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SECTION I: Politics

Ronald Reagan Invites Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze to the U.S. as the Cold War Comes to an End in 1987

TAMAR SHIOSHVILI*

The Cold War After WWII

With the defeat of Germany in 1945 and the sweeping devastation the war had brought throughout Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union illustrated competing and contrary philosophies, objectives and plans for rebuilding and recognizing the continent. The Soviets acted from an incorporated ideological commitment and geopolitical realism. The Soviet Army, to be fair, done the substantial fighting, died on the European front and had liberated from Adolf Hitler's seize much of Eastern and Central Europe. It was soon evident that Moscow would now insist on communist regimes not only in those areas, but also other governments that responded directly to the Soviets, despite the wishes of Poles and Czechs, and not mentioning the Romanians, Bulgarians, and other East Europeans.

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The outlook from Washington was very different. American Leaders believed that U.S. political isolation from Europe after the First World War had been an enormous mistake, that presumably contributed to the rise of Hitler and nearly resulted in the continent's domination by a single antagonistic power that could threaten U.S. national security. Now, with Soviet forces installed in half the continent, with communists strong in France, Italy, and most importantly in Germany, U.S policy-makers again had ground to be wary.

The U.S. effort to “contain” Soviet power within its postwar boundaries contained two broad phases: the direct effort to restore Europe economically and politically, and to maintain in a nuclear age the credibility of U.S. promises to defend its European allies.

The Marshall Plan inserted \$13 billion of economic aid into West European economics.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), created in 1949, was a response to Soviet accepted military superiority in Europe. At the end of the Second World War, the United States conducted the most rapid military demobilization in history, contracting its army from about 8.3 million in 1945 to barely 500,000 by 1948. The Red Army maintained a much larger presence in the heart of Europe and was widely presumed capable of promptly invading Western Europe should Stalin or his successors so choose. In that case, U.S. military plans implied calling for retaliation with atomic, and later nuclear weaponry.

Once the Soviets acquired atomic (1949) and nuclear (1953) weapons of their own, many Europeans wondered whether America would defend them against a Soviet attack if Moscow could, in turn, encroach a nuclear holocaust on American cities. Would Washington sacrifice New York to defend Paris, London, or Bonn?

The Cold War of the XXth century in Europe rotated around this question. Soviet pressure on West Berlin was aimed to impress on West Europeans the danger of their situation. America's responses to their pressure – involving the 1948 Berlin Airlift, in which the U.S. Air Force delivered food and other necessities to the Soviet-blockaded city; President John F. Kennedy's 1963 promise, “All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin...”, and President Ronald Reagan's 1987 challenge, “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall” – all confirm to American recognition of Berlin as an important symbol of the transatlantic link and of American resolution to defend its European allies (Friedman, 2006).

Ronald Reagan and the Cold War

The president of the U.S. has the following powers: The Power to Communicate, The Veto Power, The Appointment Power, Treaty Power, The Power AS Commander-in-Chief, Inherent Executive Power, The Power as Chief of State.

The President of the United States is elected every four years to a four-year term of office, with no more than two full terms allowed. As is true with Senators and Representatives, the President is elected directly by the voters (through state electors). In other words, the political party with the most Senators and Representatives does not choose the President. This means that the President can be from one party and the majority of those in the House of Representatives or Senate (or both) from another. This is not uncommon.

Thus, although one of the parties may win a majority in the midterm elections (those held every two years), the President remains President, even though his party (or, of course, in the future, her party) may not have a majority in either house. Such a result could easily hurt his ability to get legislation through Congress, which must pass all laws, but this is not necessarily so. In any case, the President's policies must be approved by the House of Representatives and the Senate before they can become law. In domestic as well as in foreign policy, the President can seldom count upon the automatic support of Congress, even when his own party has a majority in both the Senate and the House. Therefore he must be able to convince members of Congress, the Representatives and Senators, of his point of view. He must bargain and compromise. This is a major difference between the American system and those in which the nation's leader represents the majority party or parties, that is, parliamentary systems.

Within the executive branch, there are a number of executive departments. Currently these are the department of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, Energy, Education, and Veterans Affairs. Each department is established by law, and, as their names indicate, each is responsible for a specific area. The head of each department is appointed by the President. These appointments, however, must be approved by the Senate. None of these Secretaries, as the department heads are usually called, can also be serving in Congress or in another part of the government. Each is directly responsible to the President and only serves as long as the President wants him or her to. They can best be

seen, therefore, as Presidential assistants and advisers. When they meet together, they are termed “the President’s Cabinet”. Some Presidents have relied quite a bit on their Cabinets for advice, and some very little.

How can a movie actor even try to get the presidency? (Stephen & Calvin, 2007) What were his qualifications? We should have experienced people in positions with as much power in the world as the American president has.

The American electoral system is puzzlement to many people in other countries where the political parties are usually ideological and /or personality parties with leaders who have been in party power for years and years. By contrast in the United States a man like President Reagan can be elected.

Ronald Reagan is quite well known to the world community because of his motion picture experience. But very few people are really conscious of the long, political career of this man. He started out as a Democrat in the opposition party to the party that he later represented, the Republican Party. He was a union leader as head of the Screen Actors Guild at a very difficult time in the history of union organizations in the 30`s and 40`s. Over the years he was in politics, supporting various candidates and then actively campaigning within the Republican party as he was moving into national recognition.

For the three national conventions of the Republican party, he was a serious contender as a Presidential candidate for the conservative wing of the Republican party. This was based on his extensive experience as a broadcaster in radio, as a commentator, as a writer, and as a governor. He was governor of the largest state in the United States, which in economic terms would rank as the tenth most powerful nation in the world if California were an independent nation.

He served two terms as governor, being re-elected with many of the same criticisms that came up during the campaign for his election for president. Many claimed that he was extremely conservative, that he was prone to “shoot from the hip”. That he was an ideologist and not a practical politician and that he did not have political experience.

After serving as governor of California, Reagan spent almost three years combing the United States, going to every segment, every state, supporting and rebuilding the Republican

party after Watergate and the Nixon period which had so seriously damaged the reputation of the Republican Party.

In 1980, Reagan enjoyed a resounding victory. He got about ten million more votes than Mr. Carter did, as well as many more electoral votes in the U.S. indirect election system.

The Power to Communicate

Reaganism

Reagan brought to the white house two distinct advantages not possessed by his predecessors: Nixon, Ford and Carter: he had a clear and simple vision of America he wanted and an amazing ability to communicate that image to the American Public. Called the “Great Communicator” by the press, Reagan skillfully presented images and visions, settling the great agenda, and left to his cabinet and executive staff the implementation of programs and legislation. He concentrated on the economy and foreign policy. The administration’s plan to improve the economy was simple: cut the number and cost of social programs, increase military spending, and reduce taxes and governmental restrictions. “If we can do that, the rest will take care of itself”, Reagan’s chief of staff, James A. Baker III argued.

The 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act lowered income taxes and most business taxes by an average of 25%. Supported by conservative Democrats in the House, Reagan raised military spending and cut \$ 25 billion from federal spending on social programs. Among the programs affected were food stamps, “Aid to Families with Dependent Children”, jobs and housing. Despite these efforts, the cost of social programs continued to rise, because of increase in programs like Social Security and Medicine, which were politically untouchable.

Another goal of Reaganomics was deregulation-freeing business and corporations from restrictive federal regulations. Among the affected areas were banking, communications, and oil. Bit its affect was most visible in environmental regulation. The Environment Protection Agency relaxed enforcement of federal guidelines for reducing air and water pollution and cleaning up toxic-waste sites.

Reagan’s Economic policies were not directly effective. It seemed that the economy had gotten worse, as unemployment increased to over 12 percent, the trade deficit arose, and

bankruptcies for small businesses and farmers increased, as well as federal deficit, progressed by declining tax income and increases in military spending. Reagan called for patience, persuading the public that his economic programs eventually would work.

As Reagan forecasted, in 1983 the recession ended, and the economy recovered. Reagan's economic policies and his support of a positive business culture now received widespread praise. The deregulating of financial institutions was especially positive because it stimulated investment and brainwork, which drove the stock market upward.

The recession ended just in time for Reagan's second pursuit for the presidency. Reagan was personally popular within the people. Using the theme "morning in America" his reelection campaign designed continued economic growth and affirmed his commitment to a strong America abroad (ibid, pp. 80-81).

Ronald Reagan and Cold War

Ronald Reagan believed that the Soviets were responsible for most of the evil in the world. Attributing instability in Central America, Africa, and Afghanistan to Soviet meddling, he argued that the best way to combat the Soviet threat was to renew and demonstrate American military strength. Defense spending was further increased and was focused on major new weapons systems, such as the Strategic Defense Initiative (or "Star Wars" program), a new space-based missile defense system. The Reagan administration argued that its massive military buildup was both deterrent and bargaining chip to use in talks with the Soviets. During this period, the Cold War climate grew even worse. But things changed when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union, in 1985. Gorbachev wished to reduce his nation's commitments abroad in order to concentrate its resources on needed domestic reforms. By the end of Reagan's second term, the United States and the Soviet Union had concluded agreements outlawing intermediate – range nuclear forces (the INF Treaty) and providing for a Soviet military pullout from Afghanistan (Halverson, 1995).

Reagan and Gorbachev

Until 1985, Reagan's foreign policy had concentrated on resisting the power of the Soviet Union in the world. Then, unexpectedly, the president carried out an opposite policy towards the Soviet Union. He called for the renewal of arms limitation talks and invited the Soviet Leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, to the United States. Gorbachev was different from previous Soviet Leaders. He was younger and dedicated to changing the Soviet Union. With his policy of perestroika (restructuring), he wanted to innovate the economy that was stagnating under the weight of military spending and state planning. Under his new policy of glasnost ("openness"), he introduced reforms that provided more political and civil rights to the Soviet people. To demonstrate to the West that he was a new type of Soviet leader, Gorbachev stopped nuclear testing and deployment (distribution) of missiles from Eastern Europe and commenced goodwill trips to Europe and Americas. By the time he was forced from office in 1991, Gorbachev had been awarded the Nobel Prize for his role in ending the Cold War, and the first McDonald's had been opened in Moscow.

In 1985, Gorbachev declined Reagan's invitation to visit the United States, but agreed to summit meeting in Geneva. At first the two leaders jostled (exchanged hostile remarks). Reagan condemned the Soviets for human rights abuses, their involvement in Afghanistan, and their aid to communist groups fighting in Angola and Ethiopia. Gorbachev attacked the proposed development of SDI – the Strategic Defense Initiative. (In 1983 Reagan had asked Congress to found a controversial system of defense (SDI) against Soviet missiles. Between 1983 and 1989, Congress provided more than \$17 billion for SDI research).

Both leaders were concerned over the possibility of nuclear war, and slowly gained respect and liking for each other. Soviet-American negotiations continued with new optimism. A year later, in October 1986, the two leaders met again in Reykjavik, Iceland, to discuss reductions of strategic weapons. They reached no final result, but agreed to keep working on arms limitations. Both leaders left meeting more trusting each other and determined to reduce the possibility of nuclear war. In December 1987, a breakthrough occurred. During a Washington Summit, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty, which removed their intermediate – range missiles from Europe. The Cold War was ending.

To commemorate this occasion in 1987 Ronald Reagan invited Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze as a former Foreign Minister of the USSR (who had discarded the Communist Party mandate) to the United States. In honor of Mr. Shevardnadze, a cultural

delegation was organized from Georgia. Georgian well-known painters' and fine arts representatives' works were exhibited in Washington D.C. gallery for two weeks and outstanding Georgian singers and dancers performed in New-York City Lincoln Center. I was asked to accompany the delegation as an interpreter.

The selection of an interpreter was interesting. The representatives of the governmental Foreign Affairs Office visited the Tbilisi State and Ilia Chavchavadze State University of Foreign Languages (There were no other universities with the English language departments then) to identify the candidature of an interpreter for a high-level delegation, and the requirements were as follows: the specialist of English should have been an Assoc. Prof., under the age of 30, should have been married, preferably with 2 children, not to stay in the U.S.

It was a fascinating experience to visit the amazing cities and meet interesting people after the iron curtain had been removed between the two super powers. This was the first time the Soviet delegation visited the U.S. since World War II.

Conclusion

The response to the question: how did Reagan – a movie actor get elected? – According to Stanley A. Renshon, a political scientist and psychoanalyst – three-character dimensions are especially relevant for assessing presidential leadership: personal ambition, political integrity, and social relatedness (Renshon, 1998).

Character and Belief systems are also important, in which a president views himself and others.

Beliefs about how the world worked in 1980-s in connection with the Soviet Union provided a frame of reference for Ronald Reagan, who filtered the information, evaluated options, and chose a course of action consistent with his policy goals. Therefore, phenomenal contribution towards the end of the Cold War was made by the former U.S. President Ronald Reagan. To combat the Soviet threat, he increased the defense spending to initiate a new space-based missile defense system (“Star Wars” Program). Reaching the final outcome, turned out to be accomplished through a relatively easier way, as a different leader (in comparison with his predecessors) came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985, dedicated to change the Soviet Union with his policy of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (“openness”) and wanting to innovate the economy,

stagnating under the weight of military spending. To demonstrate to the West he was a new type of Soviet leader, Gorbachev stopped nuclear testing and deployment of missiles from Eastern Europe, and had been awarded the Nobel Prize for his contribution toward ending the Cold War.

Outstanding is the role of the former president of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze in the process of dissolving of the Soviet Union, reunification of Germany and pioneering the diplomatic cooperation with the United States first-hand.

I'm very proud to have taken a humble role in the most significant stage of the World history – the ending of the Civil War through participating in a cultural delegation in 1987.

History is being repeated. Who would imagine, that after seven decades, 70 years, in the XXI century the Europeans would have the same scare in the midst of the Russian-Ukrainian War of 2022, when on February 25 Russia invaded the Sovereign Republic of Ukraine.

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Russia's Hybrid War Against the USA – Meddling 2016 Election and Geopolitical Consequences for New Cold War

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Abstract

A popularity of new war theory in strategic studies, labeled as “hybrid war” is being determined by the importance of globalization effect on global security and contemporary international relations system. Hybrid war is primarily based on the ability to target distant objects and processes through non-traditional military means, particularly those critical to state and military functions. Accord to the definition is clear why the hacker attack and cyber-warfare taken place in 2016 November Presidential elections in the USA is to be making equal to clandestine declaration of wargame but not in conventional but in cyber level and scope. The war scenario in 21st century is very differs that of 20th and 19th centuries and truly reflects of effects of Airokratia geopolitics. The case of the meddling into the Presidential elections in the USA has determined how efficiently the political and non-political technologies developed and caused on shifting political balance and the whole political system and posing great stability to national security environment of the USA. Hence, the hybrid war scenario imposed by the incumbent Russian authority really made possible of New Cold War and the consequences of the war are not as evident and clear as it was in case of classical Cold War.

Keywords: hybrid war, USA, Airokratia, non-traditional military means, New Cold War

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Introduction

The terms, Hybrid Threats and hybrid warfare/war are sometimes used interchangeably, which is one of the reasons why the concepts can appear confusing. In addition, the concepts have been examined through many different disciplinary lenses: international relations, strategic studies, security studies, military studies, history and political science to name a few. This multidisciplinary analytical mosaic also blurs the picture of what the concept of Hybrid Threats actually entail. In this report the concept of Hybrid Threats is used as an umbrella concept, while hybrid warfare/war is part of the activity occurring under the Hybrid Threats umbrella.

Frank Hoffman, often regarded as the father of the hybrid warfare concept, has said that his formulation draws on several schools of strategic thinking, making the concepts (hybrid warfare and Hybrid Threats) intellectual synergies (Fridman, 2018). Indeed, the concepts have evolved over time. In Hoffman's concept, which focused on nonstate actors like Hezbollah and Al-Qaida, their tactical and operational military activities are directed and coordinated within the main battlespace to achieve synergistic effects (Fridman, 2018), and to include tactics used by transnational networks like transnational organized crime and state actors. At the time Frank Hoffman started to use the “hybrid warfare” label, it was only one of many labels, which also included “New Wars”, fourth-generation warfare and asymmetric warfare amongst others. These were being used by analysts to conceptualize changes in contemporary warfare in line with the idea that war had become “substantially distinct” from older patterns of conflict (Berdal, 2011).

There are plenty other concepts that describe new forms of conflict/warfare: “surrogate warfare”, “grey zone activity”, “raiding”, “unrestricted warfare” (origins Chinese), “reflexive control” (origins Russian), “new generation warfare”(origins Russian), “competition short of conflict”, “active measures” (origins Russian), “non-linear warfare”, “asymmetric warfare”, “compound warfare” “ambiguous warfare”, “political warfare”, “information warfare”, “cyber warfare”. All of these are trying to describe very similar actions than the Hybrid Threats concept – interventions and operations targeted against states and institutions with multiple means. The concept of Hybrid Threats, however, is the only one that raises the issue of systemic vulnerabilities of democratic systems as particular targets and clearly argues for comprehensive approach with civil-military cooperation from the very beginning.

The concept of Hybrid Threats has been increasingly debated in the academic circles. A recent Google Scholar search for the terms Hybrid Threats and Hybrid Warfare produced roughly

9,990 results, with most publications - some 6,970 - produced since 2014 (Babbage, 2019). This is an indication that the Hybrid Threats concept is here to stay. But it does not mean that the concept is fully accepted and understood. In addition to the scientific and military context, the terms Hybrid Threats and hybrid warfare are also used in a political context which started with the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Political use of Hybrid Threats refers to manipulative, unwanted interference through a variety of tools: spread of disinformation/misinformation, creation of strong (but incorrect or only partially correct) historical narratives, election interference, cyber-attacks, economic leverage, to name just a few. Some of the activities may not even be illegal per se. Since Hybrid Threats are characterized as a combination of action, in academic analysis one action alone does not make the activity hybrid and in some cases even the threat aspect can be questioned. These actions and activities alone strictly speaking do not qualify them to be Hybrid Threats. However, they do belong to the landscape of Hybrid Threats. This means that as a political concept, Hybrid Threats can be seen as unacceptable foreign interference in sovereign states' internal affairs and space.

Hybrid Threats is a broad overarching concept that includes many types of activity: interference, influence, operations, campaigns and warfare/war. All of these activities can be seen as unwelcome interventions of one sort or another to a country's internal space. We need to keep in mind that the term Hybrid Threats is a Western concept used to discuss a security dilemma that states face which either have a democratic state system or are in the democratization phase. This is how the context is framed in most of the Western literature relating to Hybrid Threats. The concept has penetrated to Russian and Chinese writings today, but they did not use the name "Hybrid Threats/Hybrid warfare" before it was widely discussed in the Western security debate. The characterization of Hybrid Warfare can be found in both the Russian and the Chinese literature. They claim that Western countries are using hybrid warfare against them. This claim is often done without giving a context, with strong support for the state's official line. The references used from Western literature ignore the fact that the used references describe the action by a hostile actor against the Western countries. This fact is not mentioned.

The report identified three phases with different intensity of action and nature of the threat. This means that an escalation potential exists. These phases are explained later in this document. The activities and phases follow a rather conventional understanding, with slight modifications, of how a threat is constructed and how it might escalate. The activities and phases in themselves do

not characterize a threat as hybrid, but they belong to the landscape of Hybrid Threats and are therefore also an integral part of understanding the nature of the threat element of Hybrid Threats. A major ongoing debate concerns old (Williamson and Mansoor 2012) versus new ways of exerting interference and influence. In this debate both, those that argue that there is nothing new relating to Hybrid Threats and those that see Hybrid Threats as a fully new security challenge, have a point. As Mikael Wigell, senior researcher at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, has argued, “many scholars and analysts contest the utility of the hybrid label, criticizing it for conveying little that is new, for being imprecise, or outright misleading. The author called hybrid methods are used alongside more usual deterrence policies" (van der Putten et al. 2018) coupled with the term 'warfare', critics warn, there is the danger of unnecessarily militarizing the language of international politics with potentially dangerous consequences” (Wigell, 2019). What this boils down to is bearing in mind that from the point of view of military-strategic thought, the analytical utility of the “hybrid warfare” concept is contested (Renz and Smith,2016) (Kofman and Rojansky, 2015) and, as a tool to analyze military capabilities, its usefulness is very limited.

The Russia’s Hybrid Warfare Concept and Its Instruments

In recent international politics remains very unstable and after switching again world order structure and percussion occurred in stability of the ongoing international security system. As it is perceived main missions of the international security as structural element of the global politics remain in avoiding wars and military conflicts and perceives of examining power capability. The definition “International Security” is being affiliated with the UN Charter (UN Charter, 1945). It means that the great powers are at time being determined the transitional international order relicts are tailored with namely power theory articulation, including the Russian Federation that is considering as one of the global power in the order formulation (Munich Report, 2018). Hence, the article focuses on “Russia’s new power” capability reflection at a time when it was still conventional to speak of a more general “transition to democracy”. This focuses of this new and very different course is the “Putinist” system that came into existence in the early years of the new century, amid a widespread acceptance that early and more optimistic forecasts of Russia’s political direction had been mistaken or at least premature. Therefore the Kremlin is seeking to

promote its national interests and foreign policy goals exercises for itself new type of power capability – “smart power”.

In 2006, the American think-tank “Center for Strategic and International Studies” (CSIS) launched a bipartisan Commission on “Smart Power” to develop a vision to guide America’s global engagement. Backed on the criteria composed up and set up by the Commission later in 2010, then the U.S. Barak Obama endorsed “Smart Power” strategy in order to pursuit the national interests at any world place. However, it is interesting to underpin on what criteria are founded the power implications and what additional one has been attached by the Russian Federation incumbent political leadership in pursuing its own interests how their jargon implies in “World Ocean”:

- *Alliances, partnerships and institutions*
- *Technology and innovation*
- *Global development*
- *Public diplomacy*
- *Economic integration (CSIS Report, 2018).*

Having considered the implication, Russia’s incumbent leadership elaborated its own “smart power” strategy that based on three components:

- Psychological warfare
- Cyber warfare
- Information warfare

“Soft Power” can rest on such resources as the attraction of one’s ideas or on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences others express. Since 2008 after the Georgia-Russia August war, the Russian incumbent policy-makers reconsidered their adherence only toward “Hard Power” capabilities and reoriented to tailor and introduce its own version of “Soft Power” strategy based on several unique leverages and components: *information leadership, aggressive propaganda campaign, “historic memory” implication or political mythology, modern communication technologies (cyber-warfare), network-centric dominance (social network and social media), ideological imperatives, development and adoption of new national technologies in telecommunication-information sphere, cultural warfare and targeted network-centric dominance geopolitical ideological confrontation* (like, aggressive anti-American

rhetoric). There are only several implications based on what is possible to identify how works “Soft Power” strategy in real life and what are real leverages of the one. The Kremlin’s “Soft Power” strategy has been starting to elaborate since 2010 and it concludes of tress-passing and systematic realization of each elements of the strategy. What have included these elements?

- *Setting up and further promulgation geopolitical media project: “Russia Today” to dominate and compete with American CNN at global level;*
- *Setting up and further promotion military TV channel: “ZVEZDA” – reaches domination at regional level in aegis of Post-Soviet space;*
- *Introduction of Russian origin social media projects: ODNOKLASNIKI, VKontakte, etc.;*
- *Creation and run similar to American style – “SKOLKOVO” new technology development center project;*
- *Setting up and running in aegis of FSB (Russian analogy of Soviet KGB) special hacker-team “YASTREB” to strike down and decipher Western communication systems (mainly USA military structures).*

Russia’s incumbent authority has prepared a solid basis for such activities. Even in February 2008, the Russian President Vladimir Putin signed up a special conceptual document: “Strategy on Development of Information Society of Russian Federation” and later adopted new: “Foreign Policy Conception of Russian Federation” (revised three times in 2009, 2012, 2013 – where in aegis of special part of the document – “Information Implication of Foreign Policy Activities” is outlined as one of the key goals as – “increasing of Russia’s mass-media means positions at global level”). Moreover, on January 1st 2016 a new doctrine on national security was subsequently adopted. The document identifies the domestic threats to Russia’s state sovereignty, society, information space, economy, transport and energy infrastructure, natural environment as well as foreign-born risks. In the document, at first time was mentioned information war as one of the key “soft security threat” component. Based on the documents attached with several new ones – the most latest document introduction of new draft of “Information Security Doctrine of Russian Federation” will be adopted in 2017 and “Main State Policy of Russian Federation for International Information Security till 2020”, key priorities of the Russia’s “Soft Power” strategy imply to

dominate on information-telecommunication sphere at least in Post-Soviet space and last in Global political level¹.

Russia's military intervention into sovereign Ukraine has increased media coverage tendency at any political levels (global, regional and local) and has corroborated a motto on importance correctly delivered truth for the whole stalemate international security community. As speaking on local political level, on case of Georgia, the information flows on war in Ukraine has been transformed into information-psychological warfare scope and focused on targeted community segments in order to beef up war supporter segmentation in aegis of the national society. Currently information-psychological warfare can be carried out using disinformation, propaganda, cyber-attacks, lobbying, manipulation, deliberate creation of a crisis, and other methods. The use of this methodology is especially important in today's reality, it can be said that these areas are radically demanding.

Having considered that the whole Georgian society unilaterally support brave Ukrainian people against its fair war against the Russian aggressors and the demonstration support hikes up utmost high dimensions, the Kremlin propaganda is seeking to utilize its own methods wagging information-psychological war against Ukraine in Georgia. A cohesive instrumental systematic approach has been promoting via specially articulated fake-news distributed mechanism as are in Georgia now: Sputnik-Georgia media agency, RIA-NOVOSTI and its local satellites, like weekly newspaper: "The World and Georgia", nationalistic TV "ALT-INFO", etc. One of the famous fake-news correlated with war in Ukraine and disseminated by the Pro-Russian actors are story on so-called "the USA Biological Lugar laboratory" and its connection with similar ones in Ukraine. This is only one aspect of the wagging information-psychological warfare in Georgia and in this case Georgia and Ukraine should reunite their effort to set up a Counter-Information War Coalition and promote common agenda.

¹ Доктрина информационной безопасности Российской Федерации утверждена указом Президента Российской Федерации от 5 декабря 2016 года №646, see in detail: <https://rg.ru/2016/12/06/doktrina-infobezobasnost-site-dok.html>

Russia's Geopolitical Meddling into the USA Election System in 2016

The USA Presidential elections in 2016 became very important stage for developing further confrontation between Russia and USA and transformation of “New Cold War” into stage of hybrid warfare between the actors. Intelligence officials have reportedly found that Russia is interfering in the 2020 elections to try to support President Trump’s reelection, while also meddling in the Democratic primaries to help Sen. Bernie Sanders’ campaign. The reports have not revealed details about what actions Russia is taking or their scope, but my analysis of social media activity exposes some examples (Kim, 2020). When Russia set out to interfere with the 2016 election, it went all out. Over the course of the election, a wide-ranging group of Russians probed state voter databases for insecurities; hacked the Hillary Clinton campaign, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and the Democratic National Committee; tried to hack the campaign of Sen. Marco Rubio and the Republican National Committee; released politically damaging information on the internet; spread propaganda on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram; staged rallies in Florida and Pennsylvania; set up meetings with members of the Trump campaign and its associates; and floated a business proposition for a skyscraper in Moscow to the Trump Organization (Abrams, 2019). The USA intelligence special investigation report vows on direct involvement of the Russia’s special agencies in a way of proxy operations and even used hybrid threats in order to undermine the USA political system. The declassified report represented the most comprehensive intelligence assessment of foreign efforts to influence the 2020 vote. Besides Russia, Iran and other countries also sought to sway the election, the report said. China considered its own efforts but ultimately concluded that they would fail and most likely backfire, intelligence officials concluded. The report, compiled by career officials, amounted to a repudiation of Mr. Trump, his allies and some of his top administration officials. They reaffirmed the intelligence agencies’ conclusions about Russia’s interference in 2016 on behalf of Mr. Trump and said that the Kremlin favored his re-election. And they categorically dismissed allegations of foreign-fed voter fraud, cast doubt on Republican accusations of Chinese intervention on behalf of Democrats and undermined claims that Mr. Trump and his allies had spread about the Biden family’s work in Ukraine (Barnes, 2021). The methods of the interference in the election process were different and combined with several of forms of hybrid operations. The Russia’s capability to interfere in another country’s affairs has been prescribed by the ex-KGB Soviet agents. Andrey Devyatov, a long-time KGB agent and author of numerous intelligence-related publications, also

views psychological influence as an integral part of achieving victory in the contemporary confrontation, which he calls the “war of meanings”. He advocates an overarching, above-state intelligence network, which is tasked with influencing minds towards a Russian values-based world order (as opposed to being limited to information gathering). He also argues that the Russian cultural heritage, linguistic structure, perception of paradox and abstract thinking provide Russia with a competitive advantage to develop and implement such a model, and enable Russia to successfully use socio-humanistic technologies, which he sees as the main weapon to control people in the digital age (Девятков 2013).

However, the incumbent Russia’s political elite were exploiting the following concrete hybrid threats by means of interfering and meddling into the USA elections, both in 2016 and in 2020 ones that include the following:

- *Information warfare – via utilized maximum level “Russia Today” TV channel and promulgated its wanted propaganda in the USA – so-called “Russia Today Effect”;*
- *Getting involved the Russian tycoons money provided support to their favourite candidate, like Oleg Deripaska’s case who was officially alleged meddling in the 2016 election to help Donald Trump become president (Reuters, 2022);*
- *Hacked attack by the cyber terrorists against Hilary Clinton’s election staff office computer systems and cracked classified information.*

Conclusion

The Russian Federation authority is actively promoting its national interests in any level of politics and by doing so tailoring all efforts and instruments, including power capabilities. Mainly recently, the Kremlin began examining novelty in sphere of national security – “Smart Power” strategy and diversifying its efforts to be successful mission achievement. On case of Georgia and of Ukraine, the Russian government with assistance special services is persecuting intensive measures to gain back its positions in “zone of privileged interests”² as to restore status of Great

² In the National Security Strategy from 2015, Russia is referred to as “one of the world’s leading powers”. According to Russia’s Foreign Policy Concept from 2016, the task of foreign policy is to consolidate the country’s status as “a centre of influence in the world today”. “Strategija nacional’noj bezopasnosti Rossijskoj Federacii” [The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation], *Sovet Bezopasnosti Rossijskoj Federacii* [The Security Council of the Russian Federation] (official website), 31 December

Power in global affairs and dovetailing in field of international security system emerged as new institution. Russia's engagement into post-Soviet space is very aggressive and punitive and with elements of "Smart Power" strategy endorsement to be more sophisticated and encroached. In the National Security Strategy from 2015, Russia is referred to as "one of the world's leading powers". According to Russia's Foreign Policy Concept from 2016, the task of foreign policy is to consolidate the country's status as "a center of influence in the world today". All these elements are exactly provisions of psychological warfare. Psychological Warfare is defined in Chinese strategic theory as operations that achieve political and military aims through influencing targets' psychology and behaviour through the distribution of specific information. In this the "targets" are practitioners and decision-makers. The media used to disseminate this information varies according to operational need and can include broadcasting and person-to-person as well as the use of specialist equipment. Psychological operations cover both offensive operations against a target's psychology and defensive operations to counter enemy psychological attacks (Giannopoulos, 2021).

The international security environment is clearly changing and evolving, and Hybrid Threats are very much connected to this. Security itself as a concept is not very well defined and is also continuously developing. Around the time of the Cold War, security consisted of military issues, but since the end of the Cold War security can be defined more broadly (Baldwin,1997) involving different dimensions and levels such as the individual, family, society, state, organizations, international system, environment or humanity. Different countries and regions view the concept of security differently and hence threat perceptions are also different.

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Possible Geopolitical Consequences of the Russia-Ukraine War and Role of the USA in the Military Confrontation

NIKA CHITADZE*

Abstract

The paper aims to analyze the main reasons for the starting of the war between Russia and Ukraine and the US involvement in this war with the purpose to support the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. One of the purposes of the research is the review the possible reflection of the war and on the geopolitics of the Black Sea Region and the whole world.

Keywords: Ukraine, USA, Russia, Aggression, War, Conflict, Geopolitics

Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, the issue of European security is again under the threat, as it was within the second half of the XX Century and the main reason for it is the fact, that Russia continues to be a factor in this problem. In the 21st century, the Russia-Ukraine war is the biggest challenge in terms of maintaining security and peace in the democratic world. The processes taking place in Ukraine make significant changes in the development of world politics, therefore, this issue is both important and urgent.

The Russia-Ukraine conflict started back in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea. In 2014, many changes took place in Ukraine, which was carried out under the guidance of Russia and was part of the hybrid war plan that was planned by the Kremlin to conquer Ukraine. In Ukraine, the so-called After the Euromaidan events, a massive wave of protests began in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. President Yanukovich's government fell and civil unrest swept the country. It was a wave of civil protest that was triggered by the cancellation of the Association Agreement with the European Union. Also, the participants of the rally protested the corruption and social injustice in

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the country. After the disbandment of the opposition activists, a wave of civil protest was also directed against the president, as those who took part in the mass riots were punished more severely. This was the important step that intensified the wave of protests and spread over the territory of Ukraine. At this time, the Russian Federation was using the instability of Ukraine to deploy its forces on Crimea, and this idea of the Russians is finally coming to fruition. The opposition demanded the resignation of Viktor Yanukovich and the appointment of early presidential elections. Opposition activists occupied the buildings of state institutions, which forced the president to retreat. Protest waves continued to grow even though Yanukovich dismissed the cabinet. On February 21, he leaves Kyiv and signs the agreement on the settlement of the Ukrainian crisis. It was also remarkable that the new law was recognized by the European Union and the United States. This decision played an important role in determining the future of the Ukrainian people.

In response to Russia's occupation of Donetsk, Lugansk, and the annexation of Crimea, calls for Ukraine's integration with NATO and the European Union have increased. The number of Ukrainians who want to join the Euro-Atlantic Alliance has changed dramatically since the events of 2014: these numbers were low before the Russian invasion, and at the beginning of 2022, the number of people who wanted to join NATO amounted to 62% of the Ukrainian population. According to current data, 68 percent of Ukrainians support joining the European Union (Masters, 2022).

Today's foreign policy of Ukraine is aimed at deepening the connection with the Euro-Atlantic West. In 1991, Ukraine leaves the Soviet Union and becomes an independent country. It has come a long way to become a democratic state. The choice made by the Ukrainian people to build an independent state caused a sharp reaction from the Russian side. Russia is nostalgic for the USSR and wants to restore it (this is evidenced even by the creation of the Eurasian Union). Ukraine, as its former part, which occupied the largest place in it, became the epicenter of Russian interests and intersected with the free choice of the Ukrainian people. The issue of the existence of Ukraine as an independent state is related to the security of Europe, Ukraine has become the epicenter of the actions of those states that have the power to make changes in the issues of geopolitical arrangement of the world.

On March 18, 2014, Russia annexed the Ukrainian territory of Crimea and declared it as its federal district. All this was preceded by the revolution of 2014, which was directed against

Viktor Yanukovich and his party. According to the Ukrainian government, the annexation of Crimea violated the 1991 agreement, however, according to Russian President Putin, it was the people's decision, which was also clearly seen in the referendum (Chitadze, 2022).

The mentioned issues are very relevant and universal, and this work serves to expand and analyze these issues.

Russia-Ukraine War in 2022

The 2022 war in Ukraine was caused by the fact that Ukraine was the cornerstone of the USSR, and after Russia, it became the most powerful of the Soviet republics, with the largest part of the defense industry, agricultural production, and military forces, including the Black Sea Fleet and some nuclear arsenals. After gaining independence, Ukraine started the path of its progress and development. As a sovereign state, it tried to align itself more closely with Western institutions, including NATO and the European Union. In Ukraine, the population living in the west of the country supported integration with Europe, while the Russian-speaking community living in the east was in favor of close ties with Russia. Russia used all such manifestations as an excuse. In February 2022, as we know, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine to overthrow the government of Volodymyr Zelensky from the West.

Russia is connected with Ukraine by geopolitical interests, it wants to regain its former power, and prestige and gain hegemony in the world. As It was mentioned, one of the main factors of this war was Ukraine's aspiration towards the West and NATO integration. Russia's original goal included overthrowing Ukraine and ousting its government, which would permanently end Ukraine's bid to join NATO and the European Union. A month after the invasion of Ukraine, when the attempt to seize Kyiv failed, Russia withdrew its troops to the coast. In this war, Putin cited the fact that he wanted “to de-Nazify and demilitarize Ukraine to free the Ukrainian people from eight years of genocide”. Also, another factor was soon added, which is to ensure Ukraine's neutral status.

Thus, we can say that the Western course of Ukraine is the reason that Putin uses to implement his imperialist goals in Ukraine. As it was pointed out, the main and real reason for this war is that Russia wants to build its empire on the old ruins of the Soviet Union. Finally, we can say that the main motive of Russia's invasion of Ukraine was Russia's aggression - to conquer a sovereign neighboring state, which did not suit Russia's taste due to its pro-Western course. The

main aspiration of Putin's Russia is to restore the USSR and unite the post-Soviet countries under its protectorate by military force. On the part of Russia in this war, this gesture was shown many times, and it was noticeable externally, even in the fact that it declared war against Ukraine on February 23 - the day of the Red Army and invaded Ukraine with tanks on which Soviet red flags were raised.

It should be assumed, that the changing geopolitical situation in the Black Sea region and on the global level is much dependent on the outcome of this war.

The Russia-Ukraine war is of decisive importance for the security of the Black Sea region and its geopolitics. If we understand both situations, we can better understand that the outcome of the war will have a special impact on the Black Sea countries. In the first case, if we assume a hypothetical Russian victory, then it will not be surprising that imperialist Russia will demand the free movement of its naval forces through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. In addition, Putin calls on Turkey to maintain strict neutrality in the Black Sea in the event of a Russian military operation against Bulgaria, Georgia, or Romania. A newly emboldened Moscow may want to take control of Turkey's recently discovered natural gas resources in the Black Sea, which it seeks to develop and use for domestic consumption. If all this happens, Turkey will become more dependent on Russia. However, in such a scenario, Moscow's growing isolation may create new opportunities for Ankara to advance its interests in the region. Even in the case of Ukraine's victory, broad consequences are expected in the international political arena, similar to what happened during the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Russia's military defeat in Ukraine could even lead to the dissolution of the Russian Federation. This is likely to cause seismic changes on the Eurasian continent, affecting the broader balance of power, while removing or reducing the military threat to countries such as Georgia, Moldova, Bulgaria, and Romania. However, such a defeat is far from a foregone conclusion, as President Putin and his government will try to avoid it by any means at their disposal. Here, the negotiations will take place mainly on military issues, since Putin is not inclined to the alternatives of diplomatic negotiations and a peaceful agreement.

What Is America's Interest in the Ukraine War?

The RUSSIA INVASION of Ukraine in February 2022 triggered a wave of international support for Kyiv. The United States has led these efforts. Even before Russian forces crossed the

border, the United States and many of its allies made it clear they were opposed to Moscow's expansionist ambitions, warning of a range of potential sanctions Russia would incur as it worked to mobilize a potential diplomatic coalition against Moscow and bolster Ukraine's military power. strength. After the invasion, the United States took the lead in providing Ukraine with military equipment and training, economic aid, a near-complete vetting of diplomatic support, the use of intelligence to deter a Russian advance, and the threat of draconian consequences if Russia used nuclear weapons in its campaign. Increasingly fervent bipartisan calls to punish Russia, Ukraine's efforts to lobby for more aid, growing calls from many think tanks and pundits to do more on Kyiv's behalf, and the Biden administration's gradual increase in support for Kyiv since February all suggest that American involvement can only grow. in future.

However, the Biden administration and other proponents of current US policy have so far failed to offer a strategic argument for the costs and risks posed by current US policy in the Russo-Ukrainian war. To be sure, many have set specific goals for Ukraine itself. However, defining and discussing how US efforts in Ukraine contribute to the pursuit of overarching US national goals and interests is generally lacking and is largely a gesture toward general principles that might still justify a US response in Ukraine. Amid the ongoing war and relentless calls for the United States to "do more," the question remains: what are the strategic interests of the United States in Ukraine, and how can the United States best serve them?

While politicians and pundits often get lost in the rush of events, they were quick to hint at America's continued interest in Ukraine. Without a full elaboration of the argument or the issues at hand, these claims fall broadly into two camps (Shiffrinson, 2022).

One line is that the United States cannot tolerate Russian aggression in Ukraine because it will only serve to further increase and expand the threats to the United States. This statement has two forms. The narrow version says that the danger of future aggression comes from Russia, that is, if Russia does not meet resistance in Ukraine, Moscow will simply expand its ambitions, challenge US allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and, ultimately, threaten the European safety comes first. In the same vein, former ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul argues that "we have a security interest [to help Ukraine defeat Russia]. To put it very simply, if Putin wins in Donbas and is encouraged to go deeper into Ukraine, it will threaten our NATO allies." Similarly, former National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley argues that the United States has an ongoing interest in keeping Russian President Vladimir Putin "from thinking he might do

the same thing in the next five or ten years." This particular concern helps explain why at least some in the Biden administration are calling for "Russia to be weakened" by bleeding it out in Ukraine: as a National Security Council spokesman put it, "One of our goals was to limit Russia's ability to do things." like again," undermining "Russia's economic and military power to threaten and attack its neighbors (Atlantic Council, 2022)."

The broad version links the war in Ukraine not to Russia per se, but to the potential rise of other players, especially China. President Joe Biden himself has put forward a version of this argument, writing in March that "if Russia does not pay a high price for its actions, it will send a signal to other potential aggressors that they, too, can seize territory and enslave other countries.""; elsewhere he states that "Throughout our history, we have learned that when dictators don't pay the price for their aggression, they cause more chaos and lead to more aggression." And it's not just Biden that worries: Assuming his bipartisan appeal, Texas spokesman Michael McCall says that inaction in Ukraine "will cheer Vladimir Putin and his fellow autocrats by demonstrating that the United States will surrender in the face of saber-rattling," concluding that "U.S. authority from Kyiv to Taipei will not withstand another such blow (US Department of State, 2022).

In contrast to worries about future expansion, the second set of arguments argues that the United States has an enduring interest in Ukraine because it influences the so-called "liberal international order." As Secretary of State Anthony Blinken argues, "The rules-based international order, which is critical to the maintenance of peace and security, is being tested by Russia's unprovoked and unjustified invasion of Ukraine." The logic here is twofold. First, failure to support Ukraine would call into question the support for democracies around the world, thereby undermining the viability of democracy as a way of organizing the political life of any society. As Biden explained, Ukraine was integral to the ongoing "battle between democracy and autocracy, between freedom and repression"; indirectly, withholding aid to Ukraine would set the United States aside in this contest. Second, the rise of Russia is itself a challenge to key principles — largely unspecified but seeming notions that strong states should not use force to impose their will on weaker actors and that violations of state sovereignty should not be allowed — on which supposedly the liberal order is maintained. . Ignoring Russian aggression would call into question the future functioning of the US-backed system. According to Ann Applebaum, the United States must be involved in the conflict because

“A realistic, honest understanding of war is the understanding that we are now facing a revanchist country that seeks to expand its territory for ideological reasons, that wants to end the American presence in Europe, that wants to end the European Union, that wants to undermine NATO and has a fundamentally different view of the world than ours” (Shiffrinson, 2022).

Simply put, inaction risks reinforcing the alternative principles upon which the international order will be based and which are expected to harm the United States.

However, it is HUGE that these allegations have gone largely unnoticed. Again, the United States faced a real risk—the most dramatic possible military escalation and therefore a nuclear exchange with Russia—and incurred real costs—including aid equivalent to the budgets of the US Department of Transportation, Labor, and Commerce combined—to do so. aid to Ukraine. Many analysts argue that the associated escalation risks are lower than one might think, since, for example, Russia would not be so suicidal as to risk war with the United States and its allies. However, billions of dollars remain at stake in a time of growing domestic demand for resources, and the fact that politicians and analysts are arguing about how America's threatening actions might be perceived in Moscow suggests that the risks involved are considerable. It may not be political, but good governance means we have to question whether the game is worth the candle.

The truth is that none of the generally recognized US interests in Ukraine hold water. Just as important, believing that they represent US interests goes against the core tenets of long-established US grand strategy; shaping policies based on such concerns risks creating new strategic dilemmas for the United States, Ukraine, and Russia in a way that could only exacerbate the effects of the current conflict.

Further amplification: exaggerated anxiety. Concern that inaction in Ukraine will simply whet Russia's appetite for European aggression outside of Ukraine — especially against US NATO allies — and thus merit a deeper American response, is doubtful. To be sure, some states are at times dominated by a local elite convinced that aggression is cheap, easy, and justified. However, to argue that Russia's unhindered behavior in Ukraine will lead to its continued greatness is to argue that there are no other possible limits that could constrain Russian ambitions or behavior.

Common sense, international relations theory, and current trends in European security point to the opposite.

States faced with a direct and militarily ambitious subject tend to balance and contain its possibilities for further aggression. In an anarchist world, this behavior reflects the fact that self-interested states must ensure their security and thus have the incentive to resist potential aggressors. We see these trends today in Europe, where Russian actions have rapidly stimulated both armaments (eg Germany's growing defense budget) and alliances (eg Sweden and Finland joining NATO, discussion of European military autonomy). Moreover, the distribution of power in Europe — where NATO's European members alone have a combined gross domestic product twelve times that of Russia — highlights the presence of multiple states that, individually or collectively, are more than capable of influencing Russian calculations. In short, Russia is becoming more and more encircled and likely to be even more constrained if it contemplates future aggression in Europe.

Even a bold leader like Putin cannot easily ignore this situation and is likely to factor it into Russia's strategic decisions. Yet even if he—or his successor—were to ignore these restrictions, the beauty of the balance is that the aggressors are nonetheless met with resistance that nullifies their efforts. In other words, even a reckless Russia that somehow ends its aggression after Ukraine viable is and unlikely to get very far.

This is doubly true when it comes to possible aggression against NATO members. Unlike attempts to help Ukraine itself, the alliance has responded to Russian aggression with a rallying force unmatched in the past twenty years; both the stated policy and new military trends indicate that its members are increasingly committed to protecting what Biden called "every inch of NATO territory" (Shiffrin, 2022). Thus, the conflict made it very clear that Russia risks creating an overwhelming (outside the nuclear sphere) counter-balancing coalition if it tries to oppose NATO members. Thus, taken together and quite apart from everything that happens in Ukraine, the strategic map gives serious reasons to doubt that any of the Russian politicians will decide that further aggression in Europe will pay off, or will succeed in doing so if they will do. Ukraine does not play a decisive role in shaping or frustrating Russian ambitions.

The same applies to claims that inaction in Ukraine will cause other troubled states, especially China, to conclude that aggression pays off. By this logic, the world is full of potential aggressors who are held back by fear of an American response; it also implies that aggression anywhere is a threat to US national security. Claiming that the United States must act in Ukraine

to prevent others from aggressing is thus tantamount to saying that the United States must serve as the global policeman who dares not rest anywhere, even for a moment.

Leaving aside the fact that politicians have long rejected the idea that the United States serves as the world's policeman, there are several problems with this argument. First, as Stephen Walt points out, the historical record is full of instances of aggressors paying exorbitant amounts of money for their behavior—think of the defeat, occupation, and division of Germany after World War II or the firebombing of Japan. Nevertheless, aggression remains a reality in international politics, because even when one aggressor is defeated, others do not seem to "learn" the lesson immediately.

Second, assuming that potential aggressors may exist, several studies show that state calculations are shaped not by general ideas about how an individual of great power might respond, but by contextual judgments about whether counterbalancing and punishment are likely, given the distribution of power and the known states' interests. Extending the view, the United States (1) can afford to ignore Ukraine without risking aggression in other theaters of war, provided it has the interest and means to test other potential threats, or (2) there are local actors capable and interested in the same. This makes intuitive sense: Beijing, for example, cares much more about what the United States, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, India, Australia, etc. can and will do in Asia than what the United States does. 4000 miles. Analysts who see Ukraine as a decisive factor in other states' aggression are overlooking the geopolitical constraints that are likely to shape others' interests and opportunities for reinforcement (Shifrinson, 2022).

Third, one should be skeptical of the underlying idea that aggression anywhere is a threat to the United States. Even a cursory glance at diplomatic records shows that the United States is not threatened by aggression per se. In recent years alone, the Russian-Georgian war, the Saudi campaign in Yemen, the fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and other episodes have had little effect on the well-being of the United States. This is the advantage of a wealthy and isolated great power surrounded by ocean moats. Finally, even if the United States were interested in preventing most of the aggression, it does not follow that further intervention in Ukraine's affairs is the only way to emphasize that America will punish aggression more broadly. After all, not only can the United States — as the previous paragraph suggests — take steps to strengthen its ability to counter aggression from specific actors of interest, no matter what happens in Ukraine, but Washington

can also signal its commitment, for example, by encouraging the build-up of NATO forces in Eastern Europe and the maintenance of so-called "crippling" sanctions against Moscow.

Threats to order: theory, not reality. Claims that neglecting action in Ukraine would undermine the liberal order are also suspicious. First, while the United States has often sought to promote democracy abroad, it has kept that momentum in line with geopolitical imperatives, regardless of how that has affected the spread of democracy. To this end, the United States frequently toppled elected governments in countries such as Iran and Guatemala during the Cold War and regularly made deals with autocrats (such as in Cold War Taiwan and South Korea and post-Cold War Saudi Arabia). , and today tolerates a retreat from democracy among key allies (as seen, for example, in Hungary, Poland, Pakistan, and Turkey). In short, Washington has never made the defense of foreign democracy per se - as history shows, instead, the question was whether politicians perceive a particular country as important to US interests; since the liberal order arose after World War II (and there are good questions if anyone has), it did so despite US ambivalence about supporting other democracies as its own goal. The claim that the liberal order now requires the United States to defend Ukraine reverses the logic that guides American policy.

Of course, the critic might argue that the United States should make the defense of democracy its primary interest, or democratic losses will multiply in the coming years. Here another problem arises: Ukraine is ill-suited to demonstrate American commitment to this goal. A polite company may not comment on this, but Ukraine's current democratic integrity is questionable. Independent assessments by Freedom House, the Politics Project, or the Varieties of Democracy Project consistently rank Ukraine as less than a full-fledged democracy—for example, an "anocracy" on the Politics list and a "hybrid regime" with a 39 percent rating. "percentage of democracy" Freedom House. Corruption, restrictions on press freedom, issues of judicial integrity, and "lack of the rule of law" are all problems. These scores have also not improved over time. For example, the V-Dem project shows that Ukraine's democracy scores have fluctuated in the middle range since independence, while Freedom House's scores indicate little change in Ukraine's democratic scores since the mid-2010s. The intra-elite infighting and repression against political opponents seen over much of the last decade illustrate a similar trend. In short, even if one argues that the fate of the liberal order depends on the active support of the United States for liberal democracies, Ukraine today is a poor testing ground for confirming this commitment (Shiffrinson, 2022).

Finally, the arguments that failure to confront Russia in Ukraine would undermine the norms and principles of the “liberal order” are problematic. As scholars such as Patrick Porter and Paul Staniland have pointed out, the liberal order has never been free from violence. If anything, the order itself has survived and has often relied on state violence and challenges to sovereignty to support questionable goals throughout its post-war history. Thus, it is hard to see how Russia's deplorable behavior in Ukraine could be more damaging to the liberal order than the wars in Vietnam or Iraq, Israel's use of force in the near abroad, Saudi Arabia's campaign in Yemen, and others.

Similarly, the "liberal order" has demonstrated a remarkable ability to tolerate a wide range of interstate and intrastate violence and violations of sovereignty. Even a cursory glance at history shows a trend: the “liberal order” was no longer undermined by the reluctance of the Americans and their allies to act in Bosnia until much of the bloodshed was over, as was the case during the 2008 Russian-Georgian war. Seen in this light, the Russian invasion is not so much a threat to order as it is a particularly gangster manifestation of the kind of violence and violations that have long existed within “order”, by a state that many actors do not particularly like. Again, we can and should mourn the horrors that have befallen Ukraine. However, claims that Russian aggression somehow subverts the principles on which order is based fail (Shifrinson, 2022).

Proponents of the American "do more" might backtrack, arguing that the core tenets of US grand strategy in general, and European policy in particular, condition America's involvement in Ukraine. The case may be that the longstanding U.S. interest in preventing the emergence of a Eurasian regional hegemon and/or in building what then-President Bill Clinton called a “whole, free and peaceful Europe” requires countering Russia by deepening support for Ukraine. However, not only are none of these issues at stake in Ukraine, but the current direction of US policy and potential future US involvement is in many ways inconsistent with these goals.

The United States has long tried to prevent the emergence of a regional hegemon in Eurasia. Today, Russia, however, is not ready to be a regional hegemon. It has a formidable nuclear arsenal, and a powerful military-industrial complex, and gains some degree of political influence through the export of basic commodities and energy products. However, its economy is smaller than that of Italy, it occupies an unfavorable piece of land, suffers from enmity with its neighbors, and suffers from demographic problems. Moreover, it faces—as its fighting shows—limitations in turning its latent capabilities into a usable force, just as its ability to turn material and energy

exports into geopolitical leverage is limited by the availability (especially in the medium and long term) of alternative capabilities. . suppliers. At the same time, other regional actors have more than enough potential to counter it, either alone or in combination; given the swift and difficult opposition to the Russian invasion, they also seem to have the political will to oppose Russian plans. And where the Soviet Union (the last would-be Eurasian hegemon in modern history) benefited from forward armies deployed across pliable Eastern Europe that seemed poised to reach the Atlantic coast in weeks, Russian forces are now more than 1,000 miles away. further east than their Soviet troops. analogs; even if such an opportunity were available, Russia would have had considerably more territory to cross and time to retaliate against than when Europe was last confronted with a potential claim to hegemony (Shiffrinson, 2022).

The victory of Russia in Ukraine will not change this situation either. Even if you add all the resources of Ukraine to those of Russia, its economy will still be smaller than that of Italy, and its population will hardly be the same as that of France, Germany, and Poland combined; it will still face restrictions in using commodity and energy exports to influence European politics in the short term and will continue to be a much smaller geopolitical competitor than the Cold War-era Soviet Union. Moreover, Russian forces would remain more than 500 miles farther east than their Soviet Cold War equivalents and would face the need to move through the rest of Eastern Europe in what would be anything but cooperation. If anything, the main effect of a Russian victory in Ukraine will be to raise the perception of the threat among European countries and thus encourage very capable players to even more balancing against Moscow. In short, Russia is not ready to dominate the continent, no matter what happens in Ukraine. The United States seeks to prevent the emergence of a Eurasian hegemon, but, fortunately, the structure of European politics already solves this problem as far as Russia is concerned.

If anything, US policy in Ukraine could ultimately undermine the US goal of preventing a Eurasian hegemon. The problem here is not in Russia but in China. Due in no small part to the intense US response to the Russian invasion, Russia is increasingly turning to China for economic, diplomatic, and military assistance. This benefited China as Beijing was able to establish favorable terms of trade with Moscow, increase market access for China's goods and services, and gain political influence that could eventually lead to Russian diplomatic support for China's interests. While the United States and its allies have sought to slow China's economic growth and limit its

geopolitical influence to halt its rise as an equal competitor, this outcome would complicate US grand strategy.

On the military front, the United States intends to increase its presence in Europe for the foreseeable future. This means that resources that could otherwise be reallocated to compete with China will not be available. Of course, to strengthen Europe, ground forces are needed, and to compete with China, first of all, air and naval forces are needed; in the short term, the United States can use its military to play a central role against both Russia and China. However, many of the long-range strike and reconnaissance assets needed to shore up defenses against Russia are useful in countering a rising China, which implies greater compromises in theaters of war than might immediately appear. Similarly, if China is indeed a "walking threat" shaping US strategy, then the resources currently flowing to Europe - with plans that now include additional ground forces, strike aircraft, naval vessels, and support elements - that would bring the total US force to about 100,000 could ultimately lead to a lack of resources for the US strategy in key areas (Shifrinson, 2022).

As for building a "whole, free, and peaceful Europe," the sad reality is that US policy toward Ukraine emphasizes that this aspiration was a dubious and problematic goal from the start. Without the conquest of the continent under American auspices and the imposition of democracy, the creation of a whole, free and peaceful Europe required that there should be no rivalry or conflict between European states while democracy and integration were moving forward. From the very beginning, this has made American ambitions hostage to local events beyond the control of the United States: if integration or democracy slows down or tensions arise, the United States will have to choose no more than two of the three stated goals.

The rise in Russian-Ukrainian tensions since the mid-2010s highlights the compromise. Ukraine is relatively freer than Russia and many of its citizens desire greater integration with the rest of Europe, but the latter goal can only be achieved (as diplomats and intelligence analysts have long reported) with the risk of a crisis with Russia and a dividing line in Eastern Europe. Conversely, the United States could prioritize peace and avoid dividing lines in Eastern Europe by appeasing Moscow, but this would only be viable if Washington accepted restrictions on Ukraine's integration with the West (and likely Russia's influence on Ukrainian politics). As the US election since 2014 shows, politicians dealing with this compromise have taken steps that, while not the direct cause of the current war, have undermined the "peaceful" part of the triangle. "Whole, free

and peaceful" was a noble goal. However, it was an ambition that the United States could never realize and had already been relegated to the background of US policy (Chitadze, 2022).

If US interests in Ukraine are said to be insufficient, and current US policy cannot be justified in light of the grand US strategic precepts, should the United States even care about a Russian invasion of Ukraine? If so, what might a revision of US policy entail?

The strategy requires the setting of priorities and the allocation of relatively limited resources to achieve these goals. However, for much of the post-Cold War period, unipolarity meant that the United States did not seem to need to prioritize or worry too much about resources: with power dramatically outweighing United States interests, politicians could pursue such disparate goals. goals such as NATO expansion, regime change in the Middle East, and hedging against China, without caring too much about where the resources come from or how those pieces fit together.

However, today the situation is different. A combination of domestic demands and renewed geopolitical competition—especially in Asia, where China is the most likely candidate for Eurasian hegemony—is forcing policymakers to rethink US priorities and consider where needed resources will come from. Compared to the Cold War era and immediately after the end of the Cold War, Europe's rating is declining.

From this point of view, American interests in Ukraine are rather limited. First, the United States has a strong interest in ensuring that the conflict does not go beyond Ukraine. This reduces the likelihood that the US could be drawn into a wider confrontation with Moscow that could escalate into war, with all the dangers that entail. Second, the United States remains interested in avoiding such a collapse in US-Russian relations, (1) that any future engagement with Russia on issues of mutual interest (e.g., arms control, counterterrorism, climate change), becomes impossible, and (2) that Moscow, as Henry Kissinger warns, is forced to look for a "permanent alliance elsewhere" - that is, with China. These results will complicate the United States' strategic map and exacerbate the already difficult adjustments taking place in the US grand strategy as the era of the unipolar world draws to a close. Finally, Washington is at least somewhat interested in maintaining an already favorable balance of power in Europe as a hedge against the risk that Russia — or any other state — might think that further aggression might pay off. Note that this last interest is not to teach a lesson to Russia or others by causing harm (as is being said in the current political

conversation), but rather to reduce the opportunities for Russia to become stronger in the future (Chitadze, 2022).

Achieving these more limited goals requires a significant adjustment in current US policy. In practice, limiting the risk of proliferation and irreversible collapse of relations means a timely end to the conflict without further involvement of the United States in the struggle. Given the distribution of forces on the battlefield and Russia's apparent willingness - as Putin's recent mobilization orders and the threat of nuclear weapons underline - to endure high costs for its conflict, this means putting significant pressure on Kyiv to negotiate with Russia while also engaging Moscow in the negotiations. make a diplomatic deal to end the conflict. In doing so, the United States will have to abandon its professed respect for Kyiv's military goals and move towards policies that create incentives for ending the war and obstacles to its continuation for both Kyiv and Moscow. Similarly, the United States will also need to find a way to reopen dialogue with Moscow and give Russia sufficient incentives to end the conflict.

Critics will argue that this course betrays Ukraine, rewards Russian aggression and nuclear brinkmanship, and does nothing to prevent Russia from biding its time before re-invading Ukraine. These accusations are at least partially true. Still, two points are important. On the one hand, again, the United States has little interest in what happens in Ukraine or Ukraine as such; if Ukraine were central to the balance of power, this would change, but it is not. Accordingly, as tragic as Russia's future aggression against Ukraine may be, it would be even more tragic if the United States ended up in conflict with Russia or contributed to the rise of a true Eurasian hegemon by misallocating its time and resources. Likewise, this would hardly be the first time that a reassessment of U.S. interests and priorities has led the United States to force partners and allies to make tough sacrifices in dealing with real or potential aggression.

However, just as the United States saw its interests preserved in these previous episodes, its rather limited interests in Ukraine could also be put forward by unfolding a similar scenario.

As far as maintaining a favorable distribution of power, the United States should encourage European armament and alliance efforts independently of the United States. To date, US policymakers have been almost elated at the prospect of "revitalizing NATO" by increasing defense spending in Europe, having European states focus their newfound military interests on the alliance, watching the alliance acquire new allies, and emphasizing America's commitment to transatlantic security. This reaction is understandable given long-standing concerns about Allied

stowaways, NATO mission drift, and the future of American "leadership" in Europe. However, as US attention shifts to Asia, it also strengthens Europe's reliance on the United States as the security guarantor of first and last resort within NATO, which may not be enough in the long run. A more sensible course would be to redirect Europe's newfound laudable interest in military affairs towards greater strategic autonomy and improved European states' military tools. By helping others to help themselves, we would advance US national interests in Ukraine and elsewhere.

Conclusion

Since the war in Ukraine is still going on, its effects on changing world architecture remain to be determined. At this stage, it is not known whether Russia will achieve its goal, although this outcome cannot yet be predicted. It can be assumed, that a lot depends on the end of the current war, because if Ukraine falls, maybe the countries of the former Soviet Union, including Georgia, will be the next target of Russia and the official Kremlin will continue to want to restore hegemony.

As It was mentioned before, economic sanctions may prove justified in the long run with the unconvincing resistance of the Ukrainians and lead to Russia's defeat. There is also another scenario of the development of events: Russia may still want to freeze the conflicts and later use them as leverage, it is also possible that the situation between NATO and Russia will escalate, which in the worst-case scenario will lead to a military confrontation between them, the results of which can be predicted in a completely different field of perspective. The imposition of Western sanctions depends on the strength of Russia and its influence within the state borders, and how much it affects the economic strength. Also, the effect largely depends on the extent to which the Russian population is ready to tolerate being under the Kremlin's policies, which Russian political leaders identify as a state interest, thereby strengthening Russia's position in the world.

In this scenario, Russia continues to manipulate nationalist fervor to maintain the geopolitical reins it currently holds. Russia creates such a political atmosphere where public fear prevents them from asserting their positions.

A cumulative scenario of economic sanctions could destroy the Russian population's support for the government in the medium term. The Russian Federation is negotiating an energy supply agreement with Beijing and signing other trade agreements to reassure the Russian population and show the West that Russia still maintains economic and political strength. It should

also be noted that Russia's enhanced and expanded intervention in Ukraine limits the scenario period, in particular, Moscow's ability to control the dynamics or cause various problems in different countries.

Russia's military intervention in Ukraine could lead to a significant escalation of the conflict and encourage Western support for Ukraine to deepen. Today, we can see the West's support for Ukraine. As a result, the expenses and resources made by the West are draining the financial and political reserves of Russia, as well as its foreign-political capabilities. Export and import opportunities in Russia have decreased, which helps to build a strong international community for Ukrainians from the West and allows the country to restore stability without sacrificing the dignity of sovereign Ukraine. It is important for Ukraine to intervene with the international community, in particular, to provide international financial and technical support and prevent a financial crisis, it is also important to carry out such reforms that will help protect and strengthen Ukraine from anti-corruption forces (Chitadze, 2022).

From the side of the government and the population, it is important to voice initiatives that will contribute to reforms, its hardships, and the stability of the country's internal processes, and it is also important to propose or implement trade-related plans.

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The Importance of the Creation of Georgian-Ukrainian-Azerbaijani-Turkish Axis (GUAT) for Contributing to Current Political Events

NIKOLOZ CHKHAIDZE*

Introduction

During the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War, Georgia's role was and is ambiguous. The Georgian authorities were silent with the president emphasizing it was of the "utmost importance" to demonstrate Georgia's neutrality in this conflict. A similar neutral stance is being maintained by Georgia during the current Russian-Ukrainian crisis.

Do both of these examples of Georgian neutrality reflect an important change in Georgian security policy and a more accommodationist stance towards Russia? Indeed, we should be asking if Georgia is evolving from its long-cherished Trans-Atlanticist to a multi-vector foreign policy. Bidzina Ivanishvili is regarded by many as a prominent philanthropist, but I consider him to be a shadow ruler of Georgia and the main person behind the fact that Georgia's security and foreign policy has changed since 2012.

Some of Georgia's ruling elites may no longer believe in Trans-Atlanticism but they need to be reminded that their country's fate is irrevocably bound up with that of Ukraine.

Georgia's neutrality is surprising because supporting Azerbaijan in its conflict with Armenia's occupying force would send a strong message to Moscow, considering the latter has occupied 20% of Georgian territories. The fact a Turkish-Azerbaijani axis successfully overpowered Armenia, even though the Russians gained a strategic foothold in the region, fundamentally benefits Georgia. There are now two security coalitions in the South Caucasus, the Turkish-Azerbaijani (with a Pakistani link) and the Russian-Armenian-Iranian axis. With Ukraine developing a close partnership with Turkey it makes geopolitical sense for Georgia to align itself with the first, the pro-Western coalition.

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Georgian-Ukrainian-Azerbaijani-Turkish Axis (GUAT)

There are two stumbling blocks to forging a robust pro-Western coalition in the South Caucasus that need to be overcome. The first is the US needs to re-engage with the South Caucasus where it has been absent for over a decade. The second is repairing and re-energizing US relations with Turkey, NATO's second-biggest military power. Relations with Turkey deteriorated during the Donald Trump Administration and have not recovered. Without US backing, Turkey alone cannot compete with Russia and Iran. The United States has indeed recognized the above-mentioned fact and decided to deepen its ties with Turkey by announcing a new US-Turkey Strategic Mechanism.

Closer Turkish and American cooperation will also result in the latter being more active in Eurasian and Greater Middle Eastern security questions. Russia still views the region through the prism of its Soviet legacy of an exclusive Eurasian sphere of influence, while Southern Caucasian states are defensive of their sovereignty and guarded about Russia's neo-imperialism. Considering Georgia is the most pro-Western country in the South Caucasus, it would be natural for the latter to join the Turkish-Azerbaijani coalition which would be a counterweight to Russian-Armenian-Iranian hegemonic designs. Bearing the above in mind, it is in Georgia's national interests to wholeheartedly support the Turkish-Azerbaijani strategic partnership.

Turkey has emerged as a strong, independent player in the region, willing to act in the best interests of its Azerbaijani ally. Turkey and Azerbaijan have condemned Russia's occupation of Georgian and Ukrainian territories and expressed support for the internationally recognized principle of the territorial integrity of states.

The concept of "one nation, two states" was strengthened after Turkey supported Azerbaijan in the 2020 Second Nagorno Karabakh War. After Azerbaijan's victory, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, and read out a poem that infuriated the Iranians. What was so controversial about the poem, you may ask. It is related to a treaty signed almost 200 years ago at the end of the Russian-Persian War. According to the Turkmenchay Treaty, Iran had to give up a large portion of land in the South Caucasus and set the Aras River as the so-called "red line" between those two countries. The poem which Erdogan read out loud was about how that River divided Azeri-speaking people in Azerbaijan from their compatriots in Iran. Erdogan's provocation is linked with Pan-Turkism which seeks to unite all Turkish-speaking people, including those in Iran and four states in Central Asia. Iran viewed the

reading of the poem as laced with hostile intent and a threat to its national security. Erdogan's poetry reading was demonstrating Turkey's partnership with Azerbaijan while at the same time sending signals to Iran and Moscow.

As in Karabakh so too in Crimea and the current Russian-Ukrainian crisis, Turkey has sided with Kyiv over Moscow. Erdogan has warned Russia not to invade Ukraine. It is also worth mentioning Turkey has exported drones to Ukraine which have been used against Russian proxy forces in the Donbas, which angered the Kremlin. Turkey and Ukraine have set up a joint production process to build drones in Ukraine. Erdogan would be also concerned if Russia sought to expand its military aggression against Georgia.

Russia continues to harbour imperialist tendencies towards Eurasia which it views as its exclusive sphere of influence. Russian President Vladimir Putin sees himself as the "gatherer of Russian lands". Russian officials and State Duma deputies claim "Kazakhstan, just like Ukraine, was created by Vladimir Lenin". Russia's imperialist views of its neighbors also apply to Azerbaijan and Georgia. The August 2008 war demonstrated Russia's denigration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbors. Russia has repeatedly "condemned" NATO's 2008 Bucharest Summit which outlined future MAPs (Membership Action Plans) for Georgia and Ukraine. The Kremlin continues to live in an era of "spheres of influence" where the great powers decide the fates and foreign orientations of "smaller" sovereign states. It is therefore an opportune time for the revival of a regional alliance akin to GUAM (Georgia-Ukraine-Azerbaijan-Moldova) with a Turkish (GUAT) and thereby NATO component.

The US should return to the South Caucasus and play a central role in developing GUAT and its cooperation with NATO. Both Ukraine and Georgia would benefit from being included in the existing Turkish-Azerbaijani strategic partnership. Georgia should reject its movement away from Trans-Atlanticism towards a multi-vector policy of neutrality. GUAT would act as a Trans-Atlantic security actor in a region that Russia and Iran see as their "backyards".

The Georgian Dream government, which came to power in 2012, has been pursuing a policy of neutrality in line with oligarch Bidzina Ivanishvili's way of thinking and his long-standing ties to the Kremlin. He has repeatedly said he wants to see Georgia become more like Armenia, implying a need to build good relations with Russia. The rule of law, as well as prospects for a sustainable and growing economy, along with a foreign policy with the goals of joining NATO and the EU is under threat by Ivanishvili. Georgia, a country once regarded as the

lighthouse of democracy by President George W. Bush, is now being governed in the shadows by a shady oligarch, reducing interest in Washington and NATO in terms of seeing Georgia as a strategic partner. Therefore, I expect that GUAT would revitalize Georgia's links to the Trans-Atlantic community.

The Prime Minister, Irakli Garibashvili, stated that he “prioritizes the national interest of Georgia and the interests of the people, and that therefore they would not join in any financial or economic sanctions that would damage the country and its populace”.

It's quite symbolic that a so-called “pragmatic” Prime Minister made such a statement, that goes against the will of his own people, on the day when Georgian cadets were killed by the Red Army during the Soviet invasion of Georgia on February 25th, 1921.

The Prime Minister also stated that “going to Ukraine for the sake of going is useless”. What's outlandish is that the Georgian government has shut the airspace for Ukraine, but not for Russia. This statement is surely ironic, considering that Viktor Yushchenko came to Georgia during the August War, particularly on August 12, 2008, to support Georgia in this matter, and he proudly stood on Rustaveli avenue, alongside 5 European presidents, because he understood that the issue of not only Georgian, but the issue of Ukrainian independence too was being decided during that period. What's more is that the First Deputy Head of the International Committee of the Federation Council of Russia, Vladimir Jabarov, praised Irakli Garibashvili's statements and “attaboy”-ed him. Russia's famous diplomat, and the chairman of the Russian Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs, former deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Grigory Karasin, called Georgia's response to the anti-Russian sanctions package of the West “pragmatic and balanced”, and that “this will not go unnoticed”. He basically praised the Georgian authorities for not complying with the West and their position on Ukraine. We can therefore hypothesize that the Georgian Dream's ruthless pragmatism slowly deviated Georgia's Transatlantic foreign policy aspirations to a neutral foreign policy vision.

Georgia's ruling elites need to be reminded that a Neville Chamberlain-Esque appeasement simply does not work, and that if they feed a crocodile, hoping that it will eat them last, then they shouldn't hold their breath, since Georgia's fate is irrevocably bound with that of Ukraine.

Ukraine recalled their ambassador over the Georgian government's “immoral behavior”. Tbilisi's neutrality is harming Georgian-Ukrainian relations, and that was demonstrated when President Zelensky recalled the Ukrainian ambassador from Georgia. It is ironic that a pro-Western

Georgia, once regarded by President George W. Bush as the lighthouse of democracy, is now in the same camp as Kyrgyzstan, in terms of “justifying Russia’s aggression against Ukraine.”

Meanwhile, there’s an internal fight or a political war amongst the ruling elite of Georgia. Particularly, the President of Georgia, Salome Zurbishvili and the Georgian Dream have disagreed on many things in the last couple of months, even though Salome Zurbishvili was supported by the Georgian Dream in the 2018 Presidential elections. The President of Georgia expressed unwavering support to Ukraine in her remarks on March 1st. „At a time, when all of Europe is united, we too have to become part of this unity,” she said. The President of Georgia affirmed her position with regard to Putin as well, stating that his Russia is a totalitarian, dictatorial regime. She also scolded the Foreign Ministry of Georgia, and she said that “the support by the Georgian President is not expressed with the display of flags, but in her unequivocal statements”.

I have to agree with President Salome Zurbishvili. Russia cannot and must not derail either Ukraine or Georgia from their path of integration with the West. Euro-Atlantic values and integration are indeed inscribed in the hearts of the Georgian people. It is good that she decided to distance herself from the comments made by the PM.

Georgian Dream announced on March 3rd that the Government will sue the President for violating the supreme law in terms of conducting unauthorized visits to Europe. The main problem and the threat that the Georgian Dream sees in President Zurbishvili is the fact that they are getting sidelined while she pursued a Euro-Atlantic foreign policy by sidestepping the leadership.

The leadership is also blaming her for “a gross violation of the Georgian constitution” in terms of not confirming the appointment of ambassadors or diplomatic representatives nominated by the government.

These statements and accusations come a day after President Zurbishvili criticized the government of Georgia for blocking her visits to western capitals amid Russia’s aggressive war in Ukraine. To my mind, President Zurbishvili is in fact trying to mend the relations between Georgia and Ukraine. She’s trying to fix what the Georgian Dream damaged, and now she’s getting punished for it.

What’s shocking is that the Georgian government and the ruling party criticized Ukrainian government officials and MPs for their comments about the Georgian government’s neutrality. Particularly, they took aim at Mikhayilo Podolyak, who slammed the Georgian government’s

ambiguous position over Russia's invasion of Ukraine. He also accused the Georgian government of refusing to consider sanctions on Russia over Ivanishvili's links to the Kremlin.

Ukrainian military intelligence also accused Georgia of allowing Russia to smuggle military and civilian goods, which goes against the principles of internationally recognized sanctions against Russia. More and more circumstances point to the fact that Georgia is not playing the role it should be playing in Ukraine. It is, in fact, becoming a so-called "Russian backyard".

The contrast between Georgian, German, and French appeasement on one side and Ukrainian, Polish, and Baltic conviction on the other is something that should be seriously considered by the United States whilst making priorities on the world stage.

Conclusion

All in all, GUAT is a silver bullet that will ensure stability in the South Caucasus, and will effectively contain Russia's imperial aspirations. The West should definitely be more involved in the region, and naturally, they must support GUAT. Turkey has enough capabilities to act as a strong, independent player in the region, and it will uphold its interests no matter the hardship. This was demonstrated when they indeed sided with Kyiv over Moscow. Securing Georgia is absolutely necessary for the West to ensure that the former does not fall into the grip of Vladimir Putin. Getting Georgia back to its Trans-Atlantic foreign policy course is what the West fundamentally needs. Bidzina Ivanishvili, the Georgian oligarch and shadow leader, is exactly the one who's contributing to the "Armeniazation" of Georgia, and the West should definitely oppose such a process. Turkey, on the other hand, must be well-understood in the circles of western foreign policy elites if they truly wish to cooperate with them in the realm of security, because at the end of the day, Turkey needs the West, and the West needs Turkey.

As President Ronald Reagan said: "We must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have... Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors".

What Ukraine needs nowadays, is moral, humanitarian, and military support from the West. Considering that Georgia and Ukraine have had close relations for three decades, recent actions and statements made by Georgia's ruling elite raise lots of questions about and undermine the latter's loyalty to European values and pro-Western foreign policy, as well as dedication to

friendship with Ukraine. Fundamentally, the fate of Georgia is being decided in Ukraine, and the former needs to do everything in its power to support the latter in this matter.

The Georgian government thinks they can reason with the tiger, which is Russia in this case, but you cannot reason with a tiger when your head is in his mouth. Appeasement only makes the aggressor more aggressive. Neutrality and appeasement did not get Neville Chamberlain anywhere, and it won't get the Georgian government anywhere either.

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U.S.-Ukraine Relations: The Role of Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Ukraine's Current State

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Abstract

The paper evaluates the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons signed in 1994 and explores the issues that hurt and benefit Ukraine's domestic and foreign policies. Since the collapse of Soviet Union, the country struggles to find its way to become a part of European Union and NATO. Some believe that giving up on Nuclear Weapons made Ukraine defenseless while others believe the decision was crucial for the well-being of the country and security of the entire region. This paper discusses the threats to Ukraine after the latter relinquished its nuclear arsenal and the responses from international communities, especially from the United States of America. Through qualitative approach the research identifies the reasons and motives of controversial responses to Ukraine from the West. It has been found that there is not one perfect argument of why Ukraine's decision to give up its nuclear capability was right or wrong but it is clear that Ukraine remains as a battlefield between Democracy and Autocracy. This research reveals the actual cases and facts of Ukraine's foreign policies since the disintegration of USSR, relations with Russia, EU and USA, which provides useful information for the diplomats, IR specialists and anyone else interested in the area.

Historical Review

Last century was too challenging for the history of humanity - the two largest wars, global in their reach and impact, followed by seventy years of Cold War left the international community of states in thought of constant security to avoid any mistakes made in the past and forecast future threats. Of course, it is extremely difficult, especially, when it comes to countries that are unpredictable, ambitious and always strive for more power. 20th century technological developments left us another threat of mass destruction weapons. Today nine countries possess nuclear weapons: the US, UK, Russia, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea. It

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is important to mention, that only some of these countries stand for peace, diplomacy and serenity of the international affairs, some others are power-thirsted, coercive and unreliable, and others – claim that they just defend themselves.

As technological advancements also furthered the equipment and war weapons in the 20th century, the threats and fears of mass-destruction weapons increased significantly. Especially, states fighting for power and regional conquest started using all kinds of military means to fulfill their goals. Such states posed serious threat for the innocent civilians.

Initially, nuclear weapons were created to secure the borders of a nation that possesses them, as well as, deter other nations from attacking the state. Though, history has proven wrong. The measures of security create more insecurity.

Nuclear war is considered to be one of the ways for the human race to face extinction. The only hopeful part about nuclear weapons is that people are actually capable of preventing them from going off, since we are the ones who created them in the first place. By limiting their spread among countries, restriction of usage of chemical materials these bombs consist, or sanctioning states that are trying to create nuclear weapons, such as Iran, can help a little. There are anti-nuclear movements around the world trying to encourage agreements or treaties to completely eliminate these weapons in the world.

Based on the Nuclear Threat Initiative, during the Soviet Union, Ukraine had the third largest arsenal of nuclear weapons. In fact, Ukraine had 1,900 Soviet strategic nuclear warheads and between 2,650 and 4,200 Soviet tactical nuclear weapons deployed on its territory at the time of independence in 1991. 176 Soviet ICBMs were located in Ukraine (130 SS-19 ICBMs and 46 SS-24 ICBMs), and 44 strategic bombers (NTI , 2015).

A total of 191 states have joined the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that was signed in 1968. After the treaty, the polarized world has eased tensions in terms of nuclear threats, but states kept experimenting with nuclear energy.

Cooperative threat reduction by the U.S., Ukraine, and the Russian Federation successfully eliminated the world's third largest nuclear weapons force in the 1990s – the ICBMs, strategic bombers, and nuclear warheads left in Ukraine when the Soviet Union dissolved in December 1991 – according to declassified documents from all three countries published today by the non-profit organization - National Security Archive. By the end of 1996, Ukraine had to send back all of its strategic warheads to Russia (NTI , 2015).

Ukraine received the long-term help to dismantle heavy bombers, cruise missiles from the U.S. funded Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, which was followed by the Ukraine's former President Viktor Yanukovich's announcement at the Nuclear Security Summit in 2010 that they would remove all their HEU (Highly Enriched Uranium) by 2012. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine officially confirmed transferring HEU to Russia in March, 2012. To this day, Ukraine remains committed to NPT (NTI, 2015).

Timeline: Ukraine's Political Benefits and Challenges After Signing the Agreement

The important domestic and foreign political timeline of events happened after the signature of Budapest memorandum shows Ukrainian political struggles and benefits to present day. Despite, American and Western societies' efforts of opening new ways for Ukraine to be acknowledged as one of them, Russia's incredibly huge amount of involvement in both domestic and foreign policies of Ukraine has hindered the country from becoming one of the successful European states.

Even though, Ukraine has had a chance to become part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well as European Union, the Kremlin artificially places obstacles against the country. These political events show that Russian foreign policy regarding Ukraine is usually powerful, strict, authoritarian, and violent. A greater number of people lost their lives in order to prevent the wrath that came from the North but that would not stop Duma from making the discriminating decisions. Throughout the timeline it is vivid that Russia has violated the Budapest memorandum each time they organized a political attack on Ukraine. In fact, as of today Russia is conducting a war against Ukraine and has already killed hundreds of Ukrainian children, women and men.

On February 8th of 1994, Ukraine joined NATO's Partnership for Peace cooperation alongside with Hungary. Within the initiative, NATO objectified some of the main factors, such as, developing transparency in Ukrainian defense and security institutions, preventing and combating corruption, the professional growth of personnel within the institutions, effective management and constant assistance to education, and so on. With this Partnership, Ukraine took its first steps towards the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Mission of Ukraine to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2019).

In 1996 Ukraine ratified a new Constitution, which was extremely important for the future developments of the country. Article 1 of the constitution recognized Ukraine as a sovereign,

independent, democratic, social, law-based state, while Article 2 comprised the state's integrity and unitary within its borders. Among other things, the new constitution recognized individual freedoms, ensured human rights, freedom of speech and expression as well as honoring human being's life, health inviolability and most importantly – security (Constitute, 2022). By ratifying the constitution, which included Western democratic values, Ukraine was ready to fundamentally eradicate the legacy of Soviet Union.

NATO's leaders ensured Ukraine with the expansion of further cooperation in terms of state's Euro-Atlantic aspirations. The future relations with Ukraine would be founded on principles, obligations and commitments according to the rule of international law. NATO and Ukraine agreed to peaceful and diplomatic solutions of prospective conflicts. It also promoted respecting sovereign borders of neighboring states as well as market economy, crisis management, anti-terrorist preparations and combatting drug-trafficking, national defense policy, budgeting and strategy planning, nuclear safety, wrestling with the environmental issues, and implementation of democratic values, such as human rights, individual freedoms, and rights of national minorities. The meeting was filled with hopes for future integration and Ukraine's prosperity (NATO, 2009).

Despite the efforts Ukraine made in order to retain the Western path, the obstacles remained still. One of the most scandalous events that took place in 2000 was the death of Georgian journalist Georgiy Gongadze who lived in Ukraine and was investigating the alleged corruption as well as violations of freedom of speech in Leonid Kuchma's administration. In fact, since Ukraine gained independence in 1991 over 50 journalists were murdered and only some of these cases have been investigated so far (Kyiv Post, 2019).

The brutality and sadism in death of Georgiy Gongadze shook the entire country. On September 16, 2000 the journalist gets kidnapped – forced by the kidnappers to get into a Taxi, the next day Gongadze is killed and his body is burnt. Later, in order to hide the evidence the assassin decides to separate his body and head and buries the parts in different locations. The beheaded body is not found until November 2. The death of Georgiy Gongadze caused street protests by Ukrainians, demanding Kuchma's resignation from the post.

Although, Kuchma always denied any type of connection with the scandalous event, he arrested many protestors and fired Interior Minister Yuriy Kravchenko. The protests gained the international attention. The response from the West was strict and demanded immediate action to investigate the case. International communities started doubting Kuchma's administration and his

allegiance to the democratic values, as human rights violation would cost Ukraine a visible deviation from the Euro-Atlantic course.

This event was extremely important in Ukraine's history, not only it gave a significant spark to the Orange Revolution later, but also put up a lot of question marks about Russia's meddling in Ukraine's domestic affairs and the influences it might have had during Kuchma's presidency. In retrospect, one of the initial motives of giving up nuclear power, which meant all kinds of prevention from Russian control, remained unenforced (Kyiv Post, 2019).

The Crimean Peninsula, which is in the northern coast of the Black Sea and surrounded by the Sea of Azov, is located in a Ukrainian region of Kherson. In 1783 the Russian Empire, under Catherine the Great, annexed Crimea after the Russo-Turkish war. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Crimea became an autonomous republic inside the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of USSR. After WWII Crimea became Crimean Oblast and its entire native population, known as, Crimean Tatars were deported to Central Asia. In 1954, under Nikita Khrushchev, it became the part of Ukrainian SSR. After the reestablishment of independent Ukraine in 1991, the peninsula became an autonomous Republic of Crimea, while the city of Sevastopol remained to Ukraine. Partition Treaty on the Status and Conditions of the Black Sea Fleet between Ukraine and Russia gave Russian government a chance to keep basing its fleet in Crimea, though both of the sides had their headquarters in Sevastopol (BBC, 2014).

Invasion of Crimea is the biggest land-grab in Europe since World War II. On February 23, 2014 Putin held a secret meeting about extracting the ousted Yanukovich and annexing Crimea from Ukraine. On February 27, heavily armed pro-Russian gunmen seized Crimean Parliament (the Supreme Council) and allegedly forced the emergency instatement of a new pro-Russian Prime Minister Sergey Aksyonov. Ukrainians called the armed men the "little green men." Kyiv's allies urged Ukraine not to take any immediate action, as they would not have been the first to start a fire, plus the fact that most Ukrainian soldiers were from Crimea, their reliability was very much unsure. In March 2014, the new Crimean Prime Minister took control of Ukraine's Security Forces and officially requested Russia to "Provide assistance in ensuring peace". Russia pledged the use of armed forces in Ukraine as president Putin told reporters that unidentified soldiers were controlling Crimean military bases. He stated that these soldiers weren't Russians, and promised that Russia wouldn't attempt Crimea's annexation (Brookings, 2020).

A planned referendum to accede Crimea to Russia was condemned by the Ukrainian government, the United States and European Union. Later that month, Russia announced massive military exercises nearby the Ukrainian border, tensing the situation by sending so many troops that could secure the entire peninsula. The US State Department responded that this was a threatening attempt in the lead up to the referendum. The referendum reported that over 95% of Crimean people supported joining Russia, though many residents abstained from voting. It is also important to note, that the international observers were not allowed during the referendum process (Brookings, 2020).

On March 17, the Crimean Parliament officially joined the Russian Federation. U.S. President Barack Obama, announced the sanctions against Russian and Ukrainian officials. The same month, G8 voted against Russia and officially became - G7 as a response to Russia's actions. More than 100 countries supported the UN resolution, which clarified the referendum as illegal. Following on May 4, Russia accidentally released documents suggesting the referendum may had been falsified. On March 9, President Putin admitted that despite the denial in the beginning, the annexation of Crimea had all along been planned and organized. Since that, United States and their international allies imposed a number of hard-hitting sanctions against Russia in order to cripple Russian economy. Instead of atonement, Putin decided not to make any concessions regarding Crimea (Brookings, 2020).

In April 2014, Kremlin decided to provoke another separatist war in the region of Donbas, Ukraine. NATO and the President Poroshenko claimed that there were at least 9,000 Russian troops in the region, that created the tense atmosphere. The conflict in the region is known as War in Donbas. From the beginning of March 2014, in the aftermath of the 2014 Ukrainian revolution and the Euromaidan movement, protests by Russia-backed anti-government separatist groups took place in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts of Ukraine, both belongs to the Donbas region. The demonstrations in Kyiv, followed by annexation of Crimea, escalated into an armed conflict between the separatist forces of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics and the government of Ukraine (Katchanovski, 2017).

On 24 February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine in a major escalation of the Russo-Ukrainian War that began in 2014. The invasion caused Europe's largest refugee crisis since WWII, with more than 6 million Ukrainians fleeing the country and a third of the population displaced. The war has affected the international economy as well. As of today, Ukraine manages to keep Russian

troops away from Kyiv and a total capitulation of Ukraine. Ukrainian armed forces sustained some of the strategically critical areas. The war is horrifying with thousands of civilian and military casualties. Even though, the international response was extremely harsh for Russia, with numerous sanctions and important military and humanitarian aid for Ukraine, the country keeps violating the international war laws and human rights (CNN, 2022).

As civilian deaths mounted in Ukraine, US President Joe Biden called Putin “a war criminal” which is considered to be the harshest condemnation of Putin’s actions from any US officials. He also stated that he has to face war crime trial. At this moment, Russia is in complete isolation from the western societies. Majority of Russian officials are facing personal sanctions and got banned from EU states, Great Britain, USA, Canada, and Australia (CNN, 2022). Unfortunately, the war keeps destroying Ukrainian cities and towns, civilian buildings and institutions. Russia has violated the Budapest Memorandum multiple times.

The Controversy of Nuclear Deterrence

International observers are divided regarding the U.S. President Bill Clinton’s support for Ukrainian non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Some of the most important issues are raised while discussing whether Ukraine should have given up its weapons or not. The experts of international security and international relations state different and contradictory ideas. Some suggest that by turning over nuclear armaments to Russia, Ukraine’s political stability was forever compromised, while others think that the treaty made Ukraine become more acceptable among the advanced European states and it opened new ways to create closer ties with them.

Despite the diversity of ideas regarding the issue, the facts are clear: Ukraine is in a very pitiful situation. Its current situation is complex and seems to be insurmountable. Russia is oppressing and bullying Ukraine, it is violating 1994 Budapest Memorandum, ever since the agreement was made. Ukraine is incapable of defending itself. International communities cannot put enough efforts to stand against Russian wrath and the sanctions seem to be a less of an obstacle for the hegemon. Russia will not stop until its political aims are achieved. Ukraine is left alone against the titan, which is the main reason the country is vulnerable.

Even though, we will never know what could happen if Ukraine kept its nuclear arsenal, we can only speculate the different scenarios. The interesting part is the fact that there is an

argument that no matter what Ukraine decided, Russia could still try to damage Ukraine's domestic and foreign policies, but the question is, how far would the Big Brother go?

Initially, President Bill Clinton's strategy was to stabilize Europe, and by making Russia the only successor country that could possess nuclear power could make it possible. On the other hand, personal relationships with other states' leaders could change the course of the history for the world. The former First Lady and the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, in her book *Living History* writes that Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton had close relations. Clinton administration even tried to make this relationship countable on the international agenda: "One of the most important lessons I learned during my ears as First Lady was how dependent the affairs of state and the policies of nations are on the personal relationships among leaders. Even ideologically opposed countries can reach agreements and forge alliances if their leaders know and trust one another" (Clinton, 2003).

In the same book, she argues that President Clinton and other states' leaders believed that if they supported Boris Yeltsin's presidency in Russia, it would send a key message to Russian people about USA and its significance of cooperation, and that could bring positive benefits for both sides. Especially, for United States that supported the expansion of NATO in Eastern Europe. (Clinton, 2003) So, to make joint decisions regarding other countries and their policies would have been important. Especially, in the post-Soviet states like Ukraine.

Now, as time has shown different, some scholars criticize Ukraine's decision of giving up so much power. Even in United States foreign policy experts and politicians believe that Ukraine is defenseless against its biggest enemy.

In 2017 CNN interview both Senators John McCain and Lindsey Graham stated that Americans need to help Ukrainians and the first thing President Trump can do is to give Ukrainians defensive weapons, so they can defend themselves against superior Russian equipment. "And basically we said, if you turn those nuclear weapons back over to Russia, at the time sort of an ally, then we all, including Russians and the United States will guarantee territorial integrity. What did Putin do, he stepped all over that, so why would anybody trust us in the future? Last time somebody reached out and grabbed territory by force not belonging to them it led to Word War II. "- said Sen. Graham (CNN, 2017).

A member of Ukraine's Parliament Pavlo Ryzanenko, argues that there's a strong sentiment that makes Ukraine regret the decision and Russia's promise of good behavior was just a betrayal

for the world and especially for Ukraine. Kiev surrendered its weapons of deterrence against Russian aggression. Ukraine is already outmanned in conventional forces and will struggle to repel a Russian invasion. He claims that present and potential nuclear powers like Iran, North Korea, Japan, India, and Pakistan should pay attention: deterrence works. There is also a lesson for the United States: The message for America is to abandon the futile search for "global zero," strengthen missile defenses, and modernize the nuclear force. The United States would have to relearn the lessons of the twentieth century in order to thrive in the twenty-first (BBC, 2014).

Conclusion

Based on the overall look at the Ukraine's current domestic and foreign political situation, the state's security is now extreme. The impact that Russian foreign policy strategies has had on Ukraine for almost 30 years, left Ukraine defenseless. It is still debatable whether nuclear weapons could keep Ukraine's territorial integrity safe or not. We do not know for sure what would Russia attempt to do in regards to Ukraine if the country had not given up the weapons.

Considering the time, the world's most acknowledged rivals Russia and the USA did not launch their missiles against one another, could make some experts think that there is a chance of keeping peace with nuclear weapons as well. Nuclear weapons have aided in the maintenance of international peace and have not prompted their few other possessors to engage in wars. Their expansion, on the other hand, generates widespread anxiety.

The majority of the people feel that as nuclear weapons expand, the world will become more dangerous. The odds of nuclear weapons being fired in anger or unintentionally exploding in a way that triggers a nuclear exchange are slim, to say the least. As the number of nuclear states grows, so do the probability of this happening. Most people also feel that the possibility of nuclear weapons being deployed depends on the new nuclear nations' character—their sense of duty, tendency for status quo loyalty, and political and administrative efficiency. For example, states like North Korea, with its unpredictable nature significantly increases the global fear.

Ukraine is an important country for both Europe and the USA. The United States has close and strategic relationship with Ukraine, and the success of Ukraine's transition to democracy and a functioning market economy is a priority for the US. The United States' strategy is focused on assisting Ukraine as it pursues reforms to improve democratic institutions, combat corruption, and encourage economic development and competitiveness in the face of ongoing Russian aggression.

According to America's foreign policy strategies, the USA has a strong purpose to influence other nations with its democratic values. To eradicate the Russian authority in the post-Soviet states and shrink its influence on other nations as well, is a win for all democratic states, since they have seen the severe impact of the Kremlin's decisions on different states. If Ukraine becomes a successful democratic state, the chances of stronger economic partnership with other EU states will be a priority for all of them. Considering its size and natural resources, it will be a favorable addition. In order to get there, both USA and EU states have to work really hard alongside with Ukraine.

Based on the research findings, there are advantages and disadvantages brought by the Budapest Memorandum. Firstly, giving up nuclear weapons made Ukraine acceptable for the advanced democratic countries. It has created the mutual desire for both sides to start conversations about human rights, economic relations, rule of law and other important issues. In a sense of Global Peace, by eliminating nuclear arsenal, Ukraine has become an important contributor. Ukraine reduced the fear of becoming another nuclear possessed state in Europe. The state also managed to be an essential factor in environmental protection, by refusing the production of nuclear weapons. These advantages keep Ukraine under the observation of its international allies. During the political crisis with Russia, Ukraine has gained the support of important states, such as the USA.

Even though, it is hard to speculate whether Ukraine would be able to protect its borders if they had nuclear weapons or not, we can still say that the biggest disadvantage is Ukraine's inability to stand against Russian military. The state's domestic and foreign policies are now under the threat of the Kremlin's interference. The Budapest Memorandum, which highlighted the part of respecting Ukraine's existing borders and its territorial integrity is no longer valid for Russia as it keeps violating the treaty. The vulnerability of Ukraine let Russia meddle in its domestic affairs, cause internal problems and keep the Kremlin's influence within Kiev. Would Russia stop deploying its military on Ukrainian soil if they had kept its nuclear weapons? We will never know the exact answer. Based on the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, most experts believe that the country would be able to defend itself with more advanced technology. Furthermore, Russia would have been more careful with the nuclear weapon possessed state.

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The Impact of Russian Information Warfare on the U.S.-Georgian Partnership

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Introduction

We live in the age of technological evolution, where the world is interconnected more digitally rather than physically. This connection enables a variety of goals, set by different actors, to forge ahead, and go through the target society effectively and successfully to gain the preferable ending. In such conditions, psychological warfare finds the perfect ground and a corresponding theatre to conduct intensive non-military operations for achieving political, military, and economic goals. In spite of the fact that the environmental conditions are permanently changing for Informational psychological warfare, the main principles remain unchangeable. Governments and even nongovernmental actors mainly use so-called “psywar” tactics to influence the target society, and undermine credibility without suppression, coercion, or even using military force. Informational warfare is considered to be “the first phase” or “the first step” in preparing the suitable environments, conditions for particular groups of people, and the territories where “the invisible invasion” should be performed. In the majority of cases, government actors choose psywar as the main tool to demoralize the opponent. Social media, disinformation, and propaganda are used to strengthen the subvert of opponents, manipulate the target society’s beliefs and attitudes and engage the “goodwill” and trust of people. After declaring its Independence in 1991, Georgia was permanently surrounded by civil conflicts and political turmoil. As a result, Georgia’s economy was severely damaged and broken. Even now, Georgia suffers from a budget deficit and is bordered by a growing foreign debt problem. Taking everything into account, it becomes obvious that Georgia needs a reliable partner in the international arena for the further development, strong foreign and security policy as well as for its clear determination to become an honorable member of the Euro- Atlantic Family. The US represents the most reliable. Powerful and devoted partner in this perspective.

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It has to be mentioned that Russia demonstrated several phases of information war before the invasion of the Georgian Brief War in 2008, by following the so-called “defeat – in detail” tactics, which means to defeat the enemy by division into small parts instead of using its entire strength. Such overwhelming attacks could weaken the Georgian society, and cause vulnerability, intense fear, and anxiety, and this way Russia could achieve superiority on the battlefield.

Keywords: information war, propaganda, aggression, strategic partnership, psywar.

What is Information War?

The definition can be formulated this way: it might be conflict or struggle between two or more groups in the information environment” or in other words” it might be an action or actions taken or achieving the preferable information in support of National military strategy by impacting adversary information (or information systems), thus taking leverage over the opponent and protecting own information systems. In an information war psychological war plays a crucial role which is defined as a number of actions including everything from TV and Radio propaganda up to torture and violence that needs peculiar, comprehensive information on the target society. It is based on moral and psychical aspects that are different from traditional military techniques. Its purpose is to destroy the will and spirit of the opponent and cause frustration and disappointment, this way guarantees a victorious ending. Psywar includes nearly every tool and every instrument that can impact an enemy’s behavior. Among these instruments “propaganda is one of the most effective methods to manipulate the target society correspondingly.

In our age, hybrid warfare is the most common name of the war that we hear nowadays. Modern wars are full of hybrid elements. Even terrorist organizations are very good at it. They are getting modernized, they train and try to involve as many people as they can, using asymmetric methods of war and systematic campaigns by different means to target vulnerable sectors in society for their own objectives. They are trying to manipulate people with social media or other cyber tools. As such, hybrid threats could be conducted by both state and non-state actors. Detecting and revealing crime is a particularly attractive approach as it makes it more difficult for the targeted states to detect the harmful activity and respond before it occurs. Criminal organizations’ business or job could include different types of actions such as smuggling networks, the ability to provide

forged documents, financial crime schemes, or simply the ability to threaten, intimidate, pressure, or harm strategically important individuals or groups in a specific situation for political purposes. Next and most harmful is Psychological warfare, which is the most common tool for terrorist organizations. They are trying to spread information about explosions, terrorism, nuclear threat, etc. The true impact of a Psychological war can cause considerable fear, panic, and social disruption, exactly the effects terrorists are wishing to achieve.

Psychological effects from fear of being exposed may be one of the major consequences. Unless information about potential exposure is made available from a credible source, people unsure about their exposure might seek advice from medical centers, complicating the centers' ability to deal with acute injuries.

Psychological war is not a new phenomenon. Although it has always been in use since the old times. The emergence of Scientific interests as well as the development of communicational technologies and technics it is more often applied and used in the modern world. If we look back in history, we will see how Vikings used this method by spreading different false stories, gossip, rumors, and legends about their brave character, fierceness, barbarity, and wildness to terrorize and intimidate their adversary. This was the best possibility to create a suitable environment for defeating the opponent before the battle. The Romans also used the same tactics to defeat Carthaginians when they started manipulating them by the peace that would be worth humiliation and disgrace. The term "Carthaginian peace" still carries the psychological message for those who will rise against the strong power such as Rome of that time and abolish, will get shameful and embarrassing freedom that might be equal to slavery and failure.

Psywar originated from political warfare which means 'Crisis diplomacy' or "war of nerves", or even "Dramatic intimidation diplomacy" it means that Psywar and PW (political war) have been synchronized to outline the ways how to use propaganda (sometimes with military operations) for a particular government to achieve the desired goal. It is defined as the well-planned strategy of how to use communications to impact people, their attitudes, and change their behavior. Sometimes psywar includes ideological aspects to manipulate the target society, their emotions, and thoughts, to support the fulfillment of national objectives. The main point is that hate and victory even empathy sometimes must be emphasized and exaggerated to inject the ideology or propagandistic opinion into people's minds. Thus, information becomes valueless and public ideals vanish. We have to mention that within Psywar propaganda plays a crucial role as

it combines *education, entertainment as well as persuasion*. Entertainment has to attract the audience's attention, education veils propaganda and makes it invisible even though its persuasive attitude and tones; Psywar is considered to be the tactical use of propaganda, threats, and many other strategies to deceive, mislead, intimidate, demoralize or influence an enemy's thinking.

Over the years, even the specific terminology of psychological warfare was coined in order to appeal to a greater audience. There are some of them:

- MISO-Military Information Support Operation (activities now include everything from cyber warfare, deception, and social manipulation, to kinetic actions for psychological effect).
- PSYOP- psychological operations (soldiers find themselves conducting a multitude of operations.)
- PSYHAR- Psychological Harassment (irritation, annoyance, etc.)
- ISO- intergovernmental or even interagency support that influences and shapes foreign decisions and behaviors in support of regional policies, interests military threats. It is a special operation that strengthens planning capability, media knowledge, and capabilities on the regional level.

Psychological warfare is the first step in conflict, the pre-war phase, the very first activity that starts the operation to produce effects on the real world. There are some definite features that characterize psywar;

- It is the first activity in conflict;
- It is continuous and active;
- psychological warfare produces effects in the “real” world;
- psychological warfare occurs at every echelon; rank, or level of society
- Psychological warfare is unrestricted.
- Psychological warfare plays a key role in the competition, rivalry

Prussian general and military theorist Clausewitz focuses on “morals” that in the modern world can be understood as “psychological”, he suggests: “moral force has been the chief cause of the decision; after that was given, the loss continued to increase until it reached its culminating, the turning point at the close of the whole act.” In other words, to gain success over the enemy the moral power should be lost to divert their intentions and defeat. Niccolo Machiavelli, Italian

diplomat, military philosopher, and historian claimed:” however strong your armed forces are, in entering a new province you will need the goodwill of the people of the place.”

- Psychological warfare is the tool used to manipulate the behavior of a target audience within an acceptable timeframe. As the theories of bounded rationality and satisficing suggest, it is always up to the target audience to decide how much pressure is enough to force a behavioral change.
- Psychological warfare is the intentional, tactical use of propaganda, threats, and other non-combat techniques during wars, threats of conflict, or times of **political unrest**. It is designed to mislead, demoralize, intimidate, or otherwise manipulate the thinking or actions of an enemy. Why it is used?
- **To assist in overcoming an enemy’s will to fight**
- **To Sustain the morale and win the alliance of friendly groups in countries occupied by the enemy**
- **To influence the morale and attitudes of people**

Propaganda

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the term propaganda is defined as: “ideas or statements that are often false or exaggerated and that are spread in order to help a cause, a political leader, a government, etc.; the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person; ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one’s cause or to damage an opposing cause; also: a public action having such an effect” (Merriam Webster, n.d.).

A narrower definition of propaganda is presented in NATO glossary – AAP-06 (2013): “Information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view” (p. 2-P-9).

The term “Propaganda” is literally translated from the Latin gerundive as “things that must be disseminated”. The problem with this term is in the fact that in different cultures it has different connotations. In some cultures, this term can have a neutral or even positive connotation. Thus, for example, in some Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries “propaganda” is usually associated with simple advertising. Another example is the Russian language, the Russian word

“пропаганда” (propaganda) is usually used with the meaning of the English word “promotion”. At the same time, in other cultures, mainly in Western ones, this term has a strongly negative connotation. The Czech historian Zbynek Zeman as well as Former officer Daniel Lerner outlines the US military’s WWII Skyewar operation in his 1949 book “Psychological Warfare Against Nazi Germany” divided propaganda into three main categories white, gray, and black. The main criterion that helps to distinguish these types of propaganda is the degree of involvement of the sponsor.

Russian Aspiration in Modern Era and Military Doctrine

As of now Russia’s Neo imperialistic views and attitudes towards the South Caucasus region demonstrate the same character, intentions, and methods it is obvious that our former “big brother” still uses psywar tactics to occupy our land, minds, and souls, Russia under Vladimir Putin has set a goal to restore the Soviet Union and create a new version of the model of former USSR. The purpose that stands behind this intention is not just the imperialistic mindset of Russia but its aspiration to become an equal competitor and rival to the US and NATO in the international political arena. From this perspective, it would be interesting to review the brief history of the Russian military documents or doctrine.

Military doctrine determines the character of dangers to the state, their historical context, and likely opponents or potential allies. It also outlines the general ways or methods for solving these challenges and the developments in the armed forces required to meet them.

Doctrine is meant to rationalize political efforts with available military means to attain security for the state. It is subordinate to military policy, offering an initial scientific and practical basis for developing military concepts, programs, and plans, which are examined concretely by other government documents. The Soviet military doctrine was separated into **socio-political and military-technical components**. It was set by the political leadership. It emphasized the initiation of military considerations. The Soviet Union’s political leadership established a defensive military doctrine in 1987. By this period in the Cold War, the USSR saw no political goals that could be achieved via an offensive war

- **(An offensive operation** is aimed at destroying or defeating the enemy and imposing the will on him for a decisive victory. E.g spoiling/ ambush/raid/ demonstration)

- **Defensive operations** defeat an enemy attack, buy time, economize forces, or develop conditions favorable for a counteroffensive that regains the initiative and defeats the enemy.)

As the Cold War faded, Soviet military doctrine reflected the general assumption that there were no political objectives that could be attained via an offensive war; hence, Soviet forces assumed that their war would be defensive, but require offensive operations to prosecute. Strategy is typically evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, and active defense evolves from active defense concepts of the late Soviet period. The practical aspects of Russian strategy making, operational concept development, organization of forces, armaments, support, etc., Russian military strategy today offers a much better alignment between political aims, military means, and the socio-economic requirements to support them in this iteration of “active defense”

Contemporary Russian military doctrine offers the broad provisions of “**military policy and of military-economic support** for the defense of the state based on an analysis of the military risks and threats facing the Russian Federation (RF) and the interests of its allies.” The military doctrine also offers a typology of conflicts, and periodization leading up to conflict (period of military danger and military threat) The Gerasimov Doctrine builds a framework for ***guerrilla, tactics(hackers, media, businessmen, leaks, and, yes, fake news, as well as conventional and asymmetric military means)*** and declares that non-military tactics are not auxiliary to the use of force but the preferred way to win. Gerasimov specifies that the objective is to achieve an environment of permanent unrest and conflict within an enemy state. General Gerasimov is no different in this respect from his predecessors. His so-called doctrine is hardly a driver of Russian national security policy. Rather, it is an effort to develop an operational concept for the Russian national security establishment to support its ongoing confrontation with the West. Instead of a new doctrine, Gerasimov offers a strategy to implement the actual doctrine that has guided Russian foreign and defense policies for over two decades: the **Primakov doctrine**. The Primakov doctrine, is **named after former foreign and prime minister Yevgeny Primakov whose elevation to the post of foreign minister in 1996 marked** a major shift in Russian foreign policy. Before that, Russian foreign policy had largely sought accommodation with the West, following the outlines of Mikhail Gorbachev’s late-Soviet foreign policy, One of the key elements of the ***Primakov doctrine is its insistence on Russia’s primacy in the post-Soviet space and pursuit of closer integration among former Soviet republics with Russia in the lead. Opposition to NATO expansion and, more***

broadly, persistent efforts to weaken transatlantic institutions and the U.S.-led international order are another. Partnership with China is the third fundamental component. All three remain major pillars of Russian foreign policy today. What do critics say?

Current Russian doctrine is an evolution of Soviet doctrine. First, a Soviet military doctrine of military denial and deception—called **maskirovka**—is the cornerstone of current policies of dis- and misinformation. From various Russian wars in the late 1990s to today, “**the maskirovka doctrine**” contributed to success on the battlefield and in international media through disputing or conflating Western findings. In 2013, Russian General Valery Gerasimov shaped **maskirovka** into **a non-physical tool** to support Russian foreign policy, a document many in the West call the “Gerasimov Doctrine.” While the concepts of denial and deception are at least as old as Sun Tzu, Gerasimov's correlation of nonviolent foreign policy **tools—such as sanctions, removal of diplomats, and official condemnations—to kinetic military action** on an ever-shifting scale of war is a different approach to the same goal of war as the United States: *“to impose our will on the enemy.”* *Russia and the target country’s foreign policies are evaluated through the lens of the Gerasimov Doctrine. Similarly, the capabilities of adversarial states toward Russia are evaluated according to Gerasimov's defined “primary phases (stages) of conflict development.”* *This capability are divided into three spheres of power: social, information, and military.*

As with the Gerasimov Doctrine, these spheres overlap, but providing general divisions between different forms of power creates a measurable base for this exploratory research

In February 2013, General Valery Gerasimov—Russia’s chief of the General Staff, published a 2,000-word article, “**The Value of Science Is in the Foresight,**” Gerasimov took *tactics developed by the Soviets, blended them with strategic military thinking about total war, and laid out a new theory of modern warfare—one* that looks more like hacking an enemy’s society than attacking it head-on. He wrote: *“The very ‘rules of war have changed. The role of nonmilitary means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness. ... All this is supplemented by military means of a concealed character.”*

Russia is planning to revise its military doctrine, last updated in 2000, according to a series of statements from Russia’s National Security Council. The draft, titled “The New Face of the Russian Armed Forces Until 2030.

Nikolai Patrushev, secretary of the Russian Security Council, commented on the pending changes in an interview with the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*. The 2000 doctrine needs to be adapted to the new security environment, which is likely to feature “local wars” and armed conflicts, he said. The current version allows the use *of nuclear weapons “in response to large-scale aggression with conventional weapons* in situations critical to the national security of the Russian Federation and its allies.” It also provides for the use of nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in the event of an invasion or any other attack on Russia, its territory, armed forces, or allies.

Just for now what we see is that Russia has become a force that started brutal military actions on its neighboring territories or so-called “zone of privileged interests” (Georgia and Ukraine). The strategic geopolitical situation of Georgia at the crossroads of Russian” Top Interest territories” has triggered the keen interest of the Russian Federation to occupy and invade Georgia. Besides there exist many other factors that sharpen the above-mentioned wild interest. These facts are the enlargement of NATO and the EU to former Soviet republics; Georgia’s foreign policy aspirations; Political and economic developments in the South Caucasus, including conflicts; Fragile stability in the North Caucasus. Russian President trying to raise his Reputation in Russia shifted a new model of Foreign policy as a possibility to consolidate Russian society. By focusing on the “historical role of Russia in international politics, Vladimir Vladimirovich coined a new propagandistic term ”phantom pains” and painted a picture of geopolitical catastrophe in the modern age . Georgia is thought to be one of such” phantoms pains” that represents Russian traumatic past for Russia who dreams about restorations of its influence and power over Georgia, bringing it in a spinning orbit of former space of Soviet Union. So, returning Georgia into Moscow’s Orbit is the main goal of Neo imperialistic Russia today. There are three main interests that Russia demonstrates today towards Georgia. These interests are:

- Global interests
- Regional interest
- Direct Interest

Russian Global interests were depicted in the official Russian Strategic document that was updated in 2020 during the Pandemic period. The document keeps the main framework of those adopted in 2013 -16 that is perceived as post-2008 Russo-Georgian war and before Crimea annexation.

The document differs from its predecessor version as it focuses on the exaggerated role of Russia as the Great Power in the multipolar world and outlines its responsibility to protect the citizen's security, moral and spiritual values, defend Russia from the threat spread by the West and resist its information and psywar challenges. The document includes new attitudes toward Georgia and the Georgian Foreign Policy and highlights Nato's and the US intention to militarize territories near Russia and even establish "biological – military laboratories there, for example, Georgia's National Center of Disease Control and Public Health (better known as Lugar Laboratory) represents the main threat to Russian security and needs an immediate response. During the pandemic period when the world struggled to manage the crisis caused by Covid -19 virus, Russia activated its propagandistic machine to spread disinformation about vaccine diplomacy to engage the Georgian public distrust toward the vaccine such as Pfizer, Astra Zeneca, etc. produced in Western countries, promoting "Russian Sputnik".

Religious Competence represents one of the main instruments Russia can use for its Global interests and manipulation of Georgian Religion aspects. Therefore, it was perfectly used as a part of the Kremlin's disinformation campaigns- the role of religion-Orthodox Christianity – has become the key to manipulate Georgian people as Russia was the holy center or a center of gravity, who at the same time recognized the jurisdiction of Georgian Orthodox Church in the Occupied territories of Abkhazia and Ossetia and also has relations and close ties with Orthodox churches in both of the region.

As for regional interests, South Causes has always been of strategic interest to Russia for political, military, and economic purposes. Particularly Georgia and Azerbaijan lure Russia as Armenia has a strategic partnership with Russia. Since Armenia has no land border with Russia, both countries use the shortest route that runs through Georgia the Nagorno- Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan remains one of the challenges in the region. Russia always uses its chance to play the role of "a mediator or a peacekeeper" in the conflict. The two largest ethnic minorities live in Georgia; Armenians and Azerbaijanians, but there is no tension between them even in the region the conflict reaches its peak. During the recent escalation of conflict, a piece of disinformation was spread to undermine these relations." Transferring Russian military equipment through Georgia-" the information was equally sensitive for three of three countries. Moscow tried to send "kind messages to manipulate the oil and gas supply routes existing in the region and demonstrate its wild interest in the powerful influence over energy resources.

Russian direct interest in Georgia: Moscow and Tbilisi have always had complicated relations, particularly after USSR's collapse. Georgia had set the goal to transform itself from a failing former Soviet country into a successful country with the ambition of becoming an aspiring member of the EU and NATO and a loyal partner of the US. The brief August war of 2008 turned up to be a turning point in Russo-Georgian relationship when Russian military forces invaded the internationally recognized border of Georgia and occupied the territories there, Russian president of that time- Dimitry Medvedev's aim was easy "to read": to prevent NATO's enlargement process. Since that time the Status quo in the Russo-Georgian relationship has finally been established: the recognition of occupied territories (particularly Abkhazia and Ossetia). The absence of diplomatic relations between the Kremlin and Tbilisi, the presence of Russian military bases on the "occupied" the internationally recognized Georgian territories, Russian agreement to ensure integration of Abkhazia and Ossetia into the Russian Federation. Taking above mentioned into account Russia realizes that Georgian society has completely different values and the difference is growing day by day. It means that returning Georgia to "Soviet Orbit" is not as easy at all. Therefore, the Russian wild interest in the shortest-term objective is to use psywar methods and tactics intensively and create value-based similarities between Georgian and Russian societies to achieve its imperialistic desire.

To Sum up, Overall, Russia's direct strategic interests in Georgia are to:

- Bring Georgia closer to Russia in economic and socio-cultural terms;
- Prevent the consolidation of democracy through increased polarization in society, especially vis-à-vis issues related to values and foreign policy;
- Prevent the Euro-Atlantic integration of Georgia through military dominance, economic sanctions, and influence operations;
- Undermine the transit potential of Georgia (and the whole Caucasus region), not to allow for an alternative to Russian oil and gas supply to the West.

The Climax of Russian Psywar from a Pandemic Period in Georgia to Now

As the Georgian society's choice is evident- to join and become an honorable member of the UE and NATO (that is appropriately reflected in the Georgian constitution as one of the main priorities of Georgia) the path to its ambition for Georgians is not that easy. Russia as we had mentioned above still dreams about returning Georgia to the post-Soviet space and making the

country its own so-called “backyard” to build a solid” fence” that will prevent Georgians from the European integration process. Thus, Russia had chosen the more effective weapon to fight with Georgia in the modern era: using Psywar methods that are considered to be one of the forms of Hybrid warfare. One of the main targets Russia’s Hybrid warfare methods chose against Georgia is demonstrated by political actors, political individuals, information, communication technologies, non-governmental organizations, intensive propaganda, and disinformation. Russia permanently tries to impact Georgians’ perceptions, beliefs, and values to get its strategic goal. Georgia is considered to be the most reliable partner to the US, the EN, and NATO it has to be mentioned that the “Georgian-US strategic partnership Charter” (signed in 2009) is considered one of the main documents in modern Georgian political history and is still in progress. Russia at the same time tries to use all the possible methods to distract” the bond “between Georgia and the West which includes information manipulation as well as using hard power that is demonstrated at the so-called creeping wire borders at the occupied territories of Georgia. The latest polls conducted by IRI (International Republican Institute) show the consequences that 82 percent of Georgians believe that Russia is the main threat to Georgia as well as an economic threat, also this poll represents the reality of how the number of supporters of Georgia – Russian dialogue has reduced from 84 % to 40%. The best example of this can be considered the Georgians reaction and massive protest about the 2019 “Junes’ event”- when Russian MP Gavrilov- an Orthodox Christian, at the same time a communist took over the Speaker’s chair at the Georgian Parliament. Such extreme vulnerabilities are always met by Russian attempts to deploy the narrative of the West, which is portrayed as ethically and morally corrupt, and anti-patriotic.

Georgian society is considered to be Orthodox Christian. According to the surveys conducted by CB. every seventh Georgian out of ten is a follower of the Georgian Orthodox Church (The Caucasus Barometer (CB) conducts surveys simultaneously in all three South Caucasus countries and collects data, opinions, and people’s attitudes to political issues. The CB has run the surveys since 2004 annually). Majority of Georgians respect their traditions, and identity and try to protect them, therefore they believe that the main guarantor of preserving Georgian values is the Georgian Orthodox Church. This attitude is very well used by Russia by spreading fake information and threatening Georgians with the westernization of Georgian values that are in a danger to disappear. This way Russia targets the vulnerability and conducts cognitive warfare against Georgians.

One of the Kremlin's promoted propagandists declared: "Russia 'intervenes in your brains and then you do not know what to do with your altered consciousness'. This is the formulation of the method of how Russia manipulates target societies by using pro-Russian narratives and rhetoric, deploying skepticism and mistrust. This is a strategy how to veil a real goal and pretend 'as true – patriotic intentions at aiming to preserve real traditional Georgian values. Unfortunately, in some cases, some Georgians are deceived by such narratives as the Soviet past of these people still works somehow. It is "tailored propaganda" that works sufficiently targeting a particular segment of Georgian society spreading advanced, well-digested information that can effectively impact this group of people. A well-known American research organization defines " *cognitive hacking* ' as an attack that includes a psychological understanding of the target group, place, and time to post the disinformation and achieve a desirable ending). In our technologically advanced age, IT technologies provide Russian propagandists the vast opportunity to use the Internet and Social media to act effectively and manipulate the mass of people.

It has also to be mentioned that the psychological manipulation operations are not conducted just one, this is a permanent, ongoing process that conducts an invisible, silent information war. In this process three main phases can be distinguished:

1. **Narratives that outline fear**-This phase include the spreading of pro-Kremlin messages which Maneuvers Georgian society by highlighting problems dealing with security, identity, and territorial integrity, Russian propaganda focuses on various fake sources and emphasizes only the Georgian partnership with the US, EU, and NATO and represents fake news about it, for example, Lugar Laboratory or Bio laboratory named after late Senator of the US Richard Lugar Was opened in Tbilisi in 2011 with U.S. support. Russians spread narratives (vocalized by Russian officials including Putin) as if the laboratory is developing a secret biological weapon that endangers the security of the region.
2. **Establishing fear and vulnerability**- this phase includes wide-spreading the vulnerable, fake news, causing skepticism and disappointment regarding pro-western orientation. Russian narrative tries to persuade Georgians that Western democracy and values are decaying, that NATO and the EU will never find a place for Georgia in their family, and that the door for Georgia will always be kept closed. Georgia will be abandoned by its so-called strategic partners

3. **Suggestions for a solution-** this is a phase that regards a solution to each above-mentioned problem by both countries are Orthodox Christians and have common religious values that is primary for Georgia to preserve its identity.

Conclusion

During the first period of the pandemic, Russia used various sources and possibilities to spread fake information about Covid -19. For instance, pro- kremlin online media (such as News-Front Georgia and Ge.world.Ge) spread such propagandistic information not only on their websites but also used social media(Facebook, Instagram). The content covered a variety of themes and interpretations about the virus's cause, origin, spread and transmission, treatment, and the attempt to discredit the West in the fight against the virus by highlighting the fact that “even such a little country as Georgia is can struggle better and could manage to handle COVID -19 than developed and rich Europe and America. This way Russian propagandistic machine was “painting priorities of Russian scientific achievements and demonstrating Western weaknesses, as only China and Russia is ready to help Georgia, not Lugar lab, and the West allies.

Cyberespionage and the number of full-scale cyber-attacks are rising in Georgia During the 2008 Russo-Georgian war Russia conducted large scaled cyber-attacks on the main infrastructures. Governmental agencies in Georgia. Even today Russian cyber-attacks remain one of the main threats to Georgia. Here we have to remember the results of the survey conducted by the organization “Georgian Reforms Association (GRASS) according to this research on August 7-12 Russia bombed 15 historical monuments in Georgia, 10 of them were churches, and 5 were museums (including: Georgian translator, publicist, public figure's Ivane Machabeli's house-museum” in Tamarasheni) After the war the Russian military forces also destroyed 7 churches as a result of training. Among these churches two monuments were of the 9th century: the church of St. George in the village of Kemert and the temple in the village of Kurta.

On August 5, 2022, one of the bars in Tbilisi called “Dedaena Bar “was cyberattacked by Russian trolls. The reason for internet aggression was caused by the policy of bar demanding Russian visitors to condemn Russian aggression in Georgia in 1992 and 2008 as well as in Ukraine and to acknowledge more than 20 % of Georgian territories occupied by the Russian Federation. As an immediate cyber-attack result, the bar was “punished by uploading negative, fake comments

and reviews, and, its rate level was reduced to 2.4 Besides numerous aggressive comments were written on the bar's social network page.

Russian efforts to exploit Georgia's physical domain to achieve its strategic goals, either by planned interventions or by seizing opportunities provided by the local Georgian socio-political environment. In spite of Russia's hybrid warfare, the Government of Georgia must continue on the road to attaining Georgia's European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

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Latinos and Racial Identity

EKA MELADZE*

Abstract

Classifying Hispanics becomes hard, as one understands that this population is nearly evenly split up between those who is recognized as the white majority and those who have problem considering themselves in any of the basic racial categories. It is not the case that some are more Hispanic or Latino, or they are pointing to the fact that race is insignificant for them. The essence is that Latinos in the United States encounter race adversely. For them, it is not something that particularly relates to skin color, not to mention history and tradition.

American independence did not immediately encourage immigration, between 1790-1840, fewer than one million aliens entered the country. But between 1841-the 1860s more than four million. Between -1997 about sixty-four immigrants came to the U.S.A. (Ethel & Martin Triersky, 2001).

Introduction

According to statistics most foreign-born residents in the U.S. are Hispanics. About 28 % of today's foreign-born residents are from Mexico. When census takers, pollsters ask people to define their race, they most easily check a box correlating to one of the five, government -defined racial categories. In the 2000 census, for example,90 % of the U.S. population was recognized as either white, black, Asian, American Indian or Pacific Islander. Hispanics form an exceptional group. Whilst more than half chose one of the standard categories, some 42 percent, or 15 million, of the Hispanic population indicated "some other race". This means that Hispanics take the peculiar view of race, and their numbers are substantial and fast-growing, their attitude is likely to alter in accordance with the method the nation manages the core social divide that has marked American society for 400 years.

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In compliance with federal policy, Hispanics do not make a separate race and can as a matter of fact be of any race. The 2000 census asked interviewees to indicate whether they were “Spanish /Hispanic/Latino” and then in a separate question to mark their race. Among those who classified themselves as Hispanics, about half (48 percent) were estimated as white. Blacks constituted 2 percent. The American Indian, Asian, and Pacific Islander groups represented a small part. Surprisingly, identified large number of Latinos, whose parentage comprises mix of white, African, and native ancestries, solely 6 percent identified themselves as being two or more races. The only racial attribute, except for white, that encapsulated a substantial portion of the Latino population (42 percent) was the unspecified, “some other race” (SOR). That is a considerable group of people, exceeding the total U.S. population of Asians and American Indians incorporated (Tafoya, 2010).

“Some other race “is not a particularly political phrase. So, who are the some-other-race Hispanics? And, what are they trying to indicate with their selection of this categorization?

Latinos and Racial Identity

According to Pew Hispanic Center examining the microdata from 2000 census as well as information from inquires and focus groups, the number indicates that Latinos, who identify themselves as white and those who say they are some other races have clearly distinctive attributions, distinctive outlooks and ways of thinking in diverse issues. Normally, Hispanics who mark themselves as white have a higher level of education and earnings, and prominent status of civic voting rights in comparison with those, who choose some other race category. Accordingly, Hispanics see race as an estimate of belonging, and whiteness as a measure of encompassing.

Identified immigration’s crucial role in the foreign Hispanic population, nascence- a person who was born in the United States or abroad-is a core trait. More foreign-born Latinos say they are of some other race (46 percent) than native-born (40 percent). Cuban-born immigrants are the exemption. More significantly whiteness is apparently associated with distance from the immigrant standpoint.

So, the U.S.-born children of immigrants are more inclined to identify themselves as white than their foreign-born parents, and the portion of whiteness is higher still among the grandchildren of immigrants. Besides, U.S. citizenship is linked with racial recognition. Among

immigrants from the same country, those who have the U.S. citizenship, mark themselves as white more often than those who are not U.S. citizens. Improbably the ability and desire to become a U.S. citizen are connected to skin color. So, it seems, establishing deeper **civic** bonds, can help an immigrant feel white.

The ample degree to which race is a characterizer of belonging for Latinos, becomes clear in scrutinizing solely the native-born. Immigration status and language do not play a straight role in defining economic or social developments for Hispanics born in the country; their conceptualizations of race are predominantly locally-sources. Among U.S. -born Latino's whiteness; is apparently and customarily linked with high social status, higher grades of civic participation and a powerful sense of acknowledgment (Ibid., 2010).

- The portion of native-born Latinos without a high school diploma is more soaring for those of some other race (35 percent) than for those who consider themselves white (30 percent).
- Unemployment is two points higher among native-born Hispanic male who consider themselves some other race compared to those who say they are white, and poverty grades are four points higher in the group of adults.
- The proportion of native-born Latino men providing more than \$ 35, 000 a year is a third higher for those who say they are white in comparison with some other race groups (24.7 percent vs. 18.5 percent).
- Among all Hispanics, those who say they are some other races are younger (medium age 24) compared to those who say they are white (median age 27).
- Majority of those native-born Hispanics who say they are white (85 percent) are registered voters than those who say they are of some other race (67 percent).
- If asked whether they consider themselves Republicans, Democrats, or something else, more native-born Latinos who consider themselves white (22 percent) select Republican in comparison to those who say they are some other races (13 percent). Some arrangement predominated among the foreign-born.
- When asked to select between the terms “American” versus “Hispanic” or” Latino” versus a native origin category such as “Mexican”, much more native-born Latinos who say they are white (55 percent) chose “American” compared to those who say they are some other races (36 percent).

- Likely a quarter of native-born Latinos who say they are white express discontent that discrimination is a core problem for Latinos in the United States, compared to a third of those who say they are some other races.

These data imply that Latino's choice to be recognized as white or not does not entirely display markers such as skin color or hair texture but that race is also associated to characteristics that can alter economic position and awareness of civic authorization. In addition, social background and the character of race connections in a certain place plays a role as well. Hispanics of Mexican origin who make up around two-thirds of the total Hispanic population are approximately evenly divided between those who categorize as white and those who choose some other race. Nevertheless, in Texas, a big majority of native-born Latinos of Mexican descent say they are white (63 percent) in comparison with those who live outside of Texas (45 percent).

It appears unrealistic that skin color is the decisive factor. Alternately, one can conclude that the peculiar and complicated history of race relations in Texas is a main impact. This is a single state where a large Latino population was engrossed both in Southern-style racial discrimination and then the civil rights movement to undo it.

Grasping Latinos' attitudes towards their racial distinctive character embraces much more than designating a list of demographic sub-categories. On the contrary, it assists in shedding light on the ways that race is being breathed in the United States today. In the banal view, Latinos are an "additional group" that has been adjoined to the American fusion of white, black, Asian, etc. Latinos are classified as a minority group that is considerably different from the white majority due to components including a history of segregation and perpetual lower educational results and typical earnings, (Ibid., p. 216).

The allurement is to categorize this population, according to race, to fit it in the conventional American social paradigm which ascribes people to race or race-like groups. However, the enlarging Hispanic population may constrain a reevaluation of the regular field of vision of a racial or ethnic group as a directly distinguishable division of people who partake in a mutual fate and mutual identity.

Conclusion

For Latinos, the notion of race seems to stretch out beyond biology, hereditary roots, or bygone days of indignity in this country. Diverse views and traits among Hispanics who identify

themselves as white and those who call themselves some other race, propose they apply racial identity as a means of belonging: considering themselves white seems to be an acknowledgment of success and a sense of belonging. Alternation of their traits like income, triggers adhere racial determination among Latinos, against general markers, e.g., skin color, does not automatically mean that color differentiation in American society is disappearing. The Latina experience reveals that whiteness continues to be a significant test of affinity, position, and embracing.

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SECTION II: History, Culture

The Role of John David Malchase Shalikashvili in Building and Strengthening U.S.-Georgia Military Relations

TEA CHUMBURIDZE*

Abstract

The article is devoted to the 30th anniversary of the U.S.-Georgia diplomatic relations, and discusses and analyses the role of a famous Georgian General John Malchase David Shalikashvili in building and strengthening Georgian-American military relations.

General Shalikashvili achieved the highest-ranking position in the US military. He joined the United State Army as a private, served in every level of unit command from platoon to division, and rose to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As a Georgian he was also the first foreign-born Joint Chiefs Chairman. He was also the first draftee and first graduate of Officer Candidate School to hold the position.

Introduction

Biographies often tell linear, one-dimensional stories. The value of a biography as a contribution to a larger history depends on how broad an intellectual path the author cuts and how extensive and probing the research. The wider the cut, the greater the chance the reader will learn not only about the subject but also about the greater social, cultural, political, and technological aspects of the subject's lifetime. The deeper the research, the more one learns both about the subject and the key events during his or her career (Marble, 2020).

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Andrew Marble's thoroughly researched biography of former Army general and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Shalikashvili "Boy on the Bridge: The Story of John Shalikashvili's American Success" is an excellent example of a biography that tells a fascinating story and offers the reader a window into the surprising life of an American success story.

As Marble highlights, General Shali, as he preferred to be called, was a reserved, self-effacing (modest) consensus-builder who liked to avoid conflict and enjoyed giving others credit for actions he clearly set in motion. He twice told Secretary of Defense Les Aspin (1993-1994) and President Bill Clinton (42nd President of the U.S. 1993-2001) that he did not want to be the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (this is the body of the most senior uniformed leaders within the U.S. Department of Defense, that advises the president of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, etc.), Shali was not the sort of man nor had the type of military career that normally produces great biography (Marble, 2020).

The Story of John Shalikashvili's American Success

John Malchase David Shalikashvili was born in Warsaw, Poland, a descendant of the Georgian noble house of Shalikashvili. His father, Prince Dimitri Shalikashvili served in the army of Imperial Russia, and was a grandson of Russian general Dmitry Staroselsky. The princely "Shalikashvili" family of Georgia traces its lineage back at least to the year 1400 (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

In 1952, when Shalikashvili was 16, the family immigrated to Peoria, Illinois. When he arrived in Peoria, he did not know English well and learned the language by watching American movies. He attended Bradley University in Peoria and earned a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering in 1958 (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

After graduation he received a draft notice and entered the Army as a private. He later applied to Officer Candidate School and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1959. Shalikashvili served in various Field Artillery and Air Defense Artillery positions as a platoon leader, forward observer, instructor, and student, in various staff positions, and as a battery commander. He served in Vietnam as a senior district advisor from 1968 to 1969, and was awarded a Bronze Star with "V" for heroism during his Vietnam tour (Vietnam War involved three countries: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia from 1955 to 1975) (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

His military career was fascinating, in 1970 he became executive officer of the 2nd Battalion, 18th Field Artillery at Fort Lewis, Washington. Later in 1975, he commanded 1st Battalion, 84th Field Artillery, 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis. In 1977, he attended the U.S. Army War College and served as the Commander of Division Artillery for the 1st Armored Division in Germany. He later became the assistant division commander. In 1987, Shalikashvili commanded the 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, where he oversaw a “high technology test bed” tasked to integrate three brigades—one heavy armor, one light infantry, and one “experimental mechanized”—into a new type of fighting force (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

One of his most notable achievements was the relief program, Operation Provide Comfort – that he was directing (Mchedlishvili, 2006).

In April 1991 Lieutenant General Shalikashvili went to northern Iraq to avert a humanitarian crisis following the end of the first Gulf War. The Iraq army forced over 500,000 Kurds into the inhospitable mountains along the Turkish border. Lacking food, water, and shelter, approximately 1000 Kurdish men, women, and children were dying each day. Shalikashvili led a massive relief mission to rescue the Kurds. 35,000 soldiers from 13 countries were participating in this operation, besides there were volunteers from over 50 non-government organizations who were working together effectively (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

The operation first delivered life-saving supplies and then attempted to establish safe refuge. His troops worked with relief agencies to build the camps, at the same time, they were confronting threats from hostile Iraqi army forces. Shalikashvili met with Iraqi forces, he warned them about the risks of attacking the relief effort. Hostilities were avoided, leaving the coalition troops to focus on assisting the displaced. Through Shalikashvili’s effort, more than 500,000 displaced were returned to their homes within several months. General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs at the time, would later say that General Shalikashvili work and effort was - “a miracle” (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

General Powell recognized Shalikashvili’s wonderful leadership skills and organizational ability and called him back to Washington D.C., as his assistant. Shalikashvili had demonstrated great diplomacy and logistics skills and Powell noted that he was able to operate in new conceptual territory with ease. In 1992 Shalikashvili was named Supreme Allied Commander Europe, North

Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). His knowledge and ability to speak Polish, Russian, and German played an important role in this assignment (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

In 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Shalikashvili as the 13 Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. President Clinton referred to him as “General Shali,” a soldier’s soldier. The president, in calling him General Shali, followed the affectionate name used by the general’s staff. As chairman, Shalikashvili advised President Clinton on military and humanitarian missions to Haiti, Rwanda, Bosnia, and the Persian Gulf. He oversaw more than 40 operations and sought greater integration of military and civilian agencies operating jointly to respond to humanitarian crises. He also continued the efforts of his predecessor Colin Powell at improving joint operations with the various military branches (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017).

Shalikashvili visited Georgia three times, first time in 1997; the second time in 1999 General Shalikashvili visited Georgia together with his brother, a retired colonel from the U.S. Special Forces Othar Shalikashvili. While in Georgia, they travelled to Kakheti region, to the home region of their ancestors – Gurjaani, where the Georgian government opened “John Malkhaz Shalikashvili Museum of Georgian Military History”.

In 2001 he once again visited Georgia and attended the opening of Georgian American College, where had made an interesting speech and was discussing about the history of Georgia and the role of the U.S. in strengthening Georgia’s independence, as well as the challenges faced by our country, that are actual even nowadays.

Shalikashvili had not visited Georgia since 2001, accordingly it’s unknown what kind of attitude did he have about the “Rose Revolution” of 2003, or about Russo-Georgian war of 2008.

I obtained two personal photos from the former Deputy Defense Attaché in Turkey – Davit Tavadze, the son of the Colonel Giorgi Tavadze who was a member of the Georgian delegation (with the leadership of the ministry of Defense – Davit Tevzadze) when they visited Pentagon in 1999.



Left: Colonel Giorgi Tavadze, Former Ministry of Defense Davit Tevzadze, General John Shalikashvili



General Shalikashvili shakes hands with Giorgi Tavadze, 1999

In one of his interviews with the "Radio Tavisupleba" – former Ministry of Defense Davit Tevzadze remembers his delegation's unplanned visit to Pentagon in 1999 with the initiative of General Shalikashvili. During the interview, Tevzadze remembers how strict the protocol was and the Georgian delegation had just three minutes to welcome and take photos.

However, General Shalikashvili surprisingly broke a very strict protocol and asked Tevzadze if he had ever been to Pentagon and after receiving a negative answer, guided Georgians to an interesting excursion Pentagon.

Tevzadze believes Shaliskahvili did it because he was Georgian and had a special respect and love towards Georgian people. And this fact was well-know for all the people around him.

Notable is his contribution in 1994-97, when a bilateral military cooperation agreement was signed between the military agencies of Georgia and the USA, the "helicopter program“, and the Georgian military unit participated for the first time in NATO's "Partnership for Peace" manoeuvres (Liklikadze, 2001).

Conclusion

Shalikashvili died at the age of 75 on July 23, 2011. He was buried with honour at Arlington National Cemetery.

Upon his passing, former President Barack Obama said that the United States lost a “genuine soldier-statesman,” adding in a statement that Shalikashvili’s “extraordinary life represented the promise of America and the limitless possibilities that are open to those who choose to serve it” (Liklikadze, 2011).

Former president Clinton pointed out that “Gen. Shali” never minced words, he never postured or pulled punches, he never shied away from tough issues or tough calls, and most important, he never shied away from doing what he believed was the right thing” (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017, p. 3).

Former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, said Shalikashvili “skillfully shepherded our military through the early years of the post-Cold War era, helping to redefine both U.S. and NATO relationships with former members of the Warsaw Pact” (Georgian Association in the United States of America, 2017, p. 3).

Through his life and work, he proved that the American dream is a reality and that people with an immigrant background can achieve it as well. John Shalikashvili left a proud legacy for all Georgians.

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Two Georgias: The Differences and Similarities between the State and the Country

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Introduction

The name Georgia creates much confusion for the citizens of the world. Some people only know the state and some – only the country. To clear the air, it is interesting to consider the differences and similarities between the two territories. This way one may familiarize themselves with both places.

We should start with the origins of both names. In 1732, a party of British debtors led by English philanthropist James E. Oglethorpe journeyed up the Savannah River and founded Georgia's first permanent settlement—the town of Savannah—and the state was named after King George II of Britain ([History.com Editors](#), 2010); In the western world, the country is known as Georgia. According to some theories, this word is derived from a Greek word, meaning “farmland” and emphasizes the fact that agriculture has been developed here from ancient times. Old Persians called the country “gurḡān”, meaning “Country of the Wolves”. It is also believed that the name is linked to St. George as the patron angel has a significant place in the country’s culture. Georgians call themselves Kartvelebi, and call their land Sakartvelo, meaning “The Land of the Kartvelians”.

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Two Georgias: The Differences and Similarities between the State and the Country

For brief historical background, Georgia was founded in 1732 and it is the largest of the U.S. states east of the Mississippi River and the youngest of the 13 former English colonies. Originally its boundaries were even larger—including much of the present-day states of Alabama and Mississippi ([History.com Editors](#), 2009). Georgia was the only colony established and administered by a Board of Trustees with headquarters in London, England. For the first 20 years of the colony's existence, there was no governor or other form of local government. The combination of its unique history and the fact that many Southerners maintain—and even nurture—an identity separate from the rest of the country has led to it being the most studied and written-about region of the U.S.; Regarding the nation, there is evidence that the area that is now Georgia was inhabited as early as 1.8 million years ago. as demonstrated by the Dmanisi excavations in the country's southeast. This is the earliest proof of human existence anywhere in the world outside Africa. Early in the 11th century, King Bagrat III of Georgia founded the Bagrationi dynasty, bringing together a number of former states of the ancient kingdoms of Iberia to become the modern-day country of Georgia. The kingdom of Georgia flourished under the leadership of King David IV the Builder and King Tamar the Great, between the 10th and 12th centuries. This period is considered as the Georgian Golden Age, during which the Kingdom of Georgia reached the peak of its power and development. (Dolidze, 2020)

One similarity between the two Georgia's is the abundance of fortresses. In 1700s The British built fortifications in Georgia because they wanted to use this colony as a buffer zone to protect South Carolina and other southern colonies against invasion from Florida by the Spanish, Britain's greatest rival for North American territory. (2011, Georgia History: Overview) Some examples of such places are Fort King George and Fort Frederica National Monument; Despite being a small nation, Georgia has had a significant impact on European history. Its location between Europe and Asia meant that many nations in the past targeted it as a means of achieving domination. That is a reason Georgia is home to so many castles and forts. The white castles in Georgia and others were mostly built to safeguard the cities from foreign invaders. Each of the castles in Georgia has some interesting story tied to its origin (“Gurnani, 2021”). Georgia is home to more than 100 castles and fortresses that different provincial rulers built between the years 300 and 1700 A.C.E. Georgia's castles and forts have been crucial in defending cities against invading forces for centuries. Many of them are still in excellent shape today, and some are preserved by

the United Nations. Narikala Fortress is one of the Georgia's most well-known strongholds. It is regarded as Tbilisi's beating heart and spirit.

Language is a fascinating characteristic of both regions. Southern dialects make up the majority of American accents. It's a common misconception that Southerners may be distinguished from other Americans by their speech patterns and accent. But there isn't just one "Southern Accent" (Montgomery, 1993). The official language of the Republic of Georgia, Georgian is the most commonly spoken language of the unique Kartvelian linguistic family. Nowadays, there are 4 million Georgian speakers, and the Kartvelian language family is one of the world's major language families. Georgian, Svan, Megrelian, and Laz are the four closely linked languages that make up the Kartvelian language family. Asomtavruli, the oldest Georgian script, first emerged in writing around 430 A.D.; Nuskhuri, a variation of Asomtavruli that was initially established in the ninth century; and Mkhedruli, the present alphabet of 33 letters that was formed in the tenth century.

The next vital feature for both territories is climate and its huge impact. The climates of the state and the country significantly vary from one another. Country's climate is influenced by continental influences to the east and subtropical influences to the west. By acting as a barrier to chilly air from the north, the Greater Caucasus range regulates the regional climate. The coastal lowlands in the west are easily reached by warm, humid air from the Black Sea. State's eastern region has a dry, moderately continental climate, whereas the western region has a subtropical climate. Georgia experiences annual precipitation ranging from 400 to 4,500 mm. The area receives tremendous heat from the sun because to its location at a surprisingly low latitude and moderate cloud cover. The state of Georgia is generally distinguished by a humid subtropical climate.

One of the region's most distinctive features is its cuisine. Georgian (state) cuisine features a wide range of dishes, including fried chicken, cornbread, chicken and dumplings, shellfish, corn on the cob, and chicken and dumplings. Pecans, peaches, and peanuts are among of the state's other well-known and adored treats. An example of Georgian traditional food is Grits. In 2002, grits were named the state's official prepared meal. Grits are a distinctive southern dish that was created thousands of years ago by Native Americans. Grits is basically a porridge which is made from boiled cornmeal. Corn is a prominent Georgia crop grown throughout the state. Being the Peach State and all, one of Georgia's most iconic foods is of course, peach cobbler; (*Roman, 2022*)

Georgian (country) cuisine is a fitting expression of the culture. Furthermore, eating, drinking, and having fun on supra (feast) with family and friends are important aspects of Georgian culture. Supra is an unplanned meal served to family, friends, relatives, or guests. Every supra has a toastmaster, known as “tamada” in Georgian, who gives the toast and entertains the guests during the feast. Warm, gooey comfort food such as khachapuri (cheese-stuffed bread) is balanced by “matsoni” (yogurt). Bread plays an important role in Georgian cuisine. “Ghomi” with cheese, which is very similar to American Grits, is one of the most famous and delicious dishes.

In terms of beverages, a lot of the most popular American soft drinks originally came from the South (Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Mountain Dew, Cheerwine, Dr Pepper, etc.). The Scarlet O'Hara cocktail, named after the most well-known Southern belle, is Georgia's (state) signature drink. It's made with cranberry juice, a splash of lime, and Southern Comfort.

Georgia (country) is one of the oldest wine regions all over the world. People of the South Caucasus discovered that grape juice left buried turned into wine and they nourished this knowledge by experience. The wine is stored in clay vessels, “kvevris”, there are about 500 grape varieties in modern Georgia (*Georgia Tourism, 2018*). Georgian wines are very popular because they are unique and delicious. The country is also well known for its soft drinks – the premium quality mineral water brands, such as Borjomi, Likani, and Nabeghlavi, and special flavored lemonades, like Saperavi lemonade, which is a popular red grape flavored soft drink. The Saperavi lemonade and Grape soda in the United States can be compared since they share a number of similarities in terms of appearance as well as taste. In Atlanta, Georgia, companies like NuGrape and Red Rock have been making grape soda since 1921 and 1885, respectively.

Dancing is an essential component of any culture. The square dance has been recognized as Georgia's official folk dance since July 1, 1996. In a square dance, four couples—a total of eight dancers—are arranged, one pair on each side, facing the center of the square. typically accompanied by a variety of instruments. Square dances contain elements from numerous traditional dances and were first documented in 16th-century England, but they were also quite common in France and throughout Europe. A dance like this cannot possibly be accomplished by one person alone. Six to eight couples are typically needed to perform the dance as a group. Its beauty is found in the coordination of many people dancing simultaneously. Georgian (the country) dancing honors the varied and energetic culture of Georgia. Each dance reflects the characteristics of the area in which it was produced. Each dance's particular costume draws

inspiration from regional traditional clothing from Georgia. Kartuli, commonly recognized as Georgian dance in English, is distinguished by its passionate element, which embodies both the nation's artistic values and a heroic courtship ritual. The dance clearly conveys a woman's majesty, a man's sense of freedom, and both parties' pride. Another significant Georgian dance is Khorumi. Based on the multiple invasions of the nation, this battle dance evolved in Guria/Adjara, in southwest Georgia. Only a few males originally performed the dance. However, it has expanded through time. In the Khorumi of today, as long as the number is odd, 30 to 40 dancers may perform.

The majority of Georgian folk music is vocal, and it is well-known for its long history of vocal polyphony. It is largely acknowledged in modern musicology that Georgian music's polyphony precedes the spread of Christianity in Georgia (beginning of the 4th century AD). Despite being old, Georgian folk music is a thriving heritage. The majority of songs, both sacred and secular, are performed without an instrument in three-part harmony, which is symbolic of the Trinity. The Georgian scale is based on the fifth rather than the octave, in contrast to western music. Georgia(country) is home to a diverse range of musical genres and decades, including bluegrass, gospel, and all in between.

The Peach State is home to several famous musicians, including Ray Charles, Gladys Knight, Trisha Yearwood, Alan Jackson, the B-52s, and more. Georgia(state) has a rich and diversified musical heritage, with singers like the late Ray Charles, Otis Redding, James Brown, and The Allman Brothers Band joining a long list of rock, pop, blues, and country musicians as well as Southern rap groups like Outkast and Goodie Mob ("*Georgia's Music Scene*", 2019).

Let's say few words about country's and state's political situation too. Georgia enjoyed independence from 1918 to 1921 before joining the Soviet Union. In 1991, the majority of Georgians chose to declare their country's independence from the Soviet Union. Georgia has a multi-party system and a parliamentary representative democratic republic. The head of government of Georgia is the Prime Minister, while the President of Georgia serves as the formal head of state. Executive authority is exercised by the Prime Minister and the Government.

Georgian politics are subject to rapid change and frequently imitate the rest of the country in terms of significant historical sites. Before the American Civil War, Georgian politics were dominated by the Democratic-Republican Party, and after the war, by the Democrats. Politicians from Georgia switched to the Republican Party when the Democratic and Republican parties' political ideas changed during the 20th century. Georgia does currently have a Republican lean,

with Republicans currently in control of all statewide offices, majorities in both the State House and Senate, and a fully Republican nominee for the Georgia Supreme Court.

Following Georgia's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the US established strong, diplomatic relations with the country in 1992. Georgia has made significant progress in combating corruption, developing advanced state institutions, and improving international stability since 1991. The US is committed to providing assistance Georgia in widening Euro-Atlantic ties and enhancing its democratic institutions. Diplomatic ties between the Republic of Georgia and the State of Georgia have existed for a while. In 2019 Georgian officials attended the celebration honoring the 25th anniversary of the relationship between the Georgian Guard and the Georgia National Guard of the United States.

Some fun facts about Georgia (the country):

- Georgia was the birthplace of wine! - It's difficult to imagine a world without wine and Georgia is the one to thank for this creation!
- Georgia was a home to the first Europeans! - During an archaeological excavation near Dmanisi, the oldest human skulls in the Caucasus—belonging to a 1.8-million-year-old couple named Zvezva and Mzia—were discovered. They are regarded as a crucial link between ancestors from Africa and Europe.
- The world's deepest cave is found in Georgia! - Hidden among the western Caucasus's Gagra Mountain range, there is the Vryovkina Cave. The depth of this cave, which is 2,212 meters, makes it the deepest cave in the world.
- The name of the capital Tbilisi derives from the Georgian word for warm! - Tbilisi's subtropical climate can nevertheless get rather cold in the winter, thus that is not what gave the city its warm nickname. It truly results from the discovery of natural hot springs in the fifth century.

Some fun facts about Georgia (state):

- One of the most well-known Native American tribes in Georgia is the Cherokee! - New Echota (near Calhoun, Georgia) was given the title of capital when the Cherokee Nation administration started holding meetings there in 1825. The first Cherokee Supreme Courthouse and newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, were both located here.

- The state's gold-covered capitol dome can be found in Atlanta, the present capital of Georgia! - The state has earlier had 5 distinct capitals. The top spot went to Savannah (1777-1785), then Augusta (1786-1789), Louisville (1789-1807), and Milledgeville (1807-1867). The state's capital was formally established in Atlanta in 1868.
- The Civil Rights movement had its main center in Georgia! - The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was co-established by Martin Luther King Jr. in Atlanta in 1957 was instrumental in planning marches and protests. The SCLC is still in operation today and is dedicated to upholding justice and equal rights in America.
- The greatest block of uncovered granite in the world is found above Georgia's Stone Mountain! - With a height of 1,500 feet and a base circumference of 3.8 miles, Georgia's Stone Mountain is the greatest exposed rock structure in the world.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are two Georgias that occasionally confuse people. They are very different from one another, yet they have fascinating things in common. They both have distinctive qualities, unique cultures, diverse histories, and all the elements that give a nation its character.

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The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership: Increasing People-to-People and Cultural Exchanges

ARTIOM ARAKELIAN*

Abstract

The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership is the key formal document that highlights relations between the US and Georgia. The article is focused mostly on Section V: Increasing People-to-People and Cultural Exchanges. It emphasizes the importance of people-to-people contacts and cultural, educational and professional exchange programs that promote democracy and democratic values and increase mutual understanding (*United States-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership—United States Department of State*, n.d.).

American educational and cultural programs among the European Union ones remain one of the most influential and crucial for Georgian citizens, especially young people and scholars. The most active and successful American programs are the Fulbright Program, the Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX), Undergraduate Exchange (UGRAD), Legislative Education and Practice (LEAP), the International Visitor Leadership Program, and the English Language Teaching and Learning Program (*United States-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership—United States Department of State*, n.d.).

The American higher education system has an influence on the Georgian one, and it efficiently helps students to better understand how it works. The International Black Sea University is one of the Georgian universities that successfully adopted the American and European higher education standards and promotes high-quality education for Georgian citizens and foreigners from around the world. Moreover, the university's lecturers have experience and education all around the world, from European Union institutions to American ones.

The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership helps not only higher education institutions and businesses but also emphasizes the importance of the cultures of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region and other regions of Georgia, including the ones with Armenian and Azerbaijani ethnic minorities.

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Keywords: The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership, people-to-people, cultural exchange, higher education, the US, Georgia, exchange program, English language, practice, leadership.

The US-Georgia Strategic Partnership: Introduction, Significance and Impact

The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership was signed in Washington, DC on January 9, 2009. After the August War in 2008, Georgia needed more support from its overseas partners, especially from the US, EU, and NATO. Before Obama's inauguration, George W. Bush's administration succeeded in making the Agreement between the US and Georgia to strengthen the relations between them. The Agreement was one of the significant and formal steps that changed the cooperation between the US and Georgia. Since the independence of Georgia from the Soviet Union, both countries worked on improving their relations. The Strategic Partnership is the key document that both strengths and develops the companionship between the two nations have been on for years. The US and Georgia are democratic countries with common beliefs, principles, and values. The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership affirms the importance of the US-Georgia relationship as friends and strategic partners (*US Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership*, n.d.).

The impact that the US has on Georgia is undeniably significant and the key elements of the democratic path and Euro-Atlantic integration of Georgia. The financial and political support of the US is strengthening Georgian democracy, its security, territorial integrity, the rule of law and respect for human rights, and supporting innovation and technological advances (*US Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership*, n.d.). Moreover, the document is mostly based on the U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership and previous pre-NATO agreements between the Baltic and Western Balkan states and the US (Welt, 2010, #). The Agreement is not a guarantee of NATO membership, but it helps to develop the military power of Georgia and adapt American and NATO standards. Needless to say, that the American partnerships with Eastern European countries successfully helped them with Euro-Atlantic integration and become full members of the unions.

The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership includes 5 chapters: Principles of Partnership; Defense and Security Cooperation; Economic, Trade, and Energy Cooperation; Strengthening Democracy; Increasing People-to-People and Cultural Exchanges (*United States-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership—United States Department of State*, n.d.). Each section is related to important aspects of both countries from diplomatic relations, and military support to

economic aspects, education, and democracy. Therefore, the next aspects are crucial for Georgia and its citizens, and the Partnership with the US allows Georgians to develop the country and the life of the people.

Increasing People-to-People and Cultural: The Fulbright Program

The Fulbright Program is one of the biggest and most well-known programs for scholars and graduate students not only from Georgia but also from all around the world. It operates in more than 160 countries worldwide and has provided approximately 400,000 participants with the opportunity to study, teach, or conduct research in each other's countries and exchange ideas. Approximately 8,000 competitive, merit-based grants are awarded annually in most academic disciplines and fields of study (*Fulbright Programs*, n.d.).

Georgian citizens who meet all the requirements have the opportunity to study and do research in American institutions. The applicants are experts in their fields, qualified researchers, and university lecturers who make research or conduct lectures in the US. Moreover, the Fulbright Program is not limited to that. The researchers can also apply for the Fulbright Faculty Development Program, which helps them to improve their theoretical and practical skills, including the development of course curriculums and different academic materials. There is also the Fulbright Teaching Excellence and Achievement Program (Fulbright TEA) which allows teachers from Georgia to have a six-week program with seminars in US universities for the development of their professional skills (*Fulbright Programs*, n.d.). Therefore, the Fulbright Program has additional programs for applicants with different qualifications, ages, and experiences.

The Fulbright Graduate Student Program is also one of the prestigious programs for Georgian students, teachers, scholars, and even artists. It allows them to get a master's degree in the United States in a wide range of fields including Education, Gender Studies, International Relations, Linguistics, Medical Sciences, Music Studies, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, and Religious Studies. Upon their graduation, all the Fulbright members must return to Georgia for a minimum of two years at the end of the grant period (*2023 – 2024 Fulbright Graduate Student Program*, n.d.). Therefore, they must share their experience, knowledge, and skills gained in the US (which is funded by the U.S. Department of State) in order to make the

graduate's home country better, and more developed. In this case, it is crucial for Georgia to have as many academic professionals as possible with American and European education and experience.

Furthermore, the Fulbright Program offers academic opportunities not only to Georgian citizens, but also to Americans who are professionals in their field and willing to do independent research in Georgia. American citizens and students can also apply for the Fulbright Specialist Program and the Fulbright English Teaching Assistant (ETA) Program (*Fulbright Programs*, n.d.). It promotes Georgian high-quality education and shows the perspective of the Georgian institutions. Such academic exchange programs allow Americans and Georgians to share their experience, knowledge and develop professional skills. The programs also allow both sides to show the differences and common things between American and Georgian cultures and the values that the two nations share.

Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX)

The Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX) Program is one of the most popular scholarships for high school students from Europe and Asia. They spend an academic year in the United States, living with a family, and attending an American high school (*Future Leaders Exchange | Exchange Programs*, n.d.). The FLEX program is fully funded by the U.S. Department of State program and is administered by American Councils for International Education in Georgia. (*Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX)*, n.d.). Georgian students have been using the opportunity to study in American high schools very actively since the launch of the program in Georgia. The uniqueness of the program is the opportunity to study for free, FLEX finances all the necessary tickets from Georgia to the United States, including living expenses. Therefore, even ordinary Georgian parents can allow their kids to study in the US and that does not limit the disadvantaged families.

The program allows Georgian youngsters not only to share the Georgian culture with Americans but also to explore the American culture, traditions, and values. It is a unique chance to live the life of an American high school student within an American family.

The U.S. Government feels that it is important to provide meaningful opportunities to young people — opportunities that will provide them with global perspectives and, it is hoped, a bright future at home, at work, and in international relations. Many alumni have attended

prestigious universities upon their return home, and later found exciting jobs that use skills learned during their stay in the United States. (*Future Leaders Exchange Program — AC Georgia*, n.d.).

The FLEX program truly changes the life of the students, they become more motivated and educated with global and open-minded ways of thinking. Americans and Europeans and Asians are geographically far from each other, and it becomes an issue for them to explore their cultures. The program helps them to learn more about each other's languages and cultures. Another unique thing is host families – they help students to be more integrated within the American society, and become easier for Georgians to do so. Moreover, Georgian high school students not only share their culture, but also gain useful experience and develop their academic and linguistic skills. Such programs also unite American and Georgian families.

Global Undergraduate Exchange Program (Global UGRAD)

The Global UGRAD Program is an international educational and cultural nondegree exchange program that allows Georgians to study for one semester in the US. It brings future leaders to the United States to experience the U.S. educational system, enhance their knowledge, and explore U.S. culture and values. It also affords students the opportunity to share their cultures and traditions with people in the United States (*Global Undergraduate Exchange Program (UGRAD) – for Undergrads*, n.d.).

The program is fully funded and very competitive, only 250 undergraduate students are chosen from all around the world, including Georgia. The students have the opportunity to study in colleges in different American states, and it provides pre-academic English language training, academic coursework, service-learning opportunities, professional development workshops, and cultural enrichment activities (*Global Undergraduate Exchange Program (UGRAD) – for Undergrads*, n.d.).

UGRAD helps Georgian students with most of the expenses including fly tickets, tuition fee study, room, and insurance, and it allows many Georgian to try their chance. Moreover, Georgian students can study different subjects from literature to architecture. Some of them who do not meet the English language requirement can improve it by taking an additional English language course for free.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that Global UGRAD is open to all academic fields of study and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, gender, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, or disability. Competition for the program is highly competitive and merit-based. Finalists will be selected on the basis of academic excellence, leadership potential, and their preparedness for study in the United States. (*Global Undergraduate Exchange Program (UGRAD) – for Undergrads*, n.d.). Therefore, such a friendly policy allows different Georgians and people from all around the world to apply for the program. Unfortunately, the program is nondegree, but students still will have academic activities in colleges and the opportunity to learn more about American cultures and others and explore the American education system.

International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP)

The International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) is an exchange program funded by the U.S. Department of State for foreign and Georgian leaders. It helps them to develop professional skills, get useful knowledge and experience and get to know better American leaders and their leadership. The program emphasizes the American foreign policy aims.

Each year, nearly 5,000 International Visitors come to the U.S. on the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP). More than 200,000 International Visitors have engaged with Americans through the IVLP, including more than 500 current or former Chiefs of State or Heads of Government. (*International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) | Exchange Programs*, n.d.)

There are also important programs for Georgians, such as Legislative Education and Practice (LEAP) and The English Language Teaching and Learning Program (ELTLP). The US and Georgia have dramatically increased the number of Georgian exchange students, while expanding the number of American English-language teachers in Georgia. Overall, nearly 3,000 Georgian citizens have participated in U.S.-funded exchange programs. These efforts are central to Georgia's future development and economic prosperity. The Georgian Government has contributed to the process by the significant progress it made in education system reform, launching an ambitious Teach and Learn with Georgia project aimed at increasing the number of English-speaking Georgians, and fostering cultural exchanges. (*US-Georgia Strategic Partnership Commission—United States Department of State*, n.d.).

Another important fact to mention is that Georgians started to speak better English with the help of the US and EU programs. There are many American and European centers and different education organizations that offer English courses for Georgians. The US Embassy in Georgia and Ambassador Ms. Kelly C. Degnan support such programs and emphasize their importance.

Conclusion

The United States and Georgia have been working together for decades, and their mutual friendship and partnership give many opportunities to Georgian citizens through the People-to-People Working Group. The role of the United States in Georgian politics, education, culture, and economy is extremely significant. American programs such as the Fulbright Program, the Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX), Undergraduate Exchange (UGRAD), Legislative Education and Practice (LEAP), the International Visitor Leadership Program, and the English Language Teaching and Learning Program are crucial for Georgia and its people. They have changed the Georgian education system, and now it is adopted and meets the international high-quality standards.

Every year, more and more Georgian citizens are willing to study in American and European universities and be involved in the global educational process. The opportunities provided by the American government and institutions help the Georgian nation become more global and develop Georgia. The citizens, students, teachers, and scholars who gained all the necessary knowledge, experience, and skills in America and shared them with Georgians make Georgia better. Needless to say, Georgians truly appreciate the support of the United States and its willingness to help the small nation in Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, the People-to-People Working Group supports the diverse ethnic minorities in Georgia. It emphasizes the importance of the unity and interaction and integration of Georgians, Abkhasians, Osetians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis of Georgia since they are one nation of one country.

The majority of the Georgians support the Euro-Atlantic integration of Georgia and joining NATO and the EU (*IRI: 77% Of Georgians Support Joining NATO, 85% – Joining EU, n.d.*). That is why the US and the United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership play such significant roles while

Georgia is working on becoming a full member of the unions. Georgia needs more political and economic support from the US and the EU in order to achieve the Euro-Atlantic aims.

The United States-Georgia Strategic Partnership is a historic document that shows the true American and Georgian friendship. The United States and European Union remain the key partners of Georgia around the globe, and it is the choice of Georgian citizens. The shared values, principles, and friendship bring prosperity and development both in the US and Georgia and make the relationship of both nations stronger.

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Importance of Preserving Cultural Identity Abroad

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Abstract

The presented article deals with the issues of preserving cultural identity abroad, in the USA in particular. The issue of immigration of Georgians to the USA and maintaining their native language, religion and culture is insufficiently researched till this time. After coping with the social issues, immigrant persons have another need on foreign land, how to obtain cultural nourishment, they long for. Their gathering abroad, sharing their love and want for their homeland is a relief, that help them to avoid nostalgia even for a while.

In this article, I describe the ways, the Georgian immigrants apply to recall their own culture and even language, as many of them have USA born children, who have to reside in English language environment and have language problems as a result.

Besides, I involved the issues of religion, which is pretty vulnerable for Georgian people and described their endeavor not to lose ties with their faith.

Keywords: cultural identity, abroad, immigration, language, religion

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Introduction

Over the course of America's existence, the country always was and will be a nation of immigrants. Starting from the very first migrants, who crossed the Bering Strait to Alaska and migrated down the West Coast, approximately 20 000 years ago to current immigrants, arriving from all corners of the earth, America was built by immigrants. Apparently, America resembles a huge puzzle, totally finished, however ever- growing as new pieces are added to the other, representing newly arriving immigrants (Semotiuk, 2021).

Whether they were seeking relief from famine or economic opportunity or escaping political or racial persecution, all that united them was an aspiration to better life for them or their families. Diverse of their language, culture or identity, gave birth a term "melting pot", the metaphor, tied to the concept of assimilation, however, Israel Zangwil, the English playwright directly related the term to the American society in his play "the Melting Pot". The essence of the term holds the promise, that every single immigrant, nevertheless their race or nationality, coming to America and bringing their cultural history, ultimately melt into the ever-evolving homogeneous broth and are transformed into an American. However, the theory of "melting pot" later changed into the "Stew", "salad bowl" or "pizza", which referred the different ingredients, preserved visible, giving the whole its particular taste and flavor, they are fused into something larger, though (Ci,2016).

It is often noted, that immigration faces a threat to national identity. Preserving national traditions and culture is harder when living on foreign land; the unity of the country is conveyed by its citizens' shared sense of history and recognition of national holidays, myths, symbols and ceremonies or their loyalty to common set of values; and their engagement in a wide range of informal customs and tendencies, involving basically every single aspect of life (Scheffler, 2007).

Language as the Means of Preserving Identity Abroad

Identity, simply to say is who you are; in the social sciences it is determined as the way, the person labels himself as members of a particular group. Language plays the vital role in the development of identity, it intrinsically expresses the culture and serves as the means, we convey our personal self from generation to generation. It is the language, we apply to transmit and explicit our culture and its values. As GIBSON Kari states: "Language-both code and content-is a

complicated dance between internal and external interpretation of our identity”. (Gibson, 2004). The words, language, hold the power to specify and outline the human experience.

Preserving immigrant’s native language is crucial in multilingual and multicultural societies. Native language and cultural identity refer to all languages and cultures brought to the host societies by immigrants. Along with migrating across international borders, the question of maintaining or preserving ties and connection with the homeland arises, to facilitate children of immigrants to establish position culture identities.

Georgians, are one of the nations, immigrating to the USA in large numbers even today due to various reasons, including economic, educational, business or family ones, starting from 1890s. Earlier Georgian immigrants, like others, faced challenges with regards of language of communication and adjusting to their new life in America, however things changed lately and the subsequent waves of Georgian immigrants received help from diverse charitable and NGOs formed in the USA by Georgians. The various organizations, incorporated in the USA offer diverse services for people, immigrated from their homelands. In order to preserve and convey the language to their generations, Georgian immigrants opened plenty of centers in diverse states of the country. **The Academy of Georgian Heritage** in one of them, opened in the Washington DC metro area in 2013. The academy aspires to educate children from Georgian diaspora and instill in them the knowledge and respect for their rich cultural heritage. The academy offers the children of different age the classes of Georgian language, history, music, theatre, dance etc. and enable them to communicate and think in Georgian. As, due to the large time of their day, spent in American schools, they face challenges of speaking Georgian. As Tamar Kalandia, the director of the academy stated, the academy aims at preserving Georgian immigrant children the ties with Georgian language, history and culture, as it’s hard to maintain it in the schools with English medium. The teachers, residing in Washington DC and adjoining area deliver classes for Georgian children.

The academy even hosts the multiethnic families, where the parents are not Georgians, however the older generation have Georgian roots. Nevertheless, they try their children to learn Georgian language and familiarize with the oldest culture of the country and strengthen the roots, connecting them with Georgia.

In order to convey the command of language, everyday endeavor of the family members matters a lot. One of my family members, lives in America and raises two boys in American

environment. From the very beginning she strives very hard to teach them Georgian language and familiarize them with Georgian literature; three- and six-years old boys listen to their mother, reading stories of Nodar Dumbadze, study the poems of Givi Chichinadze with pleasure and receive Georgian language classes, organized by the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia for immigrant children, they know Georgian alphabet and love to play with composing Georgian words with letters. They know and love Georgian cuisine. As a result, they have an interest of visiting their homeland and see, who and how people live here.

Georgian language is also taught at, Indiana University at Bloomington, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Emory University (Wertsman, 2006).

Culture

Culture serves as defining feature of a person's identity. The common values, customs and histories, typical to a particular culture strongly influences the way a person behaves, thinks and views the universe. It is a total sum of the ways of living, developed by a group of human beings conveyed from one generation to another. The notion refers to something connecting not only to the individual but also to populations and nation as a whole. What we retain from it is the complexity of the culture and the tie it establishes between the individual and communities (Gsir & Mescoli, 2015). A migration context, preserving cultural links with the country of origin is a crucial issue, as it affects integration and in particular, socio cultural one in the host country.

Georgian culture was intensively developed in Georgia and abroad as well. Meaning of foreign centers abroad is pretty well known and acknowledged. Georgians, like other nations, endeavor to maintain links to their homeland. Preserving the national and cultural identity falls within the competence of Georgian diaspora, the aim of forming of which was to preserve a unified, strong ties with homeland. Organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, the diaspora provides the Georgian immigrants with information about state programs and projects, support intensifying the communications between Georgians and fosters the activity of diaspora institutions. Along with others, diaspora supports the fellow countrymen, acting in the cultural realm to ensure their involvement in promoting Georgian culture and Georgia itself and encourages ensembles of Georgian folk dances and songs, established abroad. It is to be mentioned, that not only Georgians intend to set up centers for Georgian culture in the USA. One of the oldest

Georgian community center and repertory theater company, **Dancing Crane Company** was established in 1996 in New York, by the professor of Columbia University, Victor Sirelson, who practiced as the performer and instructor of ethnic dance and music with Aman Folk Ensemble and UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology in Los Angeles. In 1996 he became involved with the study of Georgian dance and formed a collaboration with Merab Tsereteli, a former dancer with Sukhishvili ensemble in Georgia. Their joint performance in victor;s home of Warwick attracted dozens of residents, followed by their presentation of Georgian dance and culture in the spring of 1997 to a local school. This gave birth to an idea of the name “Dancing Crane” and as a result of great success of the very first performance of the center, it initiated to perform at various Georgian events, including a reception at Columbia’s Harriman Institute, organized by the Georgian Association and a performance at the Tbilisi Restaurant in Brooklyn. The center offers master classes in traditional Georgian dance, music and theater styles for students of all ages and supports raising awareness of these traditions through high class performances.

The Georgian music and dance ensemble of the center was formed for more than 23 years ago and involves immigrant professional singers and musicians, who have learnt and performed since childhood in their country of Georgia. The programs are intended for both, Georgian communities and population, in general. The center aims at continuing Georgian tradition of bringing the children into the personal experience of Georgian arts and familiarize the American born Georgian children with the fundamentals of Georgian dance, music and theater.

Religion

Christianity and religion played significant role in forming and developing the national self-awareness of Georgian people. Declaring of Christianity as a state religion of Georgia served as vital social-political and cultural-ideological event, which supported ethnical and state consolidation, strengthening separate corners of the country and development of art, written language. Georgian Christian monasteries and churches in Georgia and abroad formed education and literary centers, which substantially specified the western political orientation and cultural development of Georgia (Basilaiia, 2008).

Pursuing the religious rules and ceremonies are important for Georgian people, immigrated to America. Being in foreign country does not impede them to attend religious services, conducted

in Georgian language. Georgian Diocese in North America celebrated its ten years anniversary in 2019. Atskuri Virgin Mary Church is located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As the father Konstantine says in his interview given to the Voice of America, the place, where the church operates currently, was covered by wildwood and prickly hedges, which was jointly cleaned by Georgian people, supervised by Bishop Saba. The architecture of the house, currently hosting the church was reconstructed to conform to the style of a Georgian religious building. as one of the parish stated: “delivering the very first ceremony made a feeling of giving birth the very first child. It was unspeakable.” The temple is sanctified on the name of Atskuri Virgin Mary, where the icon of Atskuri Virgin Mary is from Georgia. Part of the service, namely Lord’s prayer is offered in Georgian, whereas the part in English, which enables the others to understand the pray.

As the father Konstantine claims, foreign country does not obstruct them to form Georgian eparchy. An alien may arrive to a foreign country and form his own church and deliver service in his native language; America impeded them, as foreigners in no way but supports them on the contrary.

The construction of a Saint George’s Georgian Orthodox Church is planned, where every interested person may take his part and involve appropriately.

Holidays

Traditional celebrations are some of the core aspects of any culture. Whether it is a religious or secular, celebrations are tightly woven into cultural identity and specifies who we are. When we mention the identity, it raises a question about the methods of its formation. The holidays can be added to the list of language, traditions, historical and cultural heritage etc. (Harutyunyan, 2013) as they may be deemed as mechanisms of national identity contraction due to their collective nature. Hence, if we claim, that collectiveness is one of the preconditions of presence the national identity and that the idea of collectiveness lays foundation to all mechanisms, conducting to identity construction, we can assume, that all the collective actions, to some extent, contribute to replication of the identity. Considering the foregoing, national holidays become one of the means of building the identity due to their collective sense.

Georgian people actively pursue and celebrate their religious or secular holidays, even abroad. In this article I will cover the two festivals, which deeply impressed me. Georgians living

in NY annually celebrate the festival of Georgian culture on St. Mary's day on Staten Island. Meeting with the fellow countrymen, immigrated abroad, trying Georgian cuisine and the opportunity to touch with the homeland culture forms an integral part of these meetings. As Manuchar Kachakhidze, the editor in chief of the newspaper "Mamuli" in New York states" this festival is somehow commemorating the festivals, which used to be held in 1950s under the supervision of Prince Giorgi Machabeli, this festival was earlier called "Alaverdoba".

Performing Georgia folk dances and songs are inseparable part of the festival.

Attending festivals is familiarizing with the Georgian culture by the American born Georgian children, in particular

Another impressive holiday, Georgian immigrants organize annually is Tbilisoba. The festival celebrates the diversity and history of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. This holiday is actively marked in Tbilisi, Georgia in fall, where the different corners of the country gather in Old Tbilisi and are represented by their ensembles, cuisine, harvest and the items of crafts. People dressed in national costumes perform dances and songs, organize barbecues, squeezing grapes in the ancient winepress and take toasts. The immigrant Georgians, who lack the chance of attending the event in Tbilisi, try to organize Tbilisoba in America. The festival features open air concerts of traditional music, dancing and cultural events, set on Old Tbilisi, the historical part of the city.

The cultural center "Pesvebi" held the event for the first time in New York on Staten Island at Wolf Pond Park in 2017. The event was very emotional, exiting, attended by 3000 guests approximately. Most of them had impression that they were in Tbilisi. Different corners of the park were represented by the cuisine of different corners of Georgia, handicrafts, jewelry, paintings.

The event was visited by the consular general of Georgia and the representative of Staten Island City Hall along with the foreknown Tv and radio broadcasting companies. The famous Georgian singers immigrated to the USA took part in the event along with American, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Moldovan singers and dancers, specifically arrived for this event.

This event, like the other ones, Georgians celebrate abroad introduces new culture to the American community and gives possibility to Georgians to get acquainted to one another and share the love and nostalgia of their homeland, as nevertheless of their wellbeing, almost all of them suffers the nostalgia of coming home even for a short period of time.

Conclusion

Cultural identity plays a crucial role in people's wellbeing. It provides the people with the feelings of affiliation and security. The role of the cultural and academic centers incorporated in the USA play vital role in preserving the language, culture and identity of a person as a whole; nevertheless, the need of assimilation and acculturation even partly, the immigrant should maintain their identities in a multicultural society like American i.e. own flavor and taste as one of the ingredients of "stew".

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The U.S. Republican President - Donald Trump's Support Policy towards Georgia Announced in His Agenda of 2017-2019

LELA VANISHVILI*

Abstract

The following paper aims to examine the U.S foreign policy to Georgia during the Presidency of Donald Trump – Georgia’s place in his political agenda during 2017-2019. Foreign Policy of the United States was changeable across the decades and due to different presidents, the level of interest and cooperations was sometimes low, and in other cases, it was on a high point. At present, the cooperation between the two countries is developing in different areas and at different levels, including mutual security and counterterrorism interests which aim to provide Georgia with bilateral security assistance.

Introduction

The US – Georgian relations starts from the early 1990s, after the collapse of Soviet Union, and it has developed into a reliable partnership, the US- Georgian relations are codified in the 2009 U.S.-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership, which creates the solid basis for long term and fruitful cooperation.

Foreign Policy of the United States towards Georgia is bipartisan and has remained unchanged with regards to country’s territorial integrity and its democratic development; however, the US- Georgia relations has gone through some changes throughout the decades, and the extent and level of cooperation was sometimes average or low, and in other cases, it was on a high point due to the policy carried out by Democrat and Republican presidents which was largely consistent with the foreign policies of their political party, and on the other hand, was determined by personal attitudes and contacts with Georgia and their leaders.

The US substantial investments in building and strengthening the country’s defense and security capabilities, its economy and business, culture and education, and other areas of mutual interest have been crucially important; It has provided Georgia with security assistance and gave

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necessary support for socio-cultural development; also helped the nation in restructuring state institutions to make rapid advancement in building democracy and civic society.

The Current US-Georgia Relations and The Republican President Donald Trump

On January 20, 2017, the New York businessman and former reality television star was sworn in as the 45th president of the United States. Within moments of taking the oath of office under overcast skies, Trump publicly declared: "From this day forward, it's going to be America first."

After the election of Donald Trump in the White House in 2017 Georgian leaders have expressed hope that relations between the United States and Georgia will still continue to deepen in all areas.

When a Republican candidate Donald Trump became the president of the United States, there have been strong expectations that the cooperation between partner countries would strengthen and reach higher point. Georgia Support Act H.R. 598 passed by the House on October 22, 2019 - the legislation which solidifies the US support for Georgia's sovereignty and security once again testifies the enhanced interest between two countries.

On May 17, 2017, Donald trump congratulates Giorgi Margvelashvili, then President of Georgia with the 25th Anniversary of Georgia-US diplomatic relations. D. Trump once again reaffirmed that he supports Georgia's independence and territorial integrity and believes that the two countries would support each-other to resist any instabilities in the region. He conveyed his best wishes saying that Georgia is a still an inspiring example for the world and thanked Georgian people for friendship and cooperation. The main message was clear – the US continues to be a reliable strategic partner, and the same is expected from Georgia – to be a steadfast supporter of peace and democracy in the region (Commersant, 2019).

On March 15, 2016, U.S Secretary of State John Kerry met Georgia's Foreign Minister Mr. Mikheil Janelidze. Mr. Kerry expressed the United States' support for Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations. During the same period, May 8, 2017, then Prime Minister, Giorgi Kvirikashvili had an official visit in Washington (Invited by M Pence, US Vice President) during which Donald Trump invited him to his Oval Room for a

meeting which was not on the agenda. The political analysts and critics evaluated the President's initiative as a message sent to Moscow telling about the importance of the relationship between the two countries. "It is not accidental that on May 8, 2017, President Trump Invited Georgian Prime Minister in the Oval Cabinet if we consider the fact on a broader context," (Chitadze, 2018) - says Dr. Nika Chitadze, Professor of International Black Sea University. Another example of a new administration continuous to support of Georgia is a regulation signed by the US President which says that the United States shall not communicate with the countries which will support independence of occupied territories of Georgia. G. Kvirikashvili who had a meeting with Vice President Mike Pence, and discussed further strategic plans of the two partner countries, in his interview said that the meeting was very important and the participants discussed different directions of the two country's relations, such as, defense and security, culture and education, support in development of democratic institutions and intensifying economic assistance (Commersant, 2019). In August, 2017 as Mamuka Bakhtadze then Prime Minister of Georgia declared that Georgia got unprecedented support from the President Donald Trump as he signed the Authorization of the US National Defense Act. The document features Georgia as a strategic partner and confirms its support extended towards Georgian national interests (also at regional level), security and sustainable development, as well as the perspectives of Georgia becoming a NATO member (Congress , 2017).

In February 2018, President of Georgia Giorgi Margvelashvili hosted the one of the most influential, academic organizations in the US. Heritage Foundation Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Director Luke Coffey the main aim of the meeting was to discuss current Georgian-US relations, NATO-Georgia relations and the US role of supporting Georgia in quickly integrating into the Alliance. The 2016 Index of Economic Freedom released by Washington-based Heritage Foundation says despite global and a regional challenges Georgia's economy has demonstrated "considerable resilience". It also highlighted Georgia's pursuit of greater economic freedom, reinforced by relative political stability, had made its entrepreneurial environment "one of the best in the region". "It is in America's national interest to deepen the bilateral relationship with Georgia, help the Georgians improve their military capabilities, and keep Georgia on the path to NATO membership" (The Heritage Foundation, 2018). The recent report of The Heritage Foundation says Luke Coffey said 2018 is an important year for the US-NATO-Georgian relationship, not only because it marks the 10th anniversary of Russia's military aggression against

Georgia, but also because it marks the 10th anniversary of NATO's promise to Georgia of eventual membership in the Alliance during the Bucharest Summit.

Giving some of the main reasons as to why Georgia is important to the US, the report says:

1. Georgia is a proven and dependable U.S. ally in places like Iraq and Afghanistan.
2. Georgia's strategic location makes it important for U.S. geopolitical objectives in the Eurasian region.
3. Georgia's journey to democracy is an example for the region. The author of the report believes that Georgians have proven themselves reliable US allies and gallant in combat and that they are undertaking a defense transformation program and investing in their military in a way far exceeding NATO's standard (The Heritage Foundation, 2018).

In 2017 U.S.–Georgia **General Security of Information Agreement (GSOIA)** agreement marked “a major milestone in security cooperation between the United States and Georgia.” This agreement improves intelligence sharing between the two countries and opens the door for future agreements on security cooperation and intelligence sharing. So far, the U.S.–Georgian relationship has thrived under the Trump Administration. Vice President Mike Pence made an early visit to Georgia in the summer of 2017, which was viewed as a major success. Crucially, he referred to the Russian military presence in the Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia as an “occupation.” In November 2017, the U.S. announced two very important steps to take the U.S.–Georgian defense relationship to another level. First, the U.S. announced an historic sale of Javelin anti-tank missiles to Georgia. The total package includes 410 missiles and 72 launchers. The Georgians tried for several years during the Obama Administration to get Javelins from the U.S. with no success. Second, the U.S. agreed at the same time to refocus military cooperation on improving the territorial defense capabilities of the Georgian Armed Forces—a stark change from the years of only training Georgians for counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan. The Heritage Foundation raised a live interest among wide circles of Georgian society because it dealt with different aspects of Georgia- US relations, such as, historical development, Georgian achievements on the way to building democracy and sustainable economy, Russian factor, “borderization” problem, “creeping annexation” in which Russia has taken additional territory from Georgia (Coffey, 2018). Moreover, it was the first time when a clear message came from our partner country regarding our possible NATO membership. The authors of the document named some key political measures which the government of Georgia can take to support its path to full

NATO membership. “The Georgian government should privately acknowledge to NATO members that it is willing to join the alliance without the occupied regions of Abkhazia or the Tskhinvali region falling under the protection of article 5 until the occupation is resolved peacefully” (Coffey, 2018). This approach was argued to be a realistic and reasonable way to admit Georgia into NATO and should not be viewed as the Georgian government, the U.S., or NATO changing its policy on Georgia’s territorial integrity. Following these measures would also remove the issue of NATO membership from domestic party politics and make NATO membership a national cause rising above politics.

The year 2018 offers the U.S. an opportunity to deepen its relationship with Tbilisi, reaffirm NATO’s commitment to Georgian membership, strengthen the NATO–Georgian relationship, boost Georgia’s NATO integration process, and enhance Georgia’s defensive capabilities. In the long run, this would bring more stability to the South Caucasus and Black Sea regions, which is in America’s national interest (Coffey, 2018). The idea offered by our partners raised live interest among wide circles of our society. Critical attitude was expressed by the majority who were actively involved in the process of discussion. Georgian society turned out to be unanimous in their aspiration to join NATO, though, not in exchange of historical regions of Georgia.

On the 10- year anniversary of United States-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership, signed January 9, 2019, the two countries recognize the necessity to strengthen their relationship in the fields of defense and security, economic, trade, and energy cooperation, democratic governance, people-to-people diplomacy, and cultural exchanges, and two countries on June 11, 2019, signed the Joint Declaration on the U.S.-Georgia Strategic Partnership consisting of preamble and five sections. In the I Section there is a discussion of main principles of the Charter, where Democracy is the major source for political stability. Section II: Defense and Security Cooperation; Section III: Economic, Trade and Energy Cooperation; Section IV: Strengthening Democracy. Section V: Increasing People to People and Cultural Exchanges: During the visits in 2019 (June, 11 -12), the United States and Georgia stipulated their shared commitment to global, regional, and homeland security for both our countries (U.S. Embassy in Georgia, 2019).

In 2019, President Donald Trump signed National Defense Budget Act, the budget increases up to - 716 Billion US\$ The Act deals with Georgia’s aspiration to join NATO, and also includes military and financial assistance extended towards Georgia and Ukraine to increase their

defense capabilities and enhance compatibility with NATO standards. In September 2019, Mamuka Bakhtadze then Prime Minister of Georgia visited the US and the first meeting with John Bolton, President's consultant in Security issues was held in a White House. Washington. Also he had meetings with Secretary of State M. Pompeo, European leaders and UN representatives. As Davit Bakradze, Ambassador in the US says, Georgia received a strong support from Trump administration and important steps have been made to raise the relationship between two countries to a higher level. Also, he mentioned that Georgia has a bi-partisan support which means that both the Democrats and Republicans are unanimous in support of Georgia's territorial integrity, security and democratic development.

Military Aid and Defense Cooperation

For FY2018, estimates of total military aid to Georgia are not yet available. Congress appropriated at least \$37.2 million in military aid (FMF and International Military Education and Training, or IMET), not including Defense appropriations. For FY2019, the Senate and House Appropriations Committees have recommended another \$37.2 million in FMF and IMET funds (Service, 2012).

Conclusion

The Republican Donald Trump, who is an active player on international arena offered new challenges and perspectives to the world politics and Georgia is not an exception. President Trump and Georgian government continue to cooperate actively and the proof of this cooperation is Strategic Partnership Act 2019 that clearly declares the US political support toward Georgia.

The President Trump's administration attitude, visits of high rank officials, invitation of Georgian government representatives to Washington, and financial support extended towards our country once again confirms that the relationship between two countries are now developing fast based on mutual understanding.

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SECTION III: Literature, Women's Issues

Muslim Women on Kutaisi Press Pages

MARIAM MARJANISHVILI*

Muslim Women on Kutaisi Press Pages

In the distant past of mankind, the social status of women was changeable. In the primitive family, the woman was no different from the male member of the family.

At a higher level of human development, in the conditions of the ancient civilization, a woman was considered to be the head of the family, and the inheritance of the property also spread through her line.

At that time, women had the right and duty to actively participate in the creation of material and social technologies, though when the era of matriarchy was replaced by male domination, women became subservient to masculine power. This powerful position of men was also supported by various religious directions.

"I am grateful, Lord, that I am not born a woman," repeated the Orthodox Jew in his daily prayer.

"Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord, because the husband is the lord to his wife, as Christ is to the church," the Bible tells us.

"Husbands are superior to wives because Allah gave preference to the former over the latter," the Qur'an affirms.

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The above-mentioned religious teachings unanimously declare the subordinate role of women in society.

Thus, for centuries, women had to endure the discrimination by dominant men.

Starting from the end of the 18th century, the French bourgeois revolution gave a start to the women's movement. At that time, the idea of women's liberation was highlighted in two directions. The first one was - ideal-spiritual, where a woman strived for freedom, independence and expansion of her rights. And that's why she participated in various public activities. The second direction - focused on finding material, philanthropic and various practical means to improve the economic and social condition of women.

The first French feminists, Roland and Olympe de Gouges, addressed women: "Women, wake up... find out your rights."

From Europe, the wave of women's movement moved to America bringing a new slogan of human rights with the bourgeois revolution of the 18th century: "Freedom, Equality and Justice".

Even at the beginning of the 19th century, women living in America were still prohibited from getting education, while their families took care of the education of their brothers.

Women were forbidden to raise their voices in public gatherings, and if such an incident occurred, the church and society would reprimand them for unworthy behaviour.

The property inherited by women automatically became their husband's property upon marriage, and for the woman her father's influence was replaced by her husband's influence.

Most importantly, women had to obey the laws that were passed only by men and could not change them, they could not create laws that would protect their interests.

The feminist movement that started in America and Europe found an echo on different continents of the world.

Among them were Muslim women, whose rights are mentioned in the papers published in Kutaisi at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1913, a long article was published in the Kutaisi newspaper "The Voice of Truth": "Women's Movement in the Ottoman Empire". In it we read that a small-format daily periodical "Gatinlar Diunvasa" (Women's Country) was published in Istanbul. The newspaper is headed only by women. The establishment of the newspaper was followed by the establishment of an organization whose name was the "Ottoman Society as the Defense of Women's Rights".

In its statutes, it is mentioned that the society celebrates the awakening of Ottoman women for a conscious life, aspiration for public life, joining the path of connection, progress, controlling one's own life, the desire to expand the horizon of the mind, and more.

Ottoman women thought it was too early to gain political rights. Their thinking was identical to the views of American and European women.

"In order to make it possible for women to intervene in public life," they write in the preface, "to develop in them hard work and prepare educated mothers who will be able to raise healthy youth, the society needs to: 1. change clothes; 2. arrange workshops in which women will work; 3. spread education among women" (Newspaper "Voice of Truth" N10, 1913, p.3).

It is known that the Ottoman women were separated from the women of other faiths by their national clothes and, at the same time, it created a slave-like situation for them. Changing clothes for Ottoman women was contrary to the requirements of the Sharia, so the first task of Ottoman women was to create workshops and labor houses where they would work and prepare their dowries.

Here, they tried to open schools, publish magazines and newspapers and conduct cultural and educational events - in the form of lectures.

The Ottoman women actively began to practically implement the set goal. They opened a workshop and organized a consumer society to fight against the spread of European goods so that what they made could compete with imported goods. Many articles were printed in the Ottoman press about the newly awakened women, who were treated with sympathy by the society.

The struggle for the idea of women's emancipation and freedom widely invaded the lives of Muslim women, which is evidenced by the article "Chronicle of the Women's Movement" printed on the pages of the Kutaisi-based newspaper "Modern Country".

In them we read that "the idea of women's emancipation penetrated the Muslim women of Siberia as well", according to Tomsk newspaper "Siberia".

They went against the Harems. They consider their life abnormal. They want to open schools for women and expand their rights inside and outside the family.

In Tashkent, a sensation was caused by two Muslim women who went outside without hijabs" (Newspaper "Modern Country" N3, 1913, p. 3).

It turns out that if the Ottoman women did not dare to solve the issue of changing the clothes, the Muslim women of Tashkent did.

Like American and European women, these women understood very well, that their salvation and freedom lay in getting education and building schools. By receiving general education, they would be given the opportunity to verbalize their personality and what they had to say in a direct way.

The article "Muslim women" attracts attention from the newspapers published in Kutaisi. It is mentioned that on April 23 in Tomsk, "the Muslim Bureau made an appeal to Muslim women to get out of their enclosed lives and go to work. Due to their needs, they should establish professional associations, societies, groups, women's leagues; they should also go to mosques, participate in congresses, etc. All these rights were granted to them by the new government" (Newspaper "Our Country" N15, 1913, p. 3).

Naturally, this call was caused by the dictates of time, because the change of the public order to the Soviet socialist order in the Russian Empire affected the personal and social freedom of women.

At the same time, the leader of the proletariat attached special importance to women's problems, because the liberation of working women was closely connected with class struggles, and the victory of the revolution depended a lot on the mass participation of women in it.

Georgian women deeply felt the disenfranchisement of Muslim women, which is clearly reflected on the pages of the newspaper "Kolkhidi".

The article - "Women's situation in the Muslimized Georgia" reads: "The situation of women in Adjara-Kobuleti will cause bitter pity in the heart of every person. From the age of twelve years old till the end of her life, the poor woman is subjected to the slave-like conditions and suppression of her personality. As soon as the daughter grows up, the parents wrap her in a hijab and from that day on, her life is closed: the young woman full of life is not allowed to see any other man except her brothers and cousins. For her, there is no religious service, no school, no city, no news, no wedding, no crying. She has no rights, her being is gone forever and lives only to obey the despotic orders of a savage man. Of course, - in such a situation, a woman becomes passive, and every assertive side of her mind and morals is gradually lost" (Kolkhida newspaper, N224, 1911, p.1).

Georgian women played a big role in removing the hijabs from their Muslim sisters from Ajara, when they supported their miserable sisters from Batumi and Kobuleti. The author of the article notes: "The poor woman will look at her husband for the first time only on the second day

of marriage. She has never met him, she has not seen him before, she does not know his morals, intelligence and character. The result of this is that unity, love between husband and wife is rare. After some time, the husband abandons his wife, takes a second wife, often a third one. One of the wives becomes "the senior wife" and the others follow her orders.

A husband often shows such cruelty that he does not touch his wife for years, and then it is the woman's fault if she is caught in betrayal. The punishment of such a guilty woman has been decided by the Quran: "True believers! Wrap the unfaithful wife in the shroud, tie a heavy stone to her and throw her into the abyss of water, for this is the will of Allah and I say it! - This law is strictly observed in the whole of Adjara-Kobuleti."

At the end of the article, the author notes: "This is the life of women in the best part of ancient Georgia. Isn't the time coming when the ray of education will shine at least a little on this corner inhabited by our sisters and brothers?"

We call on educated Georgian women, here would be a valuable ground for their work. For fourteen centuries, those sisters have covered their faces. It's time for these sisters to remove that veil, to show them the world, to show the ray of the sun" ("Colkhida" N224, 1911, p. 1).

Indeed, democratic Georgian women played a great role in removing the hijabs from their Ajarian sisters.

Conclusion

So, along with European and American women, Muslim women also had to fight for national, personal and social freedom in the fight for equality. However, gender equality has not yet been achieved in the world.

And, women have to fight again and again to realize the idea that American feminists set out to achieve. It is: "Freedom, Equality and Justice".

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John Steinbeck and His Visit to Georgia

NATIA MSHVIDOBADZE*

Abstract

Diverse and versatile John Steinbeck's legacy may be, his forte is considered to be social commentary. His masterpieces "Grapes of Wrath" and "Of Mice and Men" that earned him international acclaim and Pulitzer Prize are essentially documentaries about the crash of American dream, the nature of loneliness, man's predilection for cruelty, economic injustices, and the uncertainty of the future. Not surprisingly, John Steinbeck found his literary outlet in documentary journalism that had been promoted since 1930s by Federal Writers' Project (FWP) as part of the Theodore Roosevelt anti depression reform.

Documentary journalism suited John Steinbeck's propensity for travelling. Arguably, his masterpieces are not only the products of his writing genius but also his intensive travelling adventures. "Go as high as you can on the equipment you've got" His personal stamp of "Pegasus" and the motto below it which he settled on in the late 1930s symbolizes both his professional aspirations and his enterprising spirit.

Three of his most enduring books were travel narratives *Sea of Cortez* (1941), Steinbeck's neglected masterpieces, a rich brew of scientific observation, philosophical musing, and humorous anecdotes capped by Ricketts's catalog of specimens discovered on the trip. *A Russian Journal* (1948), and *Travels with Charley* (1962) an intimate journey across America, recapturing his familiarity with America that allows the reader to enter into American consciousness. Several journalistic series concentrate on travel to certain extent starting from "Harvest Gypsies" written in 1936 to his final series about Vietnam, "Letters to Alicia" published in American newspapers in 1966 and 1967. And many of his books are about characters as bold and adventurous as he. Americans who gravitate to California for the new experience and promise that he himself was in pursuit of: Lennie and George, Tom Joad, Adam Trask (Shillinglaw, 2011).

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The Russian Journal

Of all his travel books that provide fascinating insights into the DNA of the countries and places he visited, I believe “Russian journal” stands out with its unique historical, cultural and psychological perspective.

In 1947, when the Cold War solidified as U.S. aid had brought certain Western countries under American influence and the USSR had founded openly communist republics, John Steinbeck and renown photographer Robert Capa took it upon himself to venture into other side of the “Iron Curtain” and present other, none political, human side of Russia to New York Herald Tribune.

The book centers on the trips to and from the hotel in Moscow where the author and his companion are staying. Thus, the plot is simple and follows the travelling route itself. Yet, its unique, often deadpan humor, simple but compelling language powerfully resonates with readers.

Yet, it had even a bigger role: to help the west “emotionally understand the Russians.” Throughout the book Steinbeck’s use of metaphors to compare Soviet and American landscape serves as mitigating cultural shock and reducing the impression of Russian and American polarization.

Steinbeck speaks of the flat grainlands of the Ukraine —as flat as our Middle West, and almost as fruitfull (ARJ 50). The Georgian seaside might have been the coast of California, except that the Black Sea is not rocky. The sea is very blue, and very tranquil, and the beaches are very white (ARJ 145). The land around Tiflis is composed of —little pat ches [in which] along the track the corn stood as high as it does in Kansas (ARJ 170). The life on the Volga was —very rich and reminded the travelers of —Mark Twain’s account of the Mississippi of his day (ARJ 124).

The style of Russian Journal is determined by the purpose of the project to record only what is seen. Steinbeck’s and Capa’s journalistic pursuits converge in the book. With a pen and photographic lens they freeze moments of the Soviet lives.

“Here, as in his best journalism, Steinbeck excelled at the little picture in the midst of cataclysmic events: in A Russian Journal, it is the girl in the Stalingrad rubble; or the bookkeeper proudly showing his scrapbook saved from war's destruction; or the photos of the lost soldiers on walls of little Ukrainian houses” (Shillinglaw, 1999).

Russian Journal reflects his usual understanding and empathy towards working people in the Soviet Union. However, for the author of “Grapes of Wrath” Russian Journal lacks depth and underlying intricacies which the writer justifies right at the beginning of the book:

“And so we decided to try it—to do a simple reporting job backed up with photographs. We would work together. We would avoid politics and the larger issues. We would stay away from the Kremlin, from military men and from military plans. We wanted to get to the Russian people if we could.

We should not go in with chips on our shoulders and we should try to be neither critical nor favorable. We would try to do honest reporting, to set down what we saw and heard without editorial comment, without drawing conclusions about things we didn't know sufficiently.”

Yet what John Steinbeck and Robert Capa witnessed in the Soviet Union was, obviously, carefully pre-arranged occasions by Stalin dictatorial regime maintenance of which was notoriously relied on secret police and ‘mutual surveillance’. Steinbeck’s vivid descriptions of the enormity of the World War II destruction in Moscow, Ukraine and Stalingrad served the Soviet publicity purposes. Unfortunately, the war horrors are de ja vu for the Ukrainian people at the moment but instead of publicizing the Russian government is vehemently denying having committed the same war crimes as Fascist Germans.

In fact, Steinbeck is often accused of naivety and of involuntarily being a tool of Soviet propaganda. Using Russia as a term for Soviet people in general and overlooking the colossal injustice and repressions inflicted by Stalin regime in his literary exploration is considered a journalistic crime by his critics. Sherekh writes in his powerful critique of Steinbeck’s silence:

“Just as you did not notice the utter weariness and despair of the Soviet man, so you did not notice the national repression in the USSR. You did not see the struggle of the Ukrainian and the Georgian nations for their liberation. You did not find out that even the Soviet press in Ukraine is full of articles against Ukrainian nationalism’ [...]. There is a war within the boundaries of the USSR, a secret and masked war, a war not for life, but unto death. You did not notice it however, although it can be clearly seen (quoted in Kershaw 2002, 187-8).”

However, as a former Soviet citizen who was brought up with the communist ideology, I can assert that it was virtually impossible to notice the atrocities of Stalin regime on casual encounter with ordinary people due to the fact that apart from a few dissidents, most of them sincerely believed in the regime. It was not only public areas where Steinbeck was disturbed by ‘Stalin’s stern eyes’ and his ‘pictures and statues outgrow every bound of reason’ but also it was common for the people to cherish Stalin’s pictures in their private houses, (personally in my grandparents’ house Stalin’s picture hung in the hall) which demonstrates how effectively the

Soviet promulgation worked. The power of Russian propaganda has not diminished today since almost as many as 60 % of Russian population are detached from reality and believe current Russian president's blatant fabrications.

Steinbeck and Georgia

Perhaps as part of Soviet publicity, after visiting Russia and Ukraine Steinbeck and Capa were taken to Georgia which in sharp contrast was spared the World War II bombing and presented itself with particularly impressive scenery and people. With his characteristic sharp journalistic eye for detail Steinbeck was able to perceive basic aspects of the Soviet Georgian culture and identity during a sweeping visit. However, much to the criticism of many, journalistic objectivity escapes him as he dwells on "only what he sees" instead of going to the roots.

What Steinbeck sees is Georgia's ancient history, hospitality, love of poetry, religious observation, distinctive sport all of which are still truly part of Georgian DNA.

Having visited Mtskheta, former capital, Steinbeck admired the antiquity of Georgia and mentions it as being a hotbed for archeologists.

Steinbeck observes three ancient religious buildings Christian church, mosque and synagogue standing in proximity in Old Tbilisi area which demonstrates Georgian tolerance and hospitality. Steinbeck is also impressed by the abundance of traditional food and people's generosity on two feasts.

Regarding love of poetry and literature, Steinbeck had an interesting interaction with the representatives of the Writers' Union of Georgia. Steinbeck claims that American writers are watchdogs of society in contrast with the "architects of soul" as described by the Georgian writers. In addition, Steinbeck is surprised by the passion that Georgian people shared for the poetry. Having grown up in Soviet reality before the internet era, I can confirm that poetry genuinely was almost just as popular among young generation as pop music is now.

However, Steinbeck and Capa were exposed to only positive aspects of Georgia. Even though Soviet Georgia was relatively better off than some other republics due to its agricultural output and export, it had a dark side too as part of Stalin's tyrannical regime which Steinbeck purposefully turned a blind eye to.

Russian Journal is highly prophetic at the end of the book.

“We know that this journal will not be satisfactory either to the ecclesiastical Left, nor the lumpen Right. The first will say it is anti-Russian, and the second that it is pro-Russian. Surely, it is superficial and how could it be otherwise? We have no conclusions to draw except that Russian people are like all the other people in the world. Some bad ones there are surely, but by far the greater number are very good.”

The book which was published in New York Herald immediately was denounced as being pro-Soviet. Ironically in the Soviet Union the book was considered anti-Soviet and would not be translated and published nearly another 10 years.

Conclusion

Indeed, similar to many of Steinbeck’s masterpieces Russian Journal generated fierce controversy and mixed feelings.

“One may speculate whether Steinbeck’s framed portrait of the nation in its peacetime pursuits, vocational and vocational, exempt from delicate political issues, was a propagandistic attempt, diplomatic finesse, or product of ostensibly humanistic yet blindfolded approach to communism’s effect on the average man” (ARJ xxiii).

However, what is readily apparent is that with its solid sense of humor, love for individual, deep empathy and unsurpassed literary style and command of English language Russian Journal established its place among the classic masterpieces of the literature world.

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My Story - Boxes I Tick, Labels I Hate

VERIKO GVINJILIA*

Abstract

I grew up in a family where my father was just as passionate about taking care of us as my mother was. My father constantly defined masculinity for me and my sister in ways that the rest of the world was still yet to see and understand. I grew up in a family where women's voices were valued and heard. I grew up in a family where women were always treated with great respect. They were always supported, adored, and protected. As a child, I mistakenly believed that was the norm. I assumed that's how women were treated everywhere. I didn't know I was wrong until my father died, leaving me alone and unprotected. I am now a twenty-one-year-old young woman who has experienced a great deal of abuse in many ways, and I now see why my father was so passionate about protecting girls like me more than ever before.

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, the word "misogyny" is defined as the dislike of, contempt for, or ingrained prejudice against women. Since men will never be able to empathize or understand the problems that women face in a patriarchal society, I believe that they should be educated by women about misogyny and their daily struggles. Men can also take the time to educate themselves to become more informed about the experiences that women face. Personally, I believe misogyny is a deep-rooted issue that stems from childhood development and the type of home and ideologies that you are raised with, as well as what has been broadcast in the media for practically all of history. A child being raised in a patriarchal household won't understand the concept of misogyny because they'll understand that to be their norm, rather than admiring or being raised by a single mother who is working multiple jobs to keep food on the table. Despite the much more socially liberal world that we live in today, women are still faced with atrocities that have yet to be eradicated. Women are continuously bashed and marginalized as villains for speaking up

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against abuse against powerful men, and despite outcries of success, I still believe that there is centuries of work that needs to be done to support women.

My Story

This will be tough for many to hear; it's been a tough journey. After my father died, I was taught to be quiet, not to bother people with my troubles or tragedies, and sometimes not to feel at all. Essentially, to put it crudely there were no bleating or sob stories allowed. I even lost the ability to cry after years of living like that. People sometimes ask me why I can't cry even while discussing some of the most awful events of life, and my response is, "I spent nine years teaching myself not to cry no matter what." I was always highly organized, diligent, dependable, and focused on school and my grades, so when my PTSD began to affect me and my body and I couldn't be any of that, I had no clue what to do since it was practically all I knew how to be and all I was allowed to be. After 9 years of getting to know myself, I am painfully aware that I function through extremes; anything in the middle is complicated and time-consuming. So, for what reason am I extracting secret thoughts from the intricacies of my personal life and making them public? I'm not sure; it just seems like loosening a noose.

After all the abuse, I detested everything about myself: my name, how I dressed, how I looked, and where I lived. I always get sad when I look at old pictures of my childhood. I have a hard time relating back to the version of me, who was happy, loved, and hadn't yet been through anything horrific. The truth was, I was never searching for unending bliss. I understand that happiness may come and go and that we cannot be happy all the time. My ultimate goal was for it to hurt less. It makes me wonder how much of what we tell ourselves we should do comes from our own hearts? How much of what's on our to-do list stems from our souls? What percentage of what we believe we want... do we truly want? While we're attempting to mold ourselves like clay into the person, we believe we should be, we're losing sight of who we really are.

I lost myself completely during what I believed was a healing process after what had happened to me. I no longer enjoyed anything I used to enjoy, and things that used to mean a lot to me no longer mattered. I knew I needed to make many changes, so I began with my name. Everyone has been calling me Vera instead of my actual name for years. This is why. Symbolically enough, "Vera" means faith. I spent the next few months after the attack in complete isolation. I feared I'd gotten too good at being alone for a while. It was far too convenient, far too vital.

However, as vital as being alone is, the benefits of isolation should only contribute to strengthening your connections with others. We develop depth of understanding and compassion for ourselves by being alone, but what good is that if it doesn't blossom into depth of understanding and compassion for others? That is sincerely why I'm standing here now. They claim that living in the past is what causes depression, so I am choosing not to have a past - not to allow people to exist solely in a previous stage of my existence. Because then I'll be trapped there as well, trapped in that phantom place. Some "back then" version of myself. A version of myself that I'm not sure I ever truly was.

I've developed new interests and hobbies, such as writing, cooking, crafting, and collecting. I realized that my past had caused me to lose the ability to be present and, in the moment, therefore I also implemented specific techniques to live more presently. You've probably all heard the term "mindfulness." By definition, mindfulness is the quality or state of being conscious or aware of something. When we practice mindfulness, we direct our attention to the present moment and the job at hand. Merely watch your hands when you wash the dishes, for example. Try not to let your attention stray to the many tasks left undone on your to-do list. Just... do the dishes. On the other hand, writing helped me quiet my mind. It allowed the feelings I was by this point completely numb to come to life. I gained a strong sense of self and strength as a result. I found my inner voice through writing. Our true wishes are expressed by the voice inside of us. She is masked by the background noise of everyone else reverberating within your head, making her difficult to hear. Although it may take some time and effort to learn to hear her, she is ultimately the only voice you will ever need to pay attention to since she will never lead you astray. it kept me alive.

Rape Myths: A “perfect victim” is a dead one

To the general public, the only perfect victim is one who is no longer alive. Even then, perfection is debatable. Over the years, we have heard about and watched several high-profile abuse and rape cases. Every time a news cycle about a case like this break, I am anxious that someone close to me may misunderstand things, victim-blame the victim, or worse, expose themselves as a bigot altogether. After all, you never know. The majority of rape enablers, in my opinion, are either unintelligent, cruel, or both. But I also believe so many people are willing to take this stance on celebrity cases because it's the same stance they take in their own lives. It takes a village to enable an abuser. There are a lot of abusers, and therefore a lot of villagers.

I'm sure you've at least heard of the O.J. Simpson case, even if you weren't around to see it unfold. OJ brutally murdered Nicole and her friend Ronald Goldman, yet he got away with it, and every single close friend of Nicole and the family said they never witnessed anything strange happen and were unaware that OJ was abusive. He showed kindness to his friends, Nicole's family, and friends, but when they weren't there, he was aggressive and violent. The "but he's a wonderful man, he'd never do that!" justification for abusers falls flat here. An abuser might be your favorite actor, sports player, singer, best friend's funny boyfriend that everyone likes being around, or your friend's pal who you've only heard lovely things about. Most abusers are not rude to everyone. They make an effort to appear polite when it is convenient so that they can hide behind that pleasant demeanor. That doesn't mean they're not abusive, and it shouldn't be used to defend them. There is also a myth about how a victim should generally act or react to abuse, and we are frequently made to feel guilty, embarrassed, and self-conscious if we do not fit into that stereotype. That's when the victim blaming begins, and everyone tries everything they can to make YOU feel guilty. "Why couldn't you fight back?" "Why didn't you try to escape?" "were you drunk?" "Were you dressed appropriately?" "He's a good guy from what I've heard, he'd never hurt anyone!" "that doesn't even sound like him!" I used to believe it was all my fault. I was concerned that I wasn't reacting "appropriately." It took me years to realize that you can't respond to or cope properly with an inappropriate situation.

I kept thinking there was something wrong with me because I couldn't "handle" the pain of being a victim. However, I now understand that you are not supposed to "handle" it. You can't expect civilized and pragmatic responses to something so horrific and violent. Though the problem was that I was exposed to violence so frequently as a child that my brain had unfortunately already become accustomed to it by that point and age. It could no longer tell the difference between a house fire and a fireplace. It had lost track of what was safe. It was now up to me to recognize and learn the difference and never let anyone ever trick me into thinking I'm insane for yelling when I'm being burned alive, especially since those same people who did that to me were the ones who locked me in a burning house after setting it ablaze and repeatedly swore it was to keep me safe and warm to begin with. An example would be Gabby Petito, Gabby Petio was murdered by her fiancé, Brian Laundrie, in August 2021 when they were on a van life voyage across the U.S. Police in Moab, Utah, responded to a report of a 'domestic incident' after Gabby and Brian had an argument. Officers made "many avoidable mistakes," including not classifying the encounter as a

domestic violence incident and charging Gabby as the aggressor. The cause of Gabby's death was unclear at first, but they eventually determined that she was strangled. Pages from Brian Laundrie's notebook show he wrote "I ended her life, I thought it was merciful."

Georgians appear to have the belief that because these incidents are so infrequently reported, they are less likely to happen here. In a country where people rarely show sympathy for victims unless they are dead, and even then, a handful of people will still go on to make excuses for their rapists and abusers, consider why a victim would subject herself to all the public humiliation and scrutiny that comes with being a victim. A woman was brutally murdered by her partner in public only a few weeks ago. I felt terrible after reading the comments about it under the news articles. We need to examine how the general population feels about victims in Georgia, something we should have done a long time ago. In 2021, a fourteen-year-old girl was raped and exploited by a 23-year-old man in Georgia. Her male family members beat her as her grandfather gloated about how she deserved it and was asking for it. He then had the nerve to pretend he had never hurt her verbally or physically. According to her mother, who was out of the country at the time, the kid told her that she couldn't even rest since her head was continuously throbbing from the injuries she received after being beaten. Soon after, the kid committed suicide. Her rapist was only convicted and imprisoned after she committed suicide, despite cops knowing what had happened all along. Thus, Georgian rape laws protect a sector of the population classified as "perfect rape victims" while ignoring the lived reality of others labeled as "imperfect rape victims." The sentences determined by Georgian law change depending on the severity of the rape.

"The entire rape trial is a process of disqualifying women and a celebration of phallogocentrism," Carol Smart correctly stated. Isn't the law at least partly responsible for creating self-doubt among thousands of rape survivors who often end up questioning themselves because the law tells them to do so? Thousands of girls continue to shut themselves down because they lack access to positive structural reforms and aid as well as society or the law on their side, so they wait... they wait until they become "the perfect victims" through the lens of society, which only happens after they die, because allegedly a victim only deserves public attention and empathy once she is dead. allegedly we should wait to just die so that society recognizes and acknowledges our experiences of abuse.

DARVO

Have you ever defended yourself when you were being treated unfairly (or worse), only to have your attacker contradict your accusation, attack your credibility, and reverse the victim and offender roles? You seem to have been DARVOed, and you are not alone. This psychological manipulation tactic, according to Jennifer Joy Freyd, founder and president of the Center for Institutional Courage and professor emeritus of psychology at the University of Oregon, is more widespread than we think and preys on our lack of awareness. Freyd first identified and researched this behavior in 1997. As part of the Clayman Institute Faculty Research Fellows program, she recently gave a presentation on DARVO.

People who abuse others frequently practice DARVO, which stands for Deny, Attack, and Reverse Victim and Offender. Darvo is a form of gaslighting that is frequently used to humiliate victims and make them think they are to blame for the abuse. When someone uses DARVO, they often deny the conduct, attack the person who confronts them, and flip the roles of victim and perpetrator. As a result, the perpetrator takes on the role of the victim, and the victim becomes the offender. The goal of this tactic is to undermine the victim's credibility, scare the victim and their supporters, and confuse the problems.

Consider this DARVO example. A person has been accused of rape. When questioned, they deny there was a sexual assault and say that any sexual intercourse was consensual. They pretend to be offended, portraying themselves as the true victims. They argue that this is just the victim attempting to retaliate after being rejected. If this story seems familiar, it's because it's a rather common reaction when someone is accused of sexual assault: denying anything happened, becoming outraged, and blaming the victim of trying to ruin their lives. Legal threats or even violence are frequently used in these types of attacks. It is a typical method employed by perpetrators of domestic violence to deny anything happened or, if the abuse cannot be denied, to argue that it was not detrimental ("I hardly touched you!"). The offender may also come up with explanations why they engaged in that conduct that lay all of the guilt on the victim's shoulders, such as "I wouldn't have been upset if you hadn't been flirting with that man."

DARVO is a method commonly used in cases of sexual misconduct (from mild to violent), where the resolution of "he said/she said" scenarios frequently relies exclusively on the victim's credibility. Notable and infamous examples include Bill Clinton's response to Monica Lewinsky's accusations ("I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky. "These allegations

are false"); Donald Trump's vituperations against claims of sexual harassment and misconduct ("These claims are all fabricated, pure fiction, and outright lies"); and Harvey Weinstein's general practice of smearing the reputations of women who refused his sexual advances.

Nuns and Sluts Defense

We've been trained to favor men's voices over women's, so our natural reaction to a woman's allegations of violence is to dismiss her as insane (she can't perceive the true story), unstable (she can't handle the real story), or just frightening (she knows the real story, but she's out to get him). That implies that a huge number of female experiences—possibly the most important and illuminating ones, the stories we most need to hear—have been shut down or suppressed. Or it might suggest that women have kept quiet because they believe that if they open up about their feelings, they would sound insane.

All of this comes under what attorneys refer to as the "nuts and sluts" defense. When women claim men's sexual misbehavior, the defense attorney's normal technique is to discredit such women by portraying them as sexually promiscuous, tormented by an excess of desire, or "unstable" and spiteful, eager to harm men because they can't manage their own emotions. In both cases, sexual or emotional overabundance makes you less than a victim in the eyes of a jury.

We Should All be Raging

Anger is commonly characterized as a strong sense of annoyance, animosity, or aggression. We usually think of it in terms of specific emotions, and we correlate those emotions with isolated actions that produce pain or dread in ourselves or others. Anger, on the other hand, is a vital and beneficial emotion—one that, beyond being isolating, is fundamentally social and socially constructed. Anger alerts us as humans that something is wrong and that something needs to be changed. Anger is the human reaction to threats of humiliation, physical trauma, humiliation, and unfairness. Anger motivates us to demand responsibility, which is a tremendous political force. As such, it is frequently what motivates us to build creative, joyful, and politically active societies. Anger is strongly related with masculinity and manhood throughout the early stages of childhood socialization. Most children identify angry expressions with male faces by the time they are toddlers. Empathy, fear, and grief are less emphasized and, in some cases, explicitly discouraged among boys. Many people regard them as feminizing flaws, but rage is regarded as a sign of

masculinity. Girls and women, on the other hand, are gently pushed to dismiss anger and other "bad" feelings as unfeminine. According to studies, girls are routinely discouraged from even recognizing their own anger, talking about unpleasant feelings, or being demanding in ways that prioritize their own needs. Girls are urged to smile more, use "nice" voices, and suppress their own feelings in order to ensure the comfort of others. Suppressed, repressed, redirected, and disregarded rage is increasingly recognized as a role in a variety of "women's illnesses," such as disordered eating, autoimmune disorders, chronic exhaustion, and pain. This emotional gender barrier accumulates and is amplified by other types of prejudice when we go from the intimacy and privacy of the home into institutions. Girls, for example, are expected to exercise better self-control, be more respectful, and refrain from using harsh or obscene language in school.

Gender is a distinguishing feature, but it is also a component of the complicated web of circumstances, position, and social intelligence. Rage has been a defining aspect of our society for the last several years, a period defined by widespread technological, social, and political disruption and turbulence. Women have been more open and active in expressing their anger, which often correlates with social upheaval and subsequently subsides with stability. Girls and women are now at the forefront of movements fighting for climate change and fighting authoritarianism. They are calling for an end to institutionalized corruption, sexual abuse, and prejudice. They are, in reality, accepting the risks associated with making a public, political claim to be angry. Tamara, our wonderful dean and professor, reminded us a few weeks ago that if we don't demand things fiercely, no one will listen, and I couldn't agree more. We should all reclaim our right to rage and rage against everything that makes us feel unsafe. That is the only way we can win.

Conclusion

To conclude, I wanted to state that this is my truth, and the truth of every single brave woman who take to the public to speak out on rape, who have helped me come to terms with my own experience. I have learned to rewire my perception of what happened. I'd be lying if I said that I do not live-in fear anymore because a part of me still does, but by continuing to speak out about it, I am combating the fear head-on and working towards incinerating it completely from my life. While grief, suffering, and loss are unavoidable, you are never truly prepared for them. It creeps into your heart and soul, shattering your ideas of normalcy—whatever that is. I will continue

to strive to be the most authentic, intelligent, and healthy version of myself—for myself and for others I care about. There are so many reasons to be optimistic, and I genuinely hope that in these extraordinarily frightening and dreadful times, we can all attempt to find that silver lining. We live in a deeply traumatic culture that intentionally misrepresents trauma and the impact of violence. Socially ostracizing survivors and victims by constantly reinforcing their shame is exactly what abusers want. Please speak up, listen and help as much as you can.

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Thomas Wolfe - The Greatest Talent of the Generation

ANI MTSARIASHVILI*

Introduction

The article is based on one of the major American writers of the twentieth Century - Thomas Wolfe who was considered a prominent figure of the southern Renaissance in the 20ies and 30ies and whose contributions to American southern literature are so valuable. Wolfe's works majorly include biographies and memoirs reflecting the life and culture of the south combined with his autobiographical details.

As Faulkner put it well, Wolfe was one of the most extraordinary talents of their generation. This title perfectly describes him as an influential and inspiring author who aimed higher than any other of his contemporaries. Wolfe indeed was one of the most outstanding representatives of the twentieth century that made a chief contribution to the reinvigoration of southern American literature. His eminence is proved by his influence extending to the most significant American writers of all time including Jack Kerouac for whom Wolfe turned out to be as inspirational to produce one of his very first literary works.

Biography

Thomas Wolfe (1900-1938) was born in the small town of Asheville, North Carolina, and grew up in a family of Pennsylvanian stonecutter and his wife was a teacher at a Hill country school. He had a big love of books since early childhood and was an exceptional student. His talent was noticeable even in the early stages of his life when he got into the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and later at Harvard where his brilliance was always emphasized in his studies. His active engagement in many extracurricular activities and excellence usually fascinated others. In addition to that, He was very adept at playwriting – one of his greatest interests which he was passionately pursuing at Harvard. Harvard years were of great importance in Wolfe's early career

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when producing his very first credible literary works. Time spent at Harvard was a turning point in his formation as a future writer.

This whole period and the experiences that he had been through, ranging from his childhood to early manhood were illustrated in his writings in a great and explicit way. He authored many literary works of fiction featuring an evocative and unique writing style. Due to their emotionally charged and poetic style, he is sometimes referred to as a romantic. They provide vivid descriptions of southern culture and mores of the twenties and thirties which are permeated with Wolfe's sensitive, sophisticated, and analytical perspective. These works are great syntheses of prose and poetry where highly original and rhapsodic writing is combined with his factual history. His most notable writings include: "Look Homeward, Angel"; "You Can't Go Home Again"; "Of Time And A River" and "Lost Boy". Those four extensive highly insightful narratives together provide one lengthy portrayal of his short but intense life.

Look Homeward, Angel

Look Homeward, Angel is perhaps the most acclaimed literary work by a native of North Carolina distinguished by its artistic merits that left a powerful legacy. This is a highly autobiographical American coming-of-age story that was published in October of 1929 and later prompted his fame. Before its publication the novel had gone through many obstacles; Wolfe was dismissed by many publishing houses and *Look Homeward, Angel* hadn't come out until it was read by Max Perkins, a very famous editor who was known for discovering the works of the brilliant authors such as Hemingway and Fitzgerald. His contribution was invaluable in popularizing Wolfe as a true genius. It was exactly his editorial that made Wolfe well-respected.

The novel itself revolves around a young boy –Eugene Gant growing from boyhood to early manhood. It deals with Eugene's ultimate desire for success in breaking away from his chaotic family and his hometown. The novel is often regarded as a "sentimental tale of growing up" which is full of loneliness, insanity, alcoholism, family dysfunction, and racial segregation which was a very prevalent issue at those times in southern states.

Wolfe's expectations of the novel were great. He hoped that *Look Homeward Angel* was going to be a great success and make him famous in his hometown, and most importantly people would buy it eagerly in Asheville, then they would begin to realize that they saw themselves in the novel, albeit Thomas Wolfe had unflattering things to say about them and even secrets to share.

For that reason, he even faced some death threats from Asheville and therefore wasn't able to go back to his hometown.

The novel is quite revealing as many of the characters of *Look Homeward, Angel* were strongly based on real people from his community and were often not portrayed nicely. They seem sort of static and stereotypical with grotesque peculiarities those do not evolve and change over time; in the wide landscape of the novel, we can see their nature and typical features of them through the author's position. This kind of portrayal did result in a certain estrangement between Wolfe and his hometown, and this turned out to be a major source for his following work, "*You Can't Go Home Again*". (The title lately turned into a very famous widely-used proverb in the U.S.). However, Wolfe didn't intend to deride or offend them; rather he did create unforgettable characters that represent certain value systems and ideas that are in opposition to each other since they are made around the idea of both love and loathing at the same time.

Themes

In the *Look Homeward, Angel* themes of health problems, growth, and maturation appear in high frequency. Eugene's torment is especially revealed in a period of growth featured by anxiety and threat eventually leading to the serious ailments (Wolfe mentions influenza, tuberculosis, and heart disorder). Those sufferings which seem to be ubiquitous in every stage of his development interestingly appear in his experiences in contradictory ways. They constitute a major part of his physical, mental, and emotional suffering and paradoxically serve as a force for transforming loss and illnesses into a major source of inspiration and art. Death of one of his beloved brothers Ben was exactly the moment when Gant realized his true calling- writing. This one especially emphasizes the ultimate power of emotional pain to cause misery and at the same time transform into a creative force.

Look Homeward, Angel is probably Wolfe's one of the most acclaimed literary work and there are a couple of reasons for that which includes: Narrative, language, and symbolism. These core aspects define the greatness of the whole novel which is distinguished by realistic and forward-moving narrative, his vast and rich command of the English language, and most importantly thoughtfully developed symbolism. Similarly, to many other Wolfe's stories, *Look Homeward, Angel* has many features of modernism and is constructed around lyrical insight which does not completely follow the traditional style of writing. Wolfe probably was not a flawless

writer in terms of the form and the structure of the novel, though it represents an organic whole that unites various themes, landscapes, images, and emotions in a rich and complex system. Through an artful combination of all these experimental elements, the author creates an intense emotional state in a reader which is a profound ability of an author. The very poetic opening of the novel initially creates the intensity and contemplative mood which are extant throughout the novel:

“...A stone, a leaf, unfound door; of a stone, a leaf, a door. And of all the forgotten faces. Naked and alone we came into exile. In her dark womb we did not know our mother’s face; from the prison of her flesh have we come into the unspeakable and incommunicable prison of this earth.

Which of us has known his brother? Which of us has looked into his father’s heart? Which of us has not remained forever prison-pent? Which of us is not forever a stranger and alone?

O waste of loss, in the hot mazes, lost, among bright stars on this most weary unbright cinder, lost! Remembering speechlessly, we seek the great forgotten language, the lost lane-end into heaven, a stone, a leaf, an unfound door. Where? When?

O lost, and by the wind grieved, a ghost, come back again.”

It is interesting to note, that the novel has subtitled a *story of the buried life* and by that underneath all these everyday lives, scenes, and characters he expressed the soul and the spirit of the sensitive and majestically alienated youngster as he grew up. Wolfe would describe the frustration and resentments Eugene felt toward his chaotic family therefore his dream of escaping the house and pursuing his calling is always present in the story.

Literary Parallels

Some literary parallels can be drawn between *Look Homeward, Angel*, and other famous works. One of the obvious similarities I found was between Eugene Gant and Holden Caulfield (the protagonist of Salinger’s novel “catcher in the rye”) in many respects though the common one is their escapist nature. Both of them are sensitive and alienated, and thus they have a strong desire to find their way in life. From both of the characters’ outlooks, I noticed criticism of the society they live within. So, denunciation of community, sensibility, insightfulness, and depression (feeling of alienation) are the major qualities that they share.

Look Homeward, Angel is written in a stream-of-consciousness narrative reminiscent of James Joyce. Since Wolfe was profoundly influenced by Joyce, it is logical that their writings have a lot in common and can be related to different points at this point; we can compare it to Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (which he later fully developed in *Ulysses*). To start with, both of them are oriented toward local issues. While Wolfe depicts his Homeland-Asheville, North Carolina, Joyce provides some valuable insights into Dublin. Stephen Daedalus is the autobiographical character of James Joyce as Eugene Gant of Wolfe's fictional alter-ego. Many of the events of Stephen's and Eugene's lives mirror events from their (authors') own youth. They tell a lot of things that happened in their lives. Most importantly, these two characters-Eugene Gaunt and Stephen Dedalus—are portrayed as the artists of Young Man whose pursuits are alike. Besides, the main themes which these two works explore are nearly the same which are meant to be intolerance of simple and traditional home life, spiritual homelessness, and the search for identity.

Sequels to the “Look Homeward, Angel”

As far as Wolfe's other novels, such as “Of Time And A River”, “You Can't Go Home Again”, and the “Lost Boy” are sequels to “Look Homeward, Angel” depicting Wolfe's later life and adventure. They deal with different struggles he had including his romantic complications. These narratives follow the author's life as it goes on and, in that sense, they are quite intertwined. Those four lengthy novels create the overall picture of Wolfe's biography and provide a rich insight into his contemporary southern life. The high degree of realistic depictions makes it hard to maintain a distinction between an actual author and a fictional character. So, these works serve to be a valuable source for those keen to get rich insight into his interiority.

Conclusion

This “Awkward Giant of American literature” remains an eminent author among many others albeit some from his hometown never tolerated the truths revealed in his exceptionally authentic narratives. His pieces of work are more than simple autobiographies, his masterful combination of elements of prose and poetry, thematic control, and characters make his books true literary masterpieces. Those features in particular largely define the uniqueness and sophistication of the book and establish its individualistic modernist aesthetic. Wolfe was among a few authors

who managed to portray the true southern life of the United States and convey all his thoughts in a very realistic and impressionistic way. Although some critics called his writings “undisciplined and largely formless autobiography” which indeed is deficient in reasonable literary explanation, they remain phenomenally experimental works of southern literature for which he reached iconic status.

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SECTION IV: Education, Art, Economics

The “Mamuli” - Online Magazine of Georgian Emigrants in the USA

DALI OSEPASHVILI*

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to show the results of the study about the “Mamuli” – online magazine of Georgian emigrants in the USA. This magazine was established in 2013 by the editor Manuchar Pirveli (Kachakidze) who emigrated from Kutaisi to New Jersey 22 years ago. Before publishing this journal, it was preceded by a newspaper with the same title. The newspaper “Mamuli” was printed from 2003 to 2012. According to the editor, the publication of “Mamuli” was decided by the feeling of nostalgia among the Georgian emigrants. In the digital era, the editor decided to transform this newspaper into a magazine. It became difficult to publish the newspaper regularly, because the immigrant readers already received the information from social media. That’s way, the editor decided to take over the niche of the magazine with its online platform.

According to this study, the editor Manuchar Pirveli is a person with many diverse interests, who actively tries to conduct Georgian affairs in the United States. Besides publishing “The Mamuli”, he as an immigration topic researcher, founded “the Georgian graves search committee” and during the processes of searching the archives, he found a lot of lost Georgian graves in different Brother’ cemeteries.

Manuchar Pirvelis TV bridges with “TV1” journalist Nino Arazashvili are also noteworthy. As the study of these TV programs shows, the topics of “Georgian-American Thursdays” are quite diverse. Manuchar Pirveli, within the framework of this TV bridge, tells the public about American holidays, traditions, culture, American authors as well as current problems of the modern time, including the challenges posed by Covid-19 pandemics in the USA.

Keywords: Magazine; Georgian Emigrants; Manuchar Pirveli; Georgian Media in the United States; Online platform.

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Introduction

The goal of this study is to show the results of research of the Magazine “Mamuli” the only Georgian journal in the USA, which was published by Georgian immigrants. The editor is Manuchar (Kachakhidze), pseudonym - Manuchar Pirveli, a journalist and a researcher, who emigrated from Kutaisi to New-Jerse 22 years ago.

The magazine has online platform www.mamuli.com, where pdf versions of printed journals are uploaded. On the whole 14 issues of this magazine were published from 2012 to 2017.

From the Newspaper to the Magazine – Brief History

It should be noted that before publishing this journal, it existed as a newspaper “Mamuli” from 2003 till 2012.

It’s worth mentioning that, firstly before founding “Mamuli” newspaper, Manuchar Pirveli edited another newspaper “Iveria” for Georgian immigrants for a year and a half and then, Iveria’s editorial office joined the newly established newspaper “Mamuli”.

As the editor noted, the publication of “Mamuli” was decided by the feeling of nostalgia among the Georgian emigrants.

„The emigration here was left without Georgian spirit. When I saw that a Georgian child in the church was saying to another Georgian child in English: “*Nika, come here*”, *I realized that it was necessary to publish a newspaper, even at the cost of a lot of money, the newspaper had to exist in some form and that is why we started this newspaper “Mamuli”* (“Mamuli”, 2007).

As it can be read in my previous research which was about Newspaper “Mamuli”, the articles were more analytical and mostly with features story, it contained less information (Osepashvili, 2011). The main topic was nostalgia and there were very few articles about political topics and these topics were covered by the newspapers only during “Rose Revolution” and Russian-Georgian August War 2008.

The Concept and Main Topics of the Magazine “Mamuli”:

Since 2012, newspaper has been transformed and turned into a magazine. The magazine “Mamuli” continued the same direction as the newspaper did. Anyway, it’s interesting why the newspaper decided to end its existence as a newspaper and why it turned into a magazine? In the era of internet, it became difficult for the newspaper to be published regularly, because the immigrant

readers already possessed the information from social media. And the editor decided to find the special place for the magazine, because the articles printed in the newspaper before 2012, looked more like magazine publications.

As it can be read in the editor's note on the online platform of this magazine: "*The "Mamuli" journal was established in 2003 and it has been the only Georgian magazine in the United States for more than ten years. There are different expectations among immigrant readers: very emotional, warm and demanding and that is why the authors of our articles have to meet strenuous requirements to satisfy them. Over the last years the wide access to internet turned our newspaper into a journal, with news coverage we started concentrating on literature publications in order to firmly establish ourselves in a very competitive market. Today our journal can be accessed via internet. At the same time the hard copy of the journal can be picked up by the business entities where Georgian products are sold and the churches can also give them for free*" (Editorial of online magazine "Mamuli").

The main author of the magazine articles is the editor himself but there are other authors besides him. As for articles, most of them are more literary in spite of the fact that it's called a public magazine. However, in addition to feature stories, there are also opinions and analytical articles.

The study of the magazine also shows that some materials are not always original and in some cases are copied from the media published in Georgia. In addition to the fact that this should be explained by the scarcity of "Mamuli" authors, it may also be related to another factor - that the emigrant Georgian readers have the opportunity to look through current political or public issues, in Georgia. Mainly, blogs of "RFRL" ("Radio Tavisufleba") were reprinted, like Marina Vashakmadze, Niko Nergadze, Ia Antadze, Iago Kachkachishvili, Bidzina Ramishvili etc.

It is true, that the names of the authors are written on these blogs, but as a rule, there should also be written that these materials are not original and are reprinted from other media outlets.

The concept of the front page of the magazine is as follows: only one large photo or illustration is displayed on the cover, not even the headlines of the main article are found on the cover, the photo is sometimes satirical and the main messages are displayed in the form of a cartoon.

Although the last magazine is dated 2017, online users can also find some other new activities on this online magazine platform, for example, "Videoteka", "Book shelves" and others. The last videos were uploaded on this portal just a few months ago.

It should be noted that there is a lack of advertisements in the magazine and this is the main reason why its printing can no longer continue.

Another Public Activity

It is also worth mentioning that, in addition to publishing a newspaper and then a magazine Manuchar Kachakhidze, as an immigration topic researcher, founded “the Georgian graves search committee” and he has been researching lost graves more than two decades. During the searching processes in the archives, by 2010 Manuchar Pirveli had found over 35 lost Georgian graves in Brother cemeteries in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Long Island (Osepashvili, 2011). By 2016 he had found more than 200 graves.

He talks about this in an interview with the journalist of the Georgian newspaper "Kviris Palitra": *"When I emigrated, I told myself that every day I would live with Georgia in America to forgive myself for the "betrayal" of this escape", 36-year-old Manuchar Katchakhidze from Kutaisi, who left Georgia in 1997, tells me".³*

And as a journalist Manana Gabrichidze wrote, he has been living far from his homeland for 13 years, publishing the only Georgian magazine "Mamuli" in America, researching the history of Georgian emigration, searching for and finding the lost tombs of Georgians. *"Manuchar shows me a large box: - Here, in this box I have placed seventeen years of my life, the huge material that I have collected about Georgians living in America, immigrants of the previous generation. All issues required research, long correspondence with official bodies. I will publish the stories which are in this box, as a book. There will not be a single undocumented word here"* (ibid).

As journalist of the newspaper “Kviris Palitra” wrote, Manuchar Katchakhidze provided them with a list of Georgians whose graves he had been searching abroad for 17 years. In this list, a reader can find the surnames of Georgians who went missing in the World War II, as well as those who emigrated in 1921. And after this interview, "Kviris Palitra" journalist publishes the list of missing Georgians and calls for readers to read it carefully, maybe they will read the name and surname of their ancestors in this list.

Georgian audience can also see the interview with Manuchar Pirveli by Giorgi Jajanidzes “Sxva Rakursi (Another Rakursi)” on TV Imedi when he hosted a journalist from Georgia in New-York and showed the graves which he had found.

³ <https://kvispalitra.ge/article/29027-dakarguli-saflavebis-sia-yuradghebith-tsaikithketh-shesadzloa-am-siashi-thqveni-tsinapris-gvar-sakheli-amoikithkoth/>

From Magazine – to TV Format?

It should be also noted that the editor of the Magazine “Mamuli”, Manuchar Pirveli, has been actively involved in the TV format since 2019 March. On the Georgian TV1 program of Nino Arazashvili, he started the series ‘American Thursdays’ from New York.

These series are not for only Georgian audience, but also for Georgian immigrants in the USA. On the whole, ‘American Thursdays’ were broadcast live from 2019 till 2021 and nowadays these programs are uploaded on the special Facebook page “American Thursdays from New York”⁴.

In total 55 programs have been broadcast. So, anyone interested can watch them at any time. This program is promoting the deepening of Georgian-American relations. From time to time, he tells the Georgian-speaking audience about American culture and modern life, as well as introduces successful Georgian immigrants.

Actually, these TV bridges are diaries, which are presented as a part of Nino Arazashvilis TV interviews.

As the study of these TV programs reveals, the topics of Georgian-American Thursdays are quite diverse. Manuchar Pirveli, within the framework of this TV bridge, tells the public about American holidays, traditions, American culture, American authors as well as current problems of the modern time, including the challenges posed by Covid-19 pandemics in the USA.

Time and again, he also presents Georgian immigrants who have achieved some success in the USA, the first, as well as the next waves of the emigrants.

The audience can learn about the life of Prince Machabeli, Malkhaz Shalikashvili, George Balanchini, as well as learn about less known figures, about whom he found information in the archives and traced their graves (for example, Levan Gopodze, Nestor Eristavi and Sandro Nebelo).

Thus, as analysing the content of these TV programs showed, Manuchar Pirveli tries and contributes to the deepening of Georgia-American relations.

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/AmericanThursdays>

Conclusion

As the results of the study revealed, the publishing of the newspaper “Mamuli” preceded the publishing of the magazine “Mamuli”, which was based on the same concept, had the same purpose to be the media for Georgian immigrants.

According to this study, the magazine “Mamuli” has not been published since 2017 but online platform is accessible for interested readers. The editor Manuchar Pirveli (Kachakhidze) as a researcher is actively tries to conduct Georgian affairs in the United States. He established the committee of Georgian graves and over the years, he has found a number of lost graves in the brothers’ cemeteries of the US large cities.

As it appeared during the research process, Manuchar Pirvelis’ broadcast interviews, Telebridges with Nino Arazashvilis’ program ‘American Thursdays’ on one of the most viewed Georgian channel “TV1” are not less interesting.

To sum up, according to this study, the editor of the Georgian emigrants’ magazine the “The Mamuli”, Manuchar Pirveli (Kachakhidze) is a person with many diverse interests who actively tries to do Georgian affairs in the United States and contributes to deepening Georgian-American relations.

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Waves of Georgian Immigration in the USA

LASHA VASHAKIDZE*

Introduction

Migration is the change of place of residence by an individual or group regardless of the reasons and purposes of the relocation. The reasons for migration can be either ecological disasters or political motives, as well as better economic prospects, or political security at the place of relocation.

The right to emigrate and move freely is a Western liberal-democratic value and an essential element of human rights. Therefore, a democratic state has no right to prohibit its citizens from emigrating. On the other hand, the most acute problem of a number of countries (Western Europe and North America) has become uncontrolled, illegal migration, which has created a lot of difficulties and forced these countries to drastically restrict immigration.

The history of Georgian emigration dates back to the middle of the XIX century. Most Georgians, like citizens of other European countries, traveled across the Atlantic to the United States. Who was the first Georgian emigrant, no one really knows. Most sophisticated Georgians abroad, aristocrats or peasants, experienced hardship; Many ended their lives as restaurant waiters, caretakers, and taxi drivers, however, there were those who managed to succeed - some at the expense of marrying wealthy and influential women; others, thanks to their own talents, started life from scratch and made a great contribution to the new homeland's development.

The First Georgian Presence in the United States

As a result of the early migration of Georgians to the United States, the term “Georgian Americans” was coined. Georgian Americans are citizens of the United States of Georgian descent. The exact number of Georgian Americans is unknown, as Georgians were mistakenly considered Russians until Georgia was liberated from the Russian Empire and its successor, the Soviet Union. The first Georgians who came to the United States were a group of 15 horse riders invited to join

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Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West Congress of Rough Riders of the World, which from the 1890s on, toured the United States and Europe for over 30 years. (Georgian Association, n.d.) The Ringling Brothers Circus, one of the largest at the time, involved about 30 Georgian horse riders after 1900. A group of Georgian trick riders were first-class horsemen from humble roots who immigrated from the Caucasus to the United States. They were notable participants of the Wild West shows at the end of the nineteenth century. For 30 years, these riders from western Georgia, particularly, from Guria, performed in the United States, becoming central figures in Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows. Most Gurian horsemen, both men and women, had never left the country for they were poor peasants constantly in search of side jobs. (Makharadze, 2011) As their performances became very attractive and famous, these horsemen struggled hard to cling to their roots. They were so popular that even Queen Victoria, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt frequently attended their shows. It is a noteworthy fact that Roosevelt was so fascinated by the performance of one of the Georgian horsemen that he presented him with a golden ring and a tray as a sign of respect. Shortly, Georgians' legacy in American cowboy culture is remarkable and Georgian horsemen's riding style, called "Jiriti", changed the whole concept of trick riding. (Makharadze, 2011)

Before the World War I, several dozen Georgians decided to go back to their homeland, but those who preferred to settle in the United States formed the nucleus around which Georgian-American society developed in later years. The number of Georgians arriving in the United States increased as a result of the political upheavals of the Russian Revolution as Georgian nobility and intelligentsia, including those living in other parts of the Russian Empire, fled the country. It should be noted that during the period of Georgia's independence (1918-1921), political ties were developed with the United States, resulting in consular representation in Batumi and Tbilisi.

After the Red Army invasion of Georgia, when other members of the nobility and intellectual class also left the country for fear of deportation and imminent death in Siberia. At that time, approximately 200 Georgian refugees came to the United States. Unable to speak English and having no financial resources or assistance from charities, many Georgians came to Europe and joined other Georgian refugees who had settled in Germany, France, Poland, etc.

The Second Wave of Georgian Immigration to the United States

The second wave of Georgian immigration took place after the World War II. A few dozen people fled to the United States by virtue of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Act of 1953. These new immigrants involved prisoners of war, refugees from the Soviet Union who lived in Europe. Unlike the first wave, during the second wave Georgian refugees received assistance from various charitable and non-profit organizations, including the Georgian Association in the United States and The Tolstoy Foundation. It should be mentioned that these immigrants were skilled workers, professionals, military men, and clerical workers, and it was easier for them to adjust to their new life and homeland. Although these charitable organizations assisted Georgians in finding jobs, there are many unpublished sources that describe how hard times many immigrants had in these early post-war years.

The Third Wave of Georgian Immigration to the United States

A third wave of Georgian refugees was recorded during the final decade of Soviet rule in Georgia. At that time, people came to the United States due to several reasons including economic, religious, educational, and business ones. These immigrants involved both professionals and non-professionals, the majority of which settled in Boston, Washington D.C., Chicago, New York, etc. Unlike the previous two waves, during the third wave a much larger number of Georgians fled to America; approximately 3,000-3,500 refugees from various ethnic groups of Georgia.

Due to the small number of Georgian Americans, less information is available about them compared to other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, Georgian Americans have managed to preserve their heritage and culture by founding various organizations. The first Georgian organization in the United States, which was founded in 1924 in San Francisco, was ‘Kartuli Sazogadoeba’ (the Georgian Society). In 1931, ‘the Kartuli Sazogadoeba Amerikis Sheertebul Shtatebshi (the Georgian Association in the United States), was founded by Prince Giorgi Machabeli, Tsiko Eristavi, Paul Kvaratskhelia and Irakli Orbeliani. (Georgian Association, n.d.) These organizations organized many cultural events and social gatherings and helped other immigrants. The Georgian-American press was very active in 1955-1975. ‘Kartuli Azri’ (Georgian Opinion) was the most popular newspaper and it received great support from Georgian Americans through donations. Over the years, Georgians have been fully assimilated into American culture. Nevertheless,

Georgian Americans have been able to maintain their unique culture and they are very proud of that.

Georgian Americans make up a small minority, hence there is less data about them than for other ethnic groups. Despite this, Georgian Americans have used a number of organizations to preserve their history and culture. Georgian organizations began to form in San Francisco and New York City as early as 1924. These groups organized social events and cultural activities in addition to helping other immigrants. The Georgian American press was particularly active between 1955 and 1975. The most widely read newspaper was *Kartuli Azri* (Georgian Opinion), which received significant funding from Georgian Americans. Georgians have successfully integrated into American society over time. However, Georgian Americans proudly keep up a lot of their distinctive cultural traditions. (Everyculture, 2006)

Famous Georgian Americans

During the first and second waves of Georgian immigration, the number of Georgian immigrants in the United States did not exceed 300, although even this small diaspora had a major impact on the entire American military or civilian life. First of all, we should name the Georgians who have made a great contribution to the development of 5 sectors of the United States.

- **Giorgi Balanchivadze**, also known as George Balanchine, was an American-Georgian ballet master, the founder of the United States National Classical Ballet. He is recognized worldwide as the greatest choreographer of modern times.
- **Alexander Kartvelishvili**, also known as Alexander Kartveli, was a founder of the United States military aviation. While studying at the Faculty of Aviation Engineering in Paris, one of the planes he created set a world speed record. His name is also associated with the creation of the first metal aircraft and most importantly, the creation of the Republic P-47 Thunderbolt, a victorious bomber for the US during World War II, which is still considered a significant example in world military aviation. Alexander Kartveli was awarded the US National Medal of Science for his contribution to the history of aviation.
- **Prince George Matchabelli** was founder of the perfume industry in the United States. He founded the Great Perfume Society in America in the 1920s. He was a chemist, but also

very actively engaged in political activities. He became known in America as the Prince of Perfumery.

- **Grigol Kobakhidze**, also known as George Coby, established a large glass factory in 1919 in Massachusetts. In 1922 he set up his own enterprise, which has been operating ever since - the Coby Glass Products Company. Up to 70 inventions and unique patents introduced by George Coby added weight to the prestige and name of the company. For example, he invented waterproof cement and a super-resistant glass block. He was the first Georgian multimillionaire in America. He also created chemical-filled electric candles that replaced the real fire candles previously used by Americans on Christmas trees. "Coby - this is Christmas" was written on Christmas tree toys.
- **Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff** was Georgian aristocrat and the New York City highway commissioner. He founded the well-known organization 'American Friends of Georgia' in 1994, which has greatly contributed to practical humanitarian assistance to the people of Georgia in order to improve educational, economic, social, medical, and environmental conditions. 'American Friends of Georgia' is a non-profit, non-political public charity organization with tax-exempt status. (AFG, n.d.)

Georgian Immigration – Modern Era

In the modern era, according to unofficial data, the estimated number of people leaving Georgia for the United States varies from 30,000 to 100,000. They make up 85-90% of women, most of whom work illegally in secondary jobs, i.e. as babysitters and caregivers.

The number of Georgians in New York is not accurate. The figure is probably 70,000. However, it should be noted that most Georgians are concentrated in New York and New Jersey. The main part of these are women who support themselves and their families left behind in hard labor. They mostly work as caregivers in American families. Most of them are not literally connected and it is difficult to gather them due to their illegal status.

A large number of Georgian emigrants live and work in New York; New Jersey; Maryland etc. A small community of Georgians has been established, the main part of which consists of representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia who emigrated from Georgia after 1993. Part of them

work in the field of science, culture, sports, small business, and part of them are temporarily employed.

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Democracy and Human Rights in American Education According to John Dewey and its Comparison with the Georgian Educational System

BABILINA BULISKERIA*

Abstract

This article deals with the American philosopher John Dewey, who was a leader of democracy teaching in the American educational system. I compare such a kind of system to the Georgian educational system. This article consists of such a kind of question: who is John Dewey and which theory is he famous for in American culture? And what kind of Theoretical teaching is based on the Georgian educational system?

Democracy in Education - According to the John Dewey

Modern life means democracy, democracy means freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness - the emancipation of the mind as an individual organ to do its work. We naturally associate democracy, to be sure, with freedom of action, but freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos. If the external authority in action is given up, it must be because the internal authority of truth, discovery, and known to reason is substituted.

In truth, the American public school system is but two-thirds of a century old. It dates, so far as such matters can be dated at all, from 1837, the year that Horace Mann became secretary of the state board of Massachusetts; and from 1843, when Henry Barnard began similar work in Connecticut. At this time began that growing and finally successful warfare against all the influences, social and sectarian, which would prevent or mitigate the sway of public influence over private ecclesiastical and class interests. Between 1837 and 1850 grew up all the most characteristic features of the American public school system: from this time date state normal schools, city training schools, county and state institutes, teachers' associations, teachers' journals, the institution of city superintendencies, supervisory officers, and the development of state universities as the crown of the public-school system of the Commonwealth. From this time date the striving

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for better schoolhouses and grounds, improved textbooks, adequate material equipment in maps, globes, scientific apparatus, etc. As an outcome of the forces thus set in motion, democracy has in principle, subject to relative local restrictions, developed an organized machinery of public education. But when we turn to the aim and method that this magnificent institution serves, we find that our democracy is not yet conscious of the ethical principle upon which it rests—the responsibility and freedom of mind in discovery and proof—and consequently we find confusion where there should be order, darkness where there should be light. The teacher has not the power of initiation and constructive endeavor which is necessary for the fulfillment of the function of teaching. The learner finds conditions antagonistic (or at least lacking) to the development of individual mental power and adequate responsibility for its use.

A. As to the teacher

The more enlightened portions of the public have, indeed, become aware of one aspect of this discrepancy. Many reformers are contending against the conditions which place the direction of school affairs, including the selection of textbooks, etc., in the hands of a body of men who are outside the school system itself, who have not necessarily had any expert knowledge of education and who are moved by non-educational motives. Unfortunately, those who have noted this undemocratic condition of affairs, and who have striven to change it, have, as a rule, conceived of but one remedy, namely, the transfer of authority to the school superintendent. In their zeal to place the center of gravity inside the school system, in their zeal to decrease the prerogatives of a non-expert school board, and to lessen the opportunities for corruption and private pull which go with that, they have tried to remedy one of the evils of democracy by adopting the principle of autocracy. No matter how wise, expert or benevolent the head of the school system is, the one-man principle is autocracy.

The dictation, in theory at least, of the subject matter to be taught, to the teacher who is to engage in the actual work of instruction, and frequently, under the name of close supervision, the attempt to determine the methods which are to be used in teaching, means nothing more or less than the deliberate restriction of intelligence, the imprisoning of the spirit. Every well-graded system of schools in this country rejoices in a course of study. It is no uncommon thing to find methods of teaching such subjects as reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic officially laid down; outline topics in history and geography are provided ready-made for the teacher; gems of literature are fitted to the successive ages of boys and girls. Even the domain of art, songs, methods of

singing, subject matter, and technique of drawing and painting come within the region on which an outside authority lays its sacrilegious hands.

B. As to the learner

As Rousseau's doctrines say: the sentimental idealization of the child's immaturity, irrational denial of superior worth in the knowledge and mature experience of the adult, deliberate denial of the worth of the ends and instruments embodied in social organization. The Deification of childish whim, unripened fancy, and arbitrary emotion is certainly a piece of pure romanticism. The would-be reformers who emphasize out of due proportion and perspective these aspects of the principle of individualism betray their cause. But the heart of the matter lies not there. Reform of education in the direction of greater play for the individuality of the child means the securing of conditions that will give outlet, and hence direction, to a growing intelligence. It is true that this freed power of the mind with reference to its own further growth cannot be obtained without a certain leeway, a certain flexibility in the expression of even immature feelings and fancies. But it is equally true that it is not a riotous loosening of these traits, which is needed, but just that kind and degree of freedom from repression which is found to be necessary to secure the full operation of intelligence.

A catalog of the agencies already available would include at least all of the following: taking the child out of doors, widening and organizing his experience with reference to the world in which he lives; nature study when pursued as a vital observation of forces working under their natural conditions, plants and animals growing in their own homes, instead of mere discussion of the dead specimens. We have also school gardens, the introduction of elementary agriculture, and more especially of horticulture - a movement that is already making great headway in many of the western states. We have also meant for the sake of studying physiographic conditions, such as maybe rivers, ponds or lakes, beaches, quarries, gullies, hills, etc.

According to the author, every school should be provided for pupils. Every schoolroom from the lowest primary grade up should be supplied with gas, water, certain chemical substances, and reagents.

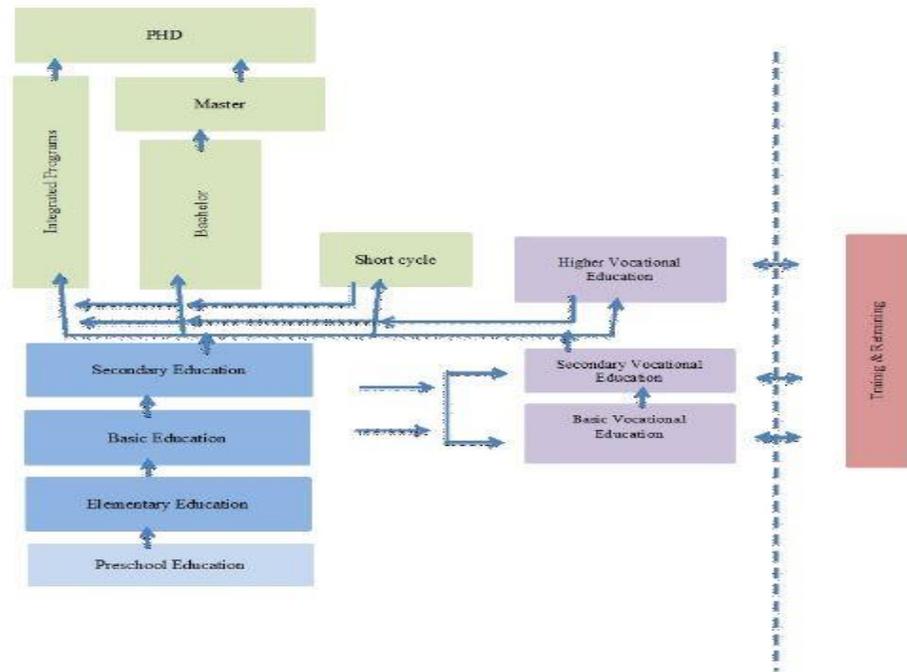
In education, we meet the three most powerful motives of human activity. Here are found sympathy and affection, the going out of the emotions to the most appealing and the most rewarding object of love - a little child. Here is found also the flowering of the social and institutional motive, interest in the welfare of society and its progress and reform by the surest and

shortest means. Here, too, is found the intellectual and scientific motive, the interest in knowledge, in scholarship, in truth for its own sake, unhampered and unmixed with any alien ideal.

Georgian Educational System

Georgia is a small state in the South Caucasus with a population of about 4 million people, 53 percent of whom live in urban areas. Half of the urban population, that is, one-fourth of the country's residents, - is concentrated in the capital city, Tbilisi.

Georgia qualifies as a lower-middle-income country by the World Bank classification and a low-income economy by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) classification. It has been in a political, economic, and social transition from a centrally planned economy and communist government to a market economy and democratic government since gaining independence in 1991. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the state collective farms, living conditions, as well as educational opportunities of the rural population, worsened dramatically in post-Soviet countries. Collective farms used to provide an array of education, health, and housing-related social services, but in the 1990s, those services were lost, and rural disadvantage (in terms of family incomes, travel costs, and high-skill job opportunities) became very acute.



General Education System

General education in Georgia is regulated by the laws of Georgia: “On General Education” and “On Education Quality Enhancement”; Operating by the National Curriculum and other Sublegal acts.

Full general education includes 12 years of study and is carried out in three levels (primary, basic, and secondary). Primary education includes 6 years of study and is implemented in I-VI grades; Basic education includes 3 years, carried out in X-XII grades. Primary and basic education is mandatory.

General education institutions are public or private.

The study in general educational institutions was carried out according to the National Curriculum, developed by the National Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education and Science.

Upon completing Basic education, school students receive a Basic Education Certificate. Attestation exams are conducted by the LEPL – National Assessment and Examination Center. Attestation exams are conducted through computerized testing methods (CAT). A person who completes The Full General Education and receives the certificate has the right to continue learning in the higher education institution. A person who completes the Basic education has the right to continue studies at the Secondary education level of General Education or the primary level of Vocational education.

There is one subject, named Civil Education and it was added to the teaching program some years ago. This subject Development of democratic values in Georgian schools.

General education is fully funded by the State with the voucher applies to a financial norm for a student. According to the data from April 2018, 2085 public and 224 private schools operate in Georgia.

Vocational Education System

Vocational education in Georgia is regulated by the laws of Georgia: on “vocational Education”; “On Education Quality Enhancement” and other sub-legal acts.

Vocational educational institutions are:

- a) Vocational College – a vocational education institution that implements only the first three levels of VET programs;
- b) Community College – a vocational education institution that implements all levels of VET programs, as well as secondary general preparatory education, Georgian language education, and Liberal Arts education programs.
- c) General education institution authorized to carry out the first three levels of VET programs;
- d) Higher education institutions authorized to carry out VET programs of all levels.

Vocational education institutions are public or private.

There are five qualifications for vocational education in Georgia. At present vocational education programs are implemented on the third, fourth, and fifth levels of vocational education. The basis for developing a vocational education program is the vocational educational standard. The level of specific vocational education programs is determined by the vocational educational standard, which also defines the qualifications awarded.

Precondition for admission to the third-level vocational education programs is the basic level certificate of General Education; professional testing and depending on the specifics of the profession, additional conditions defined by the vocational educational standards.

The precondition for admission to the fourth and fifth levels of vocational education programs is the General Education Certificate. Upon completing each level of vocational education the vocational diploma of the relevant level is issued.

Vocational education programs and individual components are calculated with credits.

According to the data from April 2018, 23 public and 43 private vocational institutions are operating in Georgia.

Higher Education System

Higher education in Georgia is regulated by the Laws on Higher Education; “On Education Quality Enhancement” and other sub-legislative acts.

Georgia has a three-cycle higher education system and is implemented on the bachelor, master, and doctoral levels of higher education.

The types of higher education institutions in Georgia are as follows:

- University – higher education institution implementing educational programs of all three cycles of higher education and research.

- Teaching University – higher education institution implementing programs of higher education (except for doctoral programs). A teaching university is required to provide a second cycle - Master's educational program/programs.
- College – higher education institution implementing the programs of only the first cycle of higher academic education.

Higher education institutions are public and private.

Higher educational institutions use the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ESTC).

Only holders of the State Certificates confirming full general education or persons equalized with them have a right to study in undergraduate programs. The Unified National Exams are the precondition for admission to undergraduate programs. Undergraduate educational programs include at least 240credits.

Within the undergraduate level, awarding an intermediate qualification is allowed after reaching results in studying, defined for completing a part of an educational program which should not be less than half of the credit number defined for an educational program.

The Teacher Education Program is an independent educational program and is taught for at least one academic year, comprising 60 credits. After completion of the program, The Certificate of the subject or subject group Teacher is issued. The prerequisite for admission to the program is a bachelor's degree or equivalent degree and subject examination organized by the National Assessment and Examinations Center.

The Veterinary training education program is an independent educational program and is taught at least one academic year, comprising 60credits. The precondition for admission to the program is a bachelor's degree in veterinary. After completion of the program, the veterinary certificate is issued. The holder of a veterinary certificate can continue to pursue studies in the third level of higher education (Doctoral studies) in the appropriate direction.

Teacher education, medical education, dental and veterinary education are implemented through integrated master's programs. Medical Doctor's (MD) Educational program is 360-credit and Dentist/Veterinary/Teacher education programs are 300-credit volume.

The educational program of the second level of teaching (master's) consists of no less than 120 credits. Only bachelors or persons with degrees equalized to them have a right to study in a master's program. Unified Master exams are the prerequisites for preconditioning a master's

degree program. The additional conditions of acceptance are determined by the higher education institution.

The third level of high education (Doctoral studies) consists of no less than 180 credits. Only masters or persons with degrees equalized to them, - have a right to study in doctoral programs. According to the data from April 2018, 34 public and 37 private higher education institutions operate in Georgia.

Conclusion

John Dewey (born October 20, 1859, Burlington, Vermont. U.S – died June 1, 1952, New York) was an American philosopher and educator who was a co-founder of the philosophical movement known as pragmatism, a pioneer in functional psychology, an innovative theorist of democracy, and a leader of the progressive movement in education in the United States.

Democracy as a Way of Life

Given its emphasis on the revisability of ideas, the flux of nature, and the construction of ends or goods, one may wonder how Dewey's philosophy could provide moral criteria, by which purported goods may be evaluated. Dewey did not provide a through, systematic response to the question of how an instrumentalist determines the difference between good and evil. His typical rejoinder was that human fulfillment will be far more widespread when people fully realize that precarious natural events may come under deliberate human direction. Dewey made this claim, however, without sufficiently weighing the problem of how people are to choose between one, a proposed vision of fulfillment, and another, especially when there are honest disagreements about their respective merits. Yet, while he never solved the problem, Dewey did address it in his philosophy of democracy, which he referred to as "democracy as a way of life".

Dewey conceived of democracy as an active process of social planning and collective action in all spheres of common life. Democracy is also a source of moral values that may guide the establishment and evolution of social institutions that promote human flourishing. However, unlike other moral frameworks (e.g. great religious traditions or political ideologies), democracy as a way of life is neither absolutist nor relativistic, because its norms and procedures are fallible and experimental. It is a consciously collaborative process in which individuals consult with each other to identify and address their common problems; indeed, Dewey spoke of democracy as

“social intelligence.” Within a fully democratic society, Dewey suggested, people would treat each other with respect and would demonstrate a willingness to revise their views while maintaining a commitment to cooperative action and experimental inquiry.

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The United States Economic Diplomacy in Georgia

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Abstract

It's well known, that Georgia and United States bilateral relations have a long and important history. The Diplomatic relations, between two countries, established, since early 90s, following the Georgia's independence from the Soviet Union. Newly independent state has made impressive progress fighting corruption, developing modern state institutions, and enhancing global security. The United States is committed to helping Georgia deepen Euro-Atlantic ties and strengthen its democratic institutions. In 2022, Georgia and the United States mark the 30th anniversary of bilateral relations. Over this period, the Georgia-U.S. relations have developed mainly on the basis of the objective reality, which has been linked to the U.S. interests in the region, on the one hand and the needs of Georgia's security and welfare, on the other.

The present article aims to discuss the main bilateral economic frameworks, under which the U.S implement its economic diplomacy. Also analyze significant economic programs promoted by the USAID, American Chamber of Commerce in Georgia and Millennium Challenge Corporation. The article also underlines the importance to advance mutual economic relations, which in the wider context, will be beneficial for both countries.

Keywords: Economic, Cooperation, Diplomacy, Assistance, Partnership

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Introduction

In general, Economic diplomacy is the use of government recourses to promote the growth of a country's economy by increasing trade, promoting investments, collaboration on bilateral and multilateral trade agreements and etc. According to The State Department, for the U.S economics and market forces is one of the main center of the country's foreign policy. Economic Diplomacy, means through the harnessing global economic forces to promote America's foreign policy and using the tools of foreign policy to strengthen their economy. This vision is supported by the America's government as an ambitious agenda that focuses on four main areas: Updating Our Priorities, Advancing Our Trade, Investment, and Commercial Diplomacy Agenda; Using Economic Tools to Solve Foreign Policy Challenges; Building the Capacity of the Department of State (State.gov, 2017).

So, it's interesting how this approach was implemented in the south Caucasus region and especially in case of Georgia. At first, we should mention here, that establishment of diplomatic relations between Georgia and the United States have been lasting for 30 years. Since 1992, The United States is committed to helping Georgia deepen Euro-Atlantic ties and strengthen its democratic institutions. The strength of U.S.-Georgia relations is codified in the 2009 U.S.-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership. This partnership includes four bilateral working groups on priority areas, such as democracy; defense and security; economic, trade, and energy issues; and people-to-people and cultural exchanges. Policymakers of two country oversee regular meetings of each working group to review commitments, update activity, and set future goals. The Commission also holds an annual high-level plenary session. Based on American support for Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty as well as Georgia's commitment to pursue democratic and economic reforms, the two countries' collaboration has grown since the signing of the Charter (state.gov, 2021).

Bilateral Economic Frameworks

The United States and Georgia are working to find new opportunities for American companies to invest in Georgia and for both nations to trade goods and services with each-other. They have signed many treaties of bilateral trade and investment. One of the significant frameworks between the Washington and Tbilisi, is the High-Level Trade Dialogue (HLTD) started in January 2012, which provides as a platform for strengthening bilateral economic ties and

may lead to an increase in trade and investment between the two nations. In May 29, 2012 was the first round of HLTD, in Washington D.C. chaired by the Deputy USTR Miriam Sapiro from the U.S. side and Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister Tamar Kovziridze from the Georgian side. They discussed ways of increasing bilateral trade and investment, including the possibility of a free trade agreement, a revised investment pact as well as further steps that could ease trade and investment. In October 30, 2015 – Assistant US Trade Representative for Europe and the Middle East L. Daniel Mullaney and Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikheil Janelidze continued to co-chair the second meeting of the US-Georgia HLTD. They have also discussed about how to make Georgia's business climate better in order to draw in more investment, highlighting the significance of ongoing advancements in the rule of law, observance of labor rights, effective implementation of recent labor reforms, protection of intellectual property rights, and swift and transparent resolution of commercial disputes (georgiaembassyusa.org, 2022).

Economic cooperation between the United States and Georgia has grown over the past 25 years and has solidified into a strong alliance. The countries have signed a bilateral investment treaty (BIT) and a bilateral trade and investment framework agreement (TIFA). The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), one of the U.S. trade preference programs, gives many developing nations the chance to use trade to expand their economies and escape poverty. The Trade Act of 1974, which launched GSP program, made it one of the oldest and largest American trade programs. It enables the import of goods from one of the 120 selected beneficiary countries and territories duty-free, thereby promoting economic development. The GSP program allows for the duty-free entry of almost 3,500 different Georgian goods worth \$124 million into the United States (georgiaembassyusa.org, 2022).

The main requirements under this program are following:

- Must be included on the list of GSP-eligible articles;
- Must be imported into the United States directly from Georgia, without entering the commerce of a third country;
- The U.S. importer must claim GSP duty-free treatment by placing an “A” in front of the U.S. tariff line number that identifies the imported article on U.S. Customs and Border Protection entry documentation;

- Must be the growth, product, or manufacture of Georgia, with the cost of the Georgian materials plus the cost of processing equal to at least 35 percent of the appraised value of the article at the time of entry into the United States.

It's interesting, how can more Georgian goods be exported using the GSP's advantages and other duty-free options? Compared to same goods from non-GSP beneficiaries, GSP-eligible products have a cost advantage of up to 18%. Georgian exporters must make sure to emphasize this fact when selling their products to American consumers. In order to export new products, there can be products that Georgia already sells to other countries that are also eligible for duty-free status in the US. Several exports of handicrafts are duty-free, including: Various kinds of carpets, kilims, and rugs, as well as wooden statuettes, boxes, and other wooden things; gemstones and jewelry; wind, string, and drum musical instruments; picture frames; traditional games; paintings, sculptures, and wall hangings (georgiaembassyusa.org, 2022).

Other Tools of the America's Soft Power

The United States Agency for International Development is in charge of leading global development and humanitarian initiatives to save lives, end poverty, support democratic governance, and aid people in moving past aid. Since 1961, It brought together a number of already-running overseas aid organizations and projects. Activities related to foreign assistance underwent a significant shift. (usaid.gov, 2022). In 1992, USAID first started working in Georgia. Since that time, through USAID, the American people have donated to Georgia more than \$1.8 billion. The U.S. government invests around \$40 million yearly in 50 comprehensive initiatives to support Georgia's democratic, free-market, and Western orientation, building on this productive collaboration. Initiatives in Georgia promote increased inclusion of minorities and those with disadvantages while also promoting economic growth, the development of democratic institutions, increased energy security, and the mitigation of climate change. Following of the 2014 Association Agreement, to achieve these goals are especially crucial for Georgia (usaid.gov/georgia, 2022).

More than 35 initiatives are supported by USAID with the goal of increasing Georgia's resistance to foreign interference, consolidating democratic gains through improved citizen responsive governance, and fostering high-value employment through stronger economic growth. The USAID created several economic development programs, such as Business Development Service Program, implemented by Gazelle Finance Georgia, this program support SMEs in

improving their business planning, financial management and reporting, and marketing in order to increase their capacity to draw future private sector investment. Beneficiary SMEs will be supported by the Program through a combination of grants, loans with no interest, and personal technical support from Gazelle Finance.

Economic Security Program mostly focus on the industries with the greatest long-term potential. Under this program help to develop intellectual services, light manufacturing, creative industries, and tourism, supports a more skilled workforce. The main partner for this support is DAI Global LLC. Through the initiatives, USAID offers grants for cost-sharing and technical assistance to boost growth and productivity in these four target areas. In order to help Georgia develop the capability to plan, finance, and implement its own solutions to development difficulties, the activity makes use of local resources and promotes collaboration between the public and private sectors.

Another economic program, created by the USAID is the Economic Governance Program, which enhances Georgia's economic leadership and governance. The program partner is the Deloitte Consulting LLP. By strengthening the sustainability of the consultative economic reform-making process and encouraging the formulation, adoption, and implementation of priority economic reforms that will make Georgia's business environment more transparent, predictable, consistent, inclusive, and cost-effective, the activity increases Georgia's capacity to attract private sector investment (usaid.gov/georgia, 2022).

One of the last implementations of the USAID support, is that in March 24, 2022, USAID and TBC BANK sign MOU to strengthen economic resilience. The Deputy administrator Isobel Coleman and from the TBC Bank Chief Executive Officer Vakhtang Butskhrikidze, emphasized their shared commitment to boosting Georgia's economic diversification and resilience at a ceremony to mark the signing of a new memorandum of collaboration. The MOU demonstrates the combined commitment of USAID and TBC Bank to support Georgia's inclusive economic growth, market diversification, and create high-value jobs for all Georgians. A new partnership plans to secure \$30 million in funding for small, medium-sized, and micro businesses in Georgia, that prioritize women-led and rural businesses create over 1,200 high-value employment and help other companies make \$6 million in sales (Taktakishvili, 2022).

In order to develop and promote business environment in George, the United States created one of the largest international business chambers in Tbilisi with up to 200 company

members. Since 1998, AmCham's primary objective is to advance US-Georgia relations and enhance the business climate in Georgia. The Chamber works to assist positive solutions to economic challenges involving Georgia-US business ties while protecting and promoting the shared economic interests of its members and representing their viewpoints on all types of business concerns. They accomplish this by collaborating with the government to modify business regulations, fostering relationships between Georgian and foreign investors and by fostering ties between industry and government. Through the several activities, regular meetings, keep members contact with top Georgian government officials and the US Embassy. (amcham.ge, 2022)

A program to strengthen tourism and hospitality was launched by AmCham Georgia in collaboration with The USAID Economic Security Program. By developing internationally accredited training programs and paying internships for up to 100 participants, the new program "Best Practices and International Standards to Hospitality Industry Initiative" promotes standards for the hospitality and tourism industries. This project started in MAY 2022 and collaborate with GMT Group (Marriott Hotels) the Tbilisi Marriott Hotel, Silk Hospitality (Radisson Hotels), and Sheraton Grand Tbilisi Metechi Palace (amcham.ge, 2022).

It's also important to underline, that in 2005, the Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact, with the Government of Georgia, signed a five-year \$295.3 million compact, to improve the two main challenges to economic growth: a slow pace of corporate development, particularly in the agricultural sector, and a lack of reliable infrastructure. In order to enhance the lives of the underprivileged by assisting their economic integration through increased access to jobs and markets, the compact initiatives concentrated on regional infrastructure rehabilitation and enterprise development. The original compact was amended in November 2008 by a deal between MCC and the Georgian government that increased the total amount available to \$395.3 million and made up to \$100 million more available to finish projects related to roads, regional infrastructure development, and energy rehabilitation. This project ended in 2011. (mcc.gov, 2022)

The second project, provided by the Millennium Challenge Corporation, was signed in 2013. This compact during the 2014-2019, provided \$140 million to increase the earning potential of Georgians through holistic improvements in education. This was the first MCC compact that had a focused-on education. Addressing a solution to the problem of a workforce that isn't well-trained enough to meet labor demand, the MCC and Georgia focused on improving general

education standards by renovating of deteriorating schools, providing training for teachers, school administrators and assisting with educational assessments, programs for technical and vocational education to supply the skills needed by the country's enterprises, as well as the formation of a partnership in higher education to assist in modernizing the teaching of science, technology, engineering, and math at three of the top universities of Georgia (mcc.gov, 2022).

New “Phase” for More Trade

Government statistics have shown that in 2021, trade was totaled USD 587,7 million in exports and USD 158,7 million in imports. The sum is a little bit higher than in 2020, when exports totaled USD436 million and imports were USD148.8 million. The top Georgian imports are iron and steel, inorganic chemicals, and drinks, whereas the top U.S. exports are vehicles, meat (poultry), machinery, and ores (wine). Georgia ranks as the 100th-largest commercial partner of the United States, ahead of its neighbors Armenia (166th) and Azerbaijan (125th), but well below Central Asian nations like Kazakhstan, which is the 81st-largest trading partner of the United States. However, as stated in the letter, Washington and Tbilisi do not currently have a free trade agreement (FTA) (Sanchez, 2022).

According to a report released in June 2021 by the U.S. Congressional Research Service, "the United States and Georgia have periodically explored the potential of a free-trade deal since 2012." If passed, the Georgia Support Act (H.R. 923) would represent Congress' position that "the United States Trade Representative should make progress toward discussions with Georgia" on a free trade agreement. However, as of this writing, there is no evidence that a Free Trade Agreement will be struck during the presidency of Joe Biden of the United States. It is questionable, how much Georgian-American trade and investment will be impacted by the letter from U.S. members of Congress. Nevertheless, it would take years to see effects because investment negotiations and the actual building of infrastructure associated to investments are lengthy procedures. Short-term trade improvements may be possible, but it all depends on what Georgia can give the American consumer market, sectors, and businesses (Sanchez, 2022).

Conclusion

It's obvious, that The US continues to have strategic interests in Georgia and the economic diplomacy implemented through the several aid programs. From the other hand, Georgia has

established democratic reforms that promote stability in a historically unstable region, demonstrating that it is a stable partner and devoted ally. Therefore, it is in the interest of the United States to strengthen bilateral cooperation with Georgia through actions that strengthen Georgia's institutional resilience, human and technical capacity, and democratic structure. We should mention here, that despite the fact, which was discussed above, there is plenty of space to future grow, as nowadays trade between Washington and Tbilisi is not particularly strong. The signing of an FTA between Washington and Tbilisi should be the first step. This trade agreement would establish as a platform for future trade and investment activities, requested by the U.S. members of Congress and that the Georgian government and business community would undoubtedly like to see. Indeed, the United States will benefit long-term by investing in and partnering with Georgia, and this will also contribute to the South Caucasus' long-term stability and development (Sanchez, 2022).

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