in a meaningful place by various media sources were considered more important by the audience than

arrangement of the information, also considered in this research as a manipulator - one of the propaganda methods.

The research considers strategic communication as a multidisciplinary field that includes a variety of communication channels, actors, forms, and goals. Still, most importantly, it contains principles and values. The difference between principles and values represents the main difficulty since the starting points of the definition are fundamentally different. For example, what is strategic communication? Some consider lying utterly unacceptable in “strategic communication, but there are “others” who think it is permissible.

According to Peter Pomerantsev, there are only two types of societies, **“where governments fear the people, what we call democracies, and where the people fear their authoritarian governments”** (Pomerantsev, 2022). China belongs to this second type.

In the studies and articles on the Chinese media system (ChinaFile 2014)⁹, we find discussions concerning the two competing concepts in the PRC, which periodically replace each other.

The first concept is a modification of the Western theory of the press. **It sees the press not as an independent watchdog of society but as a controller that must balance the excessive extension of state, religious, and corporate power.**

The second concept informs us that **art, culture, and media are exclusive “loudspeakers” of the Party.**

The 1980s are considered the period when the Western model was widely spread, and they even began revising the press law in China (ChinaFile 2014). This was an era of political reform in China, although even then, the Western concept was never officially codified, and the Leninist theory of the press was never rejected.

The system of state industrial plants, state-owned commercial enterprises, and people's agricultural communes were transformed during the reform period. Still, no one touched the designs created to control and manage the media, such as the *Central Propaganda Department and the State Administration of Press, Publications, Radio, Film, and TV*.

The Control of media and narratives has reached a new level under Xi Jinping, affecting internal systems and external influence operations.

The system faced significant challenges due to the onset of the Covid-19 crisis and the virus's links to China. The new circumstances made China's

stories set in a relatively unpopular place. This study formed the agenda hypothesis, later called the press Agenda-Setting Theory. (“The Agenda-Setting Function of the mass media”; Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw)

⁹ See the comments on ChinaFile, <https://www.chinafile.com/conversation/how-read-chinas-new-press-restrictions>, where we talk about the new regulations imposed by the Chinese state administration, which refer to the restrictions imposed on the Chinese journalists for sharing information with the foreign press.

strategic communication tasks significantly tricky, and China's policy of conducting influence operations was subject to strategic changes. Pre-pandemic tactics are often described by a Chinese proverb: "If you sit by the river for long enough, you will see the body of your enemy float by, or "The key is to keep a low-visibility profile as well as to keep time for the right opportunity"¹⁰. With these proverbs, researchers portray China's tactics of not unveiling its intentions and power in the international arena and quietly achieving its goals. However, researchers say this **"low-visibility profile"** approach has been replaced by the so-called **"Wolf Warrior Diplomacy"**¹¹. This change is primarily manifested in the fact that China has moved to a policy of active action and, with an aggressive strategy, is trying to hide the Chinese connections to the virus from reports related to Covid-19 and to prevent the mentioning of China in the context of the origin of the virus.

According to researchers, China's influence operations, including in the media, primarily involve demeaning, smearing, and minimization of "Western narratives." In this regard, China's strategic communication activities are compared to Russian propaganda. The similarity between Russia and China is also there. Both countries use strict control mechanisms over the media, limiting the freedom of expression as much as possible. However, outside the country, they utilize freedom of expression, accessibility of information, and other democratic tools to spread their propaganda narratives (Lea Gabriele, quoted in Gilsinan, 2020).

It has to be mentioned that there are also many differences between China and Russia. For China, the firm control of the press within the country aims to:

- Ensuring the party discipline, and
- Maintaining the stability of Xi Jinping - the cult of the leader.

The tactical moves of strategic communications abroad aim to create an image of the PRC as a responsible global power, promote China's constructive role, "Chinese success," and demonstrate the Chinese people's superiority. Accordingly, Chinese propaganda is built upon the creation of a positive image of China, which it successfully accomplishes by focusing on the following:

- ✓ powerful technological advances,
- ✓ "generous" credit policy, and
- ✓ unique culture.

The main difference from the Russian propaganda machine is that, unlike China, **the Kremlin's operations are not designed to shape Russia's reputation but to damage the importance of an opposing country.**

¹⁰ 韬光养晦 (tao guang yang hui) - is a Chinese idiom attributed to Deng Xiaoping and associated with China's tactics - not to openly show its power in the international arena and still achieve its own goals.

¹¹ Wolf Warrior Diplomacy, a quote from the movie (站狼 - zhàn láng), whose main character's message is: whoever offends China will pay the price.

We can call this kind of practice a “double standard approach,” which cannot be analyzed based solely on the existing theories of communication and media, including the “Four Theories of the Press” cited by us above, or, for example, the media systems seen in parallel to the political narratives of Hallin and Mancini¹² (Hallin, Mancini, 2015): in the form of the Democratic Conservatism, Liberal and Polarized Pluralism models. When comparing different states, all these theories are based on the analysis of the internal political systems of the countries (such as the media environment within the countries, the degree of freedom of expression, the information space, and its control mechanisms). Difficulties arise when the targets of information operations carried out by dictatorial regimes are foreign, democratic states and their societies.

Since authoritarian countries mostly use “double standard tactics, we cannot state that China represents only a “communist-authoritarian model” because such a characterization would be incomplete. It would be more accurate to describe the Chinese system as **“someone else's defective democracy, in the service of the communist-authoritarian system.”**



During our research, we used this approach to analyze empirical materials.


RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Content analysis:	quantitative and qualitative
Observation period:	01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022. ¹³
Data source:	internet, using search engines and tools appropriate for research through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ <i>Keywords (China, Chinese, Chinese market, Xi Jinping, PRC, Chinese vaccine, Sino),</i> ✓ <i>Narrowing down the research period, and</i> ✓ <i>Specifying the media spectrum that is relevant to us.</i>

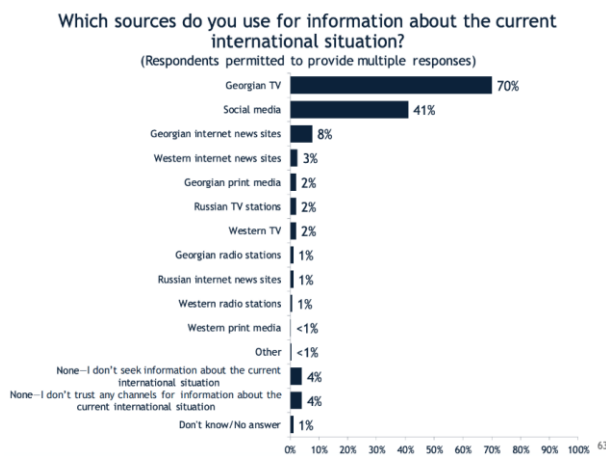
¹² Daniel Hallin and Paulo Mancini offer a “comparison of media systems” to blast the “Four Theories of the Press.” Along with the model of Polarized Pluralism, the authors distinguish the liberal model, as an example of Britain, Ireland and North America, and the model of Corporatist Democracy (Germany). The authors rely on the historical experience of countries and the analysis of empirical materials, and according to them, their concept is more empirical than normative.






¹³ The research timeslot is accompanied by essential processes; namely, its first part coincides with the still active period of the pandemic (presuming that it has influenced the reporting practices as well), and the second part coincides with the active phase of war caused by Russia's aggressive intervention in Ukraine.

The selection approach considered the Georgian polarized media system and protected us from errors in the content analysis results. TV channels with the highest ratings were included in our study range (for this, we will use TMI and TVMR data). We selected the [Mtavari Channel](#)  - critical of the government and the [TV Imedi](#)  - supporting the government.

We also included the [Public Broadcaster](#)  in our research for its sheer importance because under the Law on Broadcasting, the obligations of the Public Broadcaster (Article 16)¹⁴ explicitly state that the Broadcaster is obliged to “promote mainstreams of the foreign policy of Georgia, as well as the integration of Georgia into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ('the NATO') and the European Union.”

We chose the TV media mainly because it remains the dominant information medium in Georgia.¹⁵



Apart from the mainstream TV Media, we also studied online editions singled out for the abundance of search terms. In this case, too, the objects of study were selected based on the principle of typological difference: [“Netgazeti”](#)  netgazeti.ge (as an online platform distinguished with high journalistic standards by various monitoring resultsⁱ (<https://mediamonitor.ge/>)), [chinesestories.ge](#) , [sinologia.ge](#) , and [sinomedia.ge](#)  (as the media supported by China) and [“Sputnik-Georgia”](#)  as an actor supported by the Russian Federation.

We have used numerical measures and indicators that could be counted and analyzed for quantitative media monitoring.

As a result of analyzing the selected empirical materials, we evaluated the mood of coverage - positive, neutral, or negative - with which the relevant

¹⁴ See the Law of Georgia on Broadcasting, <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/32866?publication=66>

¹⁵ The results of the public opinion poll conducted by IRI in September 2022: Link: <https://www.iri.org/resources/public-opinion-survey-residents-of-georgia-september-2022/>

subject was presented. Positive and negative ratings indicate how any given information creates an impression on the viewer about the topic of interest, whether the story is presented positively or negatively, or whether only the neutral facts are offered.

The collected media materials were sorted by topics to quantify which China-related topics media outlets were interested in (e.g., health, business, politics, etc.).

During the qualitative analysis, our attention was focused on the journalistic standards recognized by the "Western model" and the methods that might have been used for propaganda. In particular:

- ✓ False information
- ✓ Distortion of facts
- ✓ Unbalanced coverage
- ✓ Injustice
- ✓ Inaccuracy
- ✓ Biased attitude
- ✓ Visualization and more.

The systematic analysis of the media was based on desk research. As a result of analyzing the public information issued by the National Communications Commission, we studied the share of Chinese ownership in the Georgian media.¹⁶

Georgia's media market has also been the focus of systematic research. Here, as a result of the analysis of the data of the National Communications Commission, we identified business companies connected to China or owned by Chinese individuals or legal entities, which are advertisers in the Georgian media market.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

For the systemic analysis of the media, at this stage, we did not use in-depth interviews and focus groups, which are necessary for additional verification of findings obtained from the desk and content analysis.

Our research should have touched upon social media research, which records China with its social media (e.g., Tik Tok) and is essential to research influence operations.

The research does not include the use in the Georgian media of the content created in China (for example, feature films, animation, series, etc.) and the research on the broadcast transits of the PRC, which is also essential for the comprehensive study of influence operations in the field of communications.

¹⁶ Our research focused on the ownerships of authorized and licensed persons, where we analyzed declarations of conformity available in public, open sources.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

Results of Content Analysis - Internet Media

Within the current research framework and considering the polarized media environment of Georgia, we have reviewed the channels with the highest ratings: the Mtavari Channel, Imedi TV, and the Public Broadcaster. Below are the main findings of the research about reporting on China:

When reporting on foreign news related to China, Mtavari Channel relies on editions like CNN, NYT, The Telegraph, and The Wall Street Journal. China is found in the statements of world leaders - also actively covered by the media. In Mtavari Channel news, China is mainly presented in a negative context regarding the Russia-Ukraine war, and it is referred to as "Russia's partner, but at the same time, there are also news items in which it is stated that the PRC had refused to supply Russia with spare parts for airplanes. The media also reports that China is ending cooperation with the Russian Academy of Sciences. When monitoring the Internet media of Mtavari Channel, one needed help understanding whether it has an expressed policy concerning China. The press extensively reports on China when the news relates to important world political events.

As in the case of other channels, we do not find analysis or in-depth materials in the information programs of the Public Broadcaster. News is mainly limited to coverage of the statements of a particular person. There is no background story in the materials and no counter-comments. We cannot assume that the news service has any editorial policy concerning the coverage of China issues. The media reported on topics depending on their importance; for example, China featured in such topics as Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, the war in Ukraine, the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, etc. News was made about the Beijing Olympics and the events surrounding it. A positive mood is mainly observed in the materials related to scientific topics.

We find the so-called click-collecting news on TV Imedi most frequently among the three media sources subject to monitoring. Not all news stories with similar content are unequivocally negative or positive in mood, and some, especially given the frequency with which they are disseminated, may create a scornful or xenophobic attitude in the population towards China and the Chinese. However, in connection to the war in Ukraine, there is an impression that TV Imedi uses the China example to justify and reinforce the Georgian government's policy related to sanctions. Accordingly, the TV company widely

covered the statements and appeals of high-ranking Chinese officials demeaning the importance of sanctions. The Georgian media actively covers meetings of Georgian politicians with the Chinese ambassador. This trend is noticeable both in the case of TV Imedi and the Public Broadcaster. The materials prepared on Georgia-China relations are often based on the Georgian government or the ministry press releases. Accordingly, the mood is always positive and conditioned by the sentiments in the relevant press release, which the media almost invariably conveys in its materials. Information describing such relations accounts for the facts of meetings, gratitude for implementing a particular project, the joint opening of facilities, etc.

As for Internet media, except for those media platforms (sinomedia.ge, sinologia.ge, chinesestories.ge) that directly promote China and where their main goal is the promotion of the Chinese state in Georgia, we also studied media platforms that had a diverse information spectrum and are not focused solely on China. In the case of the Netgazeti media platform, we found the analysis on China mainly in the materials prepared on Taiwan and the war in Ukraine. However, the regional significance and the information on the Chinese investments in Georgia or the export rates to China show no particular depth or analytics. There needs to be a mention of the broader context of China's strategic political interests in the South Caucasus or Georgia. Unlike Netgazeti, the Kremlin media, Sputnik-Georgia is also a platform for China's promotion in Georgia, presenting China to the audience in a highly positive mood. Along with active Russian propaganda, Sputnik-Georgia represents means for China's interests, and along with discrediting the West, promotes its version of the creation of a new geopolitical center.

RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS - INTERNET MEDIA

Media platform: [sinomedia.ge](https://www.sinomedia.ge)



Monitoring period: 01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022

Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/sinomedia.ge>
(7.4K likes • 7.5K followers)

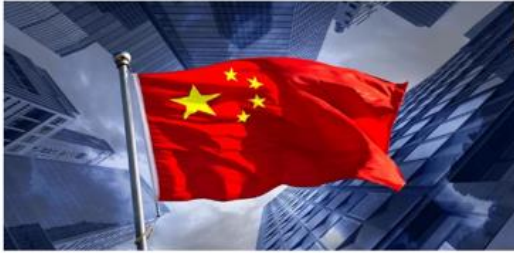
Topics of the research materials:

- ✓ Politics: Taiwan, America-Taiwan relations;
- ✓ US-China relations, Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, etc.;
- ✓ Diplomacy, cooperation with Georgia;
- ✓ Business, economy, trade.

During the monitoring period (2021), the media platform passively published materials, in contrast to the usual intensity. The mentioned period is related to the second year of the new Coronavirus pandemic. During the observation period, despite the passive media endeavor, they actively covered the topics of cooperation, trade, and export between the representatives of the government of Georgia and China, as issues of international politics, including the US-China relations and the US-initiated "CHIPS Act." (The US-China chip war)¹⁷

According to the materials published on the website, the content has been on the platform since 2017. The year 2021 is one of the most passive periods in internet editions. The content is sorted according to several categories created on the website; however, here you will also find the "Consulting" category, which, via its subcategories, offers the audience information on flights, Chinese visas, legalization of documents, Chinese and Georgian universities, and their programs. Some do not contain specific information or content and have not been updated for several years.

¹⁷ See the information on BBC, "US-China chip war: America is winning <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-64143602> also on CNN, "The US-China chip war is spilling over to Europe, 2022 <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/25/tech/us-china-chip-war-spillover-europe-intl-hnk/index.html>



ანალიტიკა დიპლომატია პოლიტიკა

ჩინეთის საგარეო პოლიტიკა და საქართველო-ჩინეთის ურთიერთობები

Sinologists 2022-08-24

ჩინეთი საგარეო პოლიტიკა ეყრდნობა ოთხ ძირითად პრინციპს, ესენია: 1) სუვერენიტეტის დაცვის პრინციპი, ქვეყნის სუვერენიტეტის და ეროვნული ღირსების დაცვა, რომელიც ითვალისწინებს არა მხოლოდ ჩინეთის სუვერენიტეტისა და ეროვნული...

[View More »](#)



ანალიტიკა ბიზნესი

ჩინეთში მიმდინარე მოვლენების ეკონომიკური მიმოხილვა

Sinologists 2020-03-04

კორონავირუსი ჩინეთის ეკონომიკა

მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ კორონავირუსის გავრცელებამ სერიოზული პრობლემები შეუქმნა ჩინეთის ეკონომიკურ ზრდას 2020 წლის პირველ კვარტალში, ჩინეთის ტერიტორიაზე მყოფი მიკრო, მცირე და საშუალო ზომის საწარმოების...

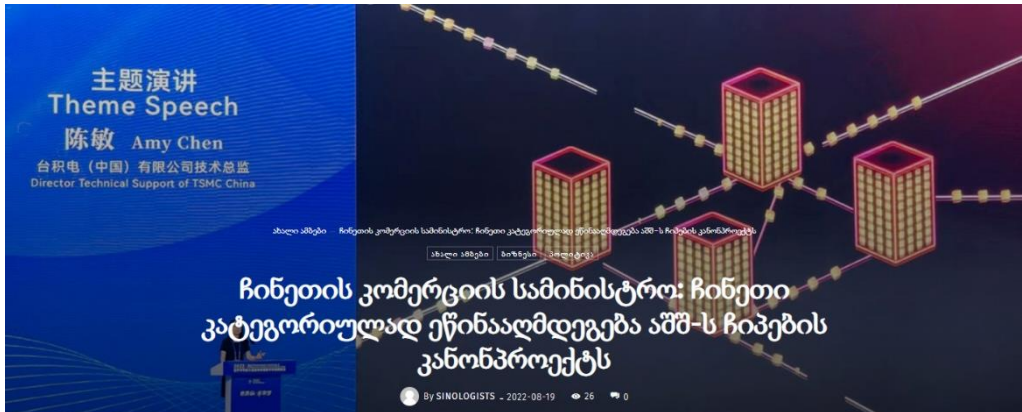
[View More »](#)

As a rule, Sinomedia provides readers with one-sided information. The authors of the material posted on the website utilize sources associated with the PRC or the Communist Party, the respondents, too - are the interested parties, and the quotes are given from these sources. Naturally, a curious reader, unfamiliar with the specific topics, will have the right impression. Here are some examples from the materials published on the platform:

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF SINOMEDIA

- AKAKI BALANCHIVADZE** | participant in the Chinese Bridge language competitions in 2019, under which he went on a short-term visit to China. He actively participates in the events of the Confucius Institute at Alte University. He has been studying Chinese since 2016. ⁱⁱ
- MARI GIORGOBIANI** | a Bachelor's degree student at the Free University, a student in the Confucius Institute founded at the Free University and a winner of language competitions. ⁱⁱⁱ

THE SO-CALLED “CHIPS” ISSUE



On August 19, 2022, information about the CHIPS and Science Act^{iv} passed by the US Congress was published on the platform. Under sinomedia.ge standards, only the statement of the Ministry of Commerce is quoted in it. Here they voice all the claims that the representatives of the Chinese government have against the Act. It is stated that such legal regulations must be adopted “by appropriate rules and based on the principles of openness, transparency and non-discrimination” to ensure the “security of global industrial and supply chains” and avoid the “fragmentation” of such global connections. All these conceptual worries are conveyed in such a way that not a single word is uttered about what in general or which rule or regulation of the World Trade Organization, in particular, the American Act contradicts, but telling the story in this manner naturally creates a negative mood for the reader and creates an assumption that the Act is against all these fundamental principles of democracy.

Naturally, besides the statements from Chinese propaganda sources, there needs to be a mention of the intentions of the American legislators or the reasons for adopting this Act.

AMERICA - TAIWAN COOPERATION

Another issue pivotal for China's propaganda machine concerns Taiwan. Moreover, it concerns US-Taiwan relations.

Several materials and news columns are devoted to this topic on the platform.

For example, on August 19, 2022, a news column titled “The Spokesman of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council Condemns US-Taiwan Trade Agreement” - was published.^v The reader still gets only the one-sided information, and that too - through the Chinese prism. The article contains

sharp criticism of the Chinese government regarding Taiwan-US cooperation. Moreover, the article quotes a threatening message from Ma Xiaoguang, a spokesperson for the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council of the PRC:

“*He also warned Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party government that they would face retribution for colluding with outside powers under the guise of economic cooperation and for betraying the interests of the island inhabitants for their political interests.*”

Another material prepared on the same topic, which was published a couple of months earlier, again conveys only the position of the Chinese government; however, unlike the materials of other news columns, the author currently takes a more in-depth approach, and, therefore, along with the criticism expressed by members of the government, the historical data on the recognition by America of the “One China” principle is also provided. Here we still cannot find the American government's positions or Taiwan's representatives.

The media continues to work with the one source principle, even during the coverage of Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan,^{vi} where, naturally, the criticism and threatening statements by the Chinese government prevail.

CULTURE



China-Georgia relations are extensively reported when discussing political and cultural topics:

Opening of the Shota Rustaveli bust in Beijing, meeting with members of the Georgian government, meetings with the Chairman of the Parliament and several MPs, as well as the representative of the partnership fund, etc.^{vii}

Media platform: sinologia.ge



Monitoring period: 01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022

Founder: Shalva Chikhladze

Topics of the materials subjected to monitoring:

- ✓ Culture, literature, lifestyle;
- ✓ History, architecture;
- ✓ Georgia-China relations;
- ✓ Tea culture and Georgia;
- ✓ Policy, the unified belt;
- ✓ China-Philippines, conflicts, international politics, terrorism.

“The goal is to introduce to the readers and show them from different angles such areas of Chinese studies as politics, culture, history, economy, etc. The platform is rather academic, where small articles containing research elements are posted in a popular science language. Anyone interested can access the materials.”

In the materials on China, the media platform Sinology offers the audience issues of international politics and cultural-historical materials concerning China, some of which are aimed at showing the history of Sino-Georgian relations and, on the other hand, aimed at an alternative representation of China in the international arena.

According to the information posted on the website, the platform has been operating since 2020, and Georgian sinologists and researchers publish materials there. It is an educational and analytical platform. It offers the reader in-depth, analytical materials on China's standing and role in global politics; in a way creates alternative content, according to which China's rapid economic growth and political influence are part of a defense policy that it needs to protect itself from the interests and conflicts around it. It does not present the same threat as Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The article *“The German Empire and the PRC: Historical Parallel or the Mere Paranoia?”* analyzes German influences and threats in pre-World War I Europe and current China. The author argues that readers are often given the false impression that China's politics carry high risks for democracy, which is an

exaggeration, an overstatement, and is motivated by particular interests.¹⁸ The Author wraps up with the statement that the "widespread" opinion that the PRC is perceived as a threatening and dangerous player that will aggressively challenge the existing international system is a preconceived notion that lacks factual justifications. *"Moreover, according to many Sinologists, China's "Grand Strategy" is essentially defensive (Kelly, 2014. b)."*

The portal also pays significant attention to China's anti-terrorist policy. According to the authors, the country is negotiating with the Taliban to avert the risks that may result from the "failure" of the anti-terrorist operations in Afghanistan.

"In 2001, the global war on terrorism launched by the United States in Afghanistan failed - the establishment of the government in Kabul by members of the Taliban has caused major geopolitical shifts in the region and has left regional players up against several potential threats, the most significant of which is the transformation of Afghanistan into a "terrorist hub" - we read in the article published on the Sinology website by Otar Chigladze on April 4, 2022.

¹⁹ Here, we also read that "to give a positive direction to the possible scenarios of how the events will develop, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, met with the representatives of the Taliban government, and the parties expressed the possibility of cooperation."

In connection to the threats, the 2021 Kunduz explosion organized by the Islamic State of Khorasan (ISKP) is also cited in the analytical materials. According to the ISKP, the suicide terrorist belonged to the Uyghur ethnic group. The explosion was aimed at punishing the Taliban for strengthening

ჩინეთის პოლიტიკა ტერორიზმის წინააღმდეგ:
საერთაშორისო განზომილება

by otar chigladze — აპრილი 4, 2022 in ამოცანა 10 min read



¹⁸ Sinology, "The German Empire and the PRC: Historical Parallel or the Mere Paranoia?, 2022
<https://sinologia.ge/germaniis-imperia-da-chinethis-sakhalkho-respublika-istoriuli-paraleli-thu-ubralo-paranoia/>

Excerpt from the article: "It is not surprising that the comparison between China and Germany was taken up with great enthusiasm by Western academic and political circles... That is why parallels with 1914 have gained many supporters in recent years. In their opinion, in recent decades, especially after Xi Jinping came to power, the situation created in East Asia by the aggressive growth of the PRC is somewhat similar to the Germany of Wilhelm II and the reality that led Europe to the First World War. Therefore, according to this opinion, China today represents the same threat to the hegemony of the United States of America as the Second Reich did to the Pax Britannica. This rather pessimistic perception of events was soon challenged by opponents who believed that the similarities between China and Germany had been exaggerated and that pointing to these similarities would distort the reality."

¹⁹ Sinology, "China's Counter-Terrorism Policy: The International Dimension," 2022
<https://sinologia.ge/chinethis-politika-terorizmis-cinaaghmdeg-saerthashoriso-ganzomileba/>

relations with China, considering the current events in the Xinjiang region (Pantucci, 2021).

The media also pays much attention to and offers readers the extensive publication from the "Sinology, One Belt, One Road" international conference (an e-publication can be reached on the platform through the Google Drive link²⁰), which was held in 2019 in Georgia with the cooperation between the Chinese Cultural Center "Silk Road"²¹ and the Embassy. We often find citations from the conference materials when introduced to various analytical or explanatory materials.

Along with international politics, sinologia.ge writes about the history of Sino-Georgian relations and the common culture, where the tea culture is also mentioned (an e-book containing a short description is available on the website^{viii}). In connection with Chinese-Georgian relations, they say several historical figures actively participated in China's public and political life at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The article "Georgians in China" includes stories about Georgians who participated in various social and political processes in China at the beginning of the twentieth century. One tells about the role of certain Lominadze, a member of the Georgian Comintern, in the rise of Mao Zedong and about the efforts of Alexander Svanidze, the brother of Stalin's first wife.²²

²⁰ See proceedings of the "Sinology, One Belt, One Road" International Conference, 2019

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1sZus5KpkNOdyMK1Ecd3rDEkva2B0AhuT/view>

²¹ The Georgia - Chinese Cultural Center "Silk Road" - In the 80s of the 20th Century, on the initiative of Liou Qandareli- Guan-ven (translator/researcher/current president of the center), the Georgia - China Friendship Society "Silk Road" founded, which was renamed in 1992 to Georgia – Chinese Cultural Center "Silk Road." Since 1999, the center has been functioning as a non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entity.

<https://www.companyinfo.ge/ka/corporations/670438>,

[https://tsu.ge/assets/media/files/22/%E1%83%99%E1%83%9D%E1%83%9C%E1%83%A4%E1%83%94%E1%83%A0%E1%83%94%E1%83%9C%E1%83%AA%E1%83%98%E1%83%90%202021%20\(1\).pdf](https://tsu.ge/assets/media/files/22/%E1%83%99%E1%83%9D%E1%83%9C%E1%83%A4%E1%83%94%E1%83%A0%E1%83%94%E1%83%9C%E1%83%AA%E1%83%98%E1%83%90%202021%20(1).pdf)

²² Excerpt from the article "Georgians in China": "Another Georgian who left a noteworthy mark in the political life of China was Besarion Lominadze, a Comintern member. In 1927, the three-year national accord between the Communist and Nationalist parties ended, and their antagonism increased. During this period, the Kremlin sent a new Comintern delegation led by Besarion Lominadze and Heinz Neumann for coaching... With the involvement of Lominadze and Neumann, young Mao Zedong became a temporary member of Politburo. Thus, his influence increased significantly... Another Georgian Bolshevik, the direct representative of the Kremlin in the Chinese Civil War, was Alexander (Alyosha) Svanidze. Svanidze was the brother of Stalin's first wife and had held influential positions at different times. In 1934, as a representative and ambassador of the State Bank, Svanidze arrived in Xinjiang and gave directives to the military ruler, Sheng Shicai, on the region's economic, financial, and military modernization." See the full article <https://sinologia.ge/kharthvelebi-chinethshi-xx-saukunis-pirvel-nakhevarshi/>



Monitoring period: 01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100063558728011>

Topics of the materials subject to monitoring:

- ✓ Education
- ✓ Exchange programs in China
- ✓ History
- ✓ Economics
- ✓ Philosophy
- ✓ Religion

In the materials on China, the media platform chinesestories.ge mainly uses cultural, educational, and historical content, which, judging by the content ratings, is highly accepted by the audience.

According to the information on the website, it was developed in 2021, although, unlike the website, only some of the materials show the publication date.²³ The web page mainly publishes in-depth materials on the following topics:

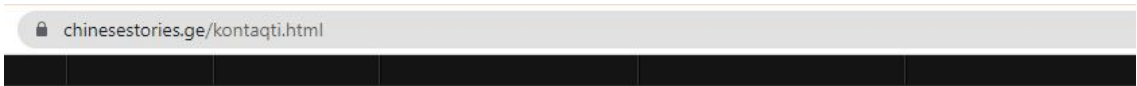
- ✓ Education in China;
- ✓ Scholarships and exchange programs in China;
- ✓ Chinese history and philosophy;
- ✓ Economics and history from a geopolitical perspective;
- ✓ Overview of the Marxist ideology, etc.

The website does not work in the standard media platform format. However, the number of views of individual materials on a website or Facebook page indicates high circulation. For example, information about getting an education in China has 4,019 views on the website alone. As expected, the most popular category of the website is information about **educational**




²³ For monitoring purposes, we have used the materials posted on the social network specified on the website, with the dates of publication on Facebook. In addition, the time of posting on the social network may not precisely match the time of preparation of the materials and their subsequent publication on the web page.

opportunities in China, particularly regarding scholarships, universities, and graduate experiences. The platform also contains many positive evaluations and impressions of students participating in exchange and scholarship programs.^{ix}

It should be noted here that the articles on the history of China and various religious movements^x in China or on the "May Fourth Movement" of 1919 etc., have pretty high statistical indicators.



კონტაქტი

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მე ვარ ნენე ახოხაძე ჩინეთის ჭეძიანგის უნივერსიტეტის მაგისტრანტი ჩინეთის ისტორიის განხრით; ჭეძიანგის კუნგზანგის უნივერსიტეტის კურსდამთავრებული ბიზნეს ჩინურისა და არაბული ენის განხრით 2017-2018; ჭეძიანგის საერთაშორისო სწავლების უნივერსიტეტის კურსდამთავრებული ჩინური ენისა და კულტურის განხრით 2015-2016;

2019 წელს მომენიჭა თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის აღმოსავლეთმცოდნეობის ბაკალავრის ხარისხი(ძირითადი სპეციალობა არაბისტიკა, დამატებითი _ სინოლოგია).

თუ გჭირდებათ მთარგმნელობითი ან ჩინურ ენოვანი გიდის მომსახურება, თუ ჩინური ენის შესწავლა გინდათ, თუ ჩინურენოვანი მასალის მოძიება გსურთ, თუ გსურთ თქვენც გაუზიაროთ თქვენი ჩინეთში სწავლის თავგადასავალი სხვებს ან სხვა თანამშრომლობისთვის მომწერეთ:

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ვიჩატზე: Khinkali123 **ან დამირეკეთ:** +86 135 8842 6773



Monitoring period: 01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022

Topics of the materials subject to monitoring:	✓ War in Ukraine;
	✓ Trade, export, economy;
	✓ Taiwan;
	✓ Railway;
	✓ Coronavirus, vaccination.

The media platform operates in compliance with the recognized journalistic norms of ethics. The materials do not contain hate speech, discrimination on various grounds, unconfirmed sources, etc. Materials containing advertising had a reference posted under the recognized standards of the Charter of Journalistic Ethics, saying that the content was an advertisement.^{xi} In most cases, the published materials regarding the PRC were prepared based on the reports published by reliable international media.

As for the analytical side of the Chinese aspect, we found it mainly in the materials prepared on the topics regarding Taiwan and the war in Ukraine, although the regional significance and the information prepared on the Chinese investments in Georgia or the scale of export to China cannot be said to be particularly in-depth and analytical. There needs to be a mention of the broader context of China's strategic political interests in the South Caucasus and Georgia.

In terms of continuous coverage, the media tried to follow hot topics, including vaccination, Russia's war in Ukraine, and Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, which they reported on consistently and provided fully the story to the audience. For example, in the case of Taiwan, the media provided the audience with the history of the conflict, its aspects, and the context of the current Sino-US relations.

The monitoring results show that Netgazeti keeps a close eye on China's role in Russia's war of aggression, although there are few analytical articles.

In the information related to the coronavirus, Netgazeti seldom explicitly mentions the place of origin of the virus, which may be indicative of the editorial decision not to stigmatize China and the people living in China.^{xii}

Media platform: Sputnik-Georgia



Monitoring period:	01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022
Topics covered by Sputnik Georgia:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ Shanghai Cooperation Organization;✓ Taiwan;✓ Withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan;✓ COVID-19 and the new strain;✓ "Sensational" Chinese family medicine and homeopathic herbs;✓ Electric cars;✓ "Dissatisfaction" between the Biden Administration and Europe;✓ War in Ukrainian;✓ Beijing Olympics;✓ Photo contest, where it is possible to fill out the application in Chinese;✓ Space.

The monitoring focused on the news of the media

The Kremlin media platform, Sputnik-Georgia, is also used to promote China in Georgia, portraying it to the audience in a highly positive mood. Along with offering rigorous Russian propaganda, *Sputnik-Georgia* is an instrument for carrying China's interests and, along with discrediting the West, promoting its version of creating a new geopolitical center. The edition uses easy-to-read content and manipulative articles containing political analysis. To get a complete picture of the range of interest of the edition, it can be said unequivocally that during the monitoring period and while reporting on China, Sputnik-Georgia wrote, for example, about space topics and, at the same time, about Chinese New Year traditions and calligraphy and painting contests.^{xiii}

During the reporting period, the webpage intensively covered the PRC, not only on matters containing express political content. The media portrayed China as one of the most attractive countries with centuries-old folk, herbal medicine, and health care cultures.

By observing Sputnik-Georgia, we can conclude that they mention the PRC in a uniquely positive context during the reporting period, regardless of the

topic and events in the news. The only exceptions are the articles about the boycott of the Beijing Winter Olympics. In the article, the authors cannot ignore the numerous cases of diplomatic boycotts and their reasons. Along with other examples, they talk about the issue of non-recognition by the Australian government.^{xiv}

In addition to reporting in a positive tone, in the materials published on the pages of Sputnik-Georgia, which reflect China's positions in geopolitical and economic processes, the latter is portrayed as a powerful, fearless, and rapidly developing country that “is not afraid of America.”^{xv}

“ *“China would welcome cooperation with the US, but would not fear the confrontation with it, and in case of confrontations, it will “fight until the victory” - the edition quotes a statement of the Foreign Minister of the country, Wang Yi.”*

In addition to global issues, Sputnik-Georgia also actively reported on Sino-Georgian relations. The edition has covered a competition called “*Let's write a new chapter of China-Georgia friendship together and draw a bright future for the two countries*”, which is held to celebrate the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the strengthening of friendship and ties between the two nations.

However, during the reporting period, Sputnik-Georgia also published a warning from the FBI concerning Chinese espionage. “*The FBI chief says Chinese agents spy on companies everywhere*,” the article does not cite China's official position. Still, some quotes point to China's unlimited resources to oversee everything from “*big and small cities, from Fortune 100 Best Companies to startups, they're interested in everything - aviation, artificial intelligence, pharmaceuticals,*^{xvi} etc.”

AMERICA, RUSSIA, CHINA, EUROPE

Sputnik-Georgia actively writes about the changing international environment, politics, and strategic threats. Therefore, issues related to the PRC are constantly the subject of interest of its analytical department. In the report, you will be introduced to several similar articles, the publication of which coincides with the monitoring period.

In the analytical article “*NATO's Crazy Strategy: On the Way to the Double Deterrence of Russia and China*,”^{xvii} - the author criticizes NATO's strategy of strengthening Ukraine. However, there is also a criticism of NATO's policy towards China.

“It is a little surprising that they are confident that the West will have the strength to defeat Russia when it is apparent to any realist person that Moscow will not back down and give up its goals. Even more interesting are NATO's goals and strategy, defined and set up until 2030. If Russia is the main threat, all forces must be directed toward fighting it. But ... China has appeared in the concept paper for the first time, although not as an enemy just yet.”

When writing about geopolitical issues, the propaganda media tries to demonize the US and NATO and portray them as weak and doomed geopolitical actors. Their favorite topic for propaganda purposes is the war in Afghanistan.

In the article **“Russia and China have changed Asia – the USA is losing it,”**^{xviii} there is an opinion that Asians should take care of Asia and the Asian problems – so should Russia, being a “powerful Eurasian state.”

“With the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan, the age of direct interference in the region's affairs is ending - and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization will take full responsibility for its security.”

“No matter how great the contradictions between its members {Shanghai Union} are, it is almost always possible to find an option that eliminates conflicts when a mutually beneficial solution is unavailable - especially when the non-Asian powers are not allowed to provoke confrontations. The US is currently trying to do that in India by dragging it into the four-member format of the QUAD (the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue involving the US, Japan, Australia, and India), a format driven by pronounced anti-China goals. Hopefully, the Afghan saga of the United States will demonstrate to India all the dangers of working with Americans on regional issues.”

In another publication, **“Putin's Tundra on fire - Biden has criticized the leaders of Russia and China,”** *Sputnik-Georgia* offers its readers the criticism of the Russian and Chinese leaders by the US president, and here, it also provides an alternative, opposing view to demonstrate the disagreement between the leaders of the West, and at the same time positively portray the leaders of Russia and China, who “due to the coronavirus pandemic have refused to go to Glasgow.”^{xix}

Sputnik-Georgia often publishes the author's opinions furnished with bias, unethical labels, and subjective views and carries the propaganda narratives of Russia about the great American-European confrontation, as well as about the impoverishment and weakening of America, especially compared to China and Russia.

“The lives of Americans are rapidly deteriorating; unprecedented inflation threatens to devalue the dollar and impoverish the country. The only chance of survival seems to be to rob such rich countries as Russia and China.”^{xx}

“To seriously go against the will of the United States seems to require a figure as great as Charles de Gaulle. He was able to reject the use of the dollar, he was able to remove the NATO headquarters and American bases from his country, and he was able to negotiate independently with China and the USSR.”^{xxi}

Even more "impressive" are the materials concerning China's "might" against the backdrop of the "failed/weakened" America and the Western democracies. For example, throughout the year, the edition offered various materials on strengthening the Chinese Yuan.

“Countries around the world will try to switch to other currencies, including the Chinese Yuan.”^{xxii}

“Credit organizations in Russia and Belarus have also considered giving up the Western currency. VTB Bank, the only Russian licensed bank operating on China's territory, together with Alfa-Bank, offered Russians to open accounts and deposits in Yuan.”^{xxiii}

WAR IN UKRAINE

A couple of months before the Russian aggression in Ukraine (published on November 29, 2021), *Sputnik-Georgia*, in an overview of US-European cooperation (opinion, Alexander Khabarov), developed the narrative that the US has replaced France and Germany with a “phantom country”²⁴ - Ukraine, which is “loaded”^{xxiv} with “explosive substances” and now plays with the “Ukrainian detonator.”

“The United States has long pushed back the French and Germans who supported it, has taken Kyiv under its wing, and is now playing with the Ukrainian detonator. If something happens there, the whole of Europe will be in trouble.”^{xxv}

The material, released nearly two months before the start of the war, clearly indicated Russia's plans for Ukraine and foresaw the escalation of this

²⁴ See the editorial (author: Victoria Nikiforova), where the author uses the colloquialism – “phantom country” as a label for Ukraine. About Ukraine, the author uses several discriminatory, humiliating, and other definitions to denote a non-existent country.

confrontation to the US-Russia conflict. In the opinion published by *Sputnik-Georgia*, the author makes essential points:

“This is the story of the US-Russian relations... Therefore, the main question of modern times is: What do the Americans think about it, are they going to fight for “Ukraine, and if they are - how seriously are they going to do it?”

SINO-GEORGIAN RELATIONS

During the reporting period, *Sputnik-Georgia* reported on cultural events and political statements dedicated to the 30th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the PRC and Georgia: “Chinese Prime Minister: China-Georgia relations are developing steadily.”

“Political trust between the parties is growing, cooperation in various fields is progressing, and relations between citizens and the cultural exchanges are strengthening.”^{xxvi}

China's investment in the electric car industry, the expansion of the “Hualing” free industrial zone and the priorities of the Georgian government, and many other similar issues have been offered by the edition during the reporting period.^{xxvii}

In the materials published by *Sputnik-Georgia*, there is excessive reporting on technologies, as well as on the connections of the Chinese-Georgian governments. As a rule, such topics carry an entirely positive mood towards both the Chinese and Georgian governments.

“On my instructions, we have already started new negotiations with the investor company. A large part of the factory has been brought to the site, and we will do everything to bring this project to an end... We will start producing electric cars here very soon, said the Prime Minister of Georgia (October 24, 2021).^{xxviii}

“The Georgian holding AiGroup signed the relevant memorandum with the Chinese consortium Changan Automobile (in March 2019).^{xxix} The parties agreed that the construction would be completed in 24 months. However, the process was halted due to the pandemic and stopped altogether. “There were some flaws in this project. As far as I know, this project package didn't come together as it should have. Later, the pandemic came and further delayed the process. Now we have an attempt to renew this project with the Chinese companies, said the Prime Minister (April 30, 2022).”^{xxx}

RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS – TV MEDIA

MTAVARI CHANNEL



Due to a technical error on the website of the Mtavari Channel,²⁵ the monitoring covers the period 02.03.2022 - 28.08.2022. There is no calendar search on the Channel's website, so monitoring was done using the search box, searching for the relevant content by tags. During the mentioned period, the media published 102 materials related to China on their website, some accompanied by videos. The mood of coverage was mainly neutral.

Neutral - 75;

Negative - 26;

Positive - 2.

EXAMPLES AND EXCERPTS

During the monitoring period, the PRC appeared mainly in materials related to foreign countries, but the following materials can be found about Georgia:

- A Chinese citizen died during the tunnel construction works near Kobi; ^{xxx}
- In the II quarter, the level of unemployment decreased by 4% compared to the previous year, and local exports increased by 34.1% - Geostat;
- Isn't it time to join the MIR payment system?! – Fridon Injia, MP, etc.

²⁵ The former director of Rustavi2, Nika Gvaramia, and some of the employees from the same Channel founded the Mtavari Channel in 2019. The Mtavari Channel went on air on September 9, 2019. It broadcasts throughout Georgia, both over the air and via satellite, through cable operators and IP TVs.

Nika Gvaramia is currently in prison [as of March 2023], the court found him guilty of abuse of power during his management of Rustavi2 TV. According to the declaration of compliance of April 29, 2022 posted on the website (<https://bit.ly/3Z6u4vt>), Nika Gvaramia owns 12% of the Channel's shares, the University of Georgia owns 2%, Bakur Jakhia - 37%, BGIM LTD - 39% - The owner of 100% share of BGIM LTD is Zaza Okuashvili. According to the post-election [2021 municipal elections in Georgia] media monitoring report of the Charter of Journalistic Ethics (<https://bit.ly/3JtoLjK>), the broadcaster is sharply critical of the government and has a biased editorial policy towards the National Movement Party and Mikheil Saakashvili.

About Georgia, the information based on the statement made by the European Socialists that the media offers have attracted much interest.

“We condemn any political provocation directed against China - European Socialists” - the materials^{xxxii} directly convey the complete statement of the party without any introduction, explanation, or analysis; therefore, the reader has little knowledge on the matter. The TV media usually is shallow when discussing the China topic.

When reporting foreign news related to China, TV relies on editions such as CNN, NYT, The Telegraph, The Wall Street Journal, and others. China can be found in the statements of world leaders, which are extensively covered by the media.

The Mtavari Channel consistently reported on Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan and China's position in this regard. Several extensive video materials were also prepared around this topic and attached to the news texts. It should be noted that the tone of the journalist in these videos is strongly negative towards the PRC, for example:

“All this, of course, was responded to by the ex-communist, that is, the ex-communist defended the acting communists - Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Foreign Minister, who says that the US now carries out provocations in Taiwan.” [3:12 - 3:24]²⁶

“China, an openly communist China where autocracy reigns, has an interest in this, and they openly support Russia.” [5:20-5:29]⁵⁸

“In the background of the conflict, one country is in the hands of the communists, and the other has developed democratically and now is a technological giant. If China takes over Taiwan, it can blackmail the whole world.” [1:46 - 1:56]²⁷

“Now China is generating provocation after provocation, Asian airlines have been told not to use Taiwan's skies because it is dangerous.” [2:29 - 2:36]⁵⁹

It should be noted that no comments or statements made by the Chinese side are included in the above materials.

²⁶ See “China-Taiwan on the brink of military conflict | Situation update and latest news from Taiwan, <https://mtavari.tv/news/94265-chinet-taivani-samkhedro-konpliktis-zghvarze>

²⁷ See “US Struggle to Defeat Autocracy | Nancy Pelosi's Visit to Thailand and China's Continued Threat, <https://mtavari.tv/news/94336-ashsh-brdzola-avtokratiis-dasamartskheblad-nensi>

REPORTING ON CHINA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR:

When the media reports on the war, we frequently see quotes from international actors [for example, the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Commission, representatives of the US government, etc.] where China is referred to as “Russia's partner.” For example:

“The skepticism of Chinese investors about investing in Russia, according to the newspaper, indicates their fear of falling under the sanctions imposed after the invasion of Ukraine, despite the claims of “boundless friendship” between Beijing and Moscow, which was still real shortly before the outbreak of the war.” - text from the news story.

“Today [Russia] is the most direct threat to the world order with its barbaric war against Ukraine, its troubling agreement with China, and its calls for the new, highly arbitrary international relations,” said the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen.

“Beijing has joined Moscow in questioning the right of independent countries to choose their path.” - NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg.

Throughout the Mtavari Channel news, when reporting on the Russia-Ukraine war, the PRC is mainly presented in a negative mood and is referred to as "Russia's partner, but at the same time, there are also materials where it says that China refuses to supply Russia with spare parts for airplanes. The media also reports that China is ending cooperation with the Russian Academy of Sciences.

POSITIVE COVERAGE:

In connection to the Russia-Ukraine war, the TV media prepared a story that mentions the financial aid provided by the Chinese government to Ukraine. To prove this, the article quoted the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Dmytro Kuleba, who thanked the Chinese government and offered it to become one of Ukraine’s security guarantors.^{xxxiii}

“I am grateful to the Chinese Red Cross Organization, which has provided Ukraine with humanitarian aid worth 5 million Yuan, and I thank the Chinese government, which expresses its desire to continue with this aid,” said the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

When monitoring the Mtavari Channel Internet media, it was unclear whether it had any clear policy concerning China. The press extensively covers China in connection with important world political events. For example - the issue of Taiwan.

The problem with such news is that if there is no systematic analysis in place and readers/viewers are not provided with complete background information about current events and geopolitical context, the environment containing such raw news can only lead to more confusion and uncertainty and fail to satisfy the public's needs to be informed.

MTAVARI TOP WORLD NEWS PROGRAM

To conduct the qualitative analysis, additional monitoring was conducted on the weekly public political program of the Mtavari Channel - the Mtavari Top World News Program, aired during the reporting period under Eka Kvesitadze's authorship and hosting. The host and guests' opinions were mainly personal based on the program format. China was not a topic of particular interest in the program, and it was addressed only indirectly, mostly when discussing the Ukrainian problem, albeit critically.

Monitoring Period:	01.09.2021 – 01.09.2022
Number of materials subject to monitoring:	38 (most of the programs were two-part programs - 73 in total)
Topics of the monitored materials:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ War in Ukraine;✓ European integration of Georgia;✓ Granting the EU [membership candidate] status;✓ Coronavirus, vaccination.

EXCERPTS AND EXAMPLES

The topic of the September 18, 2021, program addressed the vaccination issue. During the 45-minute program, China was mentioned only once - in the 5:40-6:00 period – for just 20 seconds.

In the report prepared for the program, the author says:

“Like the British, other countries too have started vaccinating children aged between 12 and 15, Denmark and Spain, for example, have already vaccinated a large number of children, and France has followed suit too, where 66% of 12 to 17-year-olds have received one dose and 52% have been fully vaccinated. Vaccination of 12 to 15-year-olds has also started in the USA, Canada, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. In contrast, China has started to vaccinate children from the age of 3.”

The PRC is mentioned (mainly in a negative mood) during the coverage of the war in Ukraine.

In the program of November 27, 2021, which reported on the existing relations between Ukraine and Russia, the host says: (20:19 – 21:21 min) *“Russia is blackmailing the Biden Administration saying – if you don’t want us to cooperate with China on topics that are uncomfortable for you, you will have to make concessions, the main challenge for America today is China. It did not consider Russia as equally problematic. China poses a huge long-term problem. However, Russia creates short-term challenges. The American Administration has a choice – to respond to the immediate challenges coming from Russia, hoping that if the main thing is that Russia does not cooperate with China and if it doesn’t – it has to make concessions.”* – China, together with Russia, is mentioned here in a negative context.

In the program of December 4, 2021 – the topic of the program – will there be a war in Ukraine? The guest, Batu Kutelia, says: (8:51 - 9:10 min) *“If we stress that authoritarianism is the main threat to democracy, then Realpolitik, the balance of powers or grand strategy calculations, like - let's cooperate with Russia now, and China is a significant threat - will disappear from the agenda. However, the seesaw is not bent on the other side yet. America's main task is to prevent the Sino-Russian union, which is why it is counting on cooperation with Russia.”* Together with Russia, China is mentioned in a negative context.

In the program of December 18, 2021, - in the first section at 9:48 - the host says: *“There is an opinion that the West and America need Russia to fight China as it represents the greatest long-term challenge.”*

In the second section – a guest, Gia Khukhashvili, mentions: (31:48 min), *“In Washington, they understand that if Russia succeeds in Ukraine, it will signal*

China to take over Taiwan. The USA will not allow this as it would collapse their security system.” China and Russia are mentioned in a negative context.

In the program of February 5, 2022, – (3:56 - 4:23) - the program's presenter says, – *“The Kremlin is still looking for diplomatic solutions. Yesterday, Vladimir Putin was in Beijing, where he attended the opening of the Winter Olympic Games and met Chinese President Xi Jinping. After brief negotiations, the parties issued a joint statement. The Chinese leader shares Moscow's demand against the NATO expansion, while his Russian counterpart recognizes China's sovereignty over Taiwan.”* PRC and Russia are mentioned in a negative context.

In the program of February 19, 2022 - 23:51 - Khukhashvili says: *“Behind all this is the third camp - China... Recently the Atlantic Council had a fascinating discussion on the Chinese issue. The former Prime Minister of Australia was there as an expert, who said that no matter what Putin tries, China has its perception of international relations and its timekeeping. China does not want to bring escalations into international relations now, sacrificing world stability to Putin's Ukrainian ambitions. This does not suit China. Kvesitadze says - the strengthening of Russia does not suit China, either. It is a competitor. Khukhashvili says - If Russia succeeds in Ukraine, China will think that it will also succeed with Taiwan, the experts concluded that Taiwan is a huge problem for China, and China is ready to postpone dealing with this problem for a long time in the future, which Putin and Russia cannot afford.”* - China is mentioned together with Russia in a negative context.

The topic of the program on July 9, 2022, was gaining energy independence from Russia and the role of Central Asia in this process. In the program's second section, Nona Mamulashvili (a United National Movement Party member during the research period) was invited to talk about the topic. During the issue discussion, the respondent mentioned China in a negative context with Russia: *“If the relations are not stabilized and clarified, then Afghanistan should be bypassed to export energy resources. This is the most painful process for Central Asia because, on the one hand, they don't know what policy to pursue towards the Taliban, and it is dangerous too, and on the other hand, the interests of China and Russia, which have shown that it will not back down from anything.”*

Even though no separate programs are dedicated to China topics, its role, politics, and standing in the discussions of various global issues are not overlooked, and the program viewers are allowed to listen to the analytical content.



A single and unequivocal editorial policy towards China is not present in the case of Imedi TV²⁸. However, it can be said that the TV media uses negative and positive reporting on China, just like on any other topic, to present the current government of Georgia in a positive context.

The TV Imedi monitoring fits the entire research period. 1,368 materials were monitored. In the quantitative analysis of the moods of reporting, we only considered 1,081 purely informative articles where China was mentioned in more than one sentence. For example, “The outbreak of pneumonia in China began in December 2019.” - This sentence was written in the descriptions of virtually all news related to Covid-19. The sentence is neutral in its essence and, in a way, represents a statement of fact. Accordingly, the tone of coverage in the rest of the material was distributed as follows:

Negative: 36

Neutral: 237

Positive: 10

EXAMPLES AND EXCERPTS - TV IMEDI

Materials related to the PRC can be found on their website when reporting on important events worldwide. It should be noted that out of the three media sources that were subject to monitoring, most often, we find the so-called click-collecting news on Imedi TV. Not all news stories with similar content carry identical positions. Given the frequency with which they are aired, some

²⁸ TV Imedi was founded in 2001 and has been broadcasting since March 15, 2003. According to the 2022 compliance declaration uploaded on the Imedi website (<https://bit.ly/40opEkA>), the channel's General Director is Mariam Lomidze. According to the declaration, Georgian Media Production Group owns 100% of shares of TV Imedi Company LLC. Media Finance Group owns 100% of shares of the latter, and the beneficial owners are Irakli Otar Rukhadze, Benjamin Albert Marson, and Igor Alekseev. According to the media post-election monitoring report [2021 municipal elections of Georgia] of the Charter of Journalistic Ethics, TV Imedi is a clearly pro-government channel. “*Imedi is clearly biased towards the government. The ruling team was presented positively, and the opposition was discredited as much as possible on this channel.*”

may create derisive or xenophobic attitudes toward China and the Chinese people in the population.

- TV channels in China were banned from showing men that have "insufficient masculinity"; ^{xxxiv}
- A 55-year-old Chinese man has been trying to enroll in the same university for 40 years; ^{xxxv}
- Exercise bikes have been installed in McDonald's in China so that customers can exercise while eating;
- More than 80 ostriches have escaped from a farm and "roam" the city streets in China. A video is attached to the material;
- Children in China have been given a daily limit on the use of the TikTok analog app; ^{xxxvi}
- Cryptocurrency financial operations have been banned in China; ^{xxxvii}
- 33,863 people were locked in Shanghai Disneyland after one of the guests tested positive for the coronavirus; ^{xxxviii}
- In China, a family has found their child who was kidnapped 14 years ago; ^{xxxix}
- In China, software was created that independently decides on bringing charges against detainees;

In addition, the news below may develop among the readers regarding Chinese technology. We assume this news was not disseminated under the editorial policy, but the impact on the readers is still feasible.

- It was announced on the hacker forum that the personal data of more than a billion people had been leaked from the Chinese police, which may be the most significant data leak in history;
- FBI urges the US athletes not to bring their cell phones to the Beijing Olympics;
- The Ministry of Defense of Lietuva urges citizens to throw away their Chinese smartphones and refrain from purchasing them;
- Fragments of the Chinese rocket launched into space fell back to Earth;
- NASA: part of the rocket that is bound to hit the moon was not found by SpaceX but by China;
- Chinese censors have changed the ending part of "Minions, etc.

The label "Chinese" is used derogatorily in the speeches of various politicians and experts:

Expert Levan Nikolaishvili on Giorgi Khojvanishvili, a member of the "For Georgia" party:

“This “treason formula” – the cheat Gakharia [former Prime Minister of Georgia, Chairman of the party “For Georgia”] has rolled out another “made in China” version and, with little disguise and slight audacity, has joined the UNM campaign – to let everything down the drain and not allow the Georgian Dream government to get the EU candidate status for the country.^{xl}”

“This Chinese made Gakharia (it was more than enough to have Gakharia himself – now there is his Chinese version).”

The media has also directly conveyed Levan Nikolaishvili's quote about Kakha Kemoklidze, one of the party's leaders, “For Georgia, founded by Ex-Prime Minister Giorgi Gakharia. Any explanations do not accompany the quote, and China is still used as a negative label.

“This Chinese made Gakharia, the main clown of the party “validates” holding a meeting of the “Sakrebulo” by 16 members when 17 votes are needed for a quorum.”^{xli}

It should be noted that Levan Nikolaishvili did not make these statements in any program or during a live conversation with a journalist, but based on the post published by Nikolaishvili on the social network the Imedi TV, on its initiative, has decided to highlight the mentioned post and prepared extraordinary stories.

WAR IN UKRAINE

In connection to the war in Ukraine, there is an impression that TV Imedi uses China's example to justify and substantiate the policy of the Georgian government related to the sanctions. Accordingly, the TV Company has widely covered the statements and appeals of high-ranking Chinese officials belittling the importance of the sanctions.

For example, they extensively reported on the statement of March 20, 2022, by the PRC's Vice Foreign Minister, where he argued that history has repeatedly shown that imposing sanctions “is like putting out a fire with firewood, making the situation worse instead of solving it.” Also, it is with the reporting of these statements that TV Imedi uses indirect propaganda methods. The Imedi TV, by using representatives of the Chinese government, promotes the spread of propaganda messages in public about the insidious missions of the West and the idea that (1) “America is getting richer at the expense of the imposed sanctions”^{xlii} under the conditions of the Russia-Ukraine war, or (2) sanctions

will not be able to end the war,^{xliii} on the contrary, the introduction of sanctions by the US is like pouring fuel on the fire, etc.

“Small countries should not be used as pawns... They {big countries} turn small countries into cat's paws and even use them to fight proxy wars. Look at dealers, bankers, and oil tycoons profiting from these wars while the people of smaller countries are left with war wounds that will take years to heal. This is highly immoral and irresponsible.”^{xliv}

In the news published on the platform, we read the following:

“If the US wants to solve the crisis created in Ukraine, they should stop fueling the fire and imposing additional sanctions on Russia,” said Zhao Lijian - the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs press secretary.^{xlv}

AMBASSADOR OF THE PRC

The Georgian media actively reports on the meetings of Georgian politicians with the Chinese ambassador. This trend is noticeable in the case of both TV Imedi and the Georgian Public Broadcaster. Materials prepared on Sino-Georgian relations are often based on press releases of the Georgian government or ministries. Accordingly, the tone is always positive and is conditioned by the attitude of the press release itself, which the media almost invariably uses in their own materials. Information on such relations describes meetings, gratitude for the implementation of particular projects, the joint opening of facilities, etc.

- Levan Davitashvili welcomes the participants of the Georgia-China Economic, Trade and Cultural Forum in a video address;
- Irakli Gharibashvili held a farewell meeting with the Chinese ambassador;
- Irakli Gharibashvili: Georgia is grateful to the USA, the European Union, China, and those vaccine manufacturers who provided us with supplies to protect the health of the Georgian people.

PUBLIC BROADCASTER OF GEORGIA

During the monitoring period [01.09.2021- 01.09.2022], 409 materials related to China were published on the website of the Public Broadcaster.²⁹ A calendar archive was available on the website. The materials were collected by reference to the research period and tags.

Moods in 409 China-related materials were distributed as follows:

321 - neutral;

64 - negative;

24 - positive.

As in the case of other channels, we do not find any analysis or in-depth materials in the information programs of the Public Broadcaster. News is mainly limited to coverage of the statement of a particular person. There is no background history in the materials, and there are no counter-arguments. We cannot say that this news service has an editorial policy about reporting on China. The media covered issues according to the urgency of the topics; for example, China featured in such topics as Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, the war in Ukraine, the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, etc. News reported on the Beijing Olympics and the events surrounding it.

We have spotted a positive mood when they report on business news, and in this regard, in addition to news materials, we have singled out the Business Partner program.

In contrast to the news programs, the weekly analytical program - The 42° Parallel, was characterized by its in-depth and positive coverage of the PRC, excerpts from which are presented in a separate appendix (Appendix #2).

EXAMPLES AND EXCERPTS

THE NEWS: CHINA AND GEORGIA

In the news related to Georgia, China appears along the issues such as the meeting of government officials with the newly appointed Ambassador of the PRC, phone conversations between the officials of the two countries, etc.

²⁹ The Public Broadcaster was established under the Law of Georgia "on Broadcasting." Currently, the general director of the channel is Tinatin Berdzenishvili. According to the media post-election monitoring report [2021 municipal elections of Georgia] of the Charter of Journalistic Ethics the **"Channel 1 of the Public Broadcaster, Rustavi 2 and TV Imedi have an editorial policy biased towards the government."** According to the report, the channel is loyal to the government and covers current events in the country without stressing on the government's responsibility.

- Irakli Gharibashvili held a farewell meeting with the Chinese ambassador, Li Yan;^{xlvi}
- A telephone conversation was held between Ilia Darchiashvili and the head of the Chinese Foreign Ministry;^{xlvii}
- The Prime Minister of the State Council of China congratulates the Government of Georgia on Independence Day - the dynamics of the development of China-Georgia relations are positive;^{xlviii}
- Shalva Papuashvili met with the Ambassador of the PRC;
- Levan Davitashvili met with the Chinese ambassador;
- Irakli Gharibashvili met the new Chinese ambassador, Chou Tsien;^{xlix}
- Finance Minister Khutsishvili met with the new Chinese ambassador, Chou Tsien, etc.

Out of the materials listed above, only in some cases, there are remarks that the information was delivered by the press office of a particular ministry, such as the information about the meetings of Levan Davitashvili and Lasha Khutsishvili. The news materials acquire a positive mood by such insertions as below:

- *“The total volume of investments from China to Georgia has exceeded 750 million US dollars”;*
- *“China is in the top five trade partners of Georgia, and the Georgia-China trade turnover between January and June this year has amounted to 922 million US dollars.”;*
- *“The positive dynamics of cooperation between the countries in the trade and economic sphere were underscored.”*

Such information creates a positive attitude among the audience. However, it may not mean anything special since these numbers do not give us any idea whether investment or trade turnover has increased or decreased or what were the expectations of the numerous memorandums of understanding and whether they were fulfilled at all, or how the Chinese investment of 750 million dollars look in relation to other countries, etc.

China is also frequently mentioned in news stories regarding the Geostat reports:

- China was the largest exporting country for Georgia in January-August 2021, and Turkey was the largest importer;¹
- According to Geostat data, local exports to China increased by 26.0 percent in January-August, etc.

Equally noteworthy are such materials as the information regarding the fact that – “under the initiative of the Revenue Service of the Ministry of Finance and within the framework of economic-technical cooperation between the Government of Georgia and the Government of the PRC, a media seminar for journalists was held.” And this one too: “to celebrate the 30th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Georgia, a competition in calligraphy

and painting is being held,^{lii} - since such events are an expression of China's soft power, therefore all the information transmitted by the media is interesting and creates multiple effects.

INFORMATION NOTABLE FOR ITS POSITIVE MOOD

A positive mood is mainly observed in the prepared materials for scientific topics within - *#1tvscience* - category.

The news is mostly about Chinese scientists' inventions or Chinese instruments that explore the moon's surface, etc.

- China's "artificial sun" broke the world record for plasma synthesis — #1tvScience^{lii}
- Chinese rover took close-up photos of the "strange cube" found on the moon — #1tvScience
- New smart contact lens could cure one of the leading causes of blindness — #1tvScience^{liii}
- NASA postpones sending humans to the moon until 2025 — #1tvScience^{liv}
- Chinese spacecraft took new photos of Mars — #1tvScience

NEGATIVE MOOD

In contrast to the above materials, where we only find a positive mood of coverage when China is directly mentioned, a negative and critical attitude is mainly found in the indirect coverage of China, for example:

- Ministry of Defense of Lietuva urges citizens to refrain from purchasing Chinese smartphones;^{lv}
- LinkedIn social network will no longer work in China;^{lvi}
- Israeli media - Suspicious spy devices have been found in the gifts sent by the Chinese Embassy to Israeli ministers;^{lvii}
- Donald Trump - the Chinese president is a murderer; Beijing must pay reparations for the origin of the coronavirus;^{lviii}
- 18-time champion of the "Grand Slam" tournaments - I am ashamed of the Olympics in Russia and China #1TVSPORT;^{lix}
- NBA basketball player - Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping are a threat to the world #1TVSPORT;
- Anthony Blinken - China is a more significant threat to global security in the long run than Russia.

The media also covered the story of Chinese tennis player Peng Shuai, who was considered missing after she had accused the former Vice-Premier of the State Council of sexual abuse.

NEGATIVE MOOD TAIWAN

The Public Broadcaster did devote time to the coverage of the Taiwan issue, and the reports were consistent, although not detailed. The media communicated the statements of the leaders of various countries regarding the Taiwan issue as separate news. For example, 30 of 45 China-related news stories were on Taiwan in August.

In covering topics, the media mainly relies on foreign editions such as CNN, BBC, and the White House and Chinese government agencies.

The media also writes about the statement of the Chinese ambassador to Georgia regarding Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan.

“There is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is an integral part of its territory,”^{lx} the Chinese ambassador to Georgia, said in his comprehensive statement, criticizing the “provocative actions of the United States.”

“The United States is trying to contain China by exploiting Taiwan. It uses Taiwan as a trump card to stop China's development. It constantly distorts, modifies and misrepresents the “One China” principle. In the last year and a half alone, the United States has already sold advanced weapons five times to Taiwan.”

However, in response to this, the material does not offer any explanation, the position of the USA, or the background history on the issue, making it the same as the approaches of Sputnik-Georgia, which openly promotes Russian propaganda.

UKRAINE AND CHINA

The Public Broadcaster also covered the news on Sino-Ukrainian relations, although there was no attempt at thorough analysis here. We see both neutral and negative coverage.^{lxi}

On March 23-24, 2022, the Public Broadcaster wrote about the communique adopted at the NATO emergency summit, according to which the alliance urges President Putin to end the war in Ukraine immediately.

Much of the material is devoted to a quote from NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, where Stoltenberg talks about China's politics along with Russia and expresses concern about the standing of the Chinese government in connection to the Russia-Ukraine war. It also urges China to stop spreading the Kremlin's disinformation narratives.

“Beijing has joined Moscow in questioning the right of independent nations to choose their path. China provides political support to Russia by spreading blatant lies and disinformation^{lxii}.” - NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg.

Examples of the neutral reporting mood:

- A telephone conversation took place between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of China and Ukraine;^{lxiii}
- Charles Michel - we have called on China to help us end the war in Ukraine, it should not turn a blind eye to the brutal violation of international law by Russia.^{lxiv}

TV PROGRAM – THE BUSINESS PARTNER

The content of the Public Broadcaster's program - the Business Partner - focuses on the current economic processes and business activities in Georgia and the world. During the war in Ukraine, we found much material about the impact of the war and the sanctions imposed on Russia on the Georgian economy, export markets, etc. China was not mentioned on this particular topic.

During the monitoring period, there were few materials concerning the PRC directly in the program. China is mainly mentioned in connection with such topics as - China - the export market for Georgian wine, transportation of freight containers and cargo, the launch of a cargo train between China and Georgia, etc. It should be noted that in all these texts, the mood towards China varied from positive to neutral.

For example:

The program centered on the wine sector on September 6 and 13, 2021. In the report^{lxv} of September 6, it was said that despite the increase in demand, the export price of wine is still low in China. And on September 13, it focused on the export possibilities of the market. The author told us about the great potential that the Chinese market held and, accordingly, about establishing Georgian wine in that market. However, one respondent's skepticism concerning its stability was offered – “They see the Chinese market as a promising market, but there are still some question marks regarding its utilization.”

Two programs in December 2021 were also dedicated to topics related to wine export and the growing market.^{lxvi}

In the program of December 29, which was within the monitoring period, the topic of Sino-Arab investments in Georgia was discussed, which envisaged an investment of 50 million dollars to establish a logistics hub in our country.

The program often contains similar news and information about specific projects. For example, on September 22, 2021, the Business Partner reported on the doubling of air cargo turnover between China and Georgia, etc.

The Business Partner often spares time to discuss the world economic processes, and therefore China is usually under the focus during the discussions of various topics. For example, on November 15, 2021, #LIVE^{lxvii} was dedicated to the global supply chain crisis and its impact on Georgia. Obviously, the PRC often became the presenter and guest's object of interest. For example, the conversation focused on the Sino-American “economic war, the impact of the pandemic, as well as vaccination rates in China, etc.

“Let's say the pandemic has spread from China, and therefore all these processes have progressed from China, and the economic growth also began in China”(respondent)

“Since these pandemic processes have begun and there has been a considerable risk of a major health impact, the leading shipping lines have simply canceled services to Chinese ports. I want to remind you that China has the 10 largest ports, so I want to emphasize its importance. In addition, there was a big collapse in land shipments to the West and East directions.”

The Business Partner's #LIVE^{lxviii} program of November 26, 2021, was about the world's strategic oil reserves, and naturally, China was mentioned many times in the program etc.

SHARE OF THE PRC AND ITS AFFILIATED BUSINESS SECTOR IN BOTH MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND THE ADVERTISING MARKET

OWNERSHIP

The share of the PRC and its affiliated business in the media sector ownership was calculated from a detailed study of the database available on the website of the National Communications Commission - using a relevant methodology. The data was verified against the declarations of conformity and checked against the Business Register.

In total, we have processed the data of **233 media companies** (TV, radio, internet editions, etc.). As a result of the study, **three** out of 233 companies among media owners turned out to be affiliated with representatives of the business sector of the PRC.

These companies are:

CORTES-GIDAGO LLC (R/C 204907985)

Founded on	01/12/1997
Company Director:	Mikheil Tarakhchev (p/n 01024024195)

The shares of the company owners:

- 51% GBTIMES OY LLC** - Finland - 2153821-3,,
 - 100% **"FutuVision Holding"** r/c 188626-8;
 - 91.8% - **Yinong**, China, p/n G61682672;
 - 1.9% - **Samu Tuomisto, Passport N** - PZ3139079,
 - 6.3% - **Futuvision investment LTD ID** 2221901-1;
 - 90%- **Zhao Yinong** p/n G61682672;
 - 10% **Zhao Sofia zhuouqun** G30107596;
- 46% - MS MS Group** - 404941756;
 - 50% **Mikhail Tarakhchev** 01024024195,
 - 50% **Lance Huilan Jia** - G61683631; FP2428068/ფინეთი³⁰

³⁰ China International Culture Communication Center-ის წარმომადგენელი სკანდინავიურ ქვეყნებში. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/lancy-jia-b0347886/?originalSubdomain=fi>

3% Sports Radio Jako - 205248016;

- 50%- **Jamlet Khukhashvili** (p/n 01013000662)
- 25%- **Mikheil Khukhashvili** (p/n 01015001481)
- 25%- **Giorgi Makharashvili** (p/n: 01009006954)

Note: The representatives of the PRC appear both in the company which holds 51% (control package) of shares in the GBTIMES OY LLC, including its parent company, and also in the company that owns 46% of shares in the MS Group LLC.

It has to be noted that Zhao Yinong, the owner of 91.8% of shares (control package) in FutuVision Holding (r/c 188626-8) and 90% of shares (control package) in FutuVision Investment LLC (r/c 2221901-1) explains, that China Radio International³¹ is a “huge client” of his European media group. According to him, this radio station spends “several million Euros” every year to create radio shows for the local audience.³²

The primary mission of the Finnish media company is to distribute Chinese propaganda programs via China Radio International. However, Zhao Yinong explains in an interview that with the strengthening of the role of the Chinese state, his media company would go beyond the country's borders and that he sees no difference between his company and the US government-sponsored Voice of America.³³

Zhao Yinong was also a suspect in the fraud schemes. According to the police, he may have committed fraud between 2012 and 2015. There are also court records that list Zhao Yinong as a suspect in aggravated fraud felony between 2012 and 2016.³⁴

The director of Cortes-Gidago LLC, Mikheil Tarakhchev, who, in addition to this media company, appears with other legal entities mentioned in this chapter, is connected to such companies affiliated with China as GBtimes Georgia LLC (r/c: 405083323)³⁵ and Agropark LLC.³⁶³⁷ In addition, Mikheil Tarakhchev was the Vice-President of the China-Georgia Economy and Culture Foundation.

³¹ This radio station is under the Chinese ownership <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-radio-partners-idUSKCNOSR1KS20151102>

³² <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-radio-partners-idUSKCNOSR1KS20151102>

³³ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-radio-partners-idUSKCNOSR1KS20151102>

³⁴ <https://yle.fi/a/3-11040415>

³⁵ Director – Mikheil Tarakhchev, 60% of shares GBTIMES OY LLC, 40% - MS Group LLC.

³⁶ Director - Mikheil Tarakhchev, also 10% of shares, 40% - Chun Lung Tea, Chine p/n 01008049566. 40% - Constantine Tarakhchev (p/n 01024035088). 10% - Mikheil Khukhashvili (p/n 01015001481).

It has to be noted that Constantine Tarakhchev and Mikhail Tarakhchev according to CEC are registered on the same address.

³⁷ <https://www.companyinfo.ge/ka/people/6438>

Mikheil Tarakhchev has repeatedly spoken about the interdependency between Georgia and China. In one of the programs, he mentioned how important it is for Georgia, considering its geographical location, not to forget Asia, and especially - China. He stressed the necessity to enhance relations with China with tourism in mind, which can be done, among others, by simplifying the visa regime. Mikheil Tarakhchev also explained the importance of engaging in China's digital market.

In this interview, the Vice-President of the China-Georgia Economy and Culture Foundation focuses on how friendly China is and how it has never been an aggressor. At the same time, it underlines the role of China as a reliable partner for Georgia, demonstrated by generous grants and financial assistance. Mikheil Tarakhchev says that, in his opinion, China is one of the critical axes of globalization.³⁸

In addition, during the coronavirus pandemic, Mikheil Tarakhchev notes: "The world has seen that China has taken considerable steps to avoid the intensive spread of the virus to other states. Of course, (China) had to put much effort into this because it had to isolate a city of 11 million people, and then isolation took place at the provincial level as well..." Here, he talks about the information provided by the media and the public's attitude toward the country's politics regarding the spread of the virus and notes: "Our current society has stood up to this challenge. It has not shown any racist attitudes."³⁹

Mr. Tarakhchev is the greatest defender of the interests of the PRC and one of the leading propagandists.

It should also be noted here that Mikheil Tarakhchev and Mikheil Khukhashvili are not only among the shareholders of Cortes-Gidago LLC but are also partners in Agropark LLC.

It is noteworthy that the company has obtained a B7 license, and the specificities of the license are the following:

- Location of transmitter and antenna - Tbilisi TV Tower;
- Frequency (MHz) – 96.3; - under the brand name of Radio Jako – a sports direction. According to the radio's Facebook page, it has not been broadcasting since November 2022. Radio Jako is the owner of 3% of shares in Cortes-Gidago LLC.
- Modulation - FM;
- Polarization V/H – V;
- Radiation - circular;
- Transmitter power (Watts) – 1000;
- Geographic coordinates - N 41°41'44" E 44°47'6";
- Antenna position height from the ground (m) – 100m;

³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9iX6uuHU6gY>

³⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/sinogeorgia/videos/1415559585294025/>

The broadcasting language license is - Georgian, Russian, English, and Chinese.

It is noteworthy that the broadcasting license of Cortes-Gidago LLC was issued in 2015 and is valid until 2025. The first time this company participated in the license competition was in 2005, and it won. The National Communications Commission of Georgia (hereinafter referred to as the Commission) notes that in the competition announced by the decision N292 of the National Communications Commission of Georgia of May 6, 2005, "On the announcement of the competition for obtaining a license for private specialized (sports) radio broadcasting, Cortes-Gidago LLC was announced as the winner under N569/10 decision of August 19, 2005.

MS GROUP LLC
(R/N 404941756)

Founded: | 20/04/2012

The Director of the company is: | **Konstantine Tarakhchev**
01024035088

The shares of the company owners are distributed as follows:

50% - **Mikheil Tarakhchev** 01024024195,

50% - **Lance Huilan Jia**, G61683631; FP2428068.

These two persons own 46% of shares in Cortes-Gidago LLC.

License - B194

Broadcast topic - medical/sports, brand name – **Radio Muse Fm 95.9**.

Founded by the former First Lady of Georgia (2004-2013), Sandra Roelofs.⁴⁰

Broadcasting languages: Georgian, English, Russian, Abkhazian.

The license was issued in 2017 and is valid until 2027. Radio broadcasting is currently suspended.

Subject of license

- Location of transmitter and antenna: Tbilisi, TV Tower;
- Frequency (MHz) - 95.9;
- Modulation - FM;
- Polarization - V/H V;
- Radiation – circular;
- Transmission power (Watts) - 1000;
- Geographical coordinates 41°41'44.70"N 44°47'6.40"E;
- Antenna position height from the ground (m) – 140m;
- Antenna amplification factor (dB) - 5.

⁴⁰ The former First Lady of Georgia, during the presidency of Mikheil Saakashvili.

HAMBURG LLC

(R/N: 405179925)

Founded: 06/12/2016

According to the last statement of 2019, the company's director is: Nana Alavidze,
(p/n 35001075000)

The owner - **Mikheil Tarakhchev** (p/n 01024024195), is directly represented in the two companies mentioned above. According to the 2018 statement, Mikheil Tarakhchev is registered as the Director, and MS Group LLC 404941756 - as the owner, where **Jia Huilan** - G61683631 owns 50% of the share, and Mikheil Tarakhchev owns the remaining 50%.

Type of broadcasting - private radio broadcasting No. B110;

Type of license: radio broadcasting;

Category of license: private broadcasting;

The sub-category of private broadcasting: General broadcasting;

License validity period: until October 28, 2021;

Broadcasting language/languages: Georgian, English;

Broadcasting technical parameters: FM 98.5

Brand name - **Radio Chocolate**

Due to non-payment of the license fees, it stopped broadcasting in 2021, and its license has been suspended since 2022.

ADVERTISING MARKET

To study the share of the PRC and its affiliated business sector in the Georgian advertising market using the above methodology, the databases of the National Communications Commission were processed where advertising for broadcasters ordered by all the legal and natural persons are listed.

In the first stage of the research, the data of 2,427 advertisers were processed. 2,334 out of 2,427 companies are registered in Georgia. 8 out of 93 foreign companies are affiliated with China.

HUALING INTERNATIONAL SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE JSC

R/C: 404934381

Date of registration	15/03/2012
Director:	Xiaojin Shao p/n 01092004214 ⁴¹

The Hualing International Special Economic Zone JSC was registered as a commercial legal entity in 2012, when its director was **Ke Wang** (p/n 60391000162). He was first replaced by Shawshan Tswen (G 32382512), then **Xiaojin Shao** (p/n 01092004214). On December 30, 2013, Hualing International Special Economic Zone LLC merged with limited liability companies: Ruslan (i/c: 206255942) and Mukhran (p/n 206255951). Before the merger, the owner of 100% of the shares of both limited liability companies was Hualing International Special Economic Zone JSC itself, and the Director was **Xinfu Wang (01092004184)**.⁴² It should be noted that both Ruslan LLC and Mukhrani LLC were created as a result of the division of Phoenix LLC (r/c: 200016231).

⁴¹ Xiaojin Shao is the Director of GEORGIAN HUASHUN INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT GROUP LTD (owner of 100% of shares of Xinjiang Trade and Manufacturing Company Huashun Ltd). GEORGIAN HUASHUN INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT GROUP LLC was merged with Huashun Timber Industrial Society Ltd. (S/N: 212921588), with which Xiaojin Shao was also connected. <https://www.companyinfo.ge/ka/people/33859>

⁴² Xinfu Wang is a member of the Supervisory Board of Real Estate Development Group LLC (r/n: 400242402) together with Xiaojin Shao. <https://www.companyinfo.ge/ka/people/94488>

BASISBANK JSC

(R/C: 203841833)

Date of registration: | 11/09/1996

Director: | **Davit Tsaava**
p/n 62001023793

Directors: (data from 2023):

- General Director/member: **Davit Tsaava** (p/n 62001023793)
- Member: **Davit Kakabadze**, (p/n 01026009008) (Deputy General Director)
- Member: **Levan Gardapkhadze**, (p/n 01010012737) (Deputy General Director)
- Member: **Lia Aslanikashvili**, (p/n 01006012330) (Deputy General Director)
- Member: **Rati Dvaladze**, (p/n 01020004938) (Operations Director)
- Member: **Giorgi Gabunia**, (p/n 01030020654) (Commercial Director)
- Member: **Khwei Li**, G38335210, 01692005600 /China/ (Deputy General Director)⁴³

Supervisory Board:

- Chairman/Member: **Zhong Zhang**, G48711373, 01792005542 /China/
- Member: **Zaza Robakidze**, 01024006266
- Member: **Mia Mi**, 565658045 /USA/
- Member: **Zhu Ning**, 452098387 /USA/ (Co-Chair)
- Member: **Nikoloz Enukidze**, 65007000032 /dual citizen of Georgia and the United Kingdom/
- Member: **Zaiki Mi**, G20517221, 01192005128 /China/

Directorate/representation:

- Deputy General Director - **Levan Gardapkhadze**, (01010012737), retail business
- Deputy General Director - **Davit Kakabadze**, (01026009008), risk management
- Deputy General Director - **Khwei Li**, G38335210, 01692005600 /China/, Lending
- Deputy General Director - **Lia Aslanikashvili**, (01006012330), Finance
- Commercial Director - **Giorgi Gabunia**, (01030020654)
- General Director - **Davit Tsaava**, (62001023793)
- **Rati Dvaladze**, (01020004938)

Hualing Group has owned 90% of the shares of Basisbank since 2012.⁴⁴

⁴³ Khwei Li together with Zaiki Mi is a member of the Supervisory Board of BB Leasing JSC (formerly Hualing Insurance JSC) (r/n: 406232214). <https://www.companyinfo.ge/ka/people/233522>

⁴⁴ bit.ly/3oHM8zF

BB LEASING JSC

(R/C: 406233534)

Date of registration: 27/12/2017

Governing Body: **Supervisory Board and Shareholders' Meeting**

Supervisory Board:

- Chairman/Member: **Zaiki Mi**, 01192005128 /China/
- Deputy chairman/member: **Davit Tsaava**, 62001023793
- Deputy Chairman/Member: **Khwei Li**, 01692005600 /China /
*BB Leasing JSC and BB Insurance JSC are subsidiaries of Basisbank JSC.*⁴⁵

Directorate/representation:

- Deputy General Director - **Lia Aslanikashvili**, 01006012330, Finances
- Deputy General Director - **Malkhaz Kharchilava**, 01003010188, Commercial matters
- General Director - **Konstantine Sulamanidze**, 01006008941
-

JUSTIN LLC

I/C: 406294987

Date of registration: 15/11/2019

Director/owner of 100% of shares: **Jianru Liu**,
G54182547, 01391004510

HUALING VIBRANT LLC

(R/C: 406274678)

Date of registration: 15/03/2019

Director: **Yubo Chao**, 01691036345 /China/

Owner/100% of shares: **Hualing International Special Economic Zone JSC**, 404934381

⁴⁵ See the previous page. 4.

EMBASSY OF THE PRC
I/C: 203853231 GEORGIA-CHINA

HUALING-BUILDING MATERIALS HYPERMARKET LLC
(R/C: 406263378)

Date of registration:	06/11/2018
Director:	Yifan Su , 01691025313 /China/
Owner/100% of shares:	Hualing International Special Economic Zone JSC , 404934381

NOVOFIELD LIMITED LLC
(R/C: 404439924)

Date of registration:	18/03/2013
Both - the director and owner of 100% of the shares is	Guang Lu, (p/n 01191026429)

In the second stage of the research, we additionally processed the data of 566 companies from the Communications Commission's database, where information is available on those quarterly payers who spend more than 7 thousand GEL in the Georgian media.

As a result of the comparison with the first data set, we discovered that **Hualing-Building Materials Hypermarket** LLC had quarterly TV placements of 7000 to 50000 GEL for the TV Imedi air.

APPENDIX #1

“NETGAZETI”^{lxix}

NEWS ON CHINA IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR IN UKRAINE

The Netgazeti articles on China are mostly news stories and often offer analyses of international media publications. The March 14, 2022, article – “China's first comments regarding the reports of Russia's request for arms” is a good example of such coverage.

Liu Pengyu, the representative of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, states that he knows nothing about the request from Russia to supply arms to China. At the same time, Pengyu says that the current situation in Ukraine is disconcerting and that China supports a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The Chinese ambassador in Washington told CNN:

“China is deeply concerned and grieved about the Ukraine situation. We sincerely hope that the situation will ease and peace will return... Utmost efforts should be made to support Russia and Ukraine in carrying forward negotiations despite the difficult situation to produce a peaceful outcome... There is consensus about this among the international community and the parties concerned.”

Last night it was reported that Russia asked the PRC for help with military equipment after the invasion of Ukraine. According to [Financial Times](#), this was revealed by the US government officials.

“It is a concern of ours. And we have communicated to Beijing that we will not stand by and allow any country to compensate Russia for its losses from the economic sanctions, Sullivan said.

Many other materials are analogous. For obvious reasons, the information space of Netgazeti was replete with materials related to Russia's aggression in Ukraine and China's positions and interests.

Here are examples of similar information materials:

- Peskov: we can capture the main cities of Ukraine without China's help^{lxx}
- China has stopped any contact with the Russian Academy of Sciences - RIA
- Russia asks China to help with ready-to-eat food for the military - CNN^{lxxi}
- Each Chinese official told CNN that Chinese President Xi Jinping is appalled at how the war in Ukraine has re-established the NATO alliance. The two officials said that China's desire to avoid economic repercussions might limit its desire to help Russia.

- U.S. intelligence officials told CNN anonymously that during an intense seven-hour meeting in Rome, an assistant to US President Joe Biden warned his Chinese counterpart about the “potential consequences” China would have to pay if it helped Russia.

The edition also covered the current events surrounding the AUKUS alliance. On September 16, 2021, Netgazeti published the article “AUKUS - an alliance to contain China, where the reader has a complete picture of the nature of the alliance itself and the reasons for its creation.

“*This is a historic opportunity for the three nations, with like-minded allies and partners, to protect shared values and promote security and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region,* ^{lxxii} is stated in the joint statement of US President Joe Biden, UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, - informs us Netgazeti. The media outlet returned to the AUKUS issue once more at the end of 2021 during the summing up of the important news of the year.^{lxxiii}



The readers of Netgazeti, in the materials of December 12, 2021, also received information about *the virtual “Summit for Democracy” held on December 9-10 at the initiative of the American president, where, along with our neighbor Azerbaijan, “Russia, Turkey, China, Belarus, Hungary” were not included in the list of invitees.* ^{lxxiv}

We also have examples of positive reporting on the topics concerning Ukraine. For example, on March 17, 2022, Netgazeti reviewed the statements of the Chinese ambassador to Ukraine:

“China has friendly relations with the Ukrainian people. As an ambassador, I can tell you with full responsibility that China will always be a beneficial force for Ukraine, both economically and politically. China will never attack Ukraine. We will help you, especially economically... In the situation you have now, we will act responsibly.”^{lxxv}

In the series of positive news, there is also information on China's provision of humanitarian aid to Ukraine. “China will allocate \$1.57 million in humanitarian aid to Ukraine”^{lxxvi} - we read in the news of March 21, 2022, where the author tells us about the Chinese Red Cross projects that help Ukraine. “According to the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, the Red Cross of China will allocate an additional 10 million Yuan to Ukraine, which is approximately 1.57 million US dollars... Previously, they had already sent 5 million Yuan worth of aid...”

EXPORT, TRADE, FINANCIAL AND BANKING RELATIONS

We learn from numerous publications that China is still the main export market for Georgia.^{lxxvii} According to the information of the National Statistical Service of Georgia, the largest export partners of Georgia in January-February 2021 were: **China** (520.6 million USD),

Russia (481.8 million USD) and

Azerbaijan (443.4 million USD).

“In relation to all three countries, the amounts received from exports have increased this year compared to similar data from 2020.

In the case of China, the increase of funds received from exports amounted to 24%, in Russia - 37.2%, and in Azerbaijan - 21.6%. According to Geostat, in 2021, China's share in total exports was 15.3%, Russia's share - was 14.2%, and Azerbaijan's share - was 13.1%. The article also provides information about specific products exported to China from Georgia. These are copper ores and concentrates, precious metal ores and concentrates, tools, and equipment used in medicine or veterinary medicine, natural grape wines, raw aluminum and other products.^{lxxviii}

The online edition also tells us about the activities of Chinese banks, especially concerning the sanctions imposed in connection to the war in Ukraine. Accordingly, from an article prepared based on Bloomberg materials, we learn that at least two of China's largest state-owned banks are limiting financing for purchasing Russian goods, despite the pledge to maintain close economic ties with Russia. Two sources of the edition said that offshore units of the Industrial & Commercial Bank of China Ltd have stopped issuing US dollar-denominated letters of credit to purchase Russian export goods. Yuan-

denominated letters of credit are still available to some customers, although subject to approval by the management.

According to the same Bloomberg materials, the decision of Chinese banks may be temporary, especially given that Western sanctions have spared Russia's energy sector so far. The decision underscores the difficulties of offsetting China's biggest financial institutions face. They take compliance with sanctions seriously because they don't want to lose access to US dollar transactions.”^{lxxix}

TAIWAN-AMERICA-CHINA

RESEARCH MATERIAL ON TAIWAN-CHINA RELATIONS

The edition devoted considerable space to a review of news about Taiwan. Among them, the standing of the USA, statements, visits, and political vision have been the subject of interest for Netgazeti.

For example, an extensive article was released on May 23, 2022, following US President Joe Biden's statement that the US would defend Taiwan if China attacked.^{lxxx} This article deals with this particular statement but then provides the reader with the history of the conflict, the American standing on the Taiwan issue, and many interesting historical circumstances. For example, regarding the fact that until 1971, the seat of the PRC in the UN Security Council belonged to the Republic of China - that is, the government in Taiwan. However, in 1979, the United States recognized the government of the PRC as the “sole legitimate government” of the entire country.

As part of the "One China" policy, Washington recognizes Beijing's position that it represents the sole government of China, and therefore the US does not have diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

For decades, the US has followed the so-called policy of strategic uncertainty, which means that Washington has been ambiguous about whether it would interfere if China tried to use military force to establish control over Taiwan.

GENERAL TOPIC NEWS AND ADVERTISING MATERIALS

The Netgazeti online edition also offers news of a general nature and, as already mentioned in the paper - advertising materials too. During the monitoring period, the news related to Covid-19 was also intensively covered. Naturally, the frequency of such information was lower than in the first year of the pandemic. However, we still have significant positive data sets on using Chinese vaccines and their “greatness.”

Below we give examples from the coverage of the mentioned issues by the Netgazeti online edition.

The Director of the National Center for Disease Control and Public Health [NCDC], Amiran Gamkrelidze, while talking about the expiration of up to 17 000 doses of the AstraZeneca vaccine on November 1, 2021, informed us that AstraZeneca, which is considered to be one of the finest vaccines by international standards is also one of the most frequently administered vaccines in many countries, following behind the Chinese and Pfizer vaccines.^{lxxxix}

In addition to the Covid-19 virus, the media intensively reported on the bird flu epidemic in some European and Asian countries.

On November 16, 2021, Netgazeti wrote: “China has already recorded 21 cases of human bird flu infection this year, which is already higher than in 2020.” The article also provides information about the situation in other European and Asian countries and the vaccines, doses, and capabilities in Georgia, based on the statements of Amiran Gamkrelidze. “Approximately 700,000 out of 2.5 million doses of vaccine available in Georgia are produced by Pfizer, and the rest by Sinovac and Sinopharm.”..“The Pfizer vaccines have an expiration deadline at the end of March 2022, and the so-called inactivated Chinese-made vaccines - until June 2023.”^{lxxxix}

On May 12, 2022, the edition informed its readers about a plane crash in Chongqing, China, where a plane caught fire on takeoff, and dozens of passengers got slight injuries.^{lxxxix}

As an example of advertising materials, we can take the news story of March 23, 2022, concerning meetings and discussions held by the delegation of Georgian Railways in Tashkent regarding the China-Europe freight shipments, the challenges of operating the corridor connecting Turkey and Europe through Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia.^{lxxxix}

Netgazeti offers materials with similar content in the article dated May 10, 2022, regarding cargo shipment from China via Georgia by the Finnish company Nurminen Logistics. “According to Nurminen Logistics, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Romania are engaged in the railway route, the purpose of which is to move cargo from China to Central Europe. The first shipment via the new route was sent from China today, May 10.”^{lxxxix}

APPENDIX #2

42° PARALLEL

42° Parallel is the Public Broadcaster's weekly analytical program addressing public/political issues. It is hosted by Giorgi Gvimradze, Director of the News and Current Affairs Block of the Public Broadcaster, together with a team of researchers.

The purpose of the program is to “present to the TV viewers the international political events from different perspectives and in different forms.”^{lxxxvi} “We are interested in the behavior of international actors, the external and internal factors affecting them, in the probable results and the historical perspective of the events” - we read in the description of the program.

Among external actors, the PRC is one of the subjects catching the attention of editors at 42° Parallel. We can definitely say that this program is the only one among the TV media that has a clearly defined editorial policy regarding the coverage of China issues; this coverage is consistently in-depth and, most importantly, strongly positive.

For more clarity, we bring some of the programs to your attention.



| 42° პარალელი - „ახალი ეპოქა“ ჩინეთში

Examples and excerpts from 42° Parallel

HOW CHINA ESCAPED SHOCK THERAPY - INTERVIEW WITH ISABELLA WEBER ^{lxxxvii}

This is a 30-minute interview with Professor Isabella Weber, author of “How China Escaped Shock Therapy.” The mood of the interview is positive towards China and the path through which China achieved its economic strength is revealed.

The journalist's question belittles the West and presents China positively:

“China's top officials see markets as a tool. But, when we look at the United States today or some European countries, the UK, we see that unregulated markets lead to social or gender inequality, problems in education, mass segregation, and climate change; as a rule, we see that during the crisis, the states have to bail out the private sector. What can the West learn from China's experience? Can the developing countries follow the Chinese model?”

While preparing the materials, shots characteristic of Chinese culture and music, distinguished by their beauty and diversity of colors, are used, making the story more attractive.

42° PARALLEL - QUAD - THE NEW QUADRILATERAL SECURITY PLATFORM OF US-JAPAN-AUSTRALIA-INDIA

In the program, Shota Tkheldze analyzes the creation of QUAD and briefly reviews its standing during the different American presidents; also, at what stage does China itself begin to attach importance to the QUAD as a security platform. According to the journalist, in parallel with the PRC's economic rise in the last decade, the US is organizing a military-political infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific region to contain a new competitor for global dominance.

“China's economic rise in the last decade is so noticeable that Washington can no longer ignore it.” ^{lxxxviii}

“The military and economic options in Washington's arsenal to resolve the Chinese issue are exhausted. In the first case, China is the second military power in the world that is equipped with cutting-edge land, aviation and naval weapons excluding indirect or even direct confrontation with it. In the second case, imposing economic restrictions

and blockading China is also a difficult task because, in the modern global supply chain, China is more integrated than the United States itself; therefore, it is practically impossible to limit or completely seize markets from it, especially in the second and third world countries because the United States and the countries of the Pacific Ocean cannot substitute the cheaper Chinese goods in these markets.”

42° PARALLEL - TAIWAN CRISIS

On October 26, 2021, the program reported on the Taiwan crisis,^{lxxxix} where the Public Broadcaster’s expert tried to be a neutral party and offer different viewpoints to the audience. In the program, we heard that Taiwan does not want to have “any relations with the communist regime of China, and “the island is not going to submit to Beijing's pressure and is ready to continue building a democratic state.” At the same time, the author of the program informs us about China’s invincible power. In particular - “China has great success in the production of cyber weapons and the production of smart weapons, it is the leader in the production of unmanned aircraft, and recently we hear that China is trying to catch up with the US and Russia with its nuclear potential.”

42° PARALLEL - THE INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT AND JOBS ACT

In the materials^{xc} prepared on the adoption of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act in the USA, when comparing the US and China, we hear the following narrative from the journalist:

“It is clear to the United States that in the coming decades, it will have to compete for global dominance with China, which has already surpassed the United States in spending on research and development, China is already ahead in creating new technologies, China is a leader in spending on infrastructure, according to which the United States cannot even make it to the top 20. It is clear that this difference between China and the US will only increase with time (spaceships and the moon are in the background shot).”

It is worth noting that at the beginning of the material, there are shots where Biden stumbles while boarding the plane and falls asleep in one of the meetings.

42° PARALLEL - NEW RED CIVILIZATION

“From the documents of the Plenum^{xci} (meaning the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), we can conclude that there are not only different types of civilization in the world but also a particular unified human civilization, to the development of which China, as an ancient and a major nation, has made an important contribution and created a brilliant civilization with a history of 5000 years... The Chinese government shows the world that China does not need to learn anything from others, on the contrary, others can already learn from China.”

42° PARALLEL - THE FULL PROGRAM 25.12.2021

In the ending block of the program^{xcii}, Shota Tkhelidze and Rezi Koiava talk about the processes that took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, they probe how the global confrontation between the international powers in the arena today (meaning China and the US) is possible and how the Cold War is possible.

In response to the journalist's question, Shota Tkhelidze explains why the China-US situation cannot be called a Cold War and cites several reasons to illustrate this:

- The world is no longer divided into camps - he cites China as an example. According to him, it is so integrated with global capitalism that it is practically impossible to dismiss China's role and positions from the West.
- China's aspect is not as dangerous as the Soviet Union used to be; in this case, Shota Tkhelidze considers both ideological, economic, and political factors.

During the program, the journalist also uses the following term “China is often accused of exporting the so-called authoritarianism from its domain.” The word “accused” conveys the attitude that China does not spread authoritarianism and that other countries concoct all this.

The answer to this question by the respondent himself, in this case, Rezi Koiava, is interesting. According to him, China's pretensions are limited only to the Asian region, and it has no desire to make any European country like China. Rezi Koiava also says China is weak in its soft power because “exporting China's societal model, exporting its cultural lifestyle, is neither effective nor highly noticeable.” According to Mr. Koiava, Communism in China has survived, mostly “in symbolism and remains in economics, but it is not the state ideology.

“Regarding social mobilization, Chinese nationalism now plays a bigger role than Communism; it takes its roots from the ancient period, even from Confucius, and then sticks with various imperial dynasties. Chinese nationalism is now a more important ideology if we look at it from this point of view.”

42° PARALLEL - "NEW ERA" IN CHINA

In this program, the journalist presents China as an alternative to Western civilization in the author's narrative:

“What it will be like in the general framework is already evident. Beijing has started building a closed state with a self-sufficient economy and has accepted the process of deglobalization and establishment of a bipolar world system as a fact. This bipolarity will be not only military, political, and ideological, as during the first Cold War, but also technological. This means the emergence of at least two technical standards, Western and Chinese. But how successful will this course be? The fact that China, under the leadership of the Communist Party, initially became part of the world capitalist system, did not collapse under Western pressure, and did not share the fate of the former socialist countries is already an outstanding achievement. There are no signs of the rapid collapse of the PRC and its ruling party, which was a much-talked-about topic a decade ago. The PRC is mobilized and consolidated; it came out on top in coping with the coronavirus pandemic. Its conservative and nationalist policies are being used as refined alternatives to the liberal order coming from the West. Still, the euphoria is premature. How successful China will be in abandoning its export-oriented economy remains to be seen.

It also needs to be determined whether Beijing can make the economy a big workshop and provide society with permanent ideological cultivation. It is also unclear how strong the domestic elite and public resistance to growing authoritarianism will be. No one can be certain how long China and the United States will be able to avoid crossing red lines amid rising tensions. This will be a challenging decade for both China and the world, and the answers to the challenges the leaders of the most powerful states on the planet face may lead to dystopias that will make the world of the 1990s and 2000s look like a golden age.”

After reading these excerpts, we believe there are no more questions regarding the program's ideology and editorial line.

42° PARALLEL - FULL PROGRAM 16.04.2022 - RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR AND SANCTIONS

In one part of the program – **“The Dollar as a Weapon and the Digital Yuan as a Defense**, the discussion^{xciii} concerns the issue of why the PRC needs to create a digital currency. This is due to the ongoing war in Ukraine proving, on the example of Russia, that dependence on Western currencies is dangerous. The program lists why China wants to introduce a currency and reduce its dependence on Western currencies, which “virtually have a monopoly.”

42° PARALLEL - FULL PROGRAM 25.06.2022 - RUSSIAN OIL AND CHINA

“In May, China increased the import of Russian oil by 55% compared to May of the previous year. Currently, Russian oil is 30% lower than the world price, meaning that oil is cheaper for China than for the West. This significantly increases China's competitiveness” - a story by Tato Maridashvili.^{xciv}

The story opens with a quote from Anthony Blinken saying that despite Russia's continued war in Ukraine, the focus will still be on the PRC because it poses the biggest threat to international order **in the long term**. **“China is the only state that aims to change the international order and has the potential to do so because it is a growing economic, technological, political and military power.”**

When one watches the program materials, the negative mood towards China is felt in the statements made by the American leaders; the journalist tries to balance it with his narrative.

ⁱ See: <https://mediamonitor.ge/>

ⁱⁱ Additional information can be found here,

<https://www.facebook.com/ConfuciusInstituteAtAlteUniversity/posts/pfbid02xQdPFM5Eec8R8aQhWTGJLG3uaypKe4DYsXxiwTeGAhQbKE1wWaHXpg13H7q86qRpl>

ⁱⁱⁱ Additional information can be found here

https://www.facebook.com/163361037013560/posts/5798008110215463/?locale=ms_MY

https://www.facebook.com/163361037013560/photos/a.191201777562819/5797940086888932/?paipv=0&eav=AfbP4xwa_ljFKuW32t1u5rrl-pAwH_8Tk2U8aKcvLCKkkl7x9WJ3atyfk2U9YBF3TrY&_rdr

^{iv} Sinomedia.ge: “China’s Ministry of Commerce: China Strongly Opposes US CHIPS Bill.” 2022

<https://sinomedia.ge/%e1%83%a9%e1%83%98%e1%83%9c%e1%83%94%e1%83%97%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1-%e1%83%99%e1%83%9d%e1%83%9b%e1%83%94%e1%83%a0%e1%83%aa%e1%83%98%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1-%e1%83%a1%e1%83%90%e1%83%9b%e1%83%98%e1%83%9c%e1%83%98/>

^v Sinomedia.ge “Taiwan Affairs Office Spokesman Condemns US-Taiwan Trade Agreement” 2022

<https://sinomedia.ge/%e1%83%97%e1%83%90%e1%83%98%e1%83%95%e1%83%90%e1%83%9c%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1-%e1%83%a1%e1%83%90%e1%83%a5%e1%83%9b%e1%83%94%e1%83%97%e1%83%90-%e1%83%9d%e1%83%a4%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1/>

^{vi} Sinomedia.ge “Chinese Ambassador on Nancy Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan” 2022 -

<https://sinomedia.ge/%e1%83%a9%e1%83%98%e1%83%9c%e1%83%94%e1%83%97%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1-%e1%83%94%e1%83%9a%e1%83%a9%e1%83%98-%e1%83%97%e1%83%90%e1%83%98%e1%83%95%e1%83%90%e1%83%9c%e1%83%a8%e1%83%98-%e1%83%9c%e1%83%94/>

^{vii} Sinomedia.ge “Bust of Shota Rustaveli was officially opened in Beijing.” 2022

<https://sinomedia.ge/%e1%83%9e%e1%83%94%e1%83%99%e1%83%98%e1%83%9c%e1%83%a8%e1%83%98-%e1%83%a8%e1%83%9d%e1%83%97%e1%83%90-%e1%83%a0%e1%83%a3%e1%83%a1%e1%83%97%e1%83%90%e1%83%95%e1%83%94%e1%83%9a%e1%83%98%e1%83%a1/>

^{viii} Sinology, “International Conference “Sinology, One Belt One Road,2021

<https://sinologia.ge/saerthashoris-konpherentsia-sinologia-erthi-sartqheli-erthi-gza/>

^{ix} See for example: <https://chinesestories.ge/ka/43--.html> , Also:

<https://chinesestories.ge/ka/ganatileba-chinetshi/28--.html> , <https://chinesestories.ge/ka/25--.html> , <https://chinesestories.ge/ka/20--15-.html>

^x See for example an article on the history of Islam in China <https://chinesestories.ge/ka/32--.html>

^{xi} See: Netgazeti, “Delegation of Georgian Railways has discussed China-Europe container shipments in Tashkent,” 2022, see: <https://netgazeti.ge/news/601461/>

^{xii} See: Netgazeti thematic materials, chronology, and excerpts; see Appendix #1.

^{xiii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220503/chinetis-saelcho-kaligrafiisa-da-perweris-konkurss-atarebs-266382131.html>

^{xiv} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211208/diplomatiur-boikots-sxva-qveynebic-uertdebian-262686103.html>

^{xv} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211220/amerikastan-konfrontaciis-semtxvevasi-cineti-gamarivebamde-ibrzoolebs-262986877.html>

^{xvi} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220707/fbi--mi5-cinuri-safrtxe-268272729.html>

^{xvii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220701/natos-strategia-268079702.html>

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- ^{xviii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20210916/rusetma-da-cinetma-azia-secvales-259663144.html>
- ^{xix} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211103/putins-tundra-ewvis-baidenma-rusetisadacinetis-liderebi-gaakritika-261744852.html>
- ^{xx} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211213/surt-tu-ara-amerikelebs-rusetan-omi-262820036.html>
- ^{xxi} See: “Biden dares a lot in Europe” <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211129/baidenma-sablood-gaafuwa-haeri-evropasi-262458407.html>
- ^{xxii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220321/amerika-tavis-momavals-akvirdeba-265384965.html>
- ^{xxiii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220404/iqceva-tu-ara-iuani-mtavari-nsofio-valutad-265731743.html>
- ^{xxiv} See: Victoria Nikiforova on 13.12.2021, Sputnik-Georgia. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211213/surt-tu-ara-amerikelebs-rusetan-omi-262820036.html>
- ^{xxv} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211129/baidenma-sablood-gaafuwa-haeri-evropasi-262458407.html>
- ^{xxvi} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220606/chinetis-premieri-qartvel-xalx-diurtiertobebis-damyarebis-iubiles-ulocavs-267172375.html>
- ^{xxvii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20211024/qutaissi-eleqtromobilebis-qarxnis-msenebloba-mtavroba-molaparakebebs-aaxlebs-261438200.html>
<https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220413/tbilisshi-damatebit-23-eleqtrodamteni-damontajdeba-265959640.html>
<https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220430/gaixsneba-tu-ara-saqartvelosi-eleqtromobilebis-qarxana-axali-warmoebis-perspeqtivebi-266343045.html>
- ^{xxviii} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220430/gaixsneba-tu-ara-saqartvelosi-eleqtromobilebis-qarxana-axali-warmoebis-perspeqtivebi-266343045.html>
- ^{xxix} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220224/saqartvelosi-sesazloa-eleqtromobilebis-qarxana-asendes-264729774.html>
- ^{xxx} See: <https://sputnik-georgia.com/20220430/gaixsneba-tu-ara-saqartvelosi-eleqtromobilebis-qarxana-axali-warmoebis-perspeqtivebi-266343045.html>
- ^{xxxi} See: <https://mtavari.tv/news/88684-kobtan-gvirabis-samsheneblo-samushaoebis-dros>
- ^{xxxii} See: <https://mtavari.tv/news/94537-vgmobt-chinetis-cinaagmdeg-mimartul-nebismier>
- ^{xxxiii} See: <https://mtavari.tv/news/83677-chven-vtavazobt-chinets-rom-ukrainis>
- ^{xxxiv} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/msoflio/216624/chinetshi-telearkhebs-arakmarisad-maskulinuri-garegnobis-mqone-katsebis-chveneba-aukrdzales>
- ^{xxxv} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/tabloidi/250293/55-tslis-chineli-40-tselia-ertsada-imave-universitetshi-charitskhvas-tsdilobs>
- ^{xxxvi} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/teqnologiebi/219061/chinetshi-bavshvebs-tiktokis-analogit-sargeblobis-dgiuri-limiti-dautseses>
- ^{xxxvii} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/ekonomika/219735/chinetshi-kriptoalutit-pinansuri-operatsiebi-aikrdzala>
- ^{xxxviii} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/covid19/225221/shankhais-disneilendshi-chaketes-33-863-adamiani-mas-shemdeg-rats-ertert-stumars-koronavirusi-daudasturda>
- ^{xxxix} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/msoflio/229969/chinetshi-ojakhma-14-tslis-tsin-gatatsebuli-shvili-ipova>
- ^{xl} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/politika/250331/levan-nikoleishvili-giorgi-khojevanishvilze-dauparavad-odnavi-sitamamit-chaerto-natsebis-kampaniashi--ogond-otsnebis-khelisuplebas-ar-mistsen-kandidatis-statusi-da-kvelaperi-tnkalsats-tsaugia>
- ^{xli} See: <https://imedinews.ge/ge/politika/237423/levan-nikoleishvili-qemoklidzeze-es-chinuri-gakharia-partiis-mtavari-klouni-apravebs-16-adamianit-sakrebulo-skhdomis-chatarebas-mashin-rodesats-kvorums-17-khma-schirdeba73>

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- ^{xlii} See: <https://imedineews.ge/ge/msofluo/244989/chineti-ashshs-rusetistvis-datsesebuli-sanqtsiebis-mokhsnisen-moutsodebs>
- ^{xliii} See: <https://imedineews.ge/ge/msofluo/244989/chineti-ashshs-rusetistvis-datsesebuli-sanqtsiebis-mokhsnisen-moutsodebs>
- ^{xliv} See the entire statement: <https://imedineews.ge/ge/msofluo/242887/chinetis-sagareo-saqmeta-moadgile-istoriam-araertkhel-achvena-rom-sanqtsiebis-datsesebashshit-tsetskhlis-chaqrobashhgavs-da-problemis-gadachris-natsvlad-vitarebas-auaresebs?fbclid=IwAR3RwhiPWjWjKvZChCTYyesbi8xuj3wherslthfew-X-ERqLi6kKAbfOKvUo>
- ^{xlv} See: <https://imedineews.ge/ge/msofluo/244989/chineti-ashshs-rusetistvis-datsesebuli-sanqtsiebis-mokhsnisen-moutsodebs>
- ^{xlvi} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/irakli-gharibashvilia-chinetis-elchtan-li-iantan-gamosamshvidobebeli-shekhvedra-gamarta/>
- ^{xlvii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/ilia-darchiashvilsa-da-chinetis-sagareo-uwyebis-khelmdzghvanelis-shoris-satelefono-saubari-gaimarta/>
- ^{xlviii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/chinetis-sakhelmwifo-sabchos-premieri-saqartvelos-mtavrobas-damoukideblobis-dghes-ulocavs-chinetisa-da-saqartvelos-urtiertobebis-ganvitarebis-dinamika-dadebitia/>
- ^{xlix} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/irakli-gharibashvili-chinetis-akhal-elchs-chou-ciens-shekhvda/>
- ^l See: <https://1tv.ge/news/saqstati-2021-wlis-ianvar-agvistoshi-saqartvelostvis-umskhvilesi-saegsporto-qveyana-chineti-iyo-yvelaze-didi-importiori-ki-turqeti/>
- ^{li} <https://1tv.ge/news/chinet-saqartvelos-shoris-diplomatiuri-urtiertobebis-30-e-wlistavis-aghshanishnavad-kaligrafiasa-da-ferwerashi-konkursi-tardeba/>
- ^{lii} <https://1tv.ge/news/chinetis-khelovnurma-mzem-plazmis-sintezis-msofluo-rekordi-mokhsna-1tvmecniereba/>
- ^{liii} <https://1tv.ge/news/akhalma-chkvianma-kontaqturma-linzam-sheidzleba-sibrmavis-gamomwvevi-erti-mtavari-mizezi-gankurnos-1tvmecniereba/>
- ^{liv} <https://1tv.ge/news/nasa-m-mtvareze-adamianebis-gagzavna-2025-wlamde-gadado-1tvmecniereba/>
- ^{lv} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/lietuvlis-tavdacvis-saministro-mogalaqeebs-mouwodebs-chinuri-smartfonebis-shedzenisgan-tavi-sheikavon/>
- ^{lvi} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/socialuri-qseli-linkedini-chinetshi-aghar-imushavebs/>
- ^{lvii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/israelis-media-chinetis-saelchos-mier-israelis-ministrebistvis-gagzavnil-sachuqrebshi-saechvo-jashushuri-mowyobilobebi-aghmoachines/>
- ^{lviii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/donald-trampi-chinetis-prezidenti-mkvlelia-pekina-koronavirusis-warmoshobistvis-reparaciebi-unda-gadaikhados/>
- ^{lix} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/didi-slemis-turnirebis-18-gzis-chempioni-mrckhvenia-rusetsa-da-chinetshi-olimpiadebis-gamo-1tv sport/>
- ^{lx} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/saqartveloshi-chinetis-sakhalkho-respublikis-elchi-msoflioshi-mkholod-erti-chineti-arsebobs-da-taivani-misi-teritoriis-ganuyofeli-nawilia/>
- ^{lxi} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/briuselshi-sagangebo-samitze-aliansis-wewrebma-komunike-miighes/>
- ^{lxii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/iens-stoltenbergi-velodebi-rom-liderebi-khval-mkhars-daucheren-nato-s-poziciis-gadzlierebas-yvela-mimartulebit-rac-guliskhmobs-dzalebis-gazrdas-aliansis-aghmosavletshi-khmeletze-haersa-da-z/>
- ^{lxiii} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/chinetisa-da-ukrainis-sagareo-saqmeta-ministrebs-shoris-satelefono-saubari-shedga/>
- ^{lxiv} See: <https://1tv.ge/news/sharl-misheli-movuwodet-chinets-dagvekhmaros-ukrainashi-omis-dasrulebashi-rusetis-mier-saertashoriso-samartlis-sastik-darghvevaze-tvali-ar-unda-dakhuchos/>
- ^{lxv} See: <https://1tv.ge/video/qartuli-ghvinis-saegsporto-fasi-isev-dabalia/>

lxvi See: "Business Partner" - December 1, 2021 #LIVE-01.12.2021 <https://1tv.ge/video/biznespartniori-pirveli-dekemberi-2021/> Also, "Business Partner" - December 6, 2021 #LIVE-06.12.2021 <https://1tv.ge/video/biznespartniori-6-dekemberi-2021-live/>

lxvii See: <https://1tv.ge/video/biznespartniori-15-noemberi-2021-live/>

lxviii See: <https://1tv.ge/video/biznespartniori-26-noemberi-2021-live/>

See the Netgazeti materials listed in Appendix #1 on the following pages:

lxix <https://netgazeti.ge/news/597727/>

<https://netgazeti.ge/news/599377/>

<https://netgazeti.ge/news/605749/>

<https://netgazeti.ge/news/599702/>

<https://netgazeti.ge/news/578946/>

<https://netgazeti.ge/news/583237/>

lxx <https://netgazeti.ge/news/599558/>

lxxi <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/03/14/politics/us-china-russia-ukraine/index.html>

lxxii <https://netgazeti.ge/news/563575/>

lxxiii <https://netgazeti.ge/life/584739/>

lxxiv <https://netgazeti.ge/news/581475/>

lxxv <https://netgazeti.ge/news/612288/>

lxxvi <https://netgazeti.ge/news/600969/>

lxxvii <https://netgazeti.ge/news/576986/>

lxxviii <https://netgazeti.ge/news/576986/>

lxxix <https://netgazeti.ge/news/594346/>

lxxx <https://netgazeti.ge/news/611937/>

lxxxi <https://netgazeti.ge/news/573211/>

lxxxii <https://netgazeti.ge/news/576216/>

lxxxiii <https://netgazeti.ge/news/610136/>

lxxxiv <https://netgazeti.ge/news/601461/>

lxxxv <https://netgazeti.ge/news/609813/>

See the following pages in the 42nd Parallel materials listed in Appendix #2

lxxxvi See: <https://1tv.ge/show/42-paraleli/>

lxxxvii See: <https://1tv.ge/video/42paraleli-rogor-daaghwia-tavi-chinetma-shokur-terapias-interviu-izabela-vebertan/>

lxxxviii See: <https://1tv.ge/video/42paraleli-quad/>

lxxxix See: <https://1tv.ge/video/42paraleli-taivanis-krizisi/>

xc See: <https://1tv.ge/video/sruli-gadacema-13-11-2021/>

xcI See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KRt6VCUglvo>

xcII See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPsKHsnGRAk>

xcIII See: <https://1tv.ge/video/42paraleli-sruli-gadacema-16-04-2022-2/>

xcIV See: <https://1tv.ge/video/42paraleli-sruli-gadacema-25-06-2022/>

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