Institute for European Studiesof Tbilisi State University

PhD Thesis

Modernization and the Idea of Europe in Georgia

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

CNN - Cable News Network

CRRC - Caucasus Research Resource Centers

EADTU - European Association of Distance Teaching Universities

EC - European Community

ECC - European Economic Community

ECHR - European Court of Human Rights

ECSC - European Coal and Steel Community

EIU - Economist Intelligence Unit

ENP - European Neighborhood Policy

EPI - Environmental Performance Index

ESM - European Social Model

EU – European Union

FDI - foreign direct investment

FYROM - Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

GDP - Gross domestic product

GEL – Georgian Lari

GII - Global Innovation Index

GNI - gross national income

GPB - Georgian Public Broadcaster

GPI - Global Peace Index

GRECO - Group of States against Corruption

IFC – International Finance Corporation

INSEAD – (FR) Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires

IRI – International Republican Institute

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NDI – National Democratic Institute

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PCA - Partnership and Cooperation Agreement

RSDLP - Russian Social Democratic Labor Party

SDPG - Social Democratic Party of Georgia

SDWP- Social-Democratic Workers' Party

SPI - Social Progress Imperative

SR - Socialists-Revolutionary

UAE – United Arab Emirates

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNM - United National Movement

US – United States

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VAT – Value-added Tax

WJP - World Justice Project

WWI –World War I

WWII – World War II

Introduction

The significance of the research

The topic of my researchiscurrently quite relevant insuch developingcountries as Georgia– stateswherethe civilsociety,thepoliticalestablishment,and ordinarypeoplehaveagreataspirationtoseetheir homelandmodernizedandfittedwiththe standardsof modernEuropeanstates.Accordingtomygeneralsurveyof both social and conventional media,I cansayfor certainthat the reformsandmodernizationofGeorgiaisamatterofeverydayconversation.Politicalandcivildiscussion streamsdemonstrate the importancetobe modernizedandtohavedevelopedeconomic,legal,political, culturaland civilfields.AsitseemsGeorgia'sfinaldestinationismembershipoftheEU,andtheideaof Europeisjustificationforallreformsand changes.Apparently,eachnewlaworreformhasitsoutcomes, and discussionsabout them can last forever.

The approximation of Georgia with the EU increases modernization and harmonization of its structures and laws with European organizations. The achievement of the Association of European Union makes this event even more tangible, which results in not only the modernization of material infrastructure but also the value changes in people's life. However, the review of scientific literature gives me the reason to say that there has not been an academic understanding of modernization and the idea of Europe in Georgia. Georgian politicians or active members of civil sectors who can influence society and support the democratic modernization, should not be proud yet as they haven't fully achieved their goals. Georgia on its path to independence is influenced by many internal and external factors that impair both modernization and democratization.The idea of Europe is not acceptable to all political actors. They often manipulate with the concepts of modernization or the idea of Europe portraying it as a threat to Georgia. That is why it is important to understand the values of the idea of Europe at the scientific level and see the concrete results thatmodernization promises to give.

Georgia's GDPranks49ᵗʰout ofthefiftyEuropeancountries,and ofcourse,authorsofvarious reforms claimthatthecountrywillimproveitspositioninthisrank.However, nowadaysGeorgiais going through notonly tough economicchallenges but also reformsandmodernizationinpoliticaland culturallife.Civilianstryand struggleto changetheirlivesinways suchthathumanrightsandother democraticvalues–thathavebeenspreadfromWesternEuropetoGeorgia–arebecomingpriortoold,pseudo- nationalandreligiousvalues.Modernizationofculturallifeisoften a quitesensitivecase–whichis alsojustifiedbytheideaofEurope–where there is apprehension towardsinnovationandto everythingthatisnew.

It is interesting that the idea of europe and modernization is often perceived as a 21ˢᵗ century phenomenon intervening in the Georgian society with rigid methods, threatening to undermine national values and traditions, and resulting into the feeling of resistence against it.Iseeresistancetomodernizationduetothefollowingdoubt–whydoweneedEuropeifit damagesGeorgiansidentity?However,resultsofpublicsurveysshowsthataspirationsforEuropeanintegrationist hechoiceofthevastmajorityofGeorgians,astheyexpectintegration tomodernize theircountryand

theirabilitytodefendnationalidentityand sovereignty, all underthe coveroftheidea ofEurope.But I think it should be realized that the desire for modernization and the desire to implement the idea of Europe is the natural continuation of the history of Georgia and the legacy of the ancestors, who were the initiators and organizers of the very first steps into the modernization of Georgian society towards the European values. Therefore, these two notions should be understood not as a strange phenomenon for Georgian reality, but rather its intrinsic calling. Accordingly, it is imperative to formulate academically what the idea of Europe and modernization means, both in general and in regards to Georgia.

Having said all these, I think the presented theme is quite relevant and it is directly related to investigating the modernization of Georgia and the implementation of the idea of Europe. Based on thatwe formulate the research aims, goals and objectives of this dissertation

The research aims and objectives

Thegeneraltargetof myresearch is toidentify whatisthe modernization of Georgia and howGeorgiansseeit,whatistheconceptofEuropefromthe Georgianperspectiveandhowitoverlapswiththeidea ofmodernizationinGeorgiainthepastandpresent.Consequently, my thesis will be dedicated to helpingmeunderstand the modernization projects implemented in Georgia and the idea of Europe in the scientific perspective.

More specifically, the tasks of the thesis can be summarized in the following way:

1. Defining and determining concepts of the idea of Europe and modernization -Without defining these concepts we cannot judge specific individuals or specific projects implemented in Georgia. It is necessary to fully understand those two main concepts in order to accurately consider the importance of the Georgian public and political figures. And we cannot do this if we do not have their exact definitions. Only after this will be possible to see the significance they have given to the idea of Europefrom the prospect of Georgians, and answer the questions such aswhat significance did the modernization concept have for themand why? The idea of Europe and modernization is the main line of my thesis, so the goal of the research is to examine all of its aspects, which will assist us in determining subsequent issues. I will also elaborate on defining further these and other goals, and providerelevant explanations.

2. Exploring the emergence of the idea of Europe and the first modernization processes in Georgia -The determination of this issue should be the first task of the first historical part of my research because the materials studied in this period will allow us to see the first steps of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia. I will see how and where the idea of Europe has emerged in Georgia and what kind of modernization has begun. I believe the determination of this issue and answering on it will give me possibility to see the irreversible process that has led to such modernization of the Georgian society that formed a modern nation-state on the basis of the idea of Europe. At the end of the research, I will see how consistently the process of modernization of Georgian society has continued and how it changed in relation to the first steps. Hence our task is to see the way of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia in time and space, their significance and understanding.

3. Identifying who were the first authors of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia and what specific projects they have been implementing to achieve this goal -There are many works on those public figureswho are considered to be the first authors of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia. Hence, one might ask if there is anything left still to be studied and researched. However, my task is to understand the merits of these people again and from the new perspective. The context of the idea of Europe and modernization will give us an opportunity to understand the importance of those projects that contributed to the creation of bonding elements of Georgian society. Consequently, determining this objective and achieving the relevant goal will show me the concrete results not only during the time when implementation took place, but their future importance, as well.

4. Studying social-democratic changes of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia- I think beside Social Democrats there have been many political and public actors who has contributed to the modernization of Georgia on the values of the idea of Europe. However, my goal is to see this process from the perspective of the Social Democrats. This is a political force that has declared Georgia's independence and created a modern state based on the idea of Europe and not just on those ideals but also on the European legal basis. Since they were the leaders of state management, this is why the goal of the research is to see the changes and the modernization that the Georgian Social Democracy brought to the Georgian nation. At the same time, we will be able to see the constitutional, legal and cultural grounds that have become the basis for the formation of modern Georgia. This task will give us an opportunity to see the way Georgia has passed from the emergence of the idea of Europe to Social Democratic changes. We will see how contradictory or compatible they are with each other and what effect they have brought to the Georgian state.

5. Identifying who were the authors of social-democratic modernization in Georgia and what specific projects they implemented-One of my goals is to study the worldviews and works of specific individuals. Not only to study and analyze social-democratic processes but also to see and analyze the visions and actions of their authors. The processes that create and change the history of the people are not implemented without specific people. Hence, it's interesting to know what these people were doing, what were their motives and goals at that time. Their philosophical beliefs and performances are important because they were no ordinary people, but their decisions and steps have influenced other people's fate and future. They also influenced the country's policy and the future, which did not lose significance even after a century. That is why I think that my goal is not only to study the pattern of biography, but also to help understand the main issues of research that will endure a consistent path of the idea of Europe and modernization.

6. Studying the process of returning the idea of Europe in the post-Soviet Georgia and analyzing the modernization processes and its consequences implemented in Georgia after its independence- The next goal of my research is an attempt to analyze scientifically modern social and political events. I will try to impartially analyze the modernization projects that started after 2003 and led the country to the associated EU membership. I am going to evaluate the idea of Europe and modernization in the past when it has begun and the modern time in what conditions they are now. After this studyI will see an entire picture of how the processes of our research have started and how it is actually going on today. Moreover, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the announcement of independence of Georgia

many unexpected political and social processes developed, and for our research the interesting task is to study the most active modernization process accompanied by unmatched assessments. Unlike the previous historical stages, I will not study the authors and leaders of these events, as they are still active actors and there is a risk to bias the scientific standards.

7. Determining the type of correlation between the modernization and the idea of Europe in the above mentioned historical stages and evaluating cases in which they were in accord or in contrast -The last goal of my dissertation is to analyze and evaluate all the historical phases. I will try to picture all different time periods together and analyze in one spectrum. During the entire process of research I will see the correlation between the idea of Europe and modernization. I will see where they were matched and how they dismissed each other. How much they were related or not. This will help me to see the difference between the idea of Europe and modernization, both in general and in regard of Georgia. I will see how Georgian public and political figures managed to match the modernization projects to the idea of Europe and, on the contrary, the idea of Europe to the implementation modernist projects in political, social, cultural, economic and state level. Accomplishment of this task will give me a cohesive and completed look of the thesis that will provide me to analyze and conclude the research.

The main research question and questions

In order to achieve my thesis goals and objectives, below I have a formulated question and a few sub questions. My research main question is as follows: Have various historical visions and modernization projects in Georgia been informed and justified by invoking then-dominant "ideas of Europe"?

The idea behinde of those question and sub-questions is that they do help me to achieve my research aims and goals. I believe the formulation of the question should include all actors and aspects mentioned in aims and goals of the research. They are different historical periods - a time of research, a place of research - Georgia, modernization projects and the idea of Europe, which could show us mutual correlation. Such formulation of the question will help me to analyze the three historical period of Georgia as a subject of research and see how modernist projects were implemented and how they were related to the idea of Europe. And on the contrary, I will see the implementation of modernization projects justified by the idea of Europe in the economic, social, and political spheres. I will be able to see the motives and actions of politicians and public figures.

As the topic alludes, I will answer other relevant questions as well. Therefore, I will answer questions as well as explain why they have formulated on such way. For example, the following question can be: What does Europe mean? What does Europeanization mean? What is European identity? These questions are needed because the answers given to them help me to logically answer the question in which I will understand the idea of Europe means. And after this I will need to answer what the meaning of modernization is? The answer to this question will help me to identify the reality of modernization and see it in Georgian reality.

The following sub-questions will be formatted as follows: Who (which political or societal actors) have historically talked and written about the idea of Europe in Georgia? What did "Europe" mean to them? How did they define "Europe"? Did they use the idea of Europe to justify their proposed

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modernizationofeconomic,political,socialandculturallife   of
Georgia?Didtheymanagetoimplementtheirideas(projects)   andwhatwastheirmotivation?Whatdoes
theideaofEuropemeanforGeorgians   nowadays?Whatmodernization"projects"pertain   totheideaofEurope
and are used tojustifytodayandby whichpoliticaland/or societalactors?These questions will help me to
achieve thoroughly and gradually our goals and objectives. With these questions I will be able to
study deeply the processes developed in Georgia in the predetermined time period. I will see
differences and similarities between those sections of the time and study the internal parties of all
political actors that have influenced the development of Georgia's history through the idea of Europe
and modernization.

One of the sub-questions that I can formulate in the introduction of the research is as
follows:Aredemocratic values, reforms, modernizationm,andEuropeareassociated witheachother for the
Georgian society and aretheyallthesame?This question will help me to determine the main line of my
research and to achieve the main goal. I will see exactly what the interconnection between the idea of
Europe and modernization is in different stages of history.

As we can see, there are number of research questions that do not exclude emergence of
additionalquestions in the process of research and work, which will gradually be answered in this thesis.

The research hypothesis

Based on the above, I can formulate and develop ahypothesisthatinGeorgia,
modernizationisassociatedwiththeideaof Europe.Everypolitical, social, cultural, legalandcivilreformis
justifiedbytheidea ofEurope.Nomatter whatoutcomesthese reformshave–whethertheybenefitthecountyor
damagepeople'slife–   they   are   justified.Theideaof   Europeissostrongthatitissynonymous
withmodernization,andmodernizationmeansdevelopmentof acountryandpeopleitself.

In order to reach the approval of our hypothesis, we need to consider the European context and
take parallels of simultaneously events in Georgia to see how closely was the idea of Europeand
modernization with the waves in Europe.I am of the opinion that the formation of the idea of Europe had
three waves in Western Europe:

1. The first period covers the 18th and early 19th centuries when ideas about liberty spread
through the public thinkers and philosophers. This meant freedom of the individual, freedom of the
nations, secularization and democratic governance.

2. The second period covers the beginning of the second half of the 19th century and the
beginning of the 20th century when the social-democratic ideas were spread. This meant ideas on equality
and solidarity, which put the idea of freedom of individuals and nations to the backstage and brought the
idea of class equality and freedom to the forefront.

3. The third period, when the idea of Europe was finally formed, began in the second half of the
20th century. Particularly, it happened after the World War II. Its main idea was to avoid wars, to
establish peace, to advance the freedom of the individual and defend human rights, to create such solid

international associations, such as the United Nations and the European Economic Union that turned into the European Union.

Pursuant to my opinion, along with the idea of Europe that took place in Western Europe in a form of the three waves that I've mentioned above, there were also three waves of spreading the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia.

Firstly, the idea of Europe emerged in the public discourse in Georgia in the second part of the 19th century during the Russian Empire period. Of course, there had also been historical periods when Georgian kingdoms or political establishments aspired to be like Western countries or civilizations, such as the Hellenic or Roman era. However, Europe as an idea did not exist at that time, but it was the basis of the European idea. This idea appears in the Middle Ages and then during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment periods when Europe emerged as a civilization and hence the idea of Europe. Precisely at that time, Georgians started attempting to forge ties with that civilization and even possibly model themselves on it. So, new values, new visions and new opinions were implemented by political and public figures led by Ilia Chavchavadze and other public thinkers in the 19th century. That time began the modernization of social, cultural, economic and political life. Unfortunately, during this time Georgia was fully occupied by the Russian Empire, but Georgian political establishments and public figures managed to unify a new, European-style nation.

The second wave of establishing the European lifestyle and modernization quickly spread in Georgia from Western Europe. Socialist ideas were soon found in the Georgian reality. Organized implementation of these ideas was carried out during the period of independence of the First Republic of Georgia in the epoch of the Social Democratic Party governance. This time was very short, but the Georgian political and economic elite, led by Noe Zhordania, was occupied with European ideas. These people managed to modernize Georgia according to European trends. This modernization took place from the top of the government down to the ordinary public life. However, another Russian occupation, and with it repressions and elimination of thousands of open-minded people, deprived Georgia of the way of the Western development.

The last part of my PhD will be dedicated to the modern era and the third wave of modernization in Georgia. Unlike the second wave, this phase was delayed by half a century because the Soviet Union occupied Georgia from 1921-1991. After the liberation of Georgia the country underwent political and economic chaos. For this reason, I cannot say much about the 1990s. It was a time filled with wars, a military coup, unrest, organized criminal, corruption and futility. Modernization began after the "Rose Revolution" led by Mikheil Saakashvili who managed to change every aspect of life. Reforms took place within the army, police, justice, economic, legislature and even with respect to cultural life. All this happened under the idea of Europe, and steps for Georgia's integration in European and North Atlantic unions became realistic and tangible. However, here we meet the following question: "Does modernization always mean democracy?" Opponents of the government claimed that the idea of governmentalism overweighed the idea of individual human rights. This meant that the modernization was prior to the idea of Europe, and it should have been on the contrary. I will finish the research with the idea of Europe reflected in numbers and see how they change economic, political, legal and cultural life of Georgia.

Theoretical framework

The object of the dissertation is studied through a political perspective. According to its title its main theme is the modernization and the idea of Europe. Therefore, the theoretical framework of research we chose is the Modernization Theory. This theory involves many different actors and directions, but I will focus on the direction that studies the correlation of democracy and modernization. I think this is the main line of our research, to see how the idea of Europe and modernization were compatible to each other in Georgia and vice versa. The interpretation of this theory gives me an opportunity to imagine whether the process of modernization was always a democratization and could democratization automatically bring a modernization.

Classical Modernization theory identifyies key factors of the social modernization as its main research points, such as bureaucratic corruption, gender and income inequality, urbanization, skills acquisition and education, the role of political communication and the media, and so on. Modernization process of economies, nations and its people are a broader level of analysis. And studying the alteration of social values is a tough issue requiring complex analysis (Goorha, 2017).

But specifically, what we are interested in is the theory on democratization by Seymour Lipsett, that focuses on the relationship between economic development and the likelihood of a country to become and remain a stable democracy. Lipsett (1959) hypothesizes that the more developed a country is economically, it is more likely that it would be a democracy and be characterized by a more stable political situation overall (Rose, 2016). Analyzing countries of Latin America and Europe, Lipsett uses variables such as education level, labor share of agricultural sector, per capita income and level of urbanization, and proves his hypothesis that the more developed is a country's economy, the more democratic is the political system. He also concludes that the modernization starts by urbanization, followed by rapid industrialization, improved communication networks and literacy rates. The growth of advanced communication networks, in turn, encourages the development of formal democratic institutions such as voting and citizen participation in the decisions of their governments (Lipset, 2010). Lipset's points are further supported by the earlier studies by Lerner (1958) identifying urbanization, education and communication as the principal forces for the modernization process (Wucherpfennig J., Deutsch F., 2009).

I think this theoretical frame gives me an opportunity to better understand the research we have presented. The object of our research is the modernization and the idea of Europe that we parallelly study in three historical stages of Georgia. Therefore, I believe that the modernization theory is a theoretical framework of my research and will provide us to relevant outcomes.

The research methodology

The present PhD research is an analytical thesis and exploratory project. Toprovemyhypothesis,Ihaveto use verifiableandscientificmethods.Consequently, the general methodological framework of the work is the descriptive method. According to the presented dissertation format, I think that the descriptive method will help me to achieve the goals that I have set. During the

research I am focusing on several key variables which effectively affect the process of implementation of the idea of Europe and the modernization in Georgia. Two of these variables are independent and two of them are dependent. These variables are:

        A) Independent variable: historical context;

        B) Independent variable: existing international political and geopolitical environment;

        C) Dependent variable: influence of public figures and politicians on the implementation process of modernization and the idea of Europe.

        D) Dependent variable: influence of public opinion on politicians decisions.

        I do admit that only these variables cannot give the comprehensive and conclusive answers, and this could be a limitation of this research.However, I believe that in accordance with the presented dissertation format, focusing on these variables wouldresult into imperative conclusions, that itself can promote the further research of the topic.

The research design

Thebodypart will be dividedintofourchapters:
1. Overview of concepts;
2. The emergenceofliberalismandtheideaofmodernizationinGeorgiainthesecondhalfofthe19thcentury;
3. The social-democraticmodernizationprojectintheearly20th century;
4. Themodern,post-SovieteraandtheunderstandingandtheuseoftheideaofEurope.

        For a better understanding, we will explain the concepts in the beginning of the research body part. We will formulate the idea of Europeand the modernization. And we will separately discuss each value that I consider as a part ofthe idea of Europe.I will try to explain their meanings, find out what root they have in history, how they are defined by a variety of authors, and how they are viewed from the EU perspective that I consider as an embodiment of the'idea of Europe.' With each review, it will be clear what the idea of Europe is and what should be researched in the case of Georgia.

        To realize the concept of the idea of Europe, define a broader "meaning" of Europe, and find out what are the past and the present concepts of it. What does Europeanization mean? What does the European identity mean? Once I define the concept of the idea of Europe and understand the basic essence of this term, then we shoul determine the "European identity". It is interesting to study the European Union policy in this regard and find out where Georgia's place in this respect: whether it is part of this policy and whether the Georgians identify themselves as Europeans.I can say that the subject of my research - the idea of Europe, with all its components, is embodied in such an international organization as the European Union. If the Georgian people are trying to become part of European family and share the idea of Europe, then it must achieve membership of this organization and satisfy all the principles, values and criteria required by the EU.

        After formulating what the concept of the idea of Europe is, a detailed understanding of the idea of modernization will be needed. This will facilitate my further research on Georgia. After which I will

study the projects implemented in the name of modernization and the idea of Europe in the context of Georgia. I will see how much these project share with one another withrespect to Georgia. Whether they are associated with each other or could have existed independently of each other. And as soon as I have thoroughly studied the concepts of the idea of Europe and modernization, I will research how Georgians perceive these two concepts. Who (which political or societal actors), historically and in modern times,discussed the idea of Europe in Georgia? Did they use the idea of Europe to justify their proposed modernization of economic, political, social and cultural life of Georgia? Did they manage to implement their ideas (projects) and what was their motivation?

As, myPhDresearch is limited toasinglecountrywheretheinterplaybetweentheideasofmodernizationandofEuropeisexamined inthreedifferentperiods. Hence, we have three different cases from the same country, albeit not historically independent of each other. Thus, in terms of the research design of the thesis, it is a comparative study of three most similar cases coming from the same country at different times in history:

1.The emergenceofliberalismandtheideaofmodernizationinGeorgiainthesecondhalfofthe19[th]century andtheuseoftheideaofEuropeforthepurposesofliberalmodernizationproject;I go through every single peace of Georgian literature concerning Europe, the idea of Europe, democracy,liberalism, and modernization while conducting this research study. Meaning, I studied every published work held in the National Library of Georgia regarding the subject.

2.The social-democraticmodernizationprojectintheearly20[th] century,itspracticalimplementationthroughthe foundingof modernizedEuropean-stylesocial-democraticrepublic; I collected almost every existing literature, research and work concerning the matter in question within the extent of my research, processed large number of sources and tried to answer my main research question, as follows: Who were the Georgian social democrats, that led the idea of Europe and modernization, who were their major ideologues and what specific projects did they implement for the purpose of introducing the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia.

3:Themodern,post-Sovieteraof reformsandmodernizationandtheunderstandingandtheuseoftheideaofEuropeforthesepurposes. Iseewhatkindofprogressivechangestookplaceineachperiodineconomic,political,cultural andlegal fieldsinthenameofEuropeanidea. In particular, I am going to examine the third wave of modernization and the idea of Europe – which includes the period from 2003, i.e. from Rose Revolution through 2014 year – when Georgia became an associated member of the European Union. Therefore, in this part of my research I will find out what results the three waves of the idea of Europe and modernization have accomplished, to which lots of people's invaluable toil, struggle, health and even lives were sacrificed. Has the idea of Europe and modernization been implemented in such a manner as the people introducing these values in the second half of the 19th century were striving for?

As a result of the study of these historical periods, I will see what progressive changes have been made in the economic, political, cultural and legal fields in all three sectors.

The research limitations

As we see from the research design, our dissertation does not include all epochs from the second half of the 19th century and therefore all the actors who have a significant contribution in Georgia in the implementation of the idea of Europe and the modernization. I think the issue is quite broad, however due to the scope of the research and the limitations of the thesis, I had to make a choice of the research framework and chose the idea of Europe and modernization developed in Georgia only in such a way, that I think is more relevant. Certainly, this does not decline other actors that are not in this thesis, even more it indicates,that they require a separate research and work that can not be solved by one dissertation. Consequently, I have excludedthose figures who contributed to the idea of Europe but were not part of the social-democratic project. These are Mikhako Tsereteli, Ivane Javakhishvili, Mikheil Javakhishvili, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia and other public figures who have contributed to the formation of modern Georgian nation.

Furthermore, important part of the history of Georgia is the Soviet era, during which the industrialization and modernization of infrastructure took place, which still constitutes the main infrastructure of modern Georgia. This period, with its various historical sections, is undoubtedly interesting and valuable in terms of research of the modernization of Georgia, but it is also beyond the scope of this research.

Finally, I also briefly review the first decade of Georgia's independence, the first and the second Presidents who contributed to the formation of modern Georgia as they are the subject of a completely new research work. During this period, Georgia's independence was announced, the new constitution was adapted and the new laws began to write, a pluralist political environment was created, an application on Euro-Atlantic integration was made and Georgia became a member of the Council of Europe. It was at this time that the the idea of Europe in the society formed and started making pressure on the politicians to launch rapid democratic and modernist reforms. And since I am not focusing on this period that much, I believe my research does make a case for even further investigation of this time.

According to this, being limited in the research length, and I believe I havemade a choice that I consider as the most relevant to my research perspective. That is why I have focused on Terek-drinkers, Social- Democrats and the projects implemented after the Rose Revolution. I will focus on these three epochs and see how the the idea of Europe and modernization processes have been presented.

Literature review

Formyresearch, Iexamine relevantpublications, speeches, statements,articles,interviews, and dataevidence.I willmakeresearch analysisbasedonscientificliteratureavailableonlineaswell; Iconstruct acomprehensivereviewandanalysisofissuesrelatedtomodernization,theideaofEurope, and EUregulations(AssociationAgreementaswell)basedon relevantbooksandscientific literature.

Study literature can be grouped according to the division of our body part. At the first stage, we will review the literature covering idea of Europe and modernization. Then we will study the works of authors living in the 19th century and public figures of that time. After that we will review the works of the founders of the first Democratic Republic and the work of their researchers. Finally, we will analyze the literature of authors working on modern political, economic and social issues.

In order to review of the core concepts, I need to cover the views and ideas of the authors who have studies the concept of modernization and its phenomenon. After that, I will see how the concept of modernization corresponds to the idea of Europe. When I am discussing these concepts, I should remember that many scholars, philosophers, and lawyers have personally defined each of these terms and there is no single definitionon which everyone agrees upon. However, I overview several main authors' works and try to outline the basic ideas of my concepts. I shall process what phases the idea of Europe went through and how it correlated with the Georgian reality in terms of time and ideas. I shall see whether or not the idea of Europe was formed in Western Europe and Georgia at almost the same period. If not, then how late the idea of Europe was spread in Georgia.

Before we begin to understand the idea of Europe in general, we shouldrefer to the its constitutive concepts first. These concepts are "Europe", "Europeanization" and "European Identity". Boer writes about the political content of the Europe and says that the continent has acquired political meaning after French Enlightenment. Enlightenment philosophers promoted how they saw Europe and its future, and how they envisioned for the better life of people. The ideals such as liberty, equality and fraternity were trumpeted everywhere (Boer, 2000). As for Europeanization, it is well-covered in the book by Denalty and Rumford. They say thatEuropeanization explains the cultural and epochal significance of major social transformations. That is why the European integration has brought large-scale social, economic and political changes. In the context of Europeanization there are new processes and dynamics occurring beyond the limits of national societies and the European social space is becoming increasingly more salient(Delanty & Rumford, 2005). And Morthand Grabbewrite about Europeanization in regard to the EU policy. According to them,Europeanization is a process of institutionalization in which new rules and new ways of thinking evolve. The multiple actors at the national and European levels form a transnational political community in which the new rules of the game are formed (Morth, 2003).Europeanization affects upon the applicant countries, especially in the post-soviet countries (Grabbe, 2003). Furthermore, according to Lucarelly the European identity seems to be an international phenomenon. The EU foreign policy helps Europeans to see in the mirror not only themselves but 'Others' as well. And this is relevant to self-identification and recognition (Lucarelli, 2008).

After reviewing the literature of these concepts, it is interesting to see the authors' stance on the idea of Europe. Most interesting to our researchare Wilson and Dussen with their book "History of the idea of Europe". According to them, the main core of the idea of Europe is liberal-democratic values (Wilson, K; J, Dussen V. D., 1995). This vies is supported by Lukareli and Manners as well in their book titled "Values and Principles in the EU Foreign Policy". Here are listed exactly those values that are the most important for the modern idea of Europe: peace, liberty, equality, solidarity, democracy, rule of law, secularism, and environmentalism (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). I will formulate the exact concept of the idea of Europe after studying these points.

As I have said, after the formulation of the idea of Europe, it is necessary to definethe exact concept of the modernization. There is a plethora of the literature on that issue, including Max Weber's viewswho considered that modernity defines 'a process of functional differentiation and emancipation of the secular spheres – primarily the state, economy and science – from the religious sphere and the concomitant differentiation and specialization of religion within its own newly founded religious sphere' (Mavelli, 2012).

After studying the concept of idea of Europe and modernization, I move to those Georgian figures that imported and promoted European values through different forms in Georgia. These people were called the Terek-Dinckers. I will study their works, and researches of those scholars who studied them. In this regard, there is one noteworthy issue. Many works are published during the Soviet Union, which means they passed under a censorship. And some books are published in the 1990s when nationalist ideas prevailed both in society and in the academic field. Hence we often see the works that lack scientific quality and basically are designed to glorify public figures of the second half of the 19th century. Also, it is worth to mention that there are lots of studies about Terek-drinkers, hence some might assume that identifying the literature gap that my research is addressing could be difficult. However, this research is bringing together the elements of their works in the context of the idea of Europe and Europeanization, that, to the best of my knowledge, no other research address in the same way. The key figures of the Terek-drinkers that I review are as follows: Ilia Chavchavadze, Vazha-Pshavela, Akaki Tsereteli, Aleksandre Kazbegi, Dimitri Kipiani and Iakob Gogebashvili.However, it is also interesting that researcher George Davitashvili, who precisely studied the features of democracy in Georgia, argues that democratic values had deep roots in Georgian customary law and that determined an easy adaptation of Georgian society with Enlightenment ideas, the idea of Europe and democratic values. The scholar discusses such institutions as public self-governance, the judicial system, and arbitration law that existed in medievalfeudal Georgia. Those institutions were quite similar to the ones that we have with contemporary democracy. Georgian customary law, legislative, executive and judicial systems were the obvious manifestations of the features of democracy. Their organization and procedural issues were based on democratic principles. Hence, contemporary democracy and the idea of Europe turned out to be compatible and easily acceptable for the Georgian social-political, civil and law systems.(Davitashvili, 2011).

Researcher Iatashviliwrites about European ideas having deeper roots in Georgia. Not considering hagiographic works of V-VIII centuries, which are referring to individual freedom, gender equality and freedom of belief, in secular literature, XII century's "The Knight In the Panther's skin" by Shota Rustaveli is full of the exact humanist ideas that characterized the European pre-Renaissance and Renaissance eras (Iatashvili, 2011). Values, such as ethnic and religious tolerance, fairness, pursuit of happiness and social harmony are evident (Ratiani, 2011). And XVII-XVIII centuries' writers and statesmen, such as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and David Guramishvili, were the actual manifestations of that period's European Enlightenment wave, who had felt the dawn of the new era. Their works were the bold revelations of liberalism. One more author, who fought illiteracy and proposed all types of democracy with deep scientific knowledge, was John Batonishvili. He was the son of the last king of the

Eastern Georgian kingdom and was exiled in Russia after the annexation of his country by the Russian empire in 1801 (Iatashvili, 2011).

It is also worth mentioning thatnone of the Georgian researchers had explained the essence of the idea of Europe in such details. Furthermore, Europe, the idea of Europe, and already mentioned values constituting the idea of Europe, such as democracy, liberalism and modernization are associated terms and even often synonyms for Georgian authors. For instance, a scholar of the 19th century history, Gaprindashvili, argues that in the second half of the 19th century there was no line drawn dividing democracy from liberalism. At that time, liberals were called freedom-loving people, including the nobility, who wanted to abolish the system that gave those privileges and emancipate the peasantry. In general, the liberals of those times were demanding more than they could imagine feasibly possible (Gaprindashvili M. , Essays on the History of the Georgian Public Thinking, 1988).It is also interesting that in the Georgian scientific community European Civilization is associated with Western civilization. In her book, 'History of the European Civilization', Maya Khetsuriani notes that the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and other democratic states should be discussed within the scope of European civilization(Khetsuriani, 2004). The research is even more interesting due to the fact that Terek-drinkers never created any theoretical treatise, but through their literary works or pamphlets their devotion to the idea of Europe and an attempt to adapt it to the Georgian reality is visible. As Akaki Jorjadze wrote 'they introduced the formulas and social-political theories existing in Europe… Since then the Europenization of Georgian thinking has begun(Jorjadze, Social, Political and Legal Views of Archil Jorjadze, 1989).

As for the modernization projects implemented in this period, some Georgian researchers accurately describe what kind of changes were followed by it. Technological and economic progress have not been the only ones affected by the Modernization. It also implied transformation and development of the society. In this cases modernization in the small states' cultures turned into oppression of the local traditions that meant vanishing of the identities of local cultures. In such cases modernization became an embodiment of the idea of Europe and it heralded the development of the Western-type civilization and Europeanization (Tsereteli & Kakitelashvili, Culture and Modernization, 2006).

The following part of the thesis is dedicated to Social Democrats. The literature written about this period may be biased as well. If Soviets portrayed Terek-drinkers as if their sole contribution to the civil society was fighting against serfdorm, as such approach was fitting their political agenda well, they used to fight against and criticize more harshly the Social Democrats. Large numbers of materials, not fitting with the Soviet agenda, were directly banned, and it's been only recently that research has resulted into discovering of new and interesting facts. My goal in this regard is to objectively illustrate the contribution Social Democrats in the processes of the formation of a modern state. In this regard I will review writings of Noe Zhordania and Noe Ramishvili. Also, I will study the works of the researchers who analyze that time period. However, I will be very wary in my estimations, since theevents that I studyhave political content, and the authors usually evaluate them according their own political views. My goal is take out only facts from researches works and make my own analysis out of it. For example, the strict separation of state officials from religious institutions and secularization, D. Gegenava estimates as a negative event (Gegenava, 2013). While the same event can be assessed as a

progressstep towards theformation of a secular state. It is also worth noting that the greatest researcher of that period was V. Guruli, who has published many works on this topic. However, the steps taken for secularization are also perceived negatively. According to him, secularization policy was taken to the level of high government officials. They did not take part in important religious celebrations. In addition, even Noe Zhordania forbade Catholicos-Patriacrh Leonid to mention his name in his prayers, and only decided to give his consent, after the latter had already left his office (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008).

Stephen F. Johns, a scholar of Georgian social democracy, notes that apart from the Russian socialists, Georgian politicians were always trying to merge socialism with European values, pluralism, human rights, and private property. This explains their success not only within Georgia but also throughout the Menshevik group of the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Georgian social democrats started to propagandize the struggle for national independence and the idea of establishing a socialist democracy in the imperial police state. Like the Western European social democrats, they tried to fuse socialism and nationality since in socialism they saw the means to defeat the foreign regime ruling their country. To them, socialism stimulated national consolidation, modernization, and economic growth. They hoped that, socialism would unite Georgian people and turn them into Europeans, ensure the country's security, and end wars between states and different ethnic groups. Since neither imperial violence norinternal ethnic conflict was new for Georgia, they counted on socialism as an ideology that brings diverse peopletogether without violence and bloodshed, unalike the new, nationalist ideology(Jones, 2007).This difference is important in regards to such modernization of the nation that lead them to form European style nation-state. On this regard, scholar Stephen F. Johns refers to Noe Zhordania as the factor of the Georgian social democrats being nationalistic. He states that Noe Zhordania was more interested in European socialist ideas while he was a student. That is why he joined Polish and Russian Marxists. He read Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Marx. However, he was influenced by the thoughts of other European social democrats, he studied the history of the Social Democratic Party of Germanywhen his Russian socialist and utopian illusions were shattered. In addition to this, Russian chauvinist acts started against representatives of other nations in everyday life, and Polish would not speak to Zhordania in Russian in protest. Johns argues that living in Warsaw influenced Zhordania vastly, causing him to believe in fighting for cultural rights and the power of national movement against imperialism (Jones, 2007).

Besides, women's right researchers works are interesting. Scholar of women emancipation, L. Gapridashvili indicates that, Georgian women started to actively engage in politics since the beginning of the 20th century. She argues that there existed a phenomenon of Georgian feminism, which was not just based on imported ideas but was adapted to the local needs(Gaprindashvili L. , Georgian Feminism or Feminism in Georgia?, 2008).

Social-Democrats cannot be studied without reviewing auto-biographies, such as books written by Noe Jordania, Shalva Maglakelidze and Karl Kaustsky, who traveled to Georgia (Kautsky, 1921). The book of Stephen F. Johns is also interesting. A scholar of Georgian social democracy, who described their differences from Russian Bolshevik and even with Menshevik circles were conditioned by the fact that the Georgian social democrats came from petty nobility, who were born in countryside and grew up with

peasants. He says that differences between them were not as noticeable in Georgia as it was in Russia. He also described how multi-ethnic was the working class in Georgia. He believes Georgian social democrats constantly criticized 'Terek-drinkers', they turned out to be the heirs to their practical activities and they naturally engaged in cultural, civil and charitable affairs (Jones, 2007).

The last part of my dissertation covers the period from 2003 to 2014 when Georgia became an associated member of the European Union. This period of research also requires caution because if the previous chapters contain such materials that were subject of censorship during the Soviet Union, this section of Georgia's latest history is still considered to be the contemporary period. Social and political actors worked in this period are still in the public arena. The steps taken by them are still a subject of discussion, so it is difficult to maintain objectivity. I will try to collect only facts in the dissertation andreviewbipartisan assessments in order to conduct objective analysis. For example, in the World Bank's 2006 report of Doing Business reflected the decisive progress made by government in its effort to reduce corruption, improve administration, and liberalize the business environment. Georgia was recognized as the number one reformer in the world, and jumped 75 places in one year – from 112th to 37th in the world – with regard to business attractiveness (Government of Georgia, 2006).

Additionally, I also cover very critical authors of this period, such as Khidasheli, who in her analysis concluded that the judiciary in Georgia hadan extremely low index of independency, and there were frequent cases of inhuman and degrading treatment in the penitentiaries and temporary detention isolators (Khidasheli, 2011).The main criticism of the Rose Revolution on the way toward modernization of the political system concerns the mistake that hindered democratization and caused deviation from the European values. According to claims against President Saakashvili, he was bent to dictatorship. This was manifested in the constitutional amendments made in February 2004, which disrupted the balance between the branches of government and the mechanisms of balance. In fact, absolute and unsupervised power of the president was legalized. In addition, the judiciary lost its constitutional independence from the legislative and executive branches of the government. Most of the trials were conducted with violations of administrative and procedural laws. The practice showed that the judiciary executed the orders received from the Prosecutor's Office. In result, in the 2006 Report of Human Rights Watch, it is stated that the government of Georgia almost did not have any grounds to be proud of the rule of law and success achieved in protection of human rights (Nozadze, G., 2007).

Beside this I overviewed certain measurments on the idea of Europe and modernization in numbers. I checked several statistical data independent from each other and saw how other countries are in that ranks. Hence, it will be interesting to study them in detail and see Georgia's place among other countries. Components of the idea of Europe could be reflected in following statistics: Peace, Freedom, Equality, Solidarity, democracy, the rule of law, the importance of religion and moral, human rights environmental protection, and modernization.

As we will see, analysis of the literature will help me to direct my research to the most relevant points. An extensivebibliographyandgeneralsurveygives my thesis thepossibilitytobeattractivefor GeorgianandEuropeancitizensaswell.Iexpectthatmyresearchwillbeinterestingtoread,notonlyfor scientific societies, butfor studentsandotherpeopleinterested inpoliticalandhistoricalissues in general.

Chapert 1.
Overview of concepts

As noted above, in order to conductresearch regarding the outcome of the modernization projects in Georgia and in general, regarding the understanding of the idea of Europe in this country, I need to specify a general conceptual understanding of the idea of modernization and the Europe itself. In other words, first I should realize the concept of the idea of Europe,I should define broader "meaning" of Europe, What are the past and the present concepts of it? What does Europeanization mean? What does the European identity mean? And finally, to conclude, what does the idea of Europe mean? When I am talking about these concepts, I should remember that many scholars, philosophers, and lawyers have defined each of them and there is not one definition on which everyone agrees upon. However, I will overview several main authors' works and try to outline the basic ideas of my concepts. To analyze the idea of Europe deeply, in following chapters I will discuss each value that I consider part of this concept. I will try to explain their meanings, find out what root they have in history, how they are defined by a variety of authors, and how they are seen from the EU perspective,whichI consider an embodiement of the idea of Europe.

"Europe"

It is interesting that the modern understanding of Europe was completely different centuries ago. Kevin Wilson, Chair of the Humanities Programme Committee of the European Association of Distance Teaching Universities (EADTU), states in his edited book 'The History of the Idea of Europe," that there is not "a simple, straightforward answer, or assumption that Europe is stamped with a unique identity, or that it has a manifest destiny, or that a singular meaning is revealed in its history. I follow in the footsteps of Hugh Seton-Watson, who tells us that 'the word "Europe" has been used and misused, interpreted and misinterpreted in as many different meanings as almost any word in any language. There have been and are many Europes…' Instead of rushing into definitions I have approached the topic from a number of points of view and from the standpoint of the various methodologies, raising questions as I go about how 'Europe' has been conceptualized, organized, structured and utilized, both in the past and in the present" (Wilson & Dussen, 2000). In the essay of Pim den Boer I read that a distinct, self-reflective idea of a Europe, with a history and meaning of its own, only emerged during the French Revolution. Before the French Revolution the term Europe had been utilized as a geographical concept and had been associated with the concept of liberty in the time of the ancient Greeks, with Christendom in the fifteenth century, with balance-of-power politics from the sixteenth century and with civilization in the eighteenth century. But these notions are not perceived as constants. Rather they are fragments that enter and leave the dominant discourse on Europe at various historical stages. After the French Revolution, and its associated turbulence and change, it became normal to look historically at the phenomena, and use both to defend traditional European values and the *status quo* and to encourage new prospects for Europe and hence promote change (Boer, 2000).

Indeed, the term "Europa" first appeared in the ancient Greek legend, where "Europa was the mother of Minos, Lord of Crete, and hence the progenitrix of the most ancient branch of Mediterranean civilization" (Davies, 1996). I will not go deep into the legends, but as I am interested in terms, I should mention another legend as well, according to which "the Sun was a chariot of fire, pulled by unseen horses from their secret stables behind the sunrise to their resting-place beyond the sunset. Indeed, one of the several possible etymologies contrasts Asia, 'the land of the Sunrise', with Europa, 'the land of the Sunset'" (Davies, 1996). So far, this term became the name for ancient Greeks to distinguishtheir land from the lands in Asia, and Africa.The political concept of Europe is much younger than the geographic one (Dorpalen, 2008).

However, the geographical boundaries of the Europe were also vague. Some schools claim it is a peninsula and some call it an independent continent clashed with Asia. Paul Valery described Europe as 'a little promontory on the Asian continent' (Delanty & Rumford, 2005) or the extension of Asia, as it is a subcontinent or peninsula like India (Pagden, 2002). British political sociologists Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford say that since the invention of cartography, borders have played a major role in defining Europe. Empires, states and transnational trade and political organizations have been amongst the oldest markers of territories in Europe, but have generally been more like metaphors to define politically and culturally shaped entities. Europe has been mapped by numerous borders, both internal and external, but it is not essentially a geographical entity (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). Nowadays, this massive land is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean from the West, by the Arctic Ocean from the North, by the Ural Mountains from the East and by the Mediterranean Sea and Caucasus mountains from the South (National Geographic, 2016). However, this is not a matter of geography but is the case of geopolitics. Specifically, politicians decide where European borders are demarcated. The South Caucasus exemplify this notion:this region was considered Asian in part during the USSR but since the 1990s and after their independence, they became members of the European Council (Dogonadze S. , 2000) and Georgia an Associated Member of the EU (europa.eu, 2016).

Exploration of the Europe took place during the Roman Era, when "they subjected almost all of Europe, with the exception of the regions of north… However, the phenomenal expansion of the city of Rome and foundation of the Roman Empire were never considered as *European* expansion… There was no question of a notion of a European identity" (Boer, 2000). This is modern concept says Davies in his book "Europe", and it "replaced the earlier concept of 'Christendom'… in 1751, Voltaire described Europe as: a kind of great republic divided into several states, some monarchical, the others mixed… but all corresponding with one another. They all have the same religious foundation, even if divided into several confessions. They all have the same principle of republic law and politics, unknown in other parts of the world (Davies, 1996). Indeed, Christendom was the ancestor of attempts to unite inhabitants of Europe as one union. "Despite all the internal differences between the churches of the East and the West (Orthodox and Catholic) Christians, bearers of the Cross, had some interests in common. Unity was often hard to find, but there were nevertheless communal symbols, gestures, spiritual ideas and earthly motives. It is of interest that the Pope, the leader of Latin Christendom, states that the geographical location for this form of communal identity was to be found in Europe… there was no question of a precise identification between Europe and Christendom (Boer, 2000). During the Crusades of the

MiddleAges, Pope Pius II called for the Christian world to be defended. He used the terms 'Respublica Christiana' and Europe as interchangeable synonyms, also speaking of 'our Europe, our Christian Europe'. He changed the Latin *Europeus*word into *Europa,*whichrapidly spread in various national languages, stated by thehistorian Boer fromthe University of Amsterdam(Boer, 2000).

The Poet T.S. Eliot expounded the traditional view of the European civilization that stands on the Christian core. He says, the dominant feature in creating a common culture between peoples, each of which has its own distinct culture, is religion… I am talking about the common tradition of Christianity which has made Europe what it is, and about the common cultural elements which this common Christianity has brought with it… It is Christianity that our arts have developed; it is in Christianity that the laws of Europe have been rooted. An individual European may not believe that the Christian Faith is true; and yet what he says, and makes, and does, will all depend on the Christian heritage for its meaning. Only a Christian culture could have produced a Voltaire or a Nietzsche (Davies, 1996). This traditional concept of Europe explains the erupting of humanist ideas, specifically in Europe and the significant role of Christian philosophy in it. Boer states that humanism contributed in a variety of ways to form theconcept of solidarity forEurope. The studies of 'humanitatis' was a program to educate a new type of individual through astudy of 'the classics', since these works were considered to represent the highest form of human achievement. Alongside Christianity, humanism became one of the factors linking the elites of various countries(Boer, 2000). The concept of a *'Respublica litteraria'* developed parallel to the older idea of a *'Respublica Christiana'*, which continued to exist. The Republic of Letters emerged in the 17th century as a self-proclaimed community of scholars and literary figures that stretched across national boundaries but respected differences in language and culture(Dalton, 2003). The classical word Europe became more and more common… And by the end of the eighteenth century Europe and Christendom were no longer synonyms. European feelings of superiority were based on a conglomeration of ideas proceeding from the Enlightenment which, in turn, came to be associated with the notion of civilization (Boer, 2000). Enlightenment philosophers described Europe not only in such way as it was with its weaknesses and challenges, but they wrote and promoted how they saw Europe and its future, and how they visioned for the better life of people. "The ideals of the French Revolution had a great impact throughout Europe… Liberty, equality and fraternity were trumpeted everywhere. The whole of the old Europe was shaken", says Boer (Boer, 2000). I have to search for these precise ideas inGeorgian history, which followed the same principles and promoted humanistic ideas as a European achievement.

In the book of 'Rethinking Europe,' Delanty and Rumford say that "the most influential writings on Europe defined Europe as an idea, a cultural discourse of the mind, an essence, based on myth. Europe is based on a cultural idea and this idea is embodied in a political form." They say that there are several 'Europes' in geopolitical terms. These forms depended on whom, and from which perspective was looking at Europe. There were ideological clashes that changed the concepts of Europe (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). On the other hand, German writer Dorpalen says that as a political system, Europe grew out of the breakdown of the Holy Roman Empire and the concomitant secularization of Western civilization. Church and Empire ceased to provide the universal organization wherein the Western world

could find a basic spiritual and political unity. A new framework had to be created in which that world could organize itself. It was found in the political idea of Europe (Dorpalen, 2008).

To conclude the review of different concepts of "Europe", I see that there are two main descriptions: geographical and emotional connotations. The former defines Europe as a geographical entity, continent, or at least half of the continent, where there are national, ethnic, linguistic diversity, cultural differences and the fifty states. They have many differences from each other but many common characteristics as well. In the latter case, I have an emotional description: I interpret the Europe by political meaning as a civilization, which is constantly evolving and changing. It is a descendant of the Greco-Roman and Christian culture and is based on the Enlightenment ideals of freedom, equality and justice, based on the principle of the division of powers and a free trading environment.

The idea of Europe

The idea of Europe is the main axis of my research. Therefore it is necessary to explain its definition and detailed dissipation.There are several concepts of the idea of Europe. German Andreas Dorpalen says that politically, the idea of Europe stands for a supranational system within the framework of which Europe's states are loosely associated (Dorpalen, 2008). While Sonia Lukareli and Ian Manners' book titled "Values and Principles in the EU Foreign Policy" allocate the principles and values one by one that stand out as the idea of Europe. Here are listed exactly that values that are the most important for the modern idea of Europe: peace, liberty, equality, solidarity, democracy, rule of law, secularism, and environmentalism. These principles are accumulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). As the European Parliament declared in 2002, 'the EU is not merely an economic area, but also an area of shared fundamental values based on respect for human dignity (Welsh, 2006).

At the same time, it should be noted that these values were not simultaneously formed as the idea of Europe. They went through a great transformation,which I can divide into three periods. The first period covers the 18th and early 19th centuries, when ideas about liberty spread through tpublic thinkers and philosophers. This meant freedom of the individual, freedom of the nations, secularization and democratic governance. For example, philosopher and idealistI. Kant had predicted an integrated Europe and had an opinion about the federalism of Europe. It is a cosmopolitan view of the future that can be embodied in the modern Europe. What he was saying was that first of all, European countries should obtain the independence or sovereignty as a "republic" where the equality of citizens would be guaranteed by the constitution, and the government should be decentralized in legislature, executive part. Second, variation in local customs should be tolerated and the cosmopolitan right of universal hospitality should be accepted. Third, commerce and the rule of law should spread in the world as the European federation style and the consequences of the historical process and the new stage of world development (Tully, 2002).

Beside the fact that central to the 19thcentury idea of Europe are concepts of liberty, democracy, and secularism, I must mention nationalism was of paramount importance for understanding how Europe saw itself in the 19th century, as a "Europe of nations." Language-based nationalism in Europe in the 19th century was strong, and the elements of liberalism, ideals of free human being, beganto flourish

in that period(Heywood, 2005). That explains how the first generation of reformers in Georgia - who stood behind the liberal modernization project of the second half of the 19th century - placed so much emphasis on the linguistic standardization, spread of literacy, etc., and nationalism asthe key factor of liberalism in the struggle against imperialism and I will expand on this issue below.

In the book "History of the idea of Europe" I read that the main core of the idea of Europe is based on liberal-democratic values, and nationalism is a grip(Wilson, K; J, Dussen V. D., 1995). It is a remnant phenomenon of the past, rather than a new idea on what modern Europe's idea stands for. Europe had different meaning during centuries, but I want to outline where the premise of the modern idea of Europe came from. From my research I think this was the liberal and social-democratic values that occurred in 19th century against monarchist and nationalist political views. I see liberal ideas as a fight of a free man in this nationalist and religious Europe. If nationalism in Europe in the 19th century was strong, it is not only a positive phenomenon for me, because it was used by imperial powers to rule small nations. That is why I want to show the elements of liberalism, ideals of free human being, as a key factor of borning new small nations in the equal family of Europe.

So, the second period covers the beginning of the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the social-democratic ideas were speard -headed by Karl Marx. This meant ideas based on equality and solidarity, which put the idea of freedom of individuals and nations to the backstage and the ideas of class equality and freedom, positionedin the foreground. These values are embodied in the Lisbon Treaty (2007), in Article 1-3 declared that "the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and the principle of equality between women and men prevail" (lisbon-treaty.org, 2013).

The third period began after 1945when the Second World War ended, and the European political elite analyzed that war of such magnitude should not be repeated. Peace should be based on the freedom of the individual, human rights and the establishment of strong international associations, such as the United Nations and the European Economic Union, later the European Union. In 1951, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman delivered a speech at the Assembly of the Council of Europe, which laid the basis for the formation of the EU. According to him,historically hostile France and Germany should have been united around common economic interests, thus preventing further armed confrontation in Europe. They combined coal, mining and metallurgical industries and created the European Coal and Steel Community, which included Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg - totaly 6 countries(eur-lex.europa.eu, 2017).

I can see that the ideas from Kant to Schumann are not utopian. On the contrary, they are realized in the EU and its neighborhood where nationalist countries share common values and attitudes toward life. The EU is the biggest organization of European countries and they have the biggest economy in the world and when we are talking about Europe, first we mean the member states in the EU. Let us overview each of them to be clear what I mean in the idea of Europe and what should I search for in the case of Georgia.

Europeanization

Mynext target is to determine what Europe in the process is. This is called Europeanization. Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford try theorizing European policy as Europeanization in their book "Rethinking Europe – Social theory and the implications of Europeanization". They stated that "social and cultural issues are coming to play an increasingly prominent role in studies on Europeanization" (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). However, of the London School of Economics Kevin Featherstone says in his book "The politics of Europeanization" that some social sciences use the term much less often, because it has different contexts of meaning (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003). The theory of a social constructivist conception of Europeanization gives particular weight to the diverse ways in which the social is constructed under conditions that are not fixed or reducible to institutional structures. Its approach highlights the multiple ways social reality is continuously created in processes that places particular emphasis on globalization and the historical process of modernity as the context in which Europeanization operates and also draws attention to the cultural foundations of politics and norm building processes (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). It is a process of structural change, variously affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests. Many historian use this term to describe the 'export' of European authority and social norms: imperial control, institutional organization and practices, social and cultural beliefs, values, and behavior. The second understanding of Europeanization is changing cultural norms, ideas, identities, political process, and patterns of behavior on a cross-national basis within Europe itself (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003). This process is encouraged now with EU enlargement and integration policy. My further research aim will be to identify if Georgia was covered within the Europeanization process and in what way Georgia was a part of it.

Europeanization is generally understood to be a process emanating from national societies as a result of the impact of the EU and in particular the transnationalization of the state. It appears that Europeanization is a cosmopolitan response to globalization. Globalization is a process that entails forms of social and systemic integration but unfolds through differentiation. European societies are becoming more and more interlinked, without an overall European society as such emerging. This interpenetration of societal systems is occurring within the wider context of globalization, since it is not only European societies that are becoming more and more embroiled in each other but as a result of migration and global culture other social and cultural worlds are becoming diffused with the European societies. National societies and the EU extend integration process beyond the horizons of societal systems (Delanty & Rumford, 2005) .

Featherstone wrote in his book that there are three mechanisms in the process of Europeanization. The first is, when EU obliges member states to adjust their domestic institutions and lead them to a further integration process. The second is almost the same but it redistributes the economic and domestic resourses to the whole member states and the term of the domestic owners disappears. They are becoming part of the single market. And the third is, when European policy alters the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003).

A far-reaching and complete explanation of what I read in this book is stated by of the University of Florence Claudio M. Radaelli. He writes that "Europeanization consists of processes of construction, diffusion, and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles,

'ways of doing thing', and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, political structures, and public policies" (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003). According to this definition, he formulates Europeanization in such a way, that it is "the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem-solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules… Europeanization is supposed to explain processes of cultural change, new identity formation, policy change, administrative innovation, and even modernization" (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003). Researcher Ulrika Morth explains that Europeanization is a process of institutionalization in which new rules and new ways of thinking evolve. However, it is dependent on the EU and it is hard to imagine European political processes and issues that are not linked to the EU. Nowadays, EU level and national levels are interconnected. This does not mean that there are no adjustment pressures for domestic change. The multiple actors at the national and European levels form a transnational political community in which the new rules of the game are formed (Morth, 2003).

Heather Grabbe, the director of the Open Society European Policy Institute and director of EU affairs,stated in her research that Europeanization firstly goes to the East and it helps us to study what the effects the EU has had upon the applicant countries, especially in the post-soviet countries (Grabbe, 2003). As I know, Georgia is anassociated member of the EU since 2014 and it is on the pathto be a part of Europeanization.

Daniel Wincott from the Cardiff University suggests the 'European Social Model' to realize Europeanization. He considers it arguably the clearest example of a normatively loaded 'European model', according to which the processes of European integration and Europeanization are not wholly distinct and neatly separated stages or phases. The history of ESM is one of fragmentation and competition in the EU, both between national visions of a legitimate Europe and within and among the EU level institution, often forcefully articulated and saturated with normative meaning. It emphasizes the contested politics of competing 'European' projects, not a rational and technocratic policy-making process (Wincott, 2003).

Delanty and Rumford say in their book thatEurope is to be meaningful, as opposed to merely of society. Social order that is in some sense a notion of the 'good society' has always been supported as a normative conception. Europeanization explains the cultural and epochal significance of major social transformations which occurs in the very nature of modernity. That is why the European integration hasbrought large-scale social, economic and political change. In the context of Europeanization there are new processes and dynamics occurring beyond the limits of national societies and the European social space is becoming increasingly more salient. The European public sphere overlaps and shares social and cultural worlds, grows consciousness of Europeaness, transnational complexes, and interconnectedeconomies. Europeanization is seen as another version of national-building, that is, as an exercise in supra-national building. According to this, European society is a product of the European/EU integration and the society is an area that lies beyond the scope of the EU project. Nowadays, societies can no longer be easily regulated or bounded by national states. There are many global influences which work to make societies less nationally cohesive, including telecommunications, flows of capital,

population migration, and transnational solidarities of ethnicity and belief. Moreover, the idea of global society has gained fresh impetus in a world in which cosmopolitan identifications can rest on foundations more solid than an invocation of an idealized world citizenship. In this context, it should be mentioned that the rise to popularity of the idea of global civil society has given momentum to the notion that society hastransnational or global dimension, and the relationship between state and society is undergoing massive transformation. And if Europeanization is located in societal transformation, the dynamics of this transformation are global rather than European. So, Europeanization is occurring within world society and not erupted from the globalization process. At this point it can be stated that the concept of 'Europeanization' will be understood instead of the more conventional term 'European integration'. Europeanization itself is a term which has been employed in many different ways in recent literature, and no consensus on its meaning exists. Although it remains a 'fuzzy concept' in the most common usage, it denotes the processes by which national politics and/or policy processes are increasingly dominated by EU agendas and/or the ways in which EU norms are domesticated in member (and non-member) states: in short, 'domestic changes caused by European integration'. The second usage of the termEuropeanization points in the direction of social transformation. In this sense, it can denote a reorganization of territoriality and peoplehood leading to a new social and political order. It can refer to a multi-dimensional process of transformation which goes beyond the EU's institutions to embrace a concern with networks and boundaries, the export of the EU model, and the inter-penetration of national systems. Europeanization is a series of processes which includes, but goes beyond national adaptation to the dynamics of EU integration. On this view, Europeanization includes the emergence of cross-national policy networks and communities and shifts in 'cognition, discourse, and identity'. These features of Europeanization are conceived as responses to European developments within a multi-leveledpolity. This highlights a general tendency to see Europeanization in solipsistic terms: a global dimension or context is absent. This concept makes us to see the European transformation beyond institutionalframeworks and examine the dynamics of culture and society (Delanty & Rumford, 2005).

As I see there are several and sometimes even quite vague perceptions of Europeanization. However, I tried to define its conception and understood the main essence of this term. And here comes another question. If I know what and where Europe is, and I see and feel the process of Europeanization, can I identify certain people as Europeans? Certainly yes, but Iaminterested in what the meaning of European identity is, who identifies himself/herself to it and why?

The European Identity

The next concept to determine is "European identity". How can I define this term? Are there any European people? How do they distinguish themselves from others? Do they have any other cultural or civil differences? What kind of identities do we encounter in Europe?

Researcher Luisa Passerini says that until 1950s this term had little use and after 1960s "European identity" began to be used as a result of the new social, cultural, ethnic, and regional movements (Passerini, 2002). Philosopher Christine Korsgaard from the Harvard University defines identity as "a description under which you value yourself". To create a genuinely transnational identity, a genuinely

European "culture", means blending the features of existing European cultures into a new whole (Pagden, 2002).

If I return to Delanty and Rumford, I will see that it is a matter of debate, because national identities are older and more real or powerful than collective ones. European identity has several meanings. The first is when people describe themselves as European and identify themselves with European culture or politics. However, identities of many individuals can be considered as an individual character and may not be a collective identity. The second opinion is related to the EU and its Maastricht Treaty (1992) where it is written that they will 'reinforce the European identity and its independence in order to promote, security and progress in Europe and the world'. This was realized in the EU cultural policy, the Euro currency, passport, and scientific and educational policy aimed at enhancing a consciousness of Europe. However, this identity is not as intense as national. The third meaning of European identity is distinct from EU policy and refers to identities in the plural, such as national, regional, political, etc. that are defined by an orientation to a broad, generalized cultural conception of Europe. In this case groups, whole societies, movements, and individual citizens define themselves with European identity. It is also stated that "European identity is a process of self-recognition and exists as a constellation of diverse elements which are articulated through emerging repertoires of evaluation... It is the cosmopolitan identity embodied in the cultural models of a societal or civilizational identity... and is a form of post-national self-understanding that expresses itself within national identities" (Delanty & Rumford, 2005).

Prof. of the University of Florence Furio Cerutti says that European identity will put down roots only if we conceive it as a purely political identity, not competing within national identities on the same level to make the polity moments of the Union legitimate. He says that European self-identification process depends on political developments much more than on cultural pre-gives. In this case political identity is attributed to the EU and European identity and is shaped not by ethnicity, culture or nationalism but certain shared values and goals that defines people from 'us' to 'the other' (Cerutti, 2008). These values I will define below and will see what the European identity stands for.

Before that, I can discuss about the peoplehood such as European people that is difficult to define. There is nothing like ethnos or nation or Euro-nationalism and I can say that there is no 'European people,' but it is based on certain common issues and interconnecting societies and institutions that are shaping new cosmopolitan views. With regards to providing a definition of European people,I can simply generalize in this term every nation and people who live in this peninsula (Delanty & Rumford, 2005).

One more interesting opinion about the European identity was stated by Sonia Lucarelli fromthe University of Bologna, who states that this phenomena shapes according to foreign policy. Specifically,this coincidence builds on theprocess and the role of the EU's foreign policy identifying Europeans as a political group. Her analyses show that this leads us to a stereotypical 'EU international identity'. There forms relationship between the political identity of the group, foreign policy and external images. Moreover, foreign policy is relevant to identify directly, as a context in which values are interpreted and acknowledged by the group. Foreign policy provides a first type of mirror where the group views itself and its values. Furthermore, foreign policy helps Europeans to see in the mirror not

only themselves but 'Others' as well. And this is relevant to self-identification and recognition (Lucarelli, 2008).

Finally, in 1973 the European Community issued a 'Declaration on European Identity'and was approved in Copenhagen. According to this document, The identity of Europe should be based on a common heritage that means identical attitudes toward life, converging on the creation of a society responding to the needs of individuals; the principals of representative democracy, the rule of the law, social justice, and respect for human rights; supposed by a common market based on a customs union, established institutions and machinery for cooperation (Lucarelli, 2008).

As I see, I should proceed furtherand define the EU foreign policy that shapes the European identity and find out where is Georgia's place in this particular moment. Is Georgia part of this process and do they identify themselves as other Europeans do?

1.1. The first waveof the idea of Europe: Liberty, democracy, secularization

Liberty

The concept of "liberty" was the primary value for French public thinkers and philosophers. They came up with the concept that people once lived in an environment where neither state nor the church or the feudal system existed. They believed people should come closer to the primitive conditions when nobody was superior over the other and did not govern. Every ruling system was created by humans, so nobody had right to govern forcefully. Right of freedom is the supreme value and is equal to the right of life. If a person has a right to live he ought to be free at the same time (Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2010).

As Europe'sdiversity is itsmost enduring characteristic, there is lasting diversity in the national states and cultures which persist within European civilization as a whole. But many items have always featured prominently: from the roots of the Christian world in Greece, Rome, and Judaism to modern phenomena such as the Enlightenment, modernization, romanticism, nationalism and liberalism (Davies, 1996). However, Ancient or the Middle Ages understanding of freedom was different from modern views. It does not included slaves, women and differently thinker or believer. What the modern understanding of freedom is, I will discuss further. But first of all, I will say that it is part of the values on what the idea of Europe stands for.

The freedom is to have the right of doing things, which is permitted under law. This does not mean that everyone has to do what they want. There is no freedom without responsibility. Responsible freedom means that people have to choose their own political leaders and take part in the creation of laws, which limits the inclination of harmful actions. Citizens should make an agreement or contract with the state by their own will, to determine what rights are restricted, and it should not be forced or imposed. In such ways, citizens disposal to the country and gives legitimacy to civil responsibilities(Labuchidze, Rousseau, 2003).

During the French Enlightment Era emerged the notion of freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, civil and political freedom. In the concept of political freedom, they meantthat people have the

right to elect and choose their leadership, after which they should obey. Political freedom is supposed to have the right of expression of own opinionsrelated to any event in the country. This right should not be blessed or gifted by monarchs or other authorities, but protected and guaranteed by law(Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2010).

Civil liberty implies that nobody will have to do what the law does not specify and obliges and is in the interests of state officials. Thus avoids human enslavement, forced labor and material, and their exposure to exploitation. This freedom also means the sense of safety from other citizens and crime. Freedom of conscience and moral sense is one of the major values, which transforms a person, indeed, his own masters. The right of having conscience, is the right to decide foryourself what is "good" and "bad" (Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2010)

Liberty is a complex set of rights and duties defined by institutions. The various liberties specify things that I may choose to do, and in regard to which, when the nature of the liberty makes it appropriate, others have a duty not to interfere, says American Philosopher John Bordley Rawls (Rawls, 1999).

The EU sets out 19 freedoms and states that 'Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person' (lisbon-treaty.org, 2013). If I go back, I will see that for ancient Greeks, to the extent to which they had a notion of Europe, it was a political system based on freedom rather than a geographical entity (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). All European governments subscribed the idea that freedom of individual choice and protection by a universal system of law was the necessary condition for what the Greeks defined as 'the good life'. There were philosophers from ancient Greece to the French revolution who had some conception of liberty as the defining feature of all the societies of Europe. This belief in liberty has been most closely identified with the republican and democratic traditions that originated in ancient Greece. The 'state' – as a Greek *polis* and the Roman *civitas* shaped all future political associations in what we call 'Europe'. That is why the ancient conception of 'citizenship' became a feature of the modern state (Pagden, 2002).

Even though this value is one of the main cores of the idea of Europe, that does not mean other values are compromised by unwarranted freedoms, such as anti-social behavior, hate, crimes, inflammatory speech, and pornography (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). Georgian political emigrants, during the Soviet occupation, said that a state should recognize freedom of individuals, it should be reflected, defined and clarified in state law. Freedom of the individual should be guaranteed by the constitution. Freedom of a person should be only limited there, where begins freedom of others person or public itself. This value is so strong that mankind will not be able to develop and create welfare without it (Pataridze, 1938).

From a rich tradition of thought, drawing on a wide range of philosophical and political ideas arised Liberalism, says author and Knud Erik Jorgensen. He says that modern international relations was founded by liberal thinkers and therefore created in the image of key liberal ideas. That means the entire modern world functionson liberal principles and values. According to these values Jorgensen considers that human nature is basically good and human beings have the right conditions for their development. So, the purposes of politics should provide properconditions for development (Jorgensen, 2006). Georgian Author Leri Mchedlishvili stated that modern Liberalism was born at a modern time based mainly on a

British, French and American thinkers, such as J. Locke, Sh. L. Montesquieu, J.J. Rousseau, H. Payne, H. Jefferson etc. It is a product of their political life and its core idea is that a person's private life must be protected from public and state interference(Mchedlishvili L. , 2011). "A man can be free to direct his own life only in so far as others are prevented from molesting and interfering with him. The function of a state coercion is to override individual coercion, and it is exercised by any association of individuals within the state. It is by this means that it maintains liberty of expression, security of person and property, genuine freedom of contract, the rights of public meeting and association, and finally its own power to carry out common objects undefeated by the recalcitrance of individual members", says liberal political theorist and sociologist Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse about the state and the individual in his book "Liberalism,"(Hobhouse, 1994). It is believed that every normal adult human being has the capacity to decide for him/herself how to live and has right to decide without being subject to the coercive authority of others (Hobhouse, 1994).

So, as liberalism is the current system of European countries, I can formulate liberalism is both a theory and a practice promoting social outcomes that are, as far as possible, the result of free individual choices. However, the choice of one person that does not respect the equal freedom and rights of others is invalid(Hobhouse, 1994). Besides the mentioned core principle of liberalism, American Historian and John H. Morrow wrote that liberalism has several other elements. For example, civil liberty, which means to have legal rights that regulate the life of a citizen in a state is linked to him/herself or their properties which is a necessary condition. Private property should be an essential feature of morally progressive societies. For new liberals the good has not only the economic dimension,but primarily was an ethical matter. According to this, property rights were significant for moral, and hence free, action, and for the development of common good, that means good of all members of a community (Morrow, 2001).

Individualism and belief in progress formedthe idea of the state, whose main role was to care for its citizens and establish an extraordinary prosperity of the postwar period in Europe. States made this utopian idea the stuff of everyday politics, not only in the political and civic rights, but in economics as well. Liberalism and new attitude toward economics moved old capitalist life on new rails, that was based on the principle of free market, which Monica Prasad explains in such way: Free market or neoliberal politics is taxation structure that favor capital accumulation over income redistribution, industrial policies that minimize the presence of the state in private industry, and retrenchment in welfare spending (Prasad, 2006).

Free market is not only an economic issue, it is a value realized in the liberal concept. It is a system where the role of the government is strictly limited and the actors (buyers and sellers) on the market determine freely, on their own, the types and the levels of production and consumption, and the relevant prices of service, with all of thisbased on supply and demand(Von Mises, 1949). The Free Market ensures the minimization of transaction costs that lead to the maximization of benefits each individual can gain on a single exchange(Coase, 1937). Hence, as the biggest advocate of the Free Market, Milton Friedman said: "The most important single central fact about a free market is that no exchange takes place unless both parties benefit" (Friedman M. , 2000). Furthermore, Friedman asserted that from all the models that have ever been discovered, the Free Market is the best in terms of efficiently

enhancing the process of voluntary cooperation among the large masses of people (Friedman M. , 1962). The Free market model also guaranteesa higher protection of the property rights of individuals, as there is no such superpower (like the omnipotent government in a planned economy system) which can intervene in the process of exchange between actors and expropriate the property rights of individuals. One of the greatest economist minds and founding father of theory of Capitalism, Adam Smith, referring to these issues, once said - "*Commerce and manufactures can seldom flourish long in any state which does not enjoy a regular administration of justice… and… in which the people do not feel themselves secure in the possession of their property…*" (Smith, 1776). The Free Market is the model that makes people *"feel themselves secure in the procession of their property rights"*most adaquetly. But, probably the marvelousness of the Free Market Economy, most succinctly and eloquently articulated is in the following quote:*"there's no limit to what free men and free women in a free market with free enterprise can accomplish when people are free to follow their dreams"*(Kemp, 2011).

Democracy

Democracy is a particular form and philosophy of political life that spread in Europe, serving as the opposite idea of monarchism. It has wide definitions but still can be clarified. The particular EU interpretation of this value is the principle of consensual democracy. That means proportional representation electoral systems, coalition governments, and power sharing amongst parties (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). Georgian Prof. Leri Mchedlishvili declares that Democracy is inherited from ancient Greece and Rome for a modern Europe and the whole mankind. Evolution and perfection of its new forms and adjustment to the new society took place in Europe and the USA. Genesis of its values is European,howeverits potential is universal. This is a form of governance, where all are equal under the law, everyone is involved in the governing of a state by himself/herself or through his/her representative. As a result, the source of the power derives from the people (Mchedlishvili L. , 2011).

Democracy gives political power to the people as a whole rather than to any individual or group. In a democracy free speech and expression are protected. As Ronald Dworkin states,it requires that officials be elected by people rather than chosen through inheritance or by a small group of prominent families or electors, (Dworkin, 2002). However, in the democratic countries we observeboth systems of democracy. One is the direct democracy and the second is indirect democracy. The former means people directly elect the officials, such as a president, governor or parliament member. The latter is when people elect representatives who have delegated the public voice to elect other officials, e.g. a speaker of parliament, prime minister, etc. (Demetrashvili, 2005).

The specificand widely spread definition of democracy is stated even in the book, published in Paris 1938 by a Georgian political emigrant. During the peak of the fascism and communism repressions, Elene Pataridze stated that 'democracy is rule of people that is united and sovereign, runs itself and all rights derive from it. Here people consist by individuals, who is supreme, free, and self-governed' (Pataridze, 1938). This author considered that there are two main column principles in democracy: freedom and equality on which I had talked above.

However, until the last few centuries, historical models of democracy in Greek and Roman politics, Viking crews, village assembles, some city-states, and even in American or European

democracies excluded populations, including women, slaves, paupers and even adults for quite a long time(Tillly, 2007). Charles Tilly, an American author, historian, sociologist, and political scientist,defines four types of democracy: constitutional, substantive, procedural, and process-oriented. The first one implies an arrangement of a state. There are constitutional monarchies, presidential, parliamentary systems, etc. The second one focuses on the conditions of life and politics a given regime promotes, such as human welfare, individual freedom, security, equity, social equality, public deliberation, and peaceful conflict resolution. The third one means whether the large numbers of citizens are engaged in competitive elections and whether this causes significant governmental changes. The last one identifies some minimum set of processes that must be continuously utilized for a situation to qualify as democratic (Tilly, 2007). Well-known author and political theorist, Robert A. Dahl, declared that maybe democracy is the ideal system, but institutional arrangements are different and they have come to be regarded as a kind of imperfect approximation of an ideal (Dahl, 1971). Below I will research deeper criteria of democracy and find out when and if Georgia adjusts its requirements because 'the EU went beyond the philosophical definition of the democracy and has established the concrete democratic requirement criteria for EU membership,' as stated byPaul J. Kubicek (Kubicek, 2003).

Secularism

Secularism is the concept of the separation of religion from the state and unchained society from the dogmas of church (Beriashvili, 2009). Freedom of belief and worship was the principle thatemerged during the French Enlightenment Era, which led to the millennial changing their attitudes towards religion. Although very few public thinkers were atheistic, they were tough critics of the Catholic Church. They could not accept the church's attitude and way of life, which was typical of the medieval Christian Church. Public thinkers considered the faith in the philosophical context and the Church as the structure of the state. Many of them believed an objective existence of God, but they believed that God reigned, and not governed. Some of them believed God is communion with nature itself. They believed, God and the whole world were one union. While others believed that God is only the Creator of the universe, which does not interfere in its functioning and humans were granted free will and free choice. Accordingly, freedom is a gift given by God, which must not be infringed upon. Therefore, philosophers strongly opposed the dogmatic teaching of the religion, which categorically excluded discussion or raising question on the religion issues. It was impossible for them to imagine punishment, torture and destruction of human's life in the name of the God, though it remained as an ordinary occasion for that time. Philosophers new idea of secularization, which meant the separation of the church from the state, was directed to compel the church to abandon the spread of the faith violently and focus on the convincing of people. Only in this way could have avoided, not only civil war with religious motifs, but also the religious wars between countries as well, where thousands of lives died(Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2010).

At the same time, they believed that the dogmatic intervention of the Church in everyday human life, affected social and scientific development as well. The Catholic Church, religious fanaticism, the Inquisition, and prejudice,exacerbated themental development of philosophy, science and art in Europe. However, religion was so deeply engrainedin people's lives, that even Public thinkers could not

imagine human life without it. Voltaire stated that if there was no God, people would still have invented it. That is why religion became a political instrument, andreligious andcivil intolerance became the same phenomenon. Public thinkers believed that their work and education could contribute to the liberation of humanity from ignorance and prejudice. The era of mind lordship should have begun, because even every educated person in theology clearly could see that all religions are based on principles of fair and moral commitment for their followers, but not on the principle of deprivation others freedom or life (Labuchidze, Voltaire, 2003).

Georgian Prof. Nugzar Papuashvili states that the greatest achievement of the modern civilization is freedom of will, choice, conscience and expression. We can consider it by origin as the Christian phenomenon, because the separation of hurch from a state comes from Christ itself, when he says "give back to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's" (Matthew 22,21), which means that the state and the church is essentially different entities,and the state is a normal conditionwhen they exist independently of each other (Papuashvili N. , Democratic Values and Georgian Orthodox Church, 2011).

An author and Dr. Luca Mavelli described that the process of secularization is understood, in Max Weber, as an 'irresistible' structural trend prompted by historical transformations such as the 'undermining of the medieval religious system of classification; the Protestant reformation; the formation of modern states; the growth of modern capitalism; and the early modern scientific revolution (Mavelli, 2012).

Cécile Laborde, a Professor of political theory, stated that there are theocratic countries, which functiononly by religious rules, or religion and state laws are combined together, where secularism is defined as an anathema, sin and an enemy for them. While secularism suggests to religious believers that, even though they may understandably resent the secularization of society, the secular state does not forbid them from defending their views and values in the private and public sphere. So, secularism is not an antonym of religion oran anti-religious position. According to justificatory of secularism, religion can be compatible with the liberal state and it does not mean that religion is obviously irrationalism or conservatism. It has a legitimate place in the secular state and can pursue modern challenges (Laborde, 2013).

After enlargement of the EU and the admission ofnew members, the EU became richer with its knowledge and experience in the content of religious issues. That is why it declared in the project of the EU constitution that the EU will guarantee freedom of religion and that non-discrimination respects diversity of religions and holds the dialogue with churches, religious societies, and non-confessional organizations. The EU recognizes the significance of religion and establishes its approaches on the European religious heritage. Therefore, it undertakes the responsibility to respect all Churches, and their status asmember states in accordance with their state laws (Robers, 2011). So, the freedom of belief and worship is guaranteed in the secular states, however, intervention of Church in public or political life is amatter of the past. With this respect, I believe I will discover interesting materials related to Georgia and find out ifand how the Georgian Orthodox Church has any role in the political life in the way of European integration as a secular state.

1.2. The second wave of the idea of Europe: Equality, solidarity

Equality

Concepts of equality, solidarity and freedom became associated with socialist ideology from the 19th century. This ideology was based on Karl Marx's views, referring to the lack of market economy and the alternative of capitalism. Under strict industrial rules, socialism preached the working class, improved labor conditions, and preached their political and civil equality. But in Europe, Russian socialists split this ideology and two ways of socialism developed. One was "social democracy" that chose the path of parliamentary struggle and the second was "Bolshevism", which chose the way for the revolutionary and a proletariat dictatorship (Heywood, 2005).

One of the main principles of the social-democrats is "equality". It is the endangered species of political ideals. Even a few decades ago, any politician who claimed to be liberal endorsed a truly egalitarian society as at least a utopian goal, says philosopher, scholar and theorist Ronald Dworkin (Dworkin, 2002). It is really hardly to imagine that one human can have all rights and access to everything and another human cannot because he or she was born in a different environment. But yes, it is reality and a challenge even in our modern life. However, it is progress infreedom of speech that helps to make political power more equal (Dworkin, 2002).

Georgian researcher of French Enlightenment says that "equality" is the concept that should be an integral part of "Liberty". According to public thinkers, in a natural environment all humans are free, kind and equal. All human beings are born equal and they should have equal rights and responsibilities to each other, as well as the state. The rule of equality does not mean declining individualism or cause complete monotony. Private property, by itself, gives some people a privileged position, but only in certain circumstances and not in a position above the state and public law. Private property gives rise to rich and poor, which leads them to dependence and domination. However, as private property has been an integral part of fundamental human rights, it cannot be terminated, or will even be a crime to deprive. Therefore, public thinkers looked at the ways in which it would be possible to protect personality and property rights and decrease the harm caused by inequality. J.J. Rousseau saw a way out in the civil contract, in which case social responsibility and obligations should increase. The concept of equality cannot be understood as if, every individual has the same quality of opportunities to the power and wealth. It is necessary tonot turn any individual power into violence, and act only under the law. The inequality, which is caused by the force of nature, is difficult and is not necessary to change it. But political and civil inequality is unacceptable. People unequal with their strength and mind, are equal by virtue of the law and justice (Labuchidze, Rousseau, 2003).

However, if in the eighteenth century people demanded equality before law and political rights, they experiencedit only in the next century, and in the twentieth century this increased political movements for equal access to education, health care, housing, etc. (Miliband, 2005). In the 1990s, the focus of equality expanded beyond nationality to include equality between men and women, protection of minorities, and action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). It is believed that every

adult person possesses the capacity for autonomy to a sufficient degree to count as an equal member of society enjoying the same basic civil and political rights. No doubt, people make mistakes and everyone needs advice but no one has the right to take responsibility without permission to be an authority such as parents or religious, philosophical or political guardians of some traditional 'true way', or indeed of some new 'truth', rather than being up to each individual to decide for themselves (Hobhouse, 1994).

These labels were reasons of discrimination and punishment for centuries ago and hundreds of people were dying or lost their freedom for it. Each discriminative condition has its own history to reach equality and each of them has their movements, casualties, victims, heroes and followers. I do not think I should separate out any of minority or any other group that was discriminated from centuries ago. I think they all have equal rights, despite the fact that some of them fought for their freedoms and some preferred silence. Such movements were disenthrall, gender, ethnical or a national fight for their independence or autonomy. However, it is important to research what movements took place in Georgia for their rights under the idea of Europe. This is my farther study case that I will return to below. Hence, we should know that we are not talking about full equality of people in the contexts of material welfare. We do not equalize citizens and we do not generalize them as we respect the individualism of everyone. As a Georgian author mentioned in her book, a man should recognize that human equality means the realization of their own abilities and skills. Equality according to law means equal opportunities and rights for state services and it cannot be a barrier for competition which is the fundamental character of human being (Pataridze, 1938).

Solidariy

Another important principle introduced by the social-democracy is solidarity. Solidarity means: friendly relations between people; cooperation; mutual respect; co-existence despite differences; tolerance; common interests; in order to preserve peace, development and prosperity. It is impossible to defend such values as freedom and equality without solidarity. French public thinkers and philosophers believed that despite religious, racial and national differences, cooperation and care for the economic well-being of others is acceptable to all. Recognizing and respecting others, openness, refusal of insularity and overcoming the fear of a different person is a prerequisite for peace and development (Labuchidze, Voltaire, 2003).

In the book 'Communes, Sociology, and Society' I read that solidarity is a situation in which the distinction between self-interest and social interest no longer make sense. So, a person is committed to a group or to a relationship when he/she is fully invested in it, so that the maintenance of his/her own internal being requires behavior that supports the social order and provides what they need. In this moment a person is committed to not only what he/she has to do, but what he/she wants to do simultaneously. In such a society, individual personalities become stronger, not the opposite. So, a strong commune exists only as it is continuously created by individuals, who at the same time feel himself /herself in the cooperative, collaboratively undertaking society with mutual advantages. Thus, their value is that they hover on the brink of constructing organic solidarity on the basis of an uncompromising assertion of the moral autonomy of the individual(Abrams & McCulloch, 2010).

Author and the sociologist, Ulrich Beck, states that the promotion of social economy, social partnership, and social justice has a great history from the Enlightenment Era as free economic rules that can deepen the inequality between rich and poor, between strong and weak, and between governor and ordinary citizen. In this case solidarity is one of the main values of the EU alongside the free world. Nowadays, a European civil society and a cosmopolitan Europe are conceivable only if they are based on solidarity. In this case solidarity is directed against over-integration into a nation and is sensitive not only to a particular section, but also to the particularity of all Europeans. This is a community of particularity, a solidarity of particularity which believes in eqality as the paramount aim and supreme value. At the same time, this community of particularity puts a high value on equality within diversity and the equality of the otherness of "Others", as well as seeing in it a source of pleasure and cultural productivity. In a European reality solidarity is capable of modeling appropriately the more complex relations between transnational inequality conflicts, redistribution conflicts and recognition conflicts (Beck, 2005).

Solidarity means different things to different people and governments, which I read in works of researchers and Prof. at the University of Hull, Rudiger Wurzel and Jack Hayward. They say that the EC has nevertheless argued that solidarity is part of how European society works and how Europe engages with the rest of the world. Following the establishment of a European Union solidarity fund for major national disasters, the Commission launched several initiatives to foster greater solidarity. Besides this, the Lisbon Treaty made solidarity a quasi-constitutional principle by enshrining a solidarity clause, which was conceived as a treaty-based method of improving EU cooperation on a range of complex threats. However, there are dozens of provisions in the Lisbon Treaty which also mention solidarity (Wurzel & Hayward, 2012).

The particular EU interpretation of this value became clear to balance economic growth, and a social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, combating 'social exclusion', as well as promoting 'social justice and protection', inter-generational solidarity, and social solidarity among (and between) member states. Ultimately, we can define shortly that solidarity is a mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty (Lucareli & Manners, 2006).

1.3. The third wave of the idea of Europe: Peace, human rights, rule of law, environmentalism, and the EU

Peace

During the twentieth century, more than 300 million men, women, and children were shot, beaten, tortured, knifed, burned, starved, frozen, crushed, or worked to death; buried alive, drowned, hanged, bombed, or killed due to their political, religious, or ideological views. However, the second half of the twentieth century was also atime when a growing number of human beings across the world responded to savage horrors by the morality of human rights, says American author and scholar Michael J. Perry (Perry, 2007). That is why, after the end of World War II, the main task of European political leaders was to maintain peace.It is one of the biggest achievements in the history of mankind to gain

sustainable peace. We can hardly recall a time period in Europe when countries lived in peace and they had no wars amongst neighbors or against an Empire. Thinkers, including Englishman Thomas Hobbes and Italian Niccolo Machiaveli, considered that wars between states were inevitable. States are created for security reasons and in order to solve problematic issues or at least for competition, wars are natural conditions (Aron, 2003). However, French Enlightenments did not think accordingly, and they argued that war was not natural for human beings. It was possible to avoid wars and military clashes if people would raise and educate themselves on the principle of kindness. They thought, wars were not in the will of ordinary and hard-working people. Wars are due to the state governors, who mostly use them for personal interests that are hidden from public and are packed in the patriotic spirit. State leaders who use oppression, exploitation, injustice and despotism toward its people, are impossible to be respectful of other nations. So, despots and autocrats are considered to be the source of wars, and to establish peace and cooperation it is necessary that power be taken over by peaceful people. This means a republican system and democracy where government is controlled by its own people and international relationships are transparent to avoid confrontations. Only in two cases are wars justified: when it is for defense or for helping a friend state from an aggressor. In any other case, initiation of war should be punished severely, because it threatens and destroys not only the freedom and lives of others, but first of all, its own people (Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, 2010).

Hundreds and thousands of people were dying in military campaigns for their country, no matter if it was a battle for their freedom or for their conquest. The bloodiest combats took place in the twentieth century during the WWI and WWII, when enormous destruction waved across Europe and millions of people died for political views and interests. Since the European political elites analyzed and realized the recklessness of past attitudes toward politics and life, they all agreed to accept a new order of the world that should be based on cooperation and negotiation (Pascal, 2002). Lucarelli says that the EU approach to conflict prevention emphasizes addressing the roots or causes of conflict, mirroring the European experience of ensuring that war 'becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible.' The EU policy emphasis is placed on development aid, trade, interregional cooperation, political dialogue, and enlargement as part of a more holistic approach to conflict prevention (Lucareli & Manners, 2006).

Johan Galtung, founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies Norwegian, sees peace building in several dimensions. From the political view he considers that it is essential to bring governments closer to the people, through confederal forms of cooperation rather than federations and unitary states, through decentralization inside countries and initiatives and referenda. Democracy and human rights can make governments responsible to the people and strengthen the state system. As the circle of decision-makers expands from one leader to the whole population, the decision increasingly depends on something shared by all and the more democratic the country and the more shared the decision-making, the more peaceful it is. Peace building gives new tasks to the military system and besides killing, destroying and devastating other countries or their civilians, it has defensive means from aggression and violence. He predicts that war will be abolished as an institution, like slavery and colonialism. This is the way that develops economics, defeats poverty and what the EU has donefor decades (Galtung, 1996). German philosopher Max Scheler wrote that the idea of economic and political

cooperation of the European people will not disappear any more. It is based on different actors including economic interests and the legitimacy of a supreme tribunal that settles all conflicts and keeps peace based on strict rules of the relevant legal system (Aron, 2003).

As we see, since the WWII, countries who accepted the value of keeping peace had not had even a little military conflict, and what was impossible to imagine for the whole history of mankind, now became a reality. Hence, the EU flagged conflict resolution as a primary objective in its foreign policy and aspires to prevent conflicts as well (Tocci, 2007). Moreover, its main object is post-conflict stabilization where peacebuilding is seen as instrumental for sustainable growth (Duke & Courtier, 2010). The process of peace building expands across the continent due to the EU enlargement policy. This is the most successful policy of the EU and it not only builds stable, legitimate states where citizens seek how to strengthen their country, but accepts them as full members within the new European family (Blockmans, 2010).

Human Rights

Mary Robinson - politician, barrister, and human rights defender - said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ranks as one of the greatest aspiration documents of our human history. It embodied the hopes and even dreams of people still scarred from the world wars and confrontations (Robinson, 2006). I read in the book of Donald K. Anton and Dinah L Shelton that the concept of human rights is not tied to a belief in God or natural law. Rather,it seeks or claims a form of endorsement that transcends or pretends to transcend specific historical institutions and traditions, legal systems, governments, or national and even regional communities. It asserts on its own behalf, moral and a connection with the concept of what constitutes being a human or a person, or of what it means to behave morally (Anton & Shelton, 2011).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was presented to the General Assembly of the UN in December 1948 by the former First Lady of the USA, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The text was endorsed without amendment. There were no dissenting votes, but the USSR and its satellites, as well as Saudi Arabia and South Africa, abstained. Besides the fact that it was imposed by Western states, since no one opposed it, the Universal Declaration intended to be understood as a document adopted by all nations (Charvet & Kaczynska-Nay, 2008). It was called "the international Magna Carta of all man everywhere" and represented the basic principles of the new order in the world and the recognized rights in it became the basis of the European and American states. However, human rights remain a big challengeall over the world(Robinson, 2006). The Declaration consists of aPreamble and 30 Articles, which I unite into 6 groups by their similar content. These are:

1. Right of freedom and equality by political, religion, class, gender, race or any other affiliation;
2. Right of self-determination of nations;
3. Right of justice and judicial system;
4. Right of personal privacy;
5. Right of mobility;
6. Right of education; (United Nations, 1948).

If I project ideas of the Enlightenment era, I will see that rights of an individual autonomy and secularization are natural and thinkers exported an idea of humanity as individual, transformative, and property-owning (Pagden, 2002). Political theorist and sociologist, L. T. Hobhouse, considers that these rights are believed, like natural rights, to be the inherent rights of all human beings. This means that individuals are entitled to enjoy such rights by virtue of their nature and dignity as people. The 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has acquired iconic status for the contemporary Human Rights movement, affairs in Article 1 that 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood.' In this sense, human beings possess these rights whether or not the rights are recognized in their politico-legal system, of which they are members and to which they are subject. A politico-legal system that does not respect such rights is in violation of fundamental ethical requirements. These rights are embedded in international and domestic legal instruments (Hobhouse, 1994).

We can say that we live in the most peaceful era of human history. However, we still see terror and wars, massive violation of fundamental rights and oppressions of minorities. Eva Brems identifies the diversity of all the vulnerable groups. These are children, women, religious or ethnical minorities, sexual minorities, and people with disabilities (Brems, 2013). That is why the protection of minorities has become a very topical issue in Europe and has played an important role in the EU's policy on enlargement, however the Universal Declaration does not includes a reference to minorities specifically as human rights are dedicated to all humans without any exclusion, adds Dr. Sareh Shoraka (Shoraka, 2010).

The EU is one of the main supporters and protectors of Human Rights. There are diverse external activities of the EU to promote human rights and it competences as well as the political, economic and aid dimensions. The aid for democracy and human rights in third countries was the context of regional strategies and made the legal basis in its foreign policy objectives to support human rights and democracy principles. No other state or regional and international organization has tied its relations with third countries to 'human rights clauses' (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). According to this, I see that human rights became fundamentalto the EU's political identity. EU places the rights of individuals above their national authorities (Balfour, 2008). Dr. Kristen Lampe argues that human rights have been subject of foreign policy and, in particular enlargement policy for the EU. It sees minority rights as part of the EU's human rights policy and considers the level of protection for minorities within the framework of international human rights law. Hence, new applicant countries accomodate the impression of promoting and protecting democracy and human rights to gain their foreign recognition and influence. The accession process held great potential to serve as a catalyst for further advances in the area of human rights protection through Europe (Lampe, 2005).

Rule of Law

The principle of Rule of Law corresponds with the ideas of liberty and individualism during previous centuries and it is not a product of the last century. In fact, it is central to the political philosophy of the founders of liberalism, such as John Locke – the need for an unbiased judge and

agreed-upon body of laws to regulate and, if need be, adjudicate disputes among free individuals/property-owners(Locke, 1999). Maybe it is wrong to relegate the rule of law as the idea that is central (among others) to the third wave or period in the development of the idea of Europe.However, we follow the book,titled "Values and Principles in the EU Foreign Policy" where I read that the idea of Europe is not a place for autocrats, dictators and monarchic wills. It is the place where the law is supreme. It is the essential part of ensuring the stability and success of liberty and democracy. This principle pools the sovereignty through the supranational rule of law within the EU, encourages it above and beyond the EU, and advances the development and participation of individuals for their rights (Lucareli & Manners, 2006). I read in the book, 'Can Might Make Rights? Building the Rule of Law after Military Interventions,' that the rule of law implies a cluster of concepts, such as fairness, justice, predictability, and quality under law. As Aristotle said it is a "government of laws, not men" which is embodied in certain kinds of institutions and structures, such as well-functioning and respected courts, judicial review, fair and adequate legal codes, well-trained lawyers and police, who respect civil and political rights (Stromseth, Wippman, & Brooks, 2007).

When the rule of law exists, life is reasonably orderly and stable, and no one needs to fear unfair persecution or abuse by the authorities. Richard Fallon - Prof. at the Harvard Law School - thoughtfully analyzed the rule of law, where he shared three basic purposes or values: to protect people against anarchy; to allow people to plan their affairs with confidence because they know the legal consequences of their actions; and to protect people from the arbitrary exercise of power by public officials (Stromseth, Wippman, & Brooks, 2007).

When I am talking about the rule of law, we should understand that not every legal system is appropriate definition of it. For example, in some countries, harsh punishments for minor crimes, beheading of military soldiers involved in a coup, or publicly stoning infidel spouses are accepted and legitimated according the law, then this is not what I am defining here. The rule of law is about such a legal system which is compatible to the human rights and basic principles of democratic values, which is the product of the particular history of liberal, enlightenment traditions that evolved over centuries. Without these understanding courts are just buildings, judges are just bureaucrats, and constitutions are just pieces of paper (Stromseth, Wippman, & Brooks, 2007).

Philosopher John B. Rawls stated that the rule of law is the legal system of formal justice, regular and impartial administration. In this case, people are protected from the wrong interpretation of laws, discrimination and political persecution.Rule of law is obviously closely related to liberty. I can see this by considering the notion of legal systems and its intimate connection with the precepts definitive of justice as regularity. A legal system is a coercive order of public rules addressed to rational persons for the purpose of regulating their conduct and providing the framework for social cooperation. When these rules are just, they establish a basis for legitimate expectations. They constitute grounds upon which persons can rely on one another and rightly object when their expectations are not being fulfilled. If the bases of these claims are unsure as are the boundaries of men's liberties, Rawls. says that legislators, judges, and other officials of the system, must believe that the law can be obeyed. The rule of law implies the precept that similar cases be treated similarly (Rawls, 1999).

In the system of rule of law judges must be independent and impartial, and no man may judge his own case. Trials must be fair and open, but not prejudiced by public clamor. Rawls states that the precepts of natural justice are to ensure that the legal order will be impartially and regularly maintained(Rawls, 1999).

Finally, I can agree about the formulation of the rule of law as it is presented in the above mentioned book, 'Can Might Make Rights? Building the Rule of Law after Military Interventions.' In such a context, the "rule of law" is a value that gives the state monopoly of violence, and where most people, most of the time, choose to resolve disputes in a manner consistent with procedurally fair, neutral, and universally applicable rules, and in a manner that respects fundamental human rights norms such as prohibitions on racial, ethnic, religious and gender discrimination, torture, slavery, prolonged arbitrary detentions, and extrajudicial killings. In the context of today's globally interconnected world, this requires modern and effective legal institutions and codes, and it also requires a widely shared cultural and political commitment to the values underlying these institutions and codes (Stromseth, Wippman, & Brooks, 2007).

Environmentalism

Environmentalism is one of the main core values of concern for the EU. Professor, researcher and environmentalist at the University of Cardiff, Susan Baker stated that climate change is a critical global environmental problem, which exposes our limited knowledge about environmental systems, while simultaneously challenging the centrality of economic development relative to ecological and social well-being. Baker believes that environmentalism helps the EU forge a sense of group identity. As the EU lacks roots in either state or nation, such identity formation is an important contribution for it. There is a general consensus in Europe that environmental protection cannot be left to market forces and that environmental protection is a legitimate goal of government, or the foundation of any society. There is consensus among member states that EU-level environmental policy should continue to develop and that development forms part of European integration. That is why climate change policy is part of the values and principles laid down in the Treaty of Rome. The EU has evolved a clearly defined and articulated set of environmental principles and displaces the centrality traditionally given to economic considerations by a set of wider social and ecological concerns. Hence, the EU sets climate change policy in broader social, economic, political and moral terms (Baker, 2006).

The Georgian environmentalists stated that inorganic and organic substances quickly wastes away in nature and fertilizes soil, but when the pace of accumulation exceeds its rate of dissolution, the pollution level becomes alarming.So, today environmental problems have become a global challenge and it is impossible to solve them without international cooperation. The problem is polluted air, soil, rivers, seas, declining forest cover, extinct plant and animal species, expanding desertification of borders, decomposition of the ozone layer, intense melting of polar and continental glaciers (Meskhia, 2012). All this affects not only the earth, but also negatively affects human health and life. The same idea is realized by environmentalists Kate O'Neill, John McCormick, Elisa Morgera, and others who will overview below.

For example, Kate O'Neill mentions in her book that beside the fact that environmental problems are global and it is one of the main concern of worldwide international organizations to defend the ecology, the EU is a unique entity in international politics, since sometimes it acts as a sovereign state and signs treaties independently (O'Neill, 2009). Thus, John McCormick declares that environmental policy is one of the most rapidly expanding areas of the EU's policy activity and it has broad consensus developing such policies that will help to make the EU a cleaner, quieter and healthier place to live. Nowadays, the EU has priorities to challenge the problems of chemicals, radiation and waste, to save air and water quality, to forbid genetically modified organisms and encourage organic agriculture, to reduce noise, deforestation, acidification and climate change, to protect nature, natural resources, and the ozone (McCormick, 2001).

To implement environmental policy as a main principle and value in Europe, environmentalist Dr. Elli Louka suggests the EU has to trace them in several international environmental instruments. Then she indicates some of them, e.g. the Polluter Pays Principle,which means the person who pollutes should be responsible for the damage; the Preservation Principle, that minimizes any form of human intervention in the environment; the Sustainable Development Principle,meaning there needs a balance of environmental and developmental considerations and to satisfy the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs; the High Level of Protectionm, requiring scientific and technical data, potential benefits and costs of action, etc. (Louka, 2004).

Gracia Marin Duran and Elisa Morgera, two other environmentalists and research explorers, stated that the EU has a clear potential to act as a powerful negotiating block in many international environmental processes, speaking not only on behalf of its member states but also,on behalf of other associated countries, such as Georgia. Before a state wishes to become a member of the EU, itmust satisfy its requirements and conditions, including environmental standards. This means a review of national legislation, administrative and judicial capacity to ensure effective implementation and enforcement. The EU provides financial and technical assistance to the candidate countries for the adoption of environmental components that increases the international weight of the EU (Duran & Morgera, 2012).

We think environmentalism is not matter only for green parties, it should concern all political and public groups, and it should concern ordinary people as well, because this world is our home. We will finish this topic by the American evolutionary theorist Lynn Margulis' words that we, humans have no other place to live and the earth does not need us, as it can rotate without us but humans will not exist without earth(Margulis, 1998).

The European Union

I can say that previously mentioned idea of Europe with all its components is embodied within international organizations, such as the EU. If Georgian people desireto be a part of Europe, the process Europeanization or the idea of Europe, they should aspire for membership of this organization and satisfy all principles, values and criteria requested by the EU. So, I should overview how this organization was created and how its values are embodied within it structures.

The construction of this organization began during the postwar period, after WWII, and proceeded in sequential stages from the founding of the European Economic Community in 1957, to the election of the first European Parliament with universal suffrage in 1979, to the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. This construction was accompanied by an increased feeling of uncertainity about what was represented by the European particularity in the cultural field and what it meant to be European (Passerini, 2002).

Antony Pagden, an American author, historian and Prof. of Political Science, derived five main phasesfrom theintegration process of the EU. The first phase was from 1945-1955, when the formation of "unification" process began and ECSC was established by France, Germany, Italy and Benelux countries with hopes of wider European integration. The second phase occurred during1955-1968, and it was a difficult time due to De Gaullestrict policy against the British estimation in the integration process. In this phase the EEC was established as a trading blocwith a customs union and removed barriers to internal trade in order to create a common market. It was during the third phase from 1968-1986, when intergovernmental cooperation deepened and several more countries joined the EEC. The new members included the UK, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain and Portugal. In 1979 the first direct election of the European Parliament was held. The fourth phase constituting 1987-1992, was very important for the unification of Europe. The Single European Act was adopted in 1987which introduced sweeping institutional changes and announced the creation of the European Community and a single market by 1992. The last recognized phase ensued during 1992-1997, with the Maastricht Treaty for creation of the EU and the Treaty of Amsterdam. This phase introduced the European Monetary Union, hence Sweden, Finland and Austria joined the Union. The later mentioned treaty declared that the EU befounded on a respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law and new applicant states should commit themselves to respect these rights (Pagden, 2002).

The process of creating the EU was maybefinished in 1990s, but the enlargement process is still continuing. During the time of 2000-2010s, the biggest enlargement took place, when thirteen countries joined the Union. They were: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Cyprus, Malta, and Croatia. Nowadays, the EU has six more candidate states – Iceland, FYROM (Macedonia), Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Turkey and three associated members, including Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldova (europa.eu/about-eu, 2015). This member list can be decreased byone country, as the referendum of the UK stated to leave the EU, or can be increased if Scotland and North Ireland joins the EU independently (Wheeler & Hunt, 2016). Anyway, I will not try to predict this issue as my research topic is different. Now I am interested how the European idea is embodied within the EU and as I see in the Clive Archer's book, it stands on three pillars as three groups of principles. They are European community; Common foreign and security policy; and Justice and home affairs (Archer, 2008).

The first one contains: the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act; Single market; democratization of institutes; European citizenship; and economic and monetary union including single currency, the European Central Bank, single monetary policy, and coordination of economic policy. The second pillar contains systematic cooperation, common positions, and joint action within the common foreign policy. Also including eventual common defense policy based on the western European Union

within the common security policy. And the third grouprefers to closer cooperation within the justice and home affairs, such as asylum policy, rules on crossing the member states' external borders, immigration policy, combating drug addiction, combating international fraud customs, police and judicial cooperation (Archer, 2008).

The Euro zone and Schengena area are two main tangibles that became aspects of everyday life for citizens of Europe. Euro zone means that 19 member-states of the EU uses one currency called the Euro. 6 states are going to join this zone in 2018. There are 26 countries in the Schengen area- 22 EU members (except the UK, Ireland, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, and Romania) and four non-EU. Those four are Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. Between member states border checks are abolished. However, getting inside the Schengen zone is not easy, and it demands special requirements. Furthermore, neighboring countries of the Schengen area are obliged to enforce border control and not allow foreigners to cross it (EUR-Lex, 2009).

The EU is a big bureaucratic structure and its main bodies are: European Parliament, which is legislative body with 754 elected members, which adopts laws cooperated with the Council of the European Union; Supervises and controls the other EU institutions; approves the Commission members and the EU budget.Council of European Union meets according to spheres,which represent the executive government from each member state and they send representatives from the relevant ministry. The Council of EU adopts laws and sharesthe legislative function with the European Parliament; coordinates the EU member states' economic policies; signs international agreements; issues appropriate guidance for foreign and security policy.European Commission is the executive body of the EU, that consists ofrepresentetives from the member states. It is authorized to establishlaws and send them to the European Parliament or the council;enforces laws of the European Union with the European Court; represents the EU in the international relations and negotiations. The European Union has its own Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, and the European Central Bank. There are also other financial, social, and security committees that operate in EU member states (Leonard, 2000).

Beside the bodies of the EU, there are some very important structures in Europe that also have significant roles for the life of Europeans. These are Council of Europe and European Court of Human Rights, which Georgia and citizens of Georgia use very frequentlyand successfully. For example, in the Council of Europe, there are 47 states including nonmembers of the EU, such as Georgia and Russia. The Council represents member delegates from each country and adopts recommendations and reports about the domestic and international policies of the countries. These resolutions are not obligatory but are very important to the process of European integration. That is why Georgia always tries to follow them, unlike Russia. The Council was a great platform for such countriesm as it is for Georgia, who desire to announce to everyone about its aspirations and challenges (Dogonadze S. , 2000). In 1999, when Georgia became the member of the Council, the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament, Zurab Zhvania, uttered the historic words: "I am Georgian, therefore I am European" (Georgian Journal, 2013).

ECHR is a cornerstone of protecting human rights for over 850 million people, but the Court is struggling with an overload of more than 150,000 pending cases (Follesdal, Peters, & Ulfstein, 2013). Georgia, as it is a young country and has a brief history since 1991 as a democratic independent state, has challenges in human rights. Therefore, many citizens of Georgia use ECHR to protect themselves from

the injustice committed by some officials(Public defender of Georgia, 2011). During 1991-2015 there were about 70 cases against the Georgian nation(echr, 2016). As I see, these European bodies have significant and practical use for Georgia and not all of them are what Georgia desires to be a part of. As an associate member of the EU, Georgia has announced to adopt all legislature and service tools according to European demands. This is my further research case and I will see how Georgia implements tangible reforms to realize the idea of Europe.

To formulate, the idea of Europe is the political ideaon the land of Europe, which involves a community of values. These values have historical roots, originating from the ancient world, with animpact of the Christian culture, is based on the ideas of French enlightenments, and is today embodied in the institutions of European Union and its partner European states. These values include:peace building and maintenance of it; freedom, equality and solidarity; governance by people and the rule of law; secularism, human rights, and environmentalism. And all these values revolve around the main axis, called the human being and its rights. The idea of Europe has its own identity and spreads beyond the land of Europe in the context of Europeanization.

1.4. Modernization

I have defined what the idea of Europe is, and now it is time to focus on the formulation of the concept of modernization. To do this, I need to research the ideas of authors, who study the concept of modernization and its phenomenon. After that, I will seehow compatible the concept of modernization is with the idea of Europe. Also, I will seeif the idea of Europe includes the concept of modernization and whether modernization exists without the idea of Europe. All these insights will be helpful for mycontinued research about Georgia, when I will study implemented projects of modernization and the idea of Europe in this country. I will see how compatible they are in Georgia, if are they associated with each other or not, and whether they were implemented independently of each other.

Modernization theory first appeared in 1950s in the social sciences, but there is no canonical text expressing all hypotheses of theory, and no author has really dominated and structured the whole debate. However, I will try to suggest my formulation to academia and hope it will bring some benefit toit. Wolfgang Knobl, a researcher of modernization theory, formed the idea that this theory tried to conceptualize the development of societies, focusing mostly on the relationship between culture, economic progress, and democracy. He says, modernization is a global and irreversible process, which began with the Industrial Revolution in the middle of the 18th century in Europe and now concerns societies all over the world. It is based on secular, individualistic and scientific values (Knobl, 2003).

In some sources,I met the concept of modernization as a theory of modernity. American Prof. and historian of Islamic civilization, Carter Vaughn Findley, defines modernization as "an epoch turned towards the Future," characterized by the expectation that the world of the future will be better. This expectation follows from the idea of progress in its modern meaning: not just forward spatial motion, but qualitative improvement through reason and scientific expectation. With the industrial revolution,

scientific and technological advances began for the first time to continue in a self-compounding way. He says, accelerating and proliferation change began to shrink time and space. Change also produced a profusion of manifestations that complicate the analysis of modernity: new fields of knowledge emerge to classify and organize, political revolutions, new techniques of production, new weapons of destruction, new media of communications, new social interactions, new senses of self-awareness, new forms of cultural creativity (Findley, 2010).

I read in Findley's book that the modernization creates transformations at all levels of political and social organization. During this process, changes occurin citizens individually and collectively. This transformation happens not only with reason, but also with will, desire, and even faith. Political changes donot prevail everywhere with the same ideas. Some scholars believe that the Western way of modernization is not the only way, and there are alternative 'modernities' in other cultural life. However, empirically, historians can certainly trace how European modernization spread first to 'neo-Europes' like North America and Australia and then globally, provoking myriad appropriations and resistances as it did. Ultimately, other 'modernities' are part of this global phenomenon. So, many modernizations started out as peculiarly Western, accepted from the Western Christian calendar to the rules of European football. However, more and more different innovations and modern projects appear in the world and becoming difficult to identify them with any single part of the world. So, every project of modernization has European origins but isglobal in scope. Social science theorists distinguish "modernization" from the "Europeanization" but some intellectuals, politicians and thinkers, e.g. in Turkey and Azerbaijan, who wanted to identify themselves with Europe, equated these two concepts together(Findley, 2010).

Moreover, since the concept of modernity and modernization entered the sociological literature, they have been criticized for their emphatically Eurocentric nature, says author of modern and postmodern social theorizing, Nicos P. Mouzelis. He argues that it meant Western values, technology, and capital. Some scholars view capitalism as a major component of modernity and socialist countries were considered as non-modern. Following the French revolution and English Industrial Revolution, modernity was regarded as the type of social arrangements that became dominant in Western Europe. These processes caused social mobilizations/incorporations from peripheries and brought them closer to the 'centre', which incorporated different political, economic, social, and cultural arenas and established nation-states. This kind of states was unique compared to all pre-industrial states that achieved unprecedented infrastructural powers. Scientific revolution of this era developed different attitudes not only in economic, but in administrations, military, and cultural fields. The traditional hierarchy was demolished, and social segmentation became the driving force of modernization. However, in the modern era of information technology, itcanbe seen that the role of the nation states diminished and modernization process gave way to globalization. It must be said that even in the era of globalization modernization with its working principles works like nation-states. Hence, globalization brings us a step closer to the logic of mobilization/incorporation which the advent of the nation-state and the inclusion of the population in broader economic, political, social and cultural arenas have initiated (Mouzelis, 2008).

With regardto Mouzelis' research, American sociologist Talcott Parsons believed that the modernization can take place in such countries where the idea of Europe is even excluded. In such cases it has formal differentiation, value separation and adapted upgrades. These countries believe from their standpoint that political, social and cultural life should be different from the notion of the idea of Europe or should be maintained through traditional institutions of the past centuries for governing the state. These countries experience modernization on the way of industrialization, technological advances and infrastructure adaptation. Examples of such countries are Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan. I can add a similar example such as Singapore, China, Gulf States, etc. Therefore, modernity first appeared in Western Europe but it is neither unique nor necessarily bound to prevail in the long term and modernization does not equal Europeanization (Mouzelis, 2008).

However, I want to stress this key point, namely, that modernization itself does not necessarily mean Europeanization (following the example of Europenot only in economic terms, but in other aspects as well), as the examples of countries such as China, Singapore, the Gulf States simply demonstrate. But in the Georgian case, modernization has always meant to be "like Europe" in all aspects, and not just in terms of economic production. Thus, when I use the term modernization with regard to Georgia's history, it implies a much broader focus than it would in the cases of the afore-mentioned countries. It is modernization of society, individual values, social relations, economic and political organization, and not just the economy, as is the case with many other countries.

Thisopinion is shared by the Georgian authors, who believe that the modernization from the narrow point of view, means transformation of traditional, rural, agrarian society into a secular, industrialized, and urban society.Hence, in the broad sense, it means the subsequent evolution of mankind, thinking of new forms and permanent process of establishingtechnology. It is a continuous and endless process, originated in Western countries that spread around the world. Modernization has economic, social, political, and cultural factors (Tsereteli & Kakitelashvili, Culture and Modernization, 2006).

Economic factors include the use of new technologies and an increase of capital, extensive exploration of natural resources, labor and commodity market development. Social factors mean the weakening of the traditional religious identity of the past centuries and growth unions of the market, professional, class and functional criteria. The political factor describes the undermining or disappearance of dynastic regimes' legitimacies, establishing nation-states and the emergence of democratic institutes. And finally, cultural factors define the awareness of the public knowledge, pluralism, ideological diversity, development of mass-media, and promotion of individualization (Tsereteli & Kakitelashvili, Culture and Modernization, 2006).

European-American liberal thoughts require the understanding of political modernization as accepting the idea of individual freedom, democracy, egalitarianism, and equality before the law. Findley theorizes, that likesocial transformation, it requires an understanding of secularization, where materialism emerges as belief system that challenges the authority of religion and makes an issue of it as never before(Findley, 2010). Following Max Weber, Luca Mavelli considers that modernity defines 'a process of functional differentiation and emancipation of the secular spheres – primarily the state, economy and science – from the religious sphere and the concomitant differentiation and specialization

of religion within its own newly founded religious sphere'. The emergence of a specialized religious sphere is not interpreted as a sign of the marginalization or decline of religion in secular modernity. It is an opportunity for religion to specialize into 'its own religious function', which includes the defense of the sacred values of life, dignity and human rights against the often dehumanizing forces of modern instrumental rationalization (Mavelli, 2012). Modernity needs to enter into a creative dialogue with others, that is, with those traditions like religion which appear to be challenging its identity. This is because it could be religion that may help modernity save itself, considers Mavelli (Mavelli, 2012).

Delanty and Rumford studied the EU and modernity correlation as well and they think until now Europe has been largely defined by reference to geographical, cultural, political and historical factors which allegedly have been the basis of unique civilization out of which emerged a distinctively Western model of modernity. The European liberal democratic nation-states and the European Union are thus supposed to be the political manifestation of a European modernity and a European civilization. The multiple forms of modernity in Europe are an expression of the civilizational diversity that has been a feature of European History... Looking at European history today in light of the current transformation that have been taking place for some time, it is possible to proposethe claim that what is occurring is not just a changes in the nature of the state, but a major shift in modernity. The eastern enlargement of the EU is important in redefining the meaning of Europe and opens many new perspectives on European modernity (Delanty & Rumford, 2005).

To formulate, modernization is a constantly updated process that transforms a societyon the basis of scientific and technical achievements, and contributes tothe urbanization and permanent infrastructure upgrades of the environment. Modernization originates from Western Europe and is part of globalization. Accordingly, there are the two types of modernization.The first is the modernization of the Western world, which include political, economic, social and cultural transformation. It is based on mass education and on values of the idea of Europe. But the second kind of modernization excludes, or poorly makes valuable, social transformation and upgrades the environment only by technical and scientific achievements. Consequently, I can conclude that the idea of Europe necessarily include modernization, while modernization does not always include the idea of Europe.

As I researched the concepts of the idea of Europe and modernization, now I should research how Georgians see these two concepts. Who (which political or societal actors) historically and in modern times talked and wrote about the idea of Europe in Georgia? Did they use the idea of Europe to justify their proposed modernization of economic, political, social and cultural life of Georgia? Did they manage to implement their ideas (projects) and what was their motivation?

Chapter 2.
The emergence of liberalism and the idea of modernizationin Georgia in the second half of the 19thcentury

2.1. Europe, the Idea of Europe and Modernizationfrom the perspective of Georgians

Iwent through every single piece of Georgian literature concerning Europe, the idea of Europe, democracy and liberalismwhile conducting this research study. Meaning, I studied every published work held in the National Library of Georgia regarding this subject. As it turned out none of the Georgian authors had explained the essence of the idea of Europe.I defined this phenomenon for the first time and this increases the value of the research. Furthermore, Europe, the idea of Europe, and already mentioned values constituting the idea of Europe, such as democracy, liberalism and modernization are associated terms and even often synonyms for Georgian authors. In the second half of the 19th century, Georgian intellectuals implemented these values in Georgia following the spread of liberal ideas in Western Europe. This happened not only with publications and literary creations, but also with specific projects. For instance, a scholar of the 19th century history, Gaprindashvili, argues that in the second half of the 19th century there was no line drawn dividingdemocracy fromliberalism. At that time, liberals were called freedom-loving people, including the nobility, who wanted to abolish the system that gave those privileges and emancipate the peasantry. In general, the liberals of those times were demanding more than they could imagine feasibly possible (Gaprindashvili M. , Essays on the History of the Georgian Public Thinking, 1988). Accordingly, it turned out that Georgian authors by talking about democracy or its consisting elements or about liberalism and its fundamental principles, meant for their understanding of the idea of Europe to include the phenomenon of modernization. Hence, when I discuss democracy, liberalism or modernization mentioned by any author, I must consider that Georgian authors perceive them as parts of the idea of Europe. Therefore, when I chance upon democracy, I mean the idea of Europe. When I say liberalism, I mean the idea of Europe. When I mention modernization, I mean the idea of Europe in Georgia.

It is also interesting that in the Georgian scientific community European Civilization is associated with Western civilization.In her book, 'History of the European Civilization', Maya Khetsuriani notes that the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and other democratic states should be discussedwithin the scope of European civilization. They cannot be considered as different civilizations. Accordingto Khetsuriani, European civilization obtained religious impulses from Judaism, philosophy and power of thinking - from the Greeks, the basis of individual and political freedom - from Christianity, legal system and high-level state organization - from the Roman Empire. Unlike any other civilizations,Europeis tended to constant progress and renovation. While elsewhere an older generation has a particular place and tries to maintain the status quo conservatively, Europe always is a permanentbattlefield of the generationconflict('Fathers' and 'Sons'), where every generation has its own interests and ambitions. This conflict creates constant tension and progress (Khetsuriani, 2004).

Even though the idea of Europe does not reach back to Classic Antiquity or the Middle Ages, so called 'Western choice' was instilled in Georgian political thinking. Georgia saw its way of developmentas one among the Western countries (Gamkrelidze, G., 2013).The issue became more obvious when Georgia became a part of Christian world and tried to align its identity with European-Christian states, despite being neighbor to such Islamic empires as Persia, Arab Khaliphate, Seljuk Empire and their other dynastic imperial successors for centuries.In Georgian schools, students are even taught that in the Kingdom of Lazika (Egrisi), located in the Western part of Georgia, through a public discussion people tried to find out which future political choice Laziks had to make during the 6th century A.D. – take Eastern course towards Persia or Western – towards the Byzatine Empire. It was the treacherous assassination of Gubazes IIby Byzantines that triggered this discussion.Greek historian Agathias Scholasticus describes, during the discussion reasoned oratorical speeches were given in favour of the both positions. Despite being aggrieved by Greek leaders, Georgians decided to keep relations with the Byzantine Empire and turned their backs away from the East (Kvitasihvili, N; Malazonia, D; Malazonia, T, 2008).Noteworthy, there were Greek coloniesin the coastal zone of the Kingdom of Lazika maintaining tight economic, political and cultural relations with local populations. Those colonies were Phasis (modern Poti), Dioscurias (modern Sokhumi), Pitius (modern Pitsunda), etc. (Gamkrelidze G. , 2012). Since then, threats coming from the East were always perceived as an act of aggression, and the struggle against them was always called the struggle for liberation. Unlike that, Georgian kings proudly wore the title of the friend or the liege for the westerly Roman Empire and its successor – the Byzantine Empire.Even more, ethnically Persian-descendant king Mirian III, who was raised in Georgia at the royal court, strengthened the western choice by rejecting the religion of his parents' homeland and making Christianity the state religion in the Kingdom of Iberia, the Eastern part of Georgia (Lortkipanidze M. , 1983). From this time on, Georgian kingdoms considered themselves as members of the Christian world and took more or less part in every process and event that occurred in Europe. Georgian kings manifested pro-Byzantine political attitudes in military and political alliances, religious and cultural rapprochement. They often pilgrimaged to the "Holy Land" in Jerusalem, made donations, they equally worshipped holy relics and urged themselves to fight to protect Christian relics. In the 5th century, even king Vakhtang V, the founder of Tbilisi, bequeathed to his people to love Greeks.This choice got him killed by Persians (Gamkrelidze, G., 2013). The link to the west was lost in the 15th century, when Constantinople fell and not only the Byzantine territories, but also Southeast Europe, the Black Sea and Caucasus were fell under control of the Ottoman Empire. As a result, Georgia became the only Christian state in the Caucasus, surrounded by Islamic dominions. By that time, unfortunately, the other Christian country in the region, the Armenian Kingdom, had already been erased from existence for four centuries earlier.

When Russia appeared in Caucasus, the chance to reestablish the traditional link toEuropethrough Russia also became real. There was even a treaty signed with Russia, according to which the Russian Empire was to guarantee Georgia's national security and the East Georgian kingdom was declared as Russia's friendin the end of the 18th century. However, as soon as the Georgian king died, Russia took advantage of its legally deployed troops in East Georgia and abolished both the royal court and autocephaly of the Georgian Church. All of that meant occupation and the full abolishment of

Georgia's statehood[1](Magarotto, 2008). Since then Georgia was only linked to Europe through Russia, but not as an independent Christian state, but as a remote province. Was it soundto connect Europe through Russia? What role could Russia play in Georgia's modernization? How real was Russia's modernization itself? These were the questions asked by the Georgian political elite back then and we are going to be interested about these issues too (Guruli V. , National Identity, Statehood, and Political Orientation, 2008).

The fact is, despite the efforts of Peter I and Katherine II, Russia failed to become part of Europe in the 18th century. Russia made some progress in that matter only in the first part of the 19th century, but Georgia didnot benefit from it. European education, science and culture including literature, art, music, sculpture, and architecture were still unreachable for Georgia.The level of its Europenization was significantly lower than Russia's.The situation was considerably improved in the second half of the 19th century, but Russia does not solely deserve the credit for that. The idea of the Western Choice was still alive in Georgians even after the fall of the Byzantine Empire.The whole time Georgians were actively trying to get in touch with Western Europe, and Georgian politicians were following the same way during the Russian occupation.Russia met the emergence of the socialist movementswith enmityand that hindered the complete Europeanization of Russia, which meant total identification with Europe politically, economically and socially. As a result, only the educational system, science and culture were Europeanized, but political and economic systems lagged behind for the past centuries(Guruli V. , National Identity, Statehood, and Political Orientation, 2008). However,Georgians still didnot lose hope and trust in the West. Europe was perceived as the only way to liberate the nation by their point of view. Europe was the source of inspiration for Georgians in terms of Humanism, Freedom and Progress. European Enlightenment ideas and liberation movements sparked Romanticism in Georgia (Gamkrelidze, G., 2013).Being in the state of remote Russian colony, Georgia was left to take upon itself for instilling the idea of Europe and implementing modernization projects on its own. Of course, it was not easy, but Georgians were able to introduce principles of liberalism and psychologically prepare the nation for independence by merging the idea of Europe with Georgian traditions and to form a European state. The main goal of the political establishment of those times was to increase the level of civic consciousness, promote national integrationin order to gain independence and give European-grade education to the future generations.

2.2. Democratic Elements in Georgia

Contemporary democratic values and political system gained momentumin the second half of the 19th century, but notably some features of democracy can be found earlier than that.In order to understand, that Georgia was familiar with the idea of Europe and in this particular case, democracy, a slight review of Georgian customary law is needed that will help me to completely analyze Georgians' attitude to the idea of Europe. Researcher George Davitashvili, who precisely studied the features of

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[1] Georgia gradually got under Russian occupation since 1801 onwards and was not able to regain its sovereignty till 1918.

democracy in Georgia, argues that democratic values had deep roots in Georgian customary law and that determined an easy adaptation of Georgiansociety with Enlightenment ideas, the idea of Europe and democratic values. The scholar discusses such institutions as public self-governance, the judicial system, and Shota Rustaveli is full of the exact humanist ideas that characterized the European pre-Renaissance and Renaissance erasarbitration law, that existed in medieval, feudal Georgia. Those institutions were quite similar to the ones that we have with contemporary democracy (Davitashvili, 2011).

Customary law itself implies some unwritten laws, the source of which is people, not a government. However, those laws were included in the state legislation and were so strong that they remained, especially in highlands, till the communist regime was imposed on. As we know it, Greece is considered the cradle of democracy and held people's assemblies. Of course, there were restrictions on age and gender, but that was an initial stage of democracy. That kind of institution was typical for every region in Georgia and was similar to self-governance and community assemblies. In special cases assemblies were held for the whole population of a region. These assemblies were completely autonomous and had combined legislative, executive and judicial functions. A council of elders,a population of community, a village, or region could convoke an assembly (Davitashvili, 2011).

It is notable that any adult male could participate in an assembly and a person 20 years old was considered an adult. It is more interesting that women were also able to participate in an assembly, in case that there was no adult male in the family, or a woman was considered as more competent and intelligent than her husband (Davitashvili, 2011).

People's assemblies enjoyed great authority. Their competence combined external relations, legislative, military, administrative, agricultural and judiciary functions. For instance, from the survived medieval tractates Ifound outthat during the assemblies there were collaborated upon criminal laws about church robbery, abduction, kidnapping, damage compensation, etc.From the retrieved literature it is clear that it was possible to change, improve or revoke the rules established for such issues if the majority of the assembly decided such. As for external and military issues, makingdecisions about them was not a prerogative of the single village but a matter of the whole region or community. Such assemblies resolved matters of war and truce, external relations, assembling an army, plans against enemies, etc. These issues mentioned were discussed regarding neighboring states and tribes as well as relations with other Georgian tribes. But, during village assemblies, matters like administrative or agricultural were settled. Here they discussed routes for foreign merchants, acceptance of a refugee and insurance of his safety, granting the right to leave, in order to avoid spreading disease. These assemblies were also the way of ascertainment of taxes, the rules and terms to collect them. Also, discussed were issues of building or repairing roads, bridges, churches, land distribution, wages, sortation of herdsmen, terms of using lands, pasture and forests, everyday issues, household problems. The chiefs were also chosen from self-government, members of the executive body and other officials. And finally, the popular assembly had a judicial function, meaning an assembly could discuss the crimes against the given society. For instance, high treason, violating someone's freedom, avoiding working for common cause, encroachingcommon property like deforesting or using pastures without permission, public disorder, etc. Considered ethics were also actively defended by assemblies. For example, unlawful coitus, fornication,

rape, giving a birth to an illegitimate child, unlawful marriage – between relatives or compadres[2] was forbidden. Also, it was forbiddenfor a pregnant woman to workand takes her out of house a month priorto the delivery. Everyone was allowed to state their opinion during the trials and if necessary, in depth discussions about some matters wereheld.They wouldhear out both the victim and the perpetrator and question a witness too. The sentence was final and unappeasable and enjoyed society's confidence. The punishment could be a fine, banishment or even death (Davitashvili, 2011).

Besides People's assemblies' courts, there also existed a state judiciary. One aspect that reminds usof a feature of democracy is a universal access to the Court. In some ways, it was the Supreme Court for them who considered themselves the victims of injustice. The Grand Vizier himself was the chief judge and he discussed the complaints of widows, orphans, and those other miserable and poor people.Kings also attended trials, some of them weekly on appointed days. Others took into the consideration the amount and complexity of the issues and chose the days accordingly.Such access to the Court, despite of social status, can undoubtedly be reckoned as a strong manifestation of democracy (Davitashvili, 2011).

Courts of arbitration were also prevalent in Georgia, but it never was a permanent institution. It was formed in certain cases, mostly to settle civil disputes, and disputing parties chose the arbitrator themselves. It was almost analogous tomodern arbitration, because the arbitrator always tried to reach an agreement and avoid an endless dispute. Notably, in the highlands, sometimes a court of arbitration was also addressed todiscuss criminal law cases. This kind of court was distinguished by its easy accessibility, cheapness and effectiveness because of its mobility – it was possible to conduct trials in home conditions. Putting all disputing parties in absolutely equal conditions, despite their social status, indicates the democratic nature of the court of arbitration. This was manifested in the principle of competitiveness and absolute freedom of finding evidence. That panel of judges (if there was one) would settle the matter not by the majority, but consensus. So, the discussion of the problem went on until the parties would more or less come to an agreement. That is why the court of arbitration enjoyed high level of trustworthiness (Davitashvili, 2011).

In conclusion, I can say that Georgian customary law, legislative, executive and judicial systems were the obvious manifestations of the features of democracy. Their organization and procedural issues were based on democratic principles.Hence, contemporary democracy and the idea of Europeturned out to be compatible and easily acceptable for the Georgian social-political, civil and law systems.

2.3. The Idea of Europe in Georgian Literature

The modern idea of Europe was introduced in Georgiain the second half of the XIX century. Until I begin to study particular individualswho had the fundamental influence on constructing social-political thinking of the population, I need to review the literature of those times. For instance, Maya Jaliashvili arguesthat Georgian literature of that period was derived from Biblical Ideals, which served the purpose to display individual personality as a unique, fundamental and original value. The late 1800s

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[2] Compadre – A relationship between the parent and the god parents of a child.

Georgian literature is distinguished by individually free characters. Individual and national freedom is often entangled in these cases and they define each other (Jaliashvili, 2015).

However, I must note, that Iatashvili shares Ratiani's view about European ideas having deeper roots in Georgia. Not considering hagiographic works of V-VIII centuries, which are reffering to individual freedom, gender equality and freedom of belief, in secular literature, XII century's "The Knight In the Panther's skin" by Shota Rustaveli is full of the exact humanist ideas that characterized the European pre-Renaissance and Renaissance eras(Iatashvili, 2011). Values, such as ethnic and religious tolerance, fairness, pursuit of happiness and social harmony are evident(Ratiani, 2011). And XVII-XVIII centuries' writers and statesmen, such as Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and David Guramishvili, were the actual manifestations of that period's European Enlightenment wave, who had felt the dawn of the new era. Their works were the bold revelations of liberalism. One more author, who fought illiteracy and proposed all types of democracy with deep scientific knowledge, was John Batonishvili. He was the son of the last king of the Eastern Georgian kingdom and was exiled in Russia after the annexation of his country by the Russian empire in 1801 (Iatashvili, 2011).

Professor of philology, Irma Ratiani considers that not only antiquity and uniqueness are the basis of the strength of the culture. It is vital to concur with the higher values that define the moral model of the nation and its culture. Such values are democratic values, which are the preconditions for formation of civil society and its future progress. The best way to instill these ideas is preciselythrough the writing and artistic-literary form (Ratiani, 2011).

Georgian scholar, Shota Iatashvili notes, that there were two kinds of authors in Georgia. The oneswho wished to live in liberal-democratic society, not knowing how it can be accomplished in real life; and the others, who understoodtheir purpose and they reminded us of Enlightenment writers, by spreading the idea of Europe. From the late 1800s till the Sovietization of Georgia in 1921, they were trying to incarnate liberal-democratic ideas in life and create a brand-new civil society in the country (Iatashvili, 2011). Ratiani argues the same, noting that Georgian folklore is more likely to reflect liberal-democratic values than to propagandize them. Here we encounter a desirefor social and gender balance, ethnic and religious tolerance, equality before the law, freedom of choice etc. (Ratiani, 2011).

Since the intelligible introduction of the European ideas, liberalism and civic values started in the second half of the 19ᵗʰcentury, terms expressing such democratic values like liberalism, tolerance, equity, female emancipation, freedom of speech, etc., were created. Passing properly those democratic values to the broad masses, increasing civic consciousness, promoting freedom of thinking, speech and choice, right of living, education and pursuit of happiness, supremacy of law – became the mission of the authors, publicists and statesmen. They firmly stood up against social, sexist, religious and ethnic inequalities, violations of person's or society's rights.These people resisted the dominant imperialist reactionary ideology of those times and by instilling progressive ideas like humanism and principles within society, were significantly far ahead of their time (Ratiani, 2011). These people are Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha-Pshavela, Iakob Gogebashvili, Dimitri Kipiani, Niko Nikoladze, etc. As Mikheil Gaprindashvili notes, they were the Georgian wave of the global Enlightenment. That meant the ideological struggle against the established system for freedom and equity, based on the humanist ideas, giving way to start liberal and socialist movements (Gaprindashvili M. , 1989).

This group of public thinkers or philosophers was called 'Tergdaleulebi' (Terek-drinkers), which meant the people who received education across the river Tergi (Terek), i.e. abroad, in Russia, or Europe. That group is the subject of the first part of my research, discussed in detail below. They realized that Georgia would never achieve its desired goal, by the permanent rebellions against Russia, as it took place several times in the first part of the 19th century. The nation's energy of life was drained by the constant physical struggle and they chose to use peaceful resistance against the colonial regime. 'Terek-drinkers' were supporters of the free market concept, which is based solelyon a private property principle.Therefore, they discussed it not as a material, but as value like thinking, belief, expression of them, etc. (Janelidze, Otar, 2015).

Terek-drinkers never created any theoretical treatise, but through their literary works or pamphlets their devotion to the idea of Europe and an attempt to adapt it to the Georgian reality is visible. As Akaki Jorjadze wrote 'they introduced the formulas and social-political theories existing in Europe... Since then began the Europenization of Georgian thinking. And if it is necessary to define that age, its main characteristic was liberal-democracy(Jorjadze, Social, Political and Legal Views of Archil Jorjadze, 1989).

Those youngsters sympathized the Russian movement, which fought against imperialism and strived to topple the Tsarist regime, abolish serfdom and bring social freedom. But they did not approve of the Russian revolutionary nationalism, which ignored the principle of national self-determination. Therefore, Georgians based the idea of Europe imported to Russia on the national basis. However, they rejected conspiring and armed revolts, changed their tactics and chose the peaceful course of national liberation. Their national-democratic paradigm was based on principles of democracy and private property and its motto became the words of Ilia Chavchavadze: "Ourselves should be in our hands" (or the "future is ours to define") (Janelidze, Otar, 2015). Thus, Georgian authors became the main instrument in promoting and instilling the idea of Europe.

2.4. Ideologues of modernization and the idea of Europein Georgia – Public Thinkers

Ilia Chavchavadze

French scholar, Remi Brague, argues that Europe's cultural identity is different from other cultures because it historicallymaintained the concept of openness, giving it an opportunity to accept novelties and develop. It always had been a battlefield of generational conflicts and the new generation always tried to determine its place (Brague, 1992). A similar situationhappened in Georgia in the second half of 19th century when Ilia Chavchavadze's senior generation adapted to the existing reality and liberal ideas of the younger generation were unacceptable for them. The leader of the new generation was Ilia Chavchavadze(1837-1907), who declared war on elders via newspaper papers. Other youngsters ralliedaround him, and theywere called the "Terek-drinkers" or people who received education abroad. Ilia, as the leader of the new and youth movements, became an object of prejudice for the elder generation. They even tried to mock him. For instance, General Grigol Orbeliani who was serving Russia at that time, wrote about him being "The liberal, rounded as a ball", underlining the baseness of liberal

ideas and Ilia's adolescent inexperience compared to him as well. The fact is, it took a really great effort to import and instill liberal values in Georgia, to Europeanize Georgian thinking and political culture. The "Terek-drinkers" under Ilia's leadership promoted European ideas and tried to get the Georgian nation ready for them, save it from its self-isolation and lead its way to progress (Janelidze, Otar, 2015). It was not easy to do. Ilia stated, that "we do not take liberalism, or patriotism as abusive words" - which became the motif of Ilia and his generation (Ratiani, 2011). His works involve dozens of verses, poems, stories, novels, translations, articles and scientific researchs, which contain a number of volumes. Each of his workdealswith Georgian political, social, economic, legislative and cultural issues. We are going to discuss only the works which highlights his ideas and beliefs. It should be noted, that Ilia held important official positions like the serfdom-reform arbitrator, the judge of Dusheti uyezd; he was elected as the director of "The Bank of Nobility", the chairman of "The Georgian Dramatic Society"; he was the Chairman of "The Society for Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians" until his death; he was editor-in-chief of the periodicals "Sakartvelos Moambe" (the Georgian Courier) and "Iveria." Through these positions he promoted his ideas and directed national-liberation movement. Ilia played an important role in the founding of Tbilisi theater, which became something like a platform for the national liberation movement (Mchedlishvili D. A., 2012).

Formation of Ilia's political point of view was influenced by West European philosophers. He supported The French Revolution, and while observing the France-based revolutionary, anti-imperialistic movement, he expressed his support to its ideals with his verses. He wanted to see the universal ideals of The French Revolution - 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'- in his homeland. Ilia Chavchavadze also ardently supported the liberator consolidator of Italy Giuseppe Garibaldi and for some time Ilia even planned to enter Garibaldi'sarmy (Iatashvili, 2011). Sometime later, Ilia was elected as a member of the State Council of the Russian Empire, where he demanded federalization of the Russian Empire and granting cultural and administrative autonomy to densely populated regions, which would have their own parliaments (Gogiashvili, 2005). Execution of this project was impossible until the socialist movement destroyed the Russian Empire and occupied nations got the chance for a short time to declare their independence. It is worth notingthat social-democrats were opposing Ilia. However, while he personally condemned inequality, he considered Georgia's independence the main objective. He believed, that class differentiation would disrupt the nation's unity and would procrastinate the restoration process of independence (Gogiashvili, 2005). In his words 'If one particular class separates from the whole society and determines its own separate interests, what possible good would it finally accomplish? Placing one class ahead while others stay behind is pointless' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 2011). So his phrase "Ourselves are ours to determine" became the motto of the national liberation movement. Later, he was named by the people as "The Uncrowned King of Georgia" and was canonized by the Georgian Orthodox Church as Saint Ilia the Righteous. All of this comeas quite a surprise for Ilia, because he completely denounced absolute monarchy. He considered constitutional monarchy acceptable but only under supremacy of law and strong parliament. Analysis of his works evidently shows that he favored democratic republics(Kutalia, 2004)

Ilia conducted in-depth research about state's political structure. By using the method of historical analysis, he studied genesis of primitive society, feudal state, private property, bourgeoisie,

classes and state. He stated his opinions about nations and theirfeatures. He wrote that 'a nation is a historically constituted unity of people, formed on the basis of language, territory, common economic life, and dust and flesh defined by homogenous nature (psychological nature, culture, etc.)(Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987).

It is worth noting, that Ilia chose only peaceful and legal ways for the national liberation movement. We can understand his position aboutpeace from these words: 'War is hell. War wipes out human lives, their creation and achievements. An agreement, peaceful settlement of the matter is always a better way, of course' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987). Therefore, the peaceful strategy of the national liberation movement coincides the concept of peace defined by the idea of Europe (Janelidze, Otar, 2015). This does not mean Ilia was afraid or worried about his health and life. Ilia was the soledefender of Georgia and its freedom, even if imperialistic policy attacked himthrough discrimination of Georgian language or disrespect to Georgian national identity (Jorjadze, The Articles, 1989). Ilia believed, that the only reason Georgia endured was that we always knew the ways of survival, suited for certain times: 'When we needed valour, we were valiant; if we needed a sword, we knew how to forge one; When we needed art of war, we used that art… Valour nowadays is labour… The world is his, who works hard and knows how to work and treasures his work… That is why, it is time for us to put aside our swords fight with pens' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987).

Ilia had a solid position about civil society. Despite being a member of the gentry, he was the one who attacked the serfdom the most aggressively. He dedicated several novels and articles to civic equality, going against his own class, which was not a position to take in Georgia during those times. His novels like 'Is a Human a Man?!', The Widow Otarashvili' and 'The Sportsman's Story' became the table-top books for Georgians. In these books Ilia described social injustice and the difficult life of a peasant. The phenomenon of civil alienation, which existed in Georgia between social classes and which Ilia called 'a broken bridge syndrome', was stalling the national liberation movement. Of course, discussion of literary pieces is not the purpose of my research, but I am going to cite the words of one noble, which is a character from Ilia's one novel, as an illustrative example to show Ilia's morality and his concept of social equality: 'There is a bridge broken between us. They (peasants) stayed on the other side while we (gentry) linger on another. We are so distant we can't even see each other. No surprise, because on that distance a stick looks like a man and a face created in the image of God looks like a smudge. Are not this distance and obstructions created by it enough for a weak eye to see white as black? Our vision is improved because we have binoculars and that binoculars are knowledge and education but they are lacking them. They do not trust our goodness nor believe in it… their joy and miseries are different from ours…' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1985) In fact, Ilia considered education as the way out from such difficult social situation. In this regard, Ilia and his fellow 'Terek-drinkers' realized several important projects which we will discuss later. He was worried, that aristocracy was not able to comprehend that nation's 'longevity, prosperity, happiness, fame and glory only lies in others' happiness, and in that case they will be individually happy too' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987). Before that, weshould go back to Ilia's views about social matters. For liberal ideology, individual freedom was the first of rights for him. About individual dignity Ilia wrote that "One's sense of dignity should be deeply honored" (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1986). "It is hard to live in the country, where one's dignity and self-respect is not honored and protected"

(Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987). "We are talking about the sense which is called the sense of honor and it gives a human humanity and makes society a society. It is a divine obligation of the society or government to conserve humanity of a human being, always protect 'its self', not to persecute it for no reason and never let anybody to violate it. Let it freely own its material and abstract belongings without any sharer and make it happy by it" (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987). He understood freedom in the sense of classical liberalism,thusfreedom should not be without responsibility. As he wrote: "on the one hand, man is a lord, on the other – he is compelled. There is no right without obligation and that is to respect and protect others' right and do not violate it" (Janelidze, Otar, 2015).

In 1897, on the eve of the election day of the Tbilisi Self-Government, Ilia Chavchavadze delivered a speech to voters. In his campaign speech Ilia said: 'You (Tbilisians) want a man who won't take money unjustly from the rich, and won't give away the obedient the same way. The one who won't lay unjust taxes on the miserable to make up the deficit'(Civicus, 2016). Ilia's economic outlooks were based mainly on Adam Smith's principle of the free market. He saw the correct model of economic development being Capitalism, as thisworthily protected workers' rights and so proprietors' interests. About private property Ilia wrote that it "is the main basis upon which life in developed countries is built all over the world. Private property will be highly respected for a long time, whether it is claimed be rightful or not, fortunate or unfortunate. Nobody will get away with violence or combat on its field... Inviolability of private property is acknowledgeed to be the basis of the future, and everyone who violates and limits it, is intolerable and barely forgiven"(Janelidze, Otar, 2015). Ilia connects personal happiness with one's personal property that he considered a universal value and that can define the success of civil rights and social, economic and political achievements of any country in the field of modernization. According to him, precisely the ability to distinguish where one's freedom ends and where the rights of others begin, defines the happiness of an individual. Everyone has to understand "what belongs to other, is my responsibility. What belongs tome, is my right. Private property is the basis upon which human relations must be built"(Gogiashvili, 2005). Ilia Chavchavadze's economic scholar mentions that, according to Ilia, an economic model should be based on the experience ofthe international field, and there is no need for experimental manipulations. The rapid development of bank-based financial capitalism should have affected people's prosperity. He thought theeconomic process could be inhibited by strict centralization. Therefore, it was necessary to support decentralization and the strengthening of a local self-government that better understood its own regional potential. Furthermore, after rendering of the Baku-Tbilisi-Poti railroad, Ilia promoted the principle of the Caucasian Common Market, which persists to the present. As for foreign affairs and relations, he used to give priority to the establishment of relationships with the European countries which he considered one of the principal preconditions of the future social-economicdevelopment of Georgia(Kvaratskhelia, M., 2012)

Ilia conducted in-depth research about the origin of lawand its historic stages. His research subject was human rights and the correction of their violations. He called for substantial discussion of cases and applying law to particular facts. One of the subjects was legislative approaches to humans. He was against inadequate penalties and demanded improvements of court's rights, where every suspect would have equal opportunity to defend itself. His goal was to analyze the reasons which triggered the

crime, not to conduct a severe punishment. Punishment should adequate address the crime and the death penalty should have been repealed altogether(Abashidze, 1987). In his words: 'Every crime against individual or society should be somehow punished in order to prevent it doing evil in future. If one is rogue and has to be tamed, he should be surrounded to get corrected, restored, bettered and then go back to the society as an honest man. A sinner should atone for his crimes, not get crucified, tortured, burned or suffered' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 2015). Principles of Ilia's legal philosophy can be arranged like this:

1. Inviolability of individual and its legal interests;
2. Equality before the law regardless one's social and national origins or religious beliefs;
3. Conducting clerical work in native language and appointing local candidates as judges;
4. Introduction of jury system;
5. Transparency of trials;
6. Monitoring of investigations and trials by other agencies (Dobadzishvili, 2015).

In Ilias words: "Justice and restoration of justice are necessities, without which modern nation and state cannot exist. Restoration of justice is a one all-powerful activity, on which rest all hope and anticipation for peace (making), protection of human dignity, its name, family and property" (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987).

Omar Gogiashvilinames Ilia the main ideologue of contemporary Georgiansa and notes thatIlia introduced all research methods that existed in science at that time. He researched political, economic, legislative, historical, sociological and cultural issues, analyzed them and formed conceptions which aimed towards the modernization and liberation of the Georgian nation (Gogiashvili, 2005). Ilia considered it necessary to study the past to make possible for the nation to make proper future orientations. Ilia was the first to start researching economic aspects of history (Gogiashvili, O.; Batiashvili, E., 2002). He thought, that history helps us to define who we are now, where we came from and where will we go. Despite being a dedicatedhistorian, he never dwelt on the past. On the contrary, he saw continuous movement and progress as the purpose of existence. 'Every man, who is not blindfolded, knows that the life today is different from yesterdays; it changes... It often occurs, that what we thought an unconditional verity yesterday, today we consider it a gross mistake... the waves of life are much powerful and ordinary men too fragile' (Mimitashvili, 2016). Clearly, Ilia formed a thought that general progress of the mankind is a sustained process and various formations and systems are just its manifestations in given historic periods (Kvaratskhelia, 2001). Ilia Chavchavadze's views about progress and modernization were exceptional. For him, the prime criterion of progress was not only technological development, but the guaranteed protection of human rights. As he stated: 'The essence of progress of entire mankind is that human personality, its conscience, private life cannot be unjustly touched, profaned, insulted and violated by anybody' (Janelidze, Otar, 2015). That is why Gigi Tevzadze considers the idea of contemporary national identity to be promoted and instilled by Ilia. At its basis it created civil society. This and many other associated modernization projects realized by Ilia made us a modern nation (Tevzadze, 2015). On Ilia's merit, the language of administration became Georgian. Also, adapted by him and the so-called nobility language, only spoken by clergy and state officials, became obsolete. The last was quite different from contemporary everyday language, creating obstacles for average citizens. In the

words of Levan Gigineishvili, thanks to Ilia provincial and class divisions were eradicated, education was spread, and a new identity of the nation-state was created (Gigineishvili, 2015).

Previously mentioned, one of the most important elements of modernization of society is secularization and liberation from religious dogmas. Ilia never was against the Church, on the contrary he defended Christianity but he disapproved the amalgamof state and church functions. He stated, that 'state is not some chapel where a man should pray, but a workshop where he must work and toil' (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 2015). His last poem 'The Hermit' is about this subject, where he encourages people to do something valuable for the country, instead of asceticism and praying (Chavchavadze, Ilia, 1987). He deeply respected the followers of Islam, Judaism, Gregorianism and Catholicism. He wrote: 'There is no case in our history, when Georgians oppressed or ill-treated religion of others... Elsewhere persecuted ones for their religious beliefs, here found peaceful shelter alongside with freedom of conscience' (Bubulashvili, 2003).

Of course, Ilia with his ideas and activities were unacceptable for the Russian Empire, but hismain opposition was from advocates of class struggle, who considered liberal ideas, nation-state and freedom irrelevant. In 1907 Ilia, whom without his efforts Georgia would never have gained independence and became part of democratic world, was assassinated. The killing of Ilia was ordered by the central committee of Russian Social-Democratic Party (later known as Bolsheviks led by V.U. Lenin and J. Stalin). Pilipe Makharadze and Sergo Orjonikidze were ordered to organize the assassination. Aslo, in 1921, they became the leading figure of Russian occupation of Georgia (Guruli V. , How was not be killed Ilia, 2015).

Evidently, after studying dozens of Ilia Chavchavadze's works, articles or public activities, I can conclude that he was a personwhose thinking and activity befits the standards of, not only late 19th century, but 21st century idea of Europe. Furthermore, he was a locomotive of his contemporary modernization in terms of public life. Of course, it was difficult to illustrate all his works and activities in my research, but I still managed to analyze his liberal views concerning politics, economics, culture, social and legal matters. These matters played an important part in the formation of the Georgian state in thattime, as well in creating reality as I know it today.

It should be noted, that like Ilia, other members of liberal wing of the late 19th century, did not and could not cover all fields society needed on a large scale. Hence, I am going to discuss other apologists of the idea of Europe and modernization according to their effectiveness in regards of how they influenced the introduction and realization of liberal ideas and projects.

Vazha-Pshavela

Known by the pseudonym of Vazha-Pshavela(1861-1915), Luka Razikashvili had strong ideological resemblance to Ilia Chavachavadze, according to Lomashvili (Lomashvili J. , 2007). Due to a lack of resources, Vazha was not able to completely finish his education abroad, in St. Petersburg. He lived a highlander's life and most of his works were about nature and the mountain life. However, the reason he became the subject of my research is his liberal ideology. Particularly, in his artistic and publicist pieces clearly defined the main axis of the idea of Europe – human beings as an individual and having freedom. Because of this, he is considered one of the prominent representatives of the liberal

wing of the late 19th century. Below I will discuss exactly his social-political outlooks and elaborate on his perspectives about freedom.

It should be noted in the beginning, there existed diverging views about his personality and ideology duringhis lifetime, later during the Soviet occupation and then in independent Georgia. It can be said, that 24 years his senior and already an accomplished public figure, Ilia Chavchavadze discovered Vazha-Pshavela, giving way to him as the best representative of the next generation. In Ilia's opinion, Georgia never had a poet like Vazha since Shota Rustaveli. Of course, by this he did not only mean Vazha's writing style but also his ideas and beliefs thatgave special value to his every single poem, verse or story (Lomashvili J. , 2007). However, poet and public figure Akaki Tsereteli, one of leaders of 'Terek-drinkers' and Ilia's fellow ideologue, did not share Ilia's enthusiasm. Vazha's writing style, characterized by provincial dialect gave his works an archaic image, which was unacceptable for Akaki. He disapproved of Vazhas writing style and called his pieces deliberately deformed (Evgenidze I, Minashvili L, Chumburidze J, 2002).

During the Soviet occupation period, censorship scholars described him as an atheist, environmentalist and naturalist (Qutelia, 1947). Scholars of this time considered all of Vazha's artistic or publiciation pieces as atheistic and materialistic (Lomashvili, Jibo, 1986). For instance, according to Qutelia there was no place for God, not in or outside the nature described by Vazha. Vazha's perspectives completely lacked religious grounds. He entirely denied God and perceived natureas an objective, materialistic truth, which only acts according to its own laws (Qutelia, 1947). In publishedletters such as 'The Pshavs', 'Khalajoba and Queues', 'In Tianetian Feuileton', 'Village Khakhmati', 'Thoughts' and stories like 'Impressions', 'Grandpa's Global Thoughts', 'Gochi' Vazha-Pshavela is not looking for the reasons of religious beliefs, feelings or customs in person's consciousness or in the heavens but he sees them in people's everyday lives and underlines their socially negative nature (Esitashvili, 1985). During the beginning of the modern independent Georgia, there is a different approach to Vazha-Pshavela. Once perceived as an atheist and a materialist, Vazha-Pshavela is nowconsidered as a deeply religious person and defender of Christianity. By Tsertsvadze's opinion, Vazha's perceptions of humans concur to those of the New Testament. Therefore, he considers Vazha a person with a Christian worldview, and discusses above mentioned stories on the contrary, as filled with Christian motives (Tsertsvadze, 2005).

It should be noted, that it is not the goal of my research to shed light on his religious beliefs and his perspectives on nature but his views about freedom in all scale. It is fact, that he started publishing his articles in the 'Droeba' (Times) newspaper against superstitions and some customs and considered educations as one means to overcome them (Lomashvili J. , 2008). He argued against the preachers and fortunetellers who extorted money from people in return for saving one's soul and getting God's blessing (Lomashvili J. , 2008). Actually, while studying Vazhas works, it occurred to us, that like Ilia, Vazha's reasoning coincides with modern, 21stcentury liberal standards. Therefore, the purpose of my research is to study the idea of Europe and in this particular case, those of Vazha's ideas which highlight the idea of Europe, especially liberalism.I will cite the fragments of which keynotes are human being and individuality. His best works are dedicated to human beings - the most important value. For instance, the scholar of Vazha-Pshavela, Lali Tsertsvadze notes Vazha asking, 'What made me human... Why did not I come as rain' means that it is a human being, unlike any other natural creatures, which can make choice

between the good and evil. Nature is not able to make such choice because it follows its pattern. Human being, while it is a creature of nature, is free and gives purpose to its own life. Free will is exactly the precondition to be a human and only humans have right to make choices (Tsertsvadze, 2005).

Human individuality is highlighted in Vazha-Phasvela's epic poem 'Aluda Ketelauri', and 'The Guest and The Host'. In both cases the main character, who is an active member of society, rises against the socially-established religious traditions, dogmas and stereotypes. The only reason for this is to protect human dignity and honoring of the enemies. Acting like this is met with enmity by other members of the community and the hero becomes marginalized. For instance, Aluda Ketelauri tolerates the member of the other religious and ethnic group, because he respects personal dignity, putting it above religion and nationality (Vaja-Pshavela, Aluda Qetelauri, 2010). This motive is similar within 'The Guest and The Host,' except the difference is that the main character is not ethnic a Georgian non-Christian, but he and his wife are trying to protect the honor of the deadly Georgian foe, while becoming the objects of persecution by their own community (Vaja-Pshavela, Host and Guest, 2014).

Also interesting is Vazha's most famous article 'What is Freedom?' thatwas a responseto three main principles of the French Revolution. 'Liberty, equality and fraternity' became too familiar and acceptable for Georgia at those times. It was a protest against the imperialism, monarchy and injustice which took place in Georgia as well as in Russia in 1904-1905. From these three principles, Vazha emphasized the value of'liberty'. He thought that without freedom, it was impossible for 'equality' and 'fraternity' to exist. He believed, that they were only branches of 'freedom' and they could only be under the conditions of freedom. 'Freedom is action, translating the will, ideas and feelings into reality, not relaxation or idleness. Individual and national freedoms are closely linked with each other. Where an individual is not free, that nation is enslaved and, of course, in subjugated community the individual is also a slave, derived its own free will and just a toy in someone's hands (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964). Over a century agoVazha had already defined that the state must guarantee the conditions for every single individual to be free. But this freedom should not be understood as freedom without responsibility. It should not be understood as one's individual freedom that can limit others' freedom. 'A free person's actions should not harm others', especially the society... If this condition is not provided, that action will become crime, because every criminal freely acts only for its own benefits' (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964).

In the same article, Vazha talked about national freedom. He defined it as a happiness denied to people by the conquerors. 'You want to get educated, but they never allow you to. You want to set up university with your own costs but they deny it to you. How one can be free while he is not allowed to speak in his own mother language? While none is permitted to study, talk, sing or chant?!... If one endures without saying anything, he is a slave... Will the nation ever say decisively, categorically 'Live or Die', with regards to liberty? Then everybody will be ready to sacrifice themselves for freedom and victory will become inevitable' (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964). He believes that the one depriving the other of freedomwill never become free himself. It is impossible for the empire, which has colonized other nations, to give freedom to its own people. Deprived freedom is no freedom in the hands of tyrants, it becomes tyranny itself. The tyrants put this freedom in chains, set traps for it, gas it, beat it with bludgeons and build gibbets. Depriving of freedom harms the depriver more, who steals freedom

from people and wants to use it for selfish goals' (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964). Therefore, it is impossible for the "nation, which took other nation's freedom, to become free. It also has to live under the tyrant's rule in order to keep the freedom of other nations on leash and because of the wish to conquer others, it becomes conquered and enslaved itself... Enslaved nation is always pitiful at home and, of course, it is pitiful and helpless against while facing the invaders"(Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964).

Vazha-Pshavela thought, that the only one thing that can definitelymake a nation die out is the loss of freedom. He opposed the ideas of Social Darwinism, according to which every nation, just like human being, is born, develops, reaches maturity, declines and dies. He admitted nations could grow old and die but not like human beings. He thought that the final fate of human beings is old age and death, but while a nation's generations are constantly replaced with new ones, it cannot grow older. Its decline and death may only take place due to losing freedom and becoming enslaved... "In conditions, when itsstripped of the ability to show its own will and strength. This may happen in nation's young years. Slavery is an awful thing... Deadly, as old age..." (Vaja-Pshavela, Thoughts, 1964).

As I already noted, freedom and happiness are synonymous for Vazha-Pshavela. He believed that every individual, like every nation, had the right to pursue its happiness, as to be free. He was against any privilege granted by class or rank, and admitted difference only in individual abilities and in the justice conditions. He describes the nature of a free individual through the example of child. While a child races around and has fun, parents interdict it running and try to keep it near. When the child grows up, outside he stumbles upon a lot of persons restricting him to think and act freely (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Name of Freedom, 1964). If I go back to the article discussed above, Vazha believed that 'the whole nation should be free, not some particular class. The country will be happy only then, when granting privileges by rank is eradicated, so all classes will become free, i.e. happy...' The country where differences based on nobility rank exist will never have freedom thrive. There, where one is not able to earn fairly his living despite his class or title, freedom will never prevail. However, in his opinion, only good material conditions cannot guarantee a nation's ability to safeguard freedom. That should be accompanied by a nation's collective mental maturity, education and knowledge (Vaja-Pshavela, What is the Freedom?, 1964).

Interesting is the fact, that some of his contemporaries considered him as nationalist because he advocated the idea of national freedom. Though, for some reason they never mentioned Vazha's views about individual freedom. That is why Vazha specifically interpreted this issue, and by this he can be considered as a representative of liberal wing. Like Ilia, he supported the idea of equality of nations and not only nationalism. He formulated his approach in his article called 'Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism', where he wrote: 'Some people think that true patriotism is the opposite of cosmopolitanism, but that is a mistake. Every true patriot is a cosmopolitan, just as every intelligent cosmopolitan (not like we are) is a patriot. How is this? The person who serves his nation with common sense, and tries to advance his motherland intellectually, economically and morally, in this way prepares the best members, the best friends, for all of mankind; he helps the development and well-being of all mankind. If it is necessary to raise up individual humans for the development of a whole nation, then in the same way, it is beneficial to raise up individual nations, so that mankind becomes a developed group; if it is beneficial to raise up

an individual person being of a given nationality, and as an individual, in the same way, it is beneficial to rise up individual nations, so that each nation can demonstrate its increased strength, energy, unique character and contribute its worth to the treasure chest of mankind...'[3](Vaja-Pshavela, Cosmopolitism and Nationalism, 1990). From this article it becomes clear from his views that if one does not love his mother, motherland and fellow citizens, he will not be able to love others. The one, who loves people close to him, also has an ability to respect and love others. He considered that at first every artist and scientist lives and works in one particular country but then the whole world makes use of their works. In Vazhas words, Edison, Shakespeare, Goethe, Cervantes were the sons of different free countries, but now they are considered the children of the whole world and all mankind enjoys their works. Therefore, he encourages the readers: 'Do not hate other nations and do not be envious of their happiness; or interfere with its strivings; and try to ensure that no one takes advantage of your country, and that it becomes equal to developed, progressive nations'[4](Vaja-Pshavela, Cosmopolitism and Nationalism, 1990). Hence, Vazha wrote that 'the historical past and the nature of Georgians give us the hope that nationalism (of Ilia's followers) will never turn into chauvinism and fanaticism' (Lomashvili J. , 2007).

Vazha was certain, that 'every nation always puts itself in the first place, it wishes all good for itself, to settle its own matters. Only one part of Georgians does not believe so. The ones who are advocating the idea that we will become stronger by making others happy... The ones expecting mercy from stronger Russia. Do they really believe that making Russia stronger will lessen its desire to dominate and enslave smaller nations?' (Vaja-Pshavela, 1964). If I generalize his views about equality of nations, I will see that he did not imagine friendship among nations superficially, but he even pictured some particular projects. He actually shared Kant's prophecy about the future world order. He noted, that the nations of the world should go down the road of freedom and progress and 'unless some geological or political disaster impedes this happening, this road will bring us to the world federation (Vaja-Pshavela, Options and Notes, 1964). All of this means the common wealth of nation-states, where people with similar values live, respect each other's individuality and national freedom, while governing the government themselves, like it should be in a democratic republican state. Vazha's contemporary Georgia was neither republican nor democratic and the reasons for this he considered illiteracy and deprivation of freedom. As he wrote, the lack of democracy, people's disengagement from state governance, was caused by illiteracy of the masses. In his opinion, education and other resources were concentrated in the hands of minor groups of the society in order to control the rest. Hence, according to Vazha, while the masses stayed uneducated, society's full engagement in state activities would not become possible (Vaja-Pshavela, Letters to a Friend, 1979).

Despite Vazha fighting so ardently for freedom, he only believed in peaceful ways to accomplish that goal. That is why his pacifist views are interesting. As I know, he was raised in the highlands where he often had to get into local social primitive conflicts, but despite of that he actually propagated against violence. For instance, while studying in Gori, he used to have contacts with the revolutionary movement Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), but he had a sudden change of heart. According to many

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[3] The article is translated and published in English on the follow web-site:
http://courses.washington.edu/dtcg/texts/data/vp/vp_kosmo_patriot2.html
[4] Used the same translation mentioned above

scholars, one of the reasonsheleft them was that he disclaimed terrorism and violence as methods; however,as he explained himself, his main motive to leave the party was alsotheir denial of the nationality concept(Lomashvili, Jibo, 1986). Also, it is worth noting that he stayed loyal to Ilia's approach to death penalty till the end, even after Ilia was murdered. Vazha believedthat Ilia would be against the death penalty for his murderers because in his lifetime he was against that kind of punishment. Therefore, he disapproved physical retribution against the ideological supporters of Ilia's killers. He urged his fellow adherents to not act like the supporters of Ilia's killers and turn Georgia into a battlefield once again(Vaja-Pshavela, The Speech at the Funeral of Ilia Chavchavadze, 1964).

Having discussed the manifestations of the idea of Europe in Vazha-Pshavela's worldview, it would be appropriate to talk about his perspectives about modernization. Like Ilia, he saw necessity of education as ameans to modernize the society. He even used to be a teacher for some time. In his opinion, every science being it history, sociology, philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, etc. should serve the progress of the society and improvement of life. By analyzing our own mistakes and learning fromthem, we move forward and develop. He believed that society always needs to be prepared intellectually to accept progressive ideas. Otherwise, the illiterate part of the society would never allow progress and modernization. In his words, if some 'member of the society wants to move forward and advance the society and gives his guidance and means to achieve that, while some other dumb one holds on to the old and does not let go... Ignorant cannot understand something that was good yesterday may not be useful today. He is not able to understand that in order to modernize life it is necessary to completely eradicate what is obsolete, decayed in order to give opportunity to the new seed to thrive and flourish... Science knows well the nature of ignorance so it tries to give education at least to the majority of the society, if not to every single member of it, in order to eliminate ignorance and its accompanying stubbornness, which always hinders, defies progress and development' (Vaja-Pshavela, Publications, 1979). These are the words of Vazha, who lived in the 19th century mountains and howhe imagined modernization and the way of development (Lomashvili, Jibo, 1986). Again, Vazha considered education and the spread of knowledge as means of mankind's intellectual progress. In his opinion 'Today's man writes down his thoughts, ideas and knowledge and even if he dies, his work will not be lost. Printing has made possible to pass one man's words over the hills and far away (Vaja-Pshavela, Talking about children, 1964). The only value, which is necessary for progress is freedom; only some particular enslaved individual or nation is able to reject progress development (Vaja-Pshavela, Publications, 1979).

Akaki Tsereteli

The next person I am going to discuss as one of the ideologues of modernization and the idea of Europe is another associate of the liberal wing of the second part of 19th century. Akaki Tsereteli was an author, poet and public figure living from 1840-1915. In this subchapter I will explore his field of action, worldview, liberal outlooks and his attitudes toward women's rights.

It should be noted, that Akaki was the most recognized and popular poet of histime. While Vazha-Pshavela's works were acknowledged gradually over time, Akaki enjoyed his fame duringhis lifetime. His sharp-written rhymes and poems stand out with their musicality; his stories – with his artistic and illustrative abilities; his publicistic letters – with aesthetic and educational style. His

publicistic works filled with in-depth analysis, complexity, actuality and efficacy invigorated to form Georgian progressive-democratic thought. His satirical allegory writing style was especially popular (Moniava, 2000). Since the age of the 1910s, Akaki's fame went beyond Georgian borders and he was referredto as the most favored poet. He was called Georgian Pushkin or Georgian Shevchenko. His verse 'Suliko' was sung in various countries. Also, the contemporary national anthem of Georgia starts with his words: 'My icon is my motherland and the whole world is its icon'[5](Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015).

Akaki Tsereteli fought against social and national oppression, for justice, and economic development. He disapproved of the class struggle and like Ilia Chavchavadze, considered that it was the state which had to be freed in the first place. In Akaki's opinion, education and schools were the tools to promote European ideas, universal views, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and to pave the path to liberation. He opposed the Russian education system and wanted to establish schools which would imbue pupils with not only national freedom but also free will and self-determination. Teaching in Georgian language was prohibited, and Russian was the academic language in those times, creating difficultiesand obstacles for the population. Thus, like other 'Terek-Drinkers', Akaki was vigorously involved in the activities of 'The Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians'. He even bequeathed his whole property to this organization. Also,it should be notedthat various educational establishments (e.g.: college for teachers, broading-school for the gentry) were opened in various areas,and even in minor cities, on Akaki's appeal. This helped to decentralize the educational system and allowed masses opportunities for education (Vardiashvili, 1993).

Since 1860s, an empire-wide oppression of local languages started in the Russian Empire, meaning the prohibition of using them in educational institutions, changing the language of the whole administrative machine to Russian and leaving the local languages only applicable for domestic use. 'As language corrupts, nation falls' – wrote Ilia Chavchavadze. The 'Terek-drinkers' stood up against to all of that and Akaki was one of the first among them to do so. He defended Georgian language in his publicist letters and literary works. He demanded to allow Georgians at least get primary education in their own language and only after that let them continue studying in gymnasiums and universities in Russian(Vardiashvili, 1993). In his opinion, the inception process was very important for a child, in order to comprehend first concepts and beliefs in its native tongue: 'It is necessary for a pupil to take his/her first steps of cognitive process with the help of the method which is easier for him/her, i.e. start studying in his/her mother tongue'(Tsereteli A. , The complete works, 1960).

One scholar of the Akaki argues that he was acknowledged so much as a poet and a master of artistic stylethat he was less perceived by the masses as a thinker, politician and a philosopher. His noteworthy poems are 'Bagrat the Great', 'Tornike Eristavi', 'The Rearer' etc. and from his prose – 'Bashi-Achuki' and 'My Adventure'. It should be notedthat he also headed the Georgian theater where his plays such as 'Tamar the Deceiver.', 'The Little Kakhi', 'Medea' etc. were performed. His works have not only national, but also universal significance. His democracy is indivisible from humanism, patriotism - from internationalism and for him, liberation of Georgia and its people meant a step forward in the liberation

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[5]Official translation is "Our icon is the homeland,trust in God is our creed."

process of the whole humankind. Despite being a representative of nobility, with patriotic, democratic and humanist ideas, he encouraged the population to rise against class differentiation and build a free society(Gaprindashvili M. , Essays of the History of Georgian Society Thoughts, 1988).

Like other 'Terek-drinkers', he certainly was an advocate of the national liberation idea and sought to realize that throughpeaceful means. In his opinion, movement based solely on the idea of freedom would never achieve anything without free economy. He wrote: 'We turn to history to examine the heroes of yore, but this does not mean we miss the old times or want to bring it back. This is a cornerstone example we give to today's wimps so they can learn from our forbearers how to love their motherland and be devoted to it in order cope with today's challenges like we did in bygone days... (Tsereteli A. , Publicist Letters, 1961).The people must awake, properly gather theirstrength, evolve mentally and materially and become its own master' (Janelidze, Otar, 2015). Akaki's idea of peaceful resistance is shown in his one verse, where he wrote about an ardent patriot fellow, who addresses to his mother:

'Let me wield my sword and shield,

My duties attend, oh, I will!'

In an answer, the mother says:

'Too early yet for you my son,

Books are the sword you want to find!' (Janelidze, Otar, 2015)

Also, Akaki attached great importance to international projects and cultural friendship between subjugated nations. He was friends with prominent Ukrainian, Armenian, Azerbaijani public figures and encouraged the ideas of mutual respect among the nations and unity against the common enemy(Metreveli V. D., 1980).

One more scholar of Akaki Tsereteli, Metreveli, states that for Akaki the idea of national liberation was indivisible from that of social freedom.Being raised among peasants, later under the Russian censorship and within strictly established rules in the gymnasium, particularly influenced the formation process of his outlooks. While learning in St. Petersburg he got acquainted with democratic ideas and works of European progressive thinkers giving the final shape to his worldview (Metreveli V. D., 1980).

Akaki admitted the existence of class differentiation in Georgia, though he urged harmonious cooperation among classes, disapproving division, or domination of the single one.In his opinion, it was possible to convert class struggle into class cooperation because there were always two classes in Georgia. One, which was responsible for internal and external security was the gentry.And the second, which maintained economic stability were the peasants. These classes were mostly bonded with tight relations and compadrazgos. It was impossible for a stranger, even if he wasa lord, to harass a peasant because one particular lord family was responsible for the peasant's security. Also, being a lord not always entitledone to own lands. In the case of committing high treason, a lord's lands were confiscated and were given to someone worthier. Often peasants were also promoted and given the title of the lord. Therefore, success determined by one's personal honor was a part of Georgian tradition and absolutely met democratic principles and those liberal standards thatsee personal success dependent on one's hard work and virtues. Akaki considered that since Russia annexed Georgia, the gentry lost its historic purpose and became an

unnecessary burden for the country. Thus, a lord himself, Akaki Tsereteli was a leading figure in the fight for peasants' rights and he certainly contributed to their emancipation (Metreveli V. D., 1980).

In Akaki's works his standpoint aboutwomen's place in the society and their rights needs to be highlighted. He gave significant importance to women in the development of social life. He believed that when women were properly emancipated, both legally and practically, the result definitely was properity and progress (Metreveli V. D., 1980). As he noted, one cannot speak about the achievements of a society while women are oppressed: 'I don't regard the spring as spring while there's no swallow flying in the skies. I don't believe in society's awakening while women are still asleep'(Tsereteli A. , The Complete Works, Volume XI, 2010). About the issues of Georgian women's emancipation Akaki published several verses such as: 'Nino', 'Knyaginja Lataya', 'Allaverdi', 'In an Album', 'Degenerate', 'A modern Woman'(Metreveli V. D., 1980). In these verses Akaki showed woman as a pillar of the family and a healthy, sensible figure in society. 'If women are highly appreciated in some nation's life, then the nation has everything going well; and if they are lowly appreciated, everything goes wrong and that undoubtedly should be like that, because a woman is a pillar and a cornerstone of particular family and of the society as well, i.e. of the whole country, of her motherland. All hail to the nation, which has good women' (Tsereteli A. , The complete works, Volume XIV, 2010).To improve women's position and their legal conditions in the society, Akaki also showed historical examples and argued that women not only raised children but were also actively involved in political events. Besides, women close to the decision-makers of the royal court played special part. For instance, St. Nino, who introduced Christianity in Georgia with the support of Queen Nana, and thanks to them, Christianity was declared the state religion. Also, Queen Tamarshould be noted, who reigned during the Georgian Golden Age; andQueen Ketevan, who sacrificed her life to Georgia's freedom while being brutally tortured by the conquerors (Metreveli V. D., 1980).

Another interesting subject is Akaki's opinions about Shota Rustaveli's poem 'The Knight in the Panther's Skin'. Akaki noted, that the aphorism "The lion's whelp is a lion, be it male or female" preciselyemphasizes gender equality. He believed that in Georgia women were appreciated and respected prior to Rustaveli and this fact was just illustrated in the poem. Akaki wrote, that: 'Women's rights were never limited in Georgia and Georgian women were distinguished from the ones of other nations. For example, since the 8th century Arabs imported to Georgia, knowledge and science which was prohibited for the Muslim women to access according to Quran. Georgian women, because of being Christian, could freely master theknowledge of these fields. All of this helped Georgian women to make headway and become equal to men (Tsereteli A. , The complete works, Volume XIV, 2010).Therefore, the emergence of the idea of gender equality in feudal Georgia was caused by the social and political situation,where thesame roles for men and women gave birth to the idea of equality. Besides historic examples, Akaki tried to strengthen his reasoning with etymology. For instance, until the Arabs invaded in the 8th century, in Georgia a woman was called 'deda-katsi' (mother-man) and a man – 'mama-katsi' (father-man) which points to their equality. Akaki thought, that the modern Georgian word 'kali' (woman) was transferred from Arabic in the 8th century. Also interesting is the word 'tsoli' (wife), which originates from the word 'tsali' (single), meaningone part of the pair. The same can be said about the word 'meughle' (spouse), which means one who pulls the yoke with another one, i.e. showing the equality in

rights of men and women (Metreveli V. D., 1980). That is why Akaki was against male domination in families, especially wives being physical punishedby husbands. In his poem 'Natela' he wrote that woman is not a slave of man and historically, in Georgia, husband and wife were equal. Also, it is interesting that Akaki believed love was the basis of marriage not gains, compulsion or parent's instructions. According to him, in Georgia marriage without the consent of the bride and groom was forbidden, even before the invasion of Alexander the Great. He also criticized marriage restrictions based on class differentiation, which happened quite often in those times Georgian reality (Metreveli V. D., 1980).

Obviously, Akaki's approach to gender equality did not lack scientific arguments, was quite progressive and bore an important political idea. Moreover, I should take into consideration the time period and it becomes clear that the views of this man completely coincided with the idea of Europe and the principles of modernization, which are the subjects of my research.

Alexander Kazbegi

The next subject of my research is theauthor, prosaist, playwright, and publicist, Alexander Kazbegi(1848-1898).Herepresented the Georgian liberal wing of the second half of the 19th century along with Ilia Chavchavadze, Vazha-Pshavela and Akaki Tsereteli. Like Vazha-Pshavela, he was born and raised in the highlands, as he remarks: 'I was raised among the people, born there, where a serf and slavery was considered a shame since olden times;where the word 'serfdom' never existed and a man was able to earn respect with his own dignity' (Minashvili & Qapiashvili, 2004). Clearly, his home region was a free land and the matter of class inequality under the Russian government was an unacceptable novelty for his worldview. His family enjoyed the reputation of the wealthy, being an influential house, and his parents gave him the best education, allowinghim to live in luxury.Despite these facts, Alexander Kazbegi deemed a simple life of highlanders as a real one. That is why he rejected the luxurious life granted by his family and lived with common shepherds in the mountains for seven years. As he wrote: 'Nothing could hold me back at home, because I wanted to live a life of diligent people, I wanted myself to experience things that accompanies that life such as need and hardship. I have achieved my goal. I have met and I got close to themwhom I wanted to meet with my heart' (Kazbegi, The Selected Works, 1947).

The years he spent in the highlands helped Alexander Kazbegi to write such literary pieces as 'Memoirs of a Shepherd', 'Gocha the Elder', 'Elguja', 'Eliso', 'patricide', 'The Preacher' etc. As we already mentioned, his works were influenced by the years he spent in the highlands as well as by Russian and European literatures. His writings vividly illustrate all the injustice, violence, inhuman treatment, violation of human rights committed by tsarist officials. He also described how harmfully people were affected by the laws and the nature of public governance of those times (Minashvili & Qapiashvili, 2004).

The main idea of Alexander Kazbegi's pieces of fiction and publicistic writings is that after the Russian occupation Georgia lost its independence and his home region lost its own self-government. Therefore, the first highlighted concept of his worldview is the idea of national liberation. He noted that a Russian official was violating national and social freedom at the same time. Kazbegi believed that the customary law (already discussed by us in previous chapters) was the basis for the future political

progress and Russian occupation halted Georgia's natural development toward democracy and put an end to regional self-government, political and social freedom (Minashvili & Qapiashvili, 2004). He argued, that 'the Russian Empire would not tolerate any manifestation of independence. Thus they never started to study people's customs and wished to destroy the independence and originality of the locals. They ignored the law of the people, their code, customs and traditions... By sword and fire they started to establish the new order and the new law (Kazbegi, The Selected Works, 1985). Clearly, Alexander Kazbegi did not fear the tsarist regime and censorship of those times. Openly, publicly, and without any allegories he condemned against the enemies of freedom. That is why the whole first edition of his novel 'Elguja' was burnt by the police during that time (mes.gov.ge, 2010).

The scholar of Alexander Kazbegi's works, Kenkebashvili, considers that Kazbegi completely shared the main principle of the West European and Georgian public thinkers according to which an individual isborn free and naturally pursues happiness. And the unjust, twisted social order forfeits him/her that happiness and freedom (Kenkebashvili, 1999). Notably, Alexander Kazbegi respected the personal honor of his own and country's enemies. He thought of the majority of Russian military officials as the mere instruments used by the system, and whose lives could take different direction. He wrote about them 'Every single one reminisced of their homes, birthplaces, wives and children, and once hated, now enlightened Motherland... Not any of them knew, why did they leave their Homeland, why did they lose peaceful lives and cast themselves out to such faraway places. They were coming, downcast, unaware of their own actions' (Kazbegi, The Works, 1985). These words show that Kazbegi did not have any chauvinist attitudes even toward the invaders and he most of all appreciated the free will, which was taken away even from the Russian troopers. The fact is, he saw possible equality and friendship among every nation provided that they would gain freedom from their autocratic and imperialist governments.

Alexander Kazbegi supported the abolishment of serfdom and granting people social freedom.But during this stage of the reform not everything went like peasants and their supporters expected. That is why the 'Terek-drinkers' were actively involved in the serf reform implementation. Alexander wasn't personally participating, but with his publications he passionately encouraged other public figures to do so. Kazbegi wrote: 'These are the people who despite being shorthanded are always ready to lend a helping hand to anyone in need or to anyone alienated from the society. They say: one must help the fallen or oppressed, one must clear the mud of the disgraced. These principles unite the majority of the new society. The foundations of their activities are 'honesty, verity, freedom'. These are the people who delivered the final blow to that society (conservators) which did not give people an opportunity to serve their Homeland properly (Kazbegi, The Works, 1950).

The most important part of Alexander Kazbegi's public service was the Tbilisi National Theater. His contribution to Georgian theater is worthwhile. He worked there as a playwright, translator of foreign plays and also as an actor. Alexander considered theater as a public service and he served it lifelong. His plays 'Arsena' and 'The Torture of Queen Ketevan' solely served to promote national spirit. As he noted 'We see the theater as common service, which our country demands. We see the theater as a means to improve society's views and collective consciousness (Kenkebashvili, 1999). Also it should be noted, that Kazbegi thought education and improvement of culture was very important in order to 'completely wipe out' yet conserved, obsolete 'harmful customs'. As he said, every alert Georgian, who

had power and influence was obliged to help people fight against ignorance and darkness. He claimed that all highlanders shared the same position. They wanted to get educated but there were no schools up there (Kenkebashvili, 1999).

Being mindful of all that, Alexander Kazbegi is considered one of the ideologues of social and national freedom. He managed to illustrate the difficult condition of Georgia, hardship of Georgian people, and their fighting spirit. He succeeded to raise Georgian people's national consciousness and helped working masses to acknowledge their social role.

Dimitri Kipiani

After studying the individuals of the second half of the 19th century, whom I consider the ideologues of the idea of Europe and modernization, it is time to study those figures, who became famous rather with their projects, than ideological feats.They became prominent by their activities, promoting these liberal ideas through their projects. In the beginning, I am going to study Dimitri Kipiani and Iakob Gogebashvili, followed by Niko Nikoladze and David Sarajishvili in the contects of their projects in the next chapters.

The eldest among these promoters was Dimitri Kipiani(1814-1887), who participated even in 1832 Georgian plot to re-establish the independence of Georgia.He was captured with other plotters and was exiled for five years to Vologda, Russia. As soon as he returned, he formulated the program of national salvation, which implied to restore and strengthen national self-consciousness and preserve the identity of Georgian nation within existing political regime, by spreading intensive cultural-educational activities (Jologua, 2002).

His first successful project was realized within the program of National Freedom and was calledthe 'Tbilisi Private Library', which played the huge part in developing social-political life.It revived interest in education and prompted the process of Europenization. It is noteworthy translation works of Dimitri Kipiani that significantly improved this field. He translated works of Shakespeare, Moliere, Beaumarchais, Musset, Hugo, Feuillet, Genlis, Ewald, Mitchell, Markov, etc. All of this promoted Europenization of Georgian literary thought. Besides these contributions, Dimitri Kipiani is considered an important figure of Georgian scientific-literary life, because of his scientific works about the history of Georgia, Georgian language, literature and the art of translation. He regarded mother tongue as a primary means for preserving national identity (Jologua, 2002).

As a press organizer, Dimitri Kipiani was an important person in the 19th century history of Georgian journalism. With famous philosopher Solomon Dodashvili, he founded the journal 'Literary branch of Tbilisi News'. He also was one of the compilers of the literary anthology 'Almanac'. Besides, on his merit and mediation, it became possible to found the journal, 'Tsiskari' ('The Dawn'). Specifically, he gained the right from the Viceroy to start the journal and also on his recommendation Giorgi Eristavi was appointed as an editor. This Journal played an important role in introducing national and liberal views and paved a path to the young authors, poets and publicists of that time (Jologua, 2002).

Dimitry Kipiani played a significant part in developing the Georgian theater, being involved in establishing the professional one. In his youth he used to participate in performances, direct, write screenplays, translate plays, and promoted theater as well. His activities greatly encouraged the Georgian

theater to become a major hub of socio-cultural life and liberation ideology. For instance, in 1882 the Georgian flag was exhibited during the play called 'Motherland', performed at the Tbilisi Theater. A great deal of people attended the performance which aroused the spirit of patriotism (Kipiani, 1876).

Dimitri Kipiani is a key figure to comprehensively study the history of Georgia and the development of Georgian historiography. He scientifically researched the landmarks of the history of Georgia, especially concerning ethnic origins of Georgians, history of religion and the state, particular geographical matters, writing system, Georgian Literature and feudalism. He also published his works in Russian, in order to convince Russian-speaking readers in falseness of the state propaganda which claimed Georgian people historyless, cultureless, and illiterate (Jologua, 2002).Besides, he did not dwell on the past and just like any other 'Terek-drinkers', advocated constant progress. For example, he wrote in the journal 'Tsiskari': 'It is the order of the universe, that everything seen by our eyes or interpreted by our minds goes forward... anything else that lags behind, stays static, and is doomed to collapse, decay and sink into oblivion... Social and civil order of yesterdays is changed into today's' ways and will be changed for tomorrow in other ways as well. The order we thought solid the last year or century may easily vanquished today without even a trace' (Kipiani, 1876).As you can figure, his main goal was constant growth, modernization and progress, based on the educated society.

From his liberal point of view, Dimitri Kipiani criticized Georgian gentry as a system and called for its rearrangement according to a European model based on trade and industry. He wanted the gentry to 'initiate the accomplishments of rational European manufacturing in Georgian industry' and become 'rich factory owners, industrialists and farmers (Gaprindashvili M. , Essays of the History of Georgian Society Thoughts, 1988).While discussing the economicviews of Dimitri Kipiani, another scholar named Grigol Todua, argues that Kipiani's views were liberal and unlike the conservative approach, intended to abolish the medieval feudal system and shift to a capitalist one, expressing the progressive and practical ideas of those times. Kipiani believed that to develop the economy it was necessary to inculcate the principle of the private property. Only in this case was it possible to develop rational agriculture, improve the economic thinking of the landlords and grow manufacturing rates. Goods would be manufactured not only for personal consumption, but also for the market, giving additional profit to the landlords and workers as well. Kipiani was also a member of 'The Caucasus Agricultural Society', using his position to create a new technological basis for the agriculture and equip it with European technologies(Todua, Historical Issues of Georgian Social-Economic Thought of XIX Century, 1987).Notably, Dimitry Kipiani not only verbally urged agricultural reorganization, he also managed to build an exemplary, European-grade farming, becoming a role model for others. Apart from this, Kipiani was elected as a chief marshall of the gentry of Tbilisi governorate twice – in 1864 and then in 1867. Thus, he headed the emancipation reform during the initial stage (Uturashvili, 2011). This process was quite intimidating for the local government. They even expected a revolt of the gentry. However, two years prior to the implementation of the edict, Dimitry Kipiani traveled throughout the whole eastern Georgia on foot here, by horse there, convincing the gentry that the emancipation of the serfs was inevitable and very important for the country. Thanks to him, the emancipation of the serfs was conducted peacefully in Georgia, unlike any other regions of the Russian Empire (Alexander Orbeliani Society, 2007).

Importantly, Dimitri Kipiani in fact devoted his life to the protection of Georgian language. At first, at an initial phase of the Russian occupation, Georgian language was taught in Georgian schools without any restrictions. So, Dimitri Kipiani was diligently collaborating with the government in the educational field. At different times he was a member of the supervision board of the school district, and also a member of the 'Textbook Compiler Committee'. He reorganized the educational system and headed the Georgian language department. He helped to improve teaching methods for Georgian language, provided libraries with Georgian books, and other beneficial measures(Jologua, 2002).When an empire-wide discrimination of local languages started and it became clear the state was going to set Russian as the only teaching language, Dimitry Kipiani stood firm against the new policy. He opposed governor Dondukov-Korsakov, the chancellor of the theological seminary Chudetski and exarch Paul, who were stirring up anti-Georgian hysteria. Dimitri Kipiani informed the Emperor's son Mikhail Romanovabout their actions, who was visiting Kutaisi at that time. However, no one was going to change the state policy. On the contrary, the defender of Georgian language72 years-old Dimitri Kipianiwas exiled to Stavropol, Russia, and later was assassinated by a hit-man (Zozrashvili, 2010).

As I see it, there was not any important social activity without Dimitri Kipiani's involvement or initiative. Like Ilia Chavchavadze, he also tried to contribute to anything society needed. From the above discussed examples I conclude, that despite Dimitri Kipiani's literary works not being known widely, the particular projects realized by him are the manifestations of the second half of the 19th century idea of Europe and modernization.

Iakob Gogebashvili

The next person I am going to discuss in this sub-chapter is Iakob Gogebashvili(1840-1912), who became famous with his activities. An educator, publicist, children's author and public figure who studied in Gori, Tbilisi and then in Kiev. His views were influenced by such thinkers as Darwin, Locke, Rousseau, Fichte, Humboldt, Spencer, Schlosser, Buckle, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Pirogov, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, Ushinsky etc. (Zozrashvili, 2010).

After returning to his homeland andassuming the profession of a teacher, he marched against the educational system thatwas based on strict order and physical punishment. He wrote: 'They turned our schools to nutshells and made them into brainwashing offices' (Gogebashvili, The Selected Works, 1990). As a result, he was soon banned from public activities so he continued to participate in non-governmental educational projects with other 'Terek-drinkers'. On his merit, under the projects of 'The Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians' public schools and libraries were established and Georgianfolklore was re-collected. Under his authorship sawpublishing of 'Georgian Alphabet and the First Reading Book for Pupils', 'Russkoe Slovo' (Russian Word); more than 130 children's stories both original and adapted; 'Bunebis Kari' (The Door to the Nature); and most importantly, 'Deda Ena' (Mother Tongue), which went down in history as an exemplary model of the primary education and its methods that are still used at lower grades. Iakob Gogebashvili's sensational stories include 'The Lullaby', 'King Erekle and Ingiloy Lady', 'The devoted Georgians,' etc. Tariel Zozrashvili, an avid scholar of Iakob's works, argues Gogebashvili considered simplicity, consistency, harmonious development of an individual, pupil's awareness and activity, acknowledged movement from the unknown to the familiar,

learning the mother tongue and foreign languages as necessary conditions for successful education. All of that was completely controversial to the Russian educational system. Being one of Georgia's leading teachers and public thinkers, Iakob Gogebashvili left his fortune to 'The Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians' after his death(Zozrashvili, 2010).

Another scholar by the name of Zurab Botsvadze discusses the uniqueness of Iakob Gegebashvili's teaching methods.He argues, that Iakob rejected the older method of teaching, which implied to introduce the letters to children and make them memorize such. This did not stimulate thinking processes, thuschildren considered learning boring and theirattitudes towards studying was changed for worse. By Iakob's method, a child started learning with two-syllable, simple words that would be associated with familiar objects and would help the learner comprehend them. For instance, instead of senseless memorization of 'An' 'Ban', 'Gan', 'Don'... (A, B, C, D...) he chose to teach children reading and writing with such words as 'Ai Ia' (here is a violet), 'Titi' (finger), 'Tasi' (bowl) 'Gemi' (ship) etc. In Iakob's opinion, children were interested in the surrounding objects and natural phenomena. That is why a schoolchild had to start its intercourse with a book through studying of those objects and phenomena, that it would find entertaining and would trigger its curiosity. On the following stage, while teaching natural science,Iakobdid not classify plants, animals or natural phenomena. Instead, he emphasized the characteristics of their existence, roles and types of their relationship with human beings, which also were interesting for a child (Botsvadze, 1991).

Notably, Iakob Gogebashvili's continuous fight against Russian teaching methods to protect Georgian language was not determined by chauvinist ideas. On the contrary, he was cooperating with Russian progressive thinkers. He shared ideas withofmost of them about education, e.g. Ushinsky's, who also believed that in order to develop children's intelligence, they should start education in their mother language (Botsvadze, 1991).

While analyzing Iakob Gogebashvili's political ideology I came to a conclusion that his goal was to find ways to achieve liberation. He wrote that national independence was 'the collective freedom of the collective spirit and as an individual will not be able to develop and thrive if it's individuality and characteristics are even slightly limited by something or someone, so a nation will stay subdued if to its identity is not granted utter freedom, its own national law, school, sovereignty and self-government' (Gogebashvili, The National Self-Government, 1905).

He saw the preservation of the mother tongue as the primary goal of that struggle.Exactly from the historic reality that have seen the collective memory of mankind, I read Gogebashvili's words, when he noted, 'everything could be retuned except the lost language'[6](Totochava, 2000). Like Ilia, Iakob was strongly committed to the idea that Georgia should gain its autonomy, self-government and independence. Meanwhile, he supported ethnic pluralism, considering it as a treasure of a nation-state. He wrote: It is time for us to understand that the idea of variety only derives and fills the idea of unity... A feature, that characterizes every single nation's lifestyle and manner of speaking, can be compared to the nature of musical tones: every single of them is necessary and unique, but they also are connected to each other' (Liberalis, 2010).

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[6]The only ones in the history, who brought the dead language back to life are Hebrews, after establishing their state Israeli in 1948.

Iakob Gogebashvili was against the notion of any class differentiations. He supported the termination of old and obsolete social order in favor of the formation of a new society based on equity. He wanted any class to be included in social transformation and in development of manufacturing; he wished for more people to be interested in country's modernization; he longed for developing civilized relations between classes and the prevention of social tensions, possible conflicts and antagonism with peasants, and the potential split of the nation. Therefore, he did not encourage violence and revolution, which people committed in the name of socialism. He imagined socialism as equality and justice among nations, not as domination of a particular class (Totochava, 2000).

One more thing Iakob Gogebashvili actively defied was the chauvinist Russian Orthodox Church, which banned conducting services in Georgian language in Georgian churches. This caused alienation of traditions and religion from the society. He immensely believed in the possibility of transforming social-political relations, modernization and progress of the country. He also supported the church reform, which implied the establishment of elections institution for high ranking clergy (Totochava, 2000). He hailed the right of Armenian people and other free nations to choose their own religious hierarchy, while Georgia was deprived of that privilege. He wanted congregations to elect their own priests, bishops and synod too. All this should help society to introduce an election system in politics as well (Gogebashvili, The Selected Works, 1955). Besides this, Iakob Gogebashvili criticized clergy for not being involved in educational activities. In his opinion, laymen had to go through extraordinary difficulties to acquire the permission to open a public school while the church was able to do that without any restrictions. Unlike the 18th century, when schools established by the church existed all over Georgia, the church did not have even a single school in the 19th century. Unlike in Europe, where every cleric was a professor and possessed higher degree in theology, Georgia was lagging far behind them (Partskhalaia, 2001).

In the 1906 edition of 'Deda Ena' (mother tongue) Iakob wrote: 'Earlier, the elements of the orthodox church were found in the 'ABC', preventing muslim Georgians, Georgian jews and Georgian catholics from using that 'ABC'. In the last edition I removed those elements making it useful for the Georgian followers of every religion'. Thus, this step was taken to make possible for every child to use that textbook despite their religious beliefs. In addition, it should be noted that Gogebashvili's textbook was used not only by ethnic Georgians, but also by the members of other ethnic groups existent in Georgia, making them the part of the whole state (Partskhalaia, 2001).

In conclusion, I can say that among the liberal wing representatives of the second half of the 19th century thinkers, Iakob Gogebashviliwas mostly focused on organized education. By pursuing his goal, Iakob managed to majorly change the educational system, especially primary schools. His contribution is immeasurable in the educational system, as an educator who introduced the idea of Europe in the system and modernized this field.

2.5. The use of the idea of Europe for the purposes ofliberal modernization project

The First Democratic Institutions

The idea of democratic electionsfirst took root in Georgia in the 1860s. The publications (or press) of that period were the first to talk about forming the local self-government institution, who should be elected by whom, and for what purpose. Earlier, the fate of the society and the state rested in thehands of the only electorates: the nobility. Since the abolishment of serfdom in 1865, the nobility lost that privilege. Peasants, merchants, craftsmen, and clergy were granted the right to vote. Peoplewere not able to vote for their lords, aristocrat relatives, or friends but rather act accordingly with the interests of the common good. Also, Ilia Chavchavadze believed that unlike Western Europe Georgia's classeswere never conflicting, because they always had been stripped of all their rights including voting. A lord had always been a 'father' to a peasant in Georgia. A lord had toacknowledge a peasant's guarantee of safety, not a master and that is why Chavchavadze thought cooperation was possible (Katsitadze, 2011). However, that does not mean thenobility and the serfs were equal,instead, there existed a distanced and strict hierarchy, as exposed in Ilia Chavchavadze's writings, such as "Kako the Robber", "The Sportsman's Story", and "The Widow Otarashvili."

Already in 1866, there was a register of voters at the Tbilisi city self-government, dividing the population of 100,000 in four categories: gentry, honorary citizens, third rank citizens and the owners of real estates such as craftsmen and merchants.The registry included people of all nationalities and religions living in Tbilisi at the time. There were 74 members in the city council, which chose three chairmen. This first democratic institution featured the full transparency. Journalists were free to attend council meetings and write newspaper reviews, often even critical ones, about the realized projects (Katsitadze, 2011).

The First Steps of Secularism in Georgia

While introducing the idea of Europe in Georgia, the issue of secularism also arose. This phenomenon as a value and necessary component is vital not only for the idea of Europe, but also for the social modernization. As a value, secularism concerns state and church institutions and social consciousness and perceptions as well. This is not only a religious-political agreement, but a huge achievement of social thinking and progress.

It should be mentioned that the Christian church had defined Georgian national identity for fifteen centuries, especially when the invaders were followers of different religions. Despite being under the state's service, the Church was autocephalous and often had its own ambitions. There were cases, when the Church even disobeyed the king. However, after the annexation of Georgia by the Russian Empire, the autocephaly of the Georgian Church was revoked. The Georgian Church was subjected under the control of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Empire declared itself the successor of the Byzantine Empire, or the Third Rome. In Russia, the state officially absorbed the Church, leaving it without any right of independent action. On the ideological basis, the nation, the Church and the state should be the one indivisible body. All of this contradicted the idea of Europe and the principle of secularism. Moreover, the church turned into the bureaucratic body of the state, serving imperialism.

That gave way to superstitious and Russian chauvinism, which for its part brought nihilism and atheism(Papuashvili N. , Democratic Values and Orthodox Church of Georgia, 2011).

Also notable, that for some time in 1880s and 1890s, the Russian Empire tried to baptize non-orthodox Georgians by force, thus kindling a religious strife in the country. That is why the Terek-drinkers pled for the rights of non-orthodox Georgians such as Georgian Gregorian's, Catholics and Muslims (Bubulashvili, 2003). The phrase introduced by Ilia Chavchavadze in his youth – 'Homeland, Language, Religion' – is widely interpreted as a definition of nationality. The citation below shows that, religion does not define nationality nor dignity of individual. As I have mentioned above, religion actually was a determinant of nationality in the Middle Ages, but I cannot accuse Ilia, who played a colossal role in formation of the Georgian nation, modernization and progress, of medieval thinking. Ilia Chavchavadze replaced 'religion' with 'history' not out of his secular and skeptic attitude toward monasticism, but because Adjara was incorporated into the Russian Empire after Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, which Georgians associated with re-uniting Adjara with its motherland, Georgia. The Adjarian population was generally Muslim but ethnically Georgian. Ilia urged those Georgians, who placed Christianity above nationality, or found them interchangeable, to be cautious. Ilia believed that, religion was an insignificant fact; it was history that was important, i.e. associating and identifying oneself with various events and the past. That is, if individuals of different religions, views and origins, similarly perceive some historic event (despite not having a direct connection with this event) consider it as its own past, means that they are one people, one nation. 'As Muslim Georgians of Batumi Mazra joined us, some of us started to claim and argue that at first, we should baptize those Muslim Georgians, convert them to Christianity; only after they are baptized, they will become our real brothers, only Christianity can settle them and ensure their coexistence with us...' Christening the Muslim Georgians (In Batumi Uyezd and in Saingilo – modern Azerbaijan) will bring us nothing but harm. Is that really so, that the humanity's modern life is solely based on someone's beliefs? Is that really so, that one not being Christian, Muslim, or pagan cannot be a good man doing good things and living a good life? One's beliefs and religion arehis own business, not ours, isn't it? Let him chose his religion himself, only be he honest, hard working and useful for himself and his country" (Chavchavadze, Christianization of Muslims, 1880).

Theologian Papuashvili argues that Ilia clearly opposed confusion of religion and nation with each other, which would have the form of phyletism,i.e. when one ethnos subdues another by using its religion. Ilia rejected it as an anti-Orthodoxy, antisocial and antinational phenomenon, because he believed that ecclesiastical nationalism would prevent a multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious nation and state from consolidation. However, most of the Georgians falsely believe that Ilia saw an equality symbol between being Georgian and Christian Orthodoxy. In Ilia's words, 'there was a time, when they thought that where the nations of one state worship God differently, the unity of that state would not survive and collapse. The Remormation prove that opinion of being a result of ignorance; it proved that diversity of religions can exist in one state and will not remove a single stone from the foundation of its unity' (Sel. Works, V.5, 1955, p. 81). Therefore, Ilia believed that religious diversity was a natural phenomenon(Papuashvili N. , 2011).

Illia Chavchavadze strictly opposed the Russian religious nationalism. He was supporting the idea of religious pluralism, he thought of religious diversity as given and argued, that "there was a time,

when they thought that where the people worship God in different ways, that country will not thrive and will come apart. The Reformation proved that opinion to be spawned by the ignorance; Proved, that people of various fates can live in one state with not only a bit affecting the state's unity" (Chavchavadze, The Works, 1955).

Vazha-Pshavela also opposed the Russian religious policy. He promoted secularism in his publicistic essays, and demanded complete separation of religion from politics. In his essay, *Identity of Priests*, he addressed the Georgian clergy as follows: 'if you take of your cassocks, cut your hair, dress sharply like a civilian, then we will attach entirely different meaning to your revolutionary work. Despite everything you say is today good, even better and useful, but it all will be harmful for us in the end. By promoting progressive ideas, you provide your class with pillars that support its state and that is neither right nor appropriate for the future; new life should give your class a brand new purpose, take your responsibility of caring like father; there will not be a place for you in education affairs, in school, so you will not be able to use your almighty corrupt tongue. The future will not regard you as a progressive element. Yes, it will not, until you give up interpreting the Commandments of the Bible as you like, and grow out the habit of potter that tends to attach handle to pot from which side he likes...' (Vaja-Pshavela, mghvdlebis-vinaoba, 2011).

Iakob Gogebashvili, who was a supporter of the idea of Europe, also opposed the Russian Church. Gogebashviliwrote, that "our Church is one brink of its perish. It has become the place to conduct some old rules and it has lost its main purpose: to spread the blessed wisdom of the sacred gospel" (Gogebashvili, The Selected Works, 1990).

As I see, the idea of developing secularism was an influential one in the Georgian national movement, and the liberal wing turned it not against religion in general, but against the church that did not consider and represent the interests of people. The Church never enjoyed immunity in Georgia, and it had become an object of strong criticism. This was caused by confusion of the church's functions with those of the state. Inception of secularism, which means strict separation of church and state, turned out to be the best solution to protect church from political and state intervention, and to enable it to serve its true purpose. Secularism protected the state from the clergy's temptation to intervene in political and state affairs, which mostly was followed by negative consequences. Under secularism, the church preserves its religious nature as much as possible while the state represents the interests of its people.

The First Steps of Feminism in Georgia

The idea of Europe was reflected not only in the democratic institutions, but in social order as well. An example of that was the beginning of women's emancipation, which took place in Georgia in the second half of the 19th century. However, it should be noted, that during the Golden Age of Georgia in the 12th century, which is associated with King Tamar, her contemporary poet Shota Rustaveli implied her coronation in his epic poem "The Knight in The Panther's Skin" saying: 'The lion's whelp is a lion, be it male or female', when a female character is crowned as a king. This aphorism and phenomenon had undoubtly agreat influence on Georgian social consciousness and became a distinguished example of the protection of women's rights.

In the 19th century, the women's rights movement in Western Europe soon echoed in Georgia too. John Stuart Mill's essay "The Subjection of Women" enjoyed quite the resonance in Europe. In response of Mill's ideas, Van Leward Steyer wrote an essay "Pros and contras of German Women", in which he called for women to start profitable businesses. In 1871, exactly this essay was translated in Georgian by Ana Ghviniashvili followed by Georgian women's activities to protect their political and civil rights. Credited with propelling the beginning of the Georgian feminist movement were Ekaterine Gabashvili, Olgha Guramishvili (Ilia chavchavadze's wife), Anastasia Tumanishvili, Olgha Aghladze, Ekaterine Furtseladze and Ekaterine Melikishvili. They decided to rent trading places and by using the earnings, built a women's college(Katsitadze, 2011). In 1850s, Journal "Tsiskari" was promoting Barbare Eristavi-Jorjadze to become the first publicist woman. Her pamphlets and prosaic works were published in such leading newspapers of those times as "Droeba", "Kvali", "Iveria" and "Jejili". Her works are written under the influence of feminist ideas and are undoubtedly interesting cases for studying the history of women's rights. She is the author of lyrics "For Men" and wrote the article "A few words for the attention of young men" (Ninidze, 2015).

Those women were actively involved in the matters of the new universal public education form – the increase of literacy. They were delegated into the managing body of the "Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians", and also were involved in library and pedagogical activities. They collaborated with the press as good authors, interpreters, editors, critics, publicists, etc. Anastasia Tumanisvili's initiative was developed and published as the anthology, "Translations of Pleasant Readings – interpreted and published by Georgian Women". That anthology was the first materialized product of the independent literary work of the female interprets and authors. The book was printed in private printing-house of Ekaterine Melikishvili, sister of the famous publisher, Stephane Melikishvili. She became the first woman printer in Georgia. Elene Kipiani, Dominika Eristavi, Natalya Aziani-Dondarova, Anastasia Tumanishvili etc. stood out with their literary works, publishing not only their own writings but also translating the world's literary masterpieces such as Harriet Beecher Stow's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", Alexander Griboyedov's "Woe from Wit", Victor Hugo's "Boy on the barricade", Molliere's "Learned Women", Grimms' Fairy Tales, Charles Dickens's works etc (Ninidze, 2015).

Beside this, Georgian women massively contributedas teachers at schools, which were forbidden even in many countries of that times Europe. The reason of this phenomenon was that the Georgian intellectuals believed raising a child was the woman's role, defined by nature and history. As a result, in the second half of 19th, there were compiled number of children's publishments, in whichwomen's contributions were significant. For instance, the first Georgian children's magazine "Nobati" was published by Iakob Gogebashvili, but it was Ekaterine Gabashvili who did most of the job. Ekaterine Gabashvili and Anastasia Tumanishvili as well took part in publishing the journal "Jejili". The later published compilations named "Taiguli" (The Bouquet), "Kona" (The Nosegay). And Mariam Ivanishvili-Demuria published the Journal "Nakaduli" (The Stream). (Ninidze, 2015)

Amongst the students, also appeared active women not only in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg but also in France and Switzerland during the 1870s. They were called "unruly female students" (Ninidze, 2015).The first group of women went abroad to receive education in 1873. The groupconsisted of Ekaterine and Olimpiada Nikoladzes, Ekaterine Melikishvili, Mariam Tsereteli, Olgha Guramishvili.

One of the initiators of their journey was Niko Nikoladze. This phenomenon was not unnoticed. On the contrary, the liberal media somehow approved that and ensured the readers it was necessary to give women education and engage them in social activities. For instance, the newspaper "Droeba" (Times) cited Alexandre Kazbegi's words: "In our society gradually awakens hitherto not acknowledged will to study, a humane virtue. You should not be worried about our women being gone to Zurich, just the opposite, you must be happy and proud for having them... Our happiness should not lay with our husbands, but with living reasonably, and with common knowledge with our brothers in good and bad times, and by that we would view the world and life identically and serve the common good. By that we would become worthy of our brothers and future husbands" (Kazbegi, The Works of Alexander Kazbegi in 70s, 1973).

Ilia Chavchavadze in his essay "The Issue of Mothers" clearly illustrated his ideas concerning the mentioned matter. He highlighted the increase of women's role in developed countries. "Females gradually took the place belonging to them in social activities. The demands raised by them, which serve to increase their rights, are no more 'the voice of the lonely prayer in the desert'. Women have already approved, that they already have right to get education. In western countries, the matter of women is gaining more and more interest and everybody fathoms the significance of this issue, except for the 'blind and blindfolded'. Women even gained right to serve at several government bodies, but many is yet to be done in this respect. The injustice, which was experienced by the 'half of the mankind', would be finished once and for all". In the same essay Ilia commented on the women suffrage issue and clearly in a sympathizing manner, talking about the ongoing processes in the United States of America, where women not only have the right to vote, but also are able to nominate candidates and not even a female president should be surprising. Ilia clearly expressed his wish for such precedents to happen in Russia. He believed, that women would impact the law directed against themselves and change it. And women's active involvement in governance would be useful for the country (Chavchavadze, One-Volume Works of Ilia Chavchavadze., 1984). Ilia saw necessity of educating women as a crucial factor on the way to the complete emancipation of women. He wrote: 'should not we raise women in such way, that the concept of human being applied to her as it is applied to men? Is not it necessary to concentrate all our efforts to open women's mind for genuine ideas, to inspire her heart for the good of universal and civil interests, let her understand the obligation and position which accompany these interests? Only through such ideas, faith and worldview woman will become the equal of man' (Lobjanidze, 1989).

Vazha-Pshavela, in his essay 'About Women' also stated his opinions about women's activities in society. Vazha quite originally represented the role of woman in society. He believed, that woman have the uppermost role in mankind's life, because mankind itself consists of nations, and nations consist of families. If family is developed, then so is the nation and therefore, the mankind consisting of these nations are developed too. Woman's role in family is a determinant and it directs its activities, raises children and that is why her education is important. 'Woman should understand, how to bring up a child at home, in the family and outside, in the society; which ideas should she promote, which purpose to serve, because she is able to bring down the nation and resurrect it as well' (Chkhaidze, 2009).

Ekaterine Melikishvili, one of the women who received education abroad, was well acquainted with women's movements and made significant contributions in women's emancipation in Georgia. She

frequently issued publications under the topic "Women about women". Anastasia Eristavi-Khoshtaria also published articles about absence of women's rights, oppression and the vulnerability of women (Ninidze, 2015).

However, it should be noted, that despite being supporters of the European ideas, some members did not meet women's increased social activities enthusiastically. Mostly they avoided the conversations about women and neglected their rights. In fact, women had to fight to gain their rights themselves and that was no easy task. In one of the published articles, there is an anonymous letter written under the pseudonym 'Woman': "Woe to you, you miserable women, woe to you! One will never stumble upon a newspaper in which you are not scolded, an hour never passes without someone guilty or innocence throwing a stone to you from all sides… Humiliation of women is caused by not giving them nor education, or right or direction by the same men, who does not even care to talk about them. How women can get debauched if there is no man's help? This happens because it is the men who form the public opinion. Annihilate the reason of women's humiliation and the outcome will disappear itself. Give us the rights and training you have and we will see if we fall behind. Come, give us a friendly, helping hand, look at us like equals, recognize us as human beings, not as entertaining items. And then, trust me, women will be able to live up to their purpose and nobody will be ashamed to talk about them" (Gaprindashvili, Lela, 2008).

Lastly, it is clear, that by the end of the 19th century, Georgian women were desperately trying to find their natural place in the social structures that would give them opportunity to express themselves and obtain their place in the society. That was the indivisible and necessary term of the idea of Europe, as the starting point for equality. The ideological preparation of women's emancipation was followed by the remarkable emergence of the feminist movement on the political arena in the 1910s. However, as they mostly were connected to socialist movements,I will discuss them later in the following chapters.

2.6. The First Wave of Modernization in Georgia

One of the primary subjects of my research is to study modernization in Georgia. The first stage of it began in the second half of the 19th century. This period is characterized as an epoch of yet unseen modernization in Western Europe. It was then, when the industrial revolution took place, named as mankind's giant leap. This meant the social process, changing the economy, shifting it to a whole new level, where agriculture and craftsmanship were replaced by the mechanized industry. Artistry guilds were replaced by plants and mills. The world's leading countries' technologies and science experienced rather quick modernization. There were novelties in social structure too. The modernization also influenced people's lives and from the feudal system emerged a new, segmented one. In addition, the urbanization rate was high, which required the fast development and extension of cities at the expense of villages (Sekhniashvili, 2000).

In light of this development, the Russian Empire remained an agricultural country and 70% of its population was still employed in the agricultural sector. The absolute majority of peasants cultivated

the land with obsolete spuds and plows, not with the modern technologies available in Europe at the time. Correspondingly, the Russian economy was several times smaller than the Western European countries. For instance, the population of the Russian metropolis was two times smaller, than Germany's and four times smaller than the British Empire's. The remote provinces of the Russian Empire were in way worse conditions. Georgia was divided into two Russian autonomic governorates – Kutaisi and Tbilisi (the West and East parts of Georgia) were typical of a police state run by gendarmerie and with the bureaucracy so closed, it was almost inaccessible for the people. Despite abolishing the serfdom in 1865, feudal segmentation of the population still remained. The society had not been modernized enough to spawn social classes. Aristocracy was only 5% of the population, but they still owned the absolute majority of the real estate. The Georgian community was not ready for such social transformation. Only few managed to import technologies from Europe and modernize the thrift (Janelidze, Otar, 17-28).

Technological and economic progress were not the only ones affected by the Modernization. This also implied transformation and development of the society. In this case development of modernization in the small states' cultures turned into oppression of the local traditions that meant vanishing of the identities of local cultures. In such a case modernization became an embodiment of the idea of Europe and it heralded the development of the Western-type civilization and Europeanization(Tsereteli & Kakitelashvili, Culture and Modernization, 2006).Literary scholar, Zaza Abzianidze's book "The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature" cites German scholar, Fritz Riemann, to describe Georgia until the 1860s, and characterizes that Georgian society as the one gripped by the fear of changes, a community which had reduced itsfamilial, social, political, moral, scientific and religioustraditionsto simple dogmatisms. This society was remarkable by false fidelity to its principles, superstitiousness and bigotry. The more persistently they defending their traditions, the more they showed growing intolerance toward their opponents. The society, which greeted 'Terek-drinkers' in the second half of the 19th century, was seized with this kind of fear. The latter were trying to gradually modernize this society due to their tireless efforts. This was accomplished not only through literary activity and mass media, but through concrete tangible projects as well(Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015).

For instance, the establishment of the first democratic institutions in Tbilisi is connected with different modernization projects. First and foremost, it affected the educational system. Apart from the fact that there was the "Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians", led by Ilia Chavchavadze, it was necessary to make receiving professional or higher education locally in Georgia. At the initial stage, the government of Tbilisi was sending young people to Europe. One of them, Lidia Tamamsheva got her degree in France. Having returned home, she founded a sewing school in 1883 based on the French educational system. In the meantime, the construction of a sewage system was started and street lighting was arranged. In 1893 paraffin-vapour lamps were replaced by "Washington" light bulbs. Soon a tram appeared on the streets, owners of which were Belgians. Building of chemical laboratories, hospitals with different profiles, an asylum for mentally ill, maternity hospital and a town drugstore connected with this stage of modernization. Balneological and recreational resorts were arranged. The museum and beggars' home were opened. Emergency medical services were introduced. A yard-keepers' institution was established. To beautify the town, Vere Bridge was opened,which had a decorative rather than a practical function (Katsitadze, 2011).

Industrialization was a fundamental prerequisite for modernization in those days. Moreover, it was the world's greatest challenge. Georgia also followed footsteps of industrial transformations.The modernization of the domestic industry took place in this period. Nearly twenty types of homecraft industries were created. Rugs and carpets, shoes, tobacco products, broadcloth fabric and leather goods, wool garments and weapons were made and later exported. At that period, the mining industry was developed, in particular, coal industry - in Tkhibuli, copper industry - in Alaverdi, manganese extraction - in Chiatura that provided50% of the world market. Georgian companies as well as English, American and French ones had their own business interests in each ofthem. This engaged Georgia in industrial capitalist games with the Western countries. The production of aqua vitae and alcohol drinks was modernized, since it had been removed from houses to business ventures. Overall, workshops were spread throughout 2300 towns and 1700 villages. Large-scale industry gradually squeezed and oppressed light industry. In this regard, the building of a new railway line, beingan essential component of European modernization, was standing out. In 1872 thanks to the joint-stock company of English capitalists the Tbilisi-Poti railway line was opened. Ten years after the Baku-Tbilisi-Batumi railway line was added that would make Georgia a transit country. Soon the building of inland railways begun, and the Kutaisi-Tkhibuli, Khashuri-Borjomi, Shorapani-Chiatura and the Tbilisi-Telavi lines appeared. Almost twenty years later, the Russian Government repurchased the railroad from the English and Russiaconnected Yerevan across this new line through Georgia. All these supported the development of railway works, which later turned into steam-locomotive-building and wagon-building factories that was also very important for the Georgian modernistic life. Generally speaking, the 1880s are considered to be an age dominated by industrial machine manufacturers, where approximately 15000 workers were employed (Vakhtangishvili, 2014). Beside the railway, it was necessary to arrainge inland roads that would simplify freight turnover. Inland rural roads used to become actually useless to transport products in bad weather. Therefore, highways gradually appeared, requiring payment to transfercargo across(Todua, History of Georgian Social-Economic Issues of the 20th Century, 1987).

At first glance, all of it represents just a tiny example of the Georgian modernization. But on the other hand, I think that it is enough for a small country in the 19[th]century, which was a part of the Russian Empire. It is undeniable that Georgian society had continued aspiration for the ideas of Europe and modernization to the same extent. In this regard, it would be interesting to discuss separately my research objects that will illustrate through concrete examples what kind of influence they had on the Georgian society and how they were trying to instill the idea of Europe and promote modernization in their homeland.

Modernization Projects

Society for the Spreading of the Literacy among Georgians

As I have learned from theprevious chapters, in the second half of the 19th century Georgia was divided into two governorates of the Russian Empire, facing the threat of total assimilation. Exactly at that time, under the leadership of committed public figures, an ideological battle to prepare the future

Georgian independent, modernized and Europeanized state was started. Mostly, publications, essays, articles, stories, novels, poems were spread, performances were played and so, through peaceful ways, they were trying to accomplish their purpose. Therefore, this time, we are going to discuss the projects organized and realized by them, which played an important part in the modernization of Georgian society. Studying the case of the 'Terek-drinkers' showed us, that every one of them saw education as the main element of society's modernization. For instance, Ilia Chavchavadze in his pamphlet 'About the matter of education... Again' encouraged Georgians to follow the example of European nations, Germans in particular, who work diligently to give a proper education to their children and deny themselves the delights of the world for that (Chavchavadze, Studies, Articles, Letters of Ilia Chavchavadze, 1985). Therefore, the first project I will discuss below concerns education.

In 1879, 'The Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians' was founded by the 'Terek-drinkers'. The contribution of this society was a determinant in educating and modernizing Georgian society. It was only terminated during the Soviet occupation, in 1927 (Vardiashvili, 1993).As Iakob Gogebashvili recalled, since serfs' emancipation from the feudal system in 1864, most public figures were convinced that true liberation would come only then, when they were 'freed from illiteracy and ignorance'. Therefore, they decided to found an organization which would spread education. It had to be the kind of broad movement which would have the permission and legitimation from the state. During that period, most Georgian noble families arranged gatherings at their houses to discuss urgent issues of Georgian reality. One of the families like that was Ioseb Mamatsashvili's, where not only Georgian intelligentsia, but also progressive Russian thinkers and ethnic Armenians, living in Georgia, gathered. The idea of the aforementioned project was born and developed exactly among them. But there were several obstacles hindering the foundation of this organization. The first, Iakob Gogebashvili insisted that Georgian had to be usedas the academic language in the charter of the society. Otherwise, Russian state officials would have the right to disrupt classes and demand to close schools. The second, the charter had to be signed by individuals, who enjoyed the overall reputation in Georgian society and also were trusted by the Russian government in order to avoid the officials questioning the objectives of the organization. These matters were solved like this: it turned out, that according to the rescript issued by the Emperor in 1864, it was allowed in people's (not public or state) schools to teach in native language. And the charter was signed not by Iakob Gogebashvili, who had been discharged from his positions for actively criticizing the governmental policy, but by Dimitri Kipiani, who had successfully implemented the Emancipation Reform, and enjoyed the great trust of the government; also by young Ilia Chavchavadze with other nobles who hadclose ties with government and the Armenian origin intelligentsia, constituting 126 persons in total (Alexander Orbeliani Society, 2007). Ilia Chavchavadze provided the organization with financial support, who, with the help of other nobles, collected the sum of 11.000 Rubles, which was quite an impressive amount of money at that time (Uturashvili, 2011).

As a result, we got a state within a state, because along with Russian public schools appeared so called people's (but Georgian) schools, which were the absolute manifestation of the idea of Europe and modernization. Therefore, thanks to the organization not only new schools were established, but also existing ones got support, auxiliary books and textbooks were published, manuscripts were collected, libraries and the National Museum were founded, etc. Namely, 33 primary schools were established in

Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi, Tsinarekhi, Tianeti, Senaki, Kheltubani, Vladikavkaz, Gomareti, Rekhi, Kalamsha, Giorgitsminda, Saguramo, Stepantsminda, Baku, Navtlughi, Gergeti, Sokhumi, Telavi, Ateni, Sighnaghi, Poti, Akurta, Variani, Borbalo, Tserakvi, Modinakhe, Gudauta, Baisubani, Armaviri. Libraries were established in Martvili, Okumi, Kutaisi, Tbilisi (six of them), Akhalkalaki, Didi Jikhaishi, Akhaltsikhe, Shilda, Khoni, Senaki, Baku, Abasha, Kvirila, Argveti, Pasanauri, Zugdidi (Vardiashvili, 1993).On Ilia Chavchavadze's initiative, a Georgian school was started in Batumi in 1881, which played an important part in the improvement of Georgian Muslims' national consciousness. It was essential, because Adjara was returned to Georgia after 1877-1878 the Russo-Turkish War. At that time, local population lived according to Muslim customs, they had long lost a sense of nationalism and divided people by religious beliefs. Ilia and the 'Terek-drinkers' tried to convince them, that no one, ever, was going to touch their faith, customs or family traditions, because religious beliefs did not determine nationality and Georgian would be always Georgian despite the religion it follows (Bubulashvili, 2003). Evidently, this organization made education available to the masses and raised a new generation, which had to undertake the future political and economic management of Georgia.

The First Commercial Bank

Serfdom abolishment, introduction of the concept of private property and shift to capitalist system was part of the paramount project executed during theeconomic modernization of Georgia in the second half of the 19th century.This reform was managed directly from Moscow and was an empire-wide phenomenon. According to it, nobles would get a certain amount of money as compensation per each emancipated serf. Despite this, there wasresistance and even bloody clashes. Though, in Georgia, this process was maintained peacefully, thanks to the 'Terek-drinkers' and, specifically to Dimitry Kipiani, as I already mentioned in previous chapters. Hence, in order to keep the progress of the process steady and achieve modernization, one more large-scale project had to be executed, which would bring financial stability and economic development. The first bank, called the Nobility Bank, first opened in Tbilisi and Kutaisi, became such a project for the Georgian liberal wing.

In his memoirs, Akaki Tsereteli recalled, that this initiative came from Dimitri Kipiani. As Akaki explained, Georgian society was always ready to defend the country by military means but at this time it was unprepared for the modern economic or financial competition. Besides, at the first stage of the reform, gentry was stripped ofits ranks and titles were prohibited to dominate serfs, but no land was given to peasants, which created one more problem. Serfs had to pay the fourth of the land redemption price to the nobles and had to do this through an additional bureaucracy. Dimitri Kipiani presumed that the officials appointed by the state would act according to their private interests who would be followed by alienation among serfs and landlords and class conflict would start. And all of this would happen at the expense of the common national, because, as I know, for the 'Terek-drinkers', class struggle meant disunity inside the nation which would hinder the achievement of national independence. In Dimitri Kipiani's opinion, serfs getting private property and becoming land owners was the solution. They would not able to do this by their own perennial work. And the nobles would not gain any income without serfs and hired manpower, so they would sell lands. That is why it was necessary to create a bank, where the nobles would lease their lands and if they were not able to pay the mortgage, those would be given to

serfs, who cultivated the lands. At first look, it was a trap for the nobles. On the other hand, the land of the nobles, who were predestined to lose their property, would be in the hands of people who really appreciated labor and property. Beyond this, Dimitri Kipiani proposedan interesting idea to raise money for starting the bank. During the reform, the state paid nobles a certain amount of money (20-25 Rubles) per each emancipated serf. The nobles had to give up 10% of this sum, which would serve as bank's capital and they would get part of the bank's profit as stockholders (Alexander Orbeliani Society, 2007). Though, Asatiani, the scholar of the first Georgian Bank stated the opposite. In his opinion, Dimitri Kipiani's objective was to save the gentry, which was getting gradually poorer. On this motive, if nobles were not able to pay the mortgage, the bank would delay confiscation of the leased lands and until a landlord was able to pay the money, he would retain ownership of those lands. Because Akaki Tsereteli lacked knowledge in financial and bank matters, so he had his own wrong interpretation of everything (Asatiani I. , 1994).

Finally, Dimitry Kipiani's idea was approved by other public figure and by the government as well. The establishment of the bank was procrastinated for seven years because of existing disagreements about the nature of the bank and technical matters inside the gentry. Eventually, Ilia Chavchavadze and his supporters undertook the effort todraft the charter of the bank, and later, the opponent party agreed to it. Aside from this, because of the state bureaucracy, Ilia Chavchavadze had to live in Petersburg for a year in order to get the final permission to start the bank. During this time, he infiltrated the banks in Moscow and Petersburg and thoroughly studied their ways of functioning. At last, the bank was established in 1875 and Ilia was chosen as the manager, a position he kept for 30 years. Ilia wrote: 'the gentry established the bank in the purpose that the money contributed by them should spread over the homeland as a loan from which not a single grosz shall not be lost, the loan shall benefit money, money shall profit money and more shall be used from this profit for the common necessity of our country' (Asatiani I. , 1994).

Despite the bank being established by the nobles and its profits being distributed among them, the bank was premised to serve not only gentry, but all, regardless of their class. Objective of the bank was set like this:

1. The bank sustains the improvement of agricultural productivity;
2. Sustain the spread general education;
3. To grant credits, as in cash, but also as in mortgage bonds;
4. To grant long-term loans for landlords for 43.6 years, and for city residents for 18,7 years, by taking income into account, not value of property;
5. To grant short-term (2-3 years) loans based on superficial pledge;
6. To grant credits to peasants, the first time in the history of Georgia;
7. To grant solid credits for vineyards;
8. Account operations, bills exchange.

The managing bodies of the bank were the Governorate Assembly of the Nobility, Supervisor Committee and the board of the bank which consisted of three persons: chairman and two directors. Bank capital was 160.000 Rubles granted by the Imperator and 80.000 Rubles raised by the nobility. The investor nobles were divided in several categories. The first ones, who paid 20% of the compensation

they got for serfs' emancipation, the seconds – who paid 5% and the third ones, who did not own any serfs, so never got any compensation and hence paid 10% of their income. Overall, the number of founders of the all three categories totaled 76 persons, and that number rose to 1759 members by the end of the century. Except they were all stockholders, and they also enjoyed favorable conditions to take on credits. For instance, they could get long-term credits at rate of 0.25% yearly, while usual borrowers had it 1%; and for short-term loans 5% except of 8%, which was determined for usual clients (Asatiani I. , 1994).

At first, the bank was able to operate only in Tbilisi Governorate. However since 1881, its activities were spread to Kutaisi, Yerevan, Baku and Elizaveta governorates, so to the whole Transcaucasia, which significantly enhanced financial transactions (Asatiani I. , 1994).The original capital of the bank at the time it was established was 240.000 Rubles, after 25 years this sum became its annual profit. Thanks to bank managers of those times, such a banking service system was created, that was acceptable for every class of those times civil society. Exactly on this foundation later developed the National Bank of Georgia (Telia, 1989).

From the yearly profit of the bank, which was left 45% of total after covering expenses and losses, would be transferred to the fund, from which scholarships, roads, irrigation canals were financed. The bank maintained to give out money for charity and for public necessity from its inception. It spent 2 million Rubles on such activities, which included social, cultural, economic, ethnographical, and educational projects. Among them was the construction of the Tbilisi Nobility Gymnasium, which today is home toTbilisi State University (Telia, 1989).

But the Bank and its management had opponents too. Despite low credit rates compared totoday's standards, there were people who demanded the rates be lowered. For example, in 1881, David Kipiani came out blaming the bank for high rates, but Ilia believed, that lowering the rates didnot depend on the bank's will. Rates are determined by money markets, which are subject to general laws of economics and the bank does not have power to impact them. So, it neither can lower nor raise credit rates (Natmeladze, 2009).

Ilia resigned from the position of the bank manager in protest, two years prior to his deathin 1905. He resigned because the government and reactionary gentry forced him to use the funds of the Bank against the massive demonstrations of the workers and peasants. That use of funds was against the principles which today are my research subject and for which he sacrificed his life.

Infrastructural projects by Nicko Nickoladze - The Poti Port

Niko Nikoladze (1943-1928)was a distinguished person in the history of Georgian social thought. He represented the newer generation of the 'Terek-drinkers', and ideological popularization of the idea of Europe and modernization as well as execution of these ideas through particular projects that wereassociated with his name. He emerged in the public sphere in 1860s. He received education in St. Petersburg at first, and later in Zurich, Switzerland. For several years, he lived in France where he published his articles. He cooperated and kept correspondence with Giuseppe Garibaldi, Victor Hugo, Alphonse Daudet, Emile Zola, and with other famous Western European public figures (Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015). In the light of rapid development of capitalism Niko

Nikoladze did not see freedom and national self-determination as the only components for Georgia's development. Hence, he wrote about crediting, agriculture, industry, self-governance and about any other economic issues (Elchibegashvili, 2006). In his words: 'the true unity of the people will be achieved only then, when people's economic lives become equal, when people are free economically and get used to the collective labor' (Gaprindashvili M. , Essays on the History of the Georgian Public Thinking, 1988). Niko Nikoladze found free market economy as one of the major prerequisites for democracy. Private property and free market had to be the guarantees for stability of democracy (Jijeishvili, 1999).

He viewed Western European countries and people inhabiting them as educated and key examples. He believed that the knowledge that would ensure prosperity of the citizens was to be obtained from them. He wrote, that 'we have become completely certain, that we should consider the European way of living, European science exemplary for us. We should envy the education and prosperity existent in other countries as we know that they did not enjoy that education and prosperity from the cradle. We must observe and investigate how and by what means achieved educated peoples their prosperity, and which rules and order they devised to establish and improve that prosperity' (Chikviladze, 2016).

He believed, that without human labor progress was unachievable, and there, where man would work, even desolated lands would be turned into modern cities. In his words: 'there are one hundred thousand examples, that the people living in humid and dirty areas and always had been poor, weak and ill, escaped this misery thanks to their toil and dexterity. There was neither supernatural force involved in this miracle nor the laws of nature were changed. These changes occurred because men found out the real reason of misery... and through which laws it can be eradicated' (Elchibegashvili, 2006).

After several years, Niko Nikoladze left Ilia Chavchavadze's group for a more radical path. He also did not support Ilia's project for the First Georgian Bank and more so advocated a peasant-oriented system. Because of his revolutionary views, he was even exiled from Tbilisi to Stavropol for eight years.However, not even after his return did he give up fighting for economic, political and cultural freedom of Georgia. He was elected as a member of the Tbilisi self-government, and consecutively was elected four times as mayor of Poti from1894-1912. During his service as Poti mayor, he carried out numerous modernistic projects, among which the port of Poti is remarkable (Janelidze, The Last Terek-Drinker, 2010).

His name is associated with the building of the Chiatura-Shorapani railway line, which simplified the transportation of manganese from this district. He managed to accomplish this by borrowing a loan from a British-based company. He was also involved in the building of Tbilisi's water supply network, the Kakheti railroad and Surami tunnel, Poti-Tbilisi and Trans-Siberian railroads, schools, dispensaries, post offices, railway stations, tunnels and in execution of other infrastructural projects (Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015).

Niko Nikoladze set two goals throughout twenty years: the first – modernization of the town of Poti according to new city planning, execution of infrastructural projects, urban development and the second - modernization of the Poti sea port, increasing its traffic capacity, plus providing it with the latest equipment (Shubitidze V. , 2013).

Under Niko Nikoladze's management a new urban planning scheme was elaborated. Expansion capacities of the city were taken into consideration. Grid street plans were developed and wide, round squares were planned (Shubitidze V. , 2013). While serving as city mayor, he formulated his working creed: 'I never allow any official to reveal its sympathies for any party, religion or nation at working place. I only demand loyal service from them for the city's benefit' (Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015).

He managed to turn a swampy small town into a modern port city. During this period, a protective dam was built all around the city, which, along with the drainage system, would shield the city from the torrent of water during the Rioni River flooding. Several bridges were built in the city, streets were paved with stone, telephone lines were installed, a power station was built, which provided the port and the city with electricity. Modern academic buildings, railway station and elevators are associated with that period. During the port reconstruction, concrete was used for the first time, transforming Poti into an international-level port city (Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015). During his governance of Poti, Niko Nikoladze founded a local bank, which, for the first time in Georgia, issued various bonds, lottery cards, and used the whole profit for city's amenities (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

In 1913, the reporter of the journal '*Klde*' (Rock) compare the Poti before Niko Nikoldze held the mayor's office and after: 'Twenty years ago, Poti looked like a large village, with puddled muddy and dark streets, small wooden houses, dirty ugly taverns, weak, pale people sick with fever, swamps all around... After twenty years, it is a fine city, swamps are gone, wide and straight streets are paved with stone, there are wooden and stone houses, glass roofed market full of goods and nice taverns, little water pipeline, a horse tram and electric light. Poti port is filled with oceanic ships and annual freight turnover is 1,630,000 tons'(Bakradze, 1996). Aside of the projects recited by the reporter, there were many other ones associated with Niko Nikoladze's name. For instance: the dam which surrounded the city and protected it from flooding; three bridges – two of them connecting the city and the bigger island to the port, and the third one connected Poti to Guria region, which provided Poti with food supplies; power station which provided the city with lights; telephone line stretched along the streets; Modern, solid buildings for schools and the gymnasium; also major buildings for hospital and police; a water reservoir, which provided the city with drinkable water; the city tower and a Byzantine style huge church beside it, later known as the second Hagia Sophia; also, warehouses for goods and local cultural facilities (Bakradze, 1996).

The port had been built 25 years prior toNiko Nikoladze became Poti's mayor, and more than 7 million Rubles was spent, but in vain. The harbor was inconvenient for ships, and during the storms anchor chains of the ships were broken so the ships would often smash. It took Niko Nikoladze three years to approve the Poti Port project budget. He traveled to key port cities in Western Europe and Northern Africa. He studied and analyzed their structure and dynamics of freight turnover. He adjusted this experience to accomodate the local conditions. In order to increase freight turnover, he built an elevator and a power station in the port infrastructure, which replaced the traditional ways to load the cargo, unload the wagons and load ships by using baskets. Therefore, the port was mechanized and electrified (Shubitidze V. , 2013).

In 1912, by the interference of the Russian government, Niko Nikoladze was dismissed from the office of the mayor. Due to the fictitious charges, court hearings were procrastinated till 1916. Despite being proven not guilty, Nikoladze however was fined (Janelidze, The Last Terek-Drinker, 2010).

Niko Nikoladze was one of the founders of the National-Democratic Party. He was one of the composers and signatory of the Act of Independence of Georgia. For that reason, he spent his late years under house arrest, during the Soviet Russian occupation of Georgia. Still, his name has not been forgotten and today he is remembered as one of Georgia's most practitioner man of action, and modernistic public figure (Abzianidze, The Epoch of Liberalism in Georgian Literature, 2015).

David Sarajishvili as the Case of the Successful Entrepreneur

Vakhtang Shubitidze, a scholar of Europeanization and the Georgian political thought, refers to David Sarajishvili(1848-1911) as thefirst European-type businessman in Georgia (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013). Even today, there still is a brandy line named after David Sarajishvili's name and it is one of the most distinguished Georgian brands. That is why I find his case to be the best one in terms of Georgian modernization. In this chapter, I am going to review the history of the first Georgian cognac brand established by him, from the very beginning till it became a world-class trademark.

David Sarajishvili's ancestors were famous Georgian merchants. His father was also a renowned businessman and philanthropist. With his help, David first received an education in Tbilisi, then in Petersburg and then in Munich and later at Heidelberg University, where he pursued a PhD in chemistry. After that, he continued his education at the University of Hohenheim and at the University of Halle, on the faculty of agricultural science, and in France he studied theoretical and empirical basics for viticulture and winemaking(Chimakadze, 2003).

In Shubitidze's words, Sarajishvili was a European-scale Georgian manufacturer and business manager and an advocate of modern marketing thinking. His exemplary entrepreneurial activities were 20-30 years ahead of European-American philosophy of business-making, which took its final form in 1960s, known in history as the 'Marketing Era'. Shubitidze notes, that Sarajishvili not only possessed the scientific knowledge of the 4Ps (Product, Price, Place, Promotion) of the marketing model, but also added the fifth P – 'Patria', which means patriotism and service for the homeland (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

At first, David Sarajishvili began to meticulously study the Georgian environment and market. Despite the multi-millennial winemaking experience that was conserved in Georgia, cognac was an unusual and new product. David found out, that there were favorable conditions in Georgia for cognac production. He selected specific vine species which he would use in the production of the new merchandise. Herewith, risks were high, because the product had to be made by using expensive technologies, which he had to import from Western Europe and production meant the first product would be available for sale in eight years. The fact, that the French product occupiedthe Russian cognac market simply made the stakes even higher. Notwithstanding, David made an exact and long-term calculation. He not only ensured the import of the latest models of proper equipment and machines, but he also invited cognac experts to live in Georgia. By this, his company became a worthy competitor for

its counterparts, and later even took lead on them (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

Sarajishvili's company produced almost every kind of alcoholic drinks (almost 60), including liqueurs, under the name 'Sarajev' (Russian transcription for Sarajishvili). The full name of the brand was 'Sarajishvili, Natural Caucasian Cognac'. There were 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 star cognacs. His products also included 14 years-of-aging cognac. Sarajishvili commissioned his first factory in Tbilisi, which was soon followed by the ones in Yerevan, Kalaran (modern Moldova), Barguhet and Gogcha (Baku Governorate), Karumov (Terek Region, modern Chechnya), Elisabethpol (modern Azerbaijan) and Vladikavkaz (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013). Realizedmarkets beyondGeorgia included Moscow, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Riga, Novgorod, Kharkov, Rostov, Kalara, Petrovska, Kizlyar, Yerevan, Baku, Vladikavkaz (Nanitashvili, 1993) such European cities as London, Vienna, Geneva, Paris, Berlin, Istanbul, etc. Sarajishvili's company won 8 golden, 3 silver and 1 bronze medals at the exhibition-contests of Russian and Western Europe in Chicago, USA. Also, the company won one honorary diploma (Vakhtangishvili, 2014). The fact is, only a few companies were able to organize such a large-scale distribution network and continuously supply the markets with product, and it was especially incredible for the company from the little province of the Russian Empire to pull this off. Sarajishvili set up the whole market management system consisting of warehouses, shops, sales representatives and sales agents, thousands of kilometers away from each other. All these components were connected to the head office via telegraph, which ensured fast distribution. Such organization facilitated the company's transformation into a transnational one, reduction of price, and due to the high quality, gradually expelled the French competitors from the Russian Market (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

It is interesting, how David Sarajishvili promoted his brand. Advertising and public relations did not even exist or was at the lower stage of development at that time. Though, the both of them were essential for David Sarajishvili on his way to success. Almost every company of that period just indicated their names on their products. Sarajishvili's name was always accompanied with an image of an aurochs standing over the cliff, which pointed out that the product originated from the Caucasus and it still serves as a logo for the company. David also paid great attention to the bottle shape, labels, and even to posters. It is worth noting, that Sarajishvili used a celebrity as the face ofhis product on billboards, eight yearsbefore even Coca-Cola did such thing. Maia Bagration-Davitashvili was advertising Georgian brandy, and Coca-Cola's face was Hilda Clark (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

Furthermore, David Sarajishvili spent enormous funds on his own workers' education, trainings, and on charity as well. He increased wages for literate workers, founded libraries, Sunday schools, introduced an eight-hour working day, fourteen-day holiday, life insurance, promotions and presents on holidays. He established a special committee which would reveal talented youngsters and then he financed their education abroad. Among his scholars were later prominent composers like Zakaria Paliashvili, Dimitri Arakishvili, Meliton Balanchivadze, Ia Kargareteli, Kote Potskhverashvili; painters like Mose Toidze, Gigo Gabashvili; sculptor Iakob Nikoladze, singer-performer Vano Sarajishvili,

professors Pilipe Gogichaishvili, Solomon Cholokashvili; future Patriarch of Georgia Kirion II, etc. (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013)

As for David Sarajishvili's political views, he actively cooperated with the 'Terek-drinkers', and had an especially close friendship with Ilia Chavchavadze. Sarajishvili also financed almost every project of nation-wide importance (Chimakadze, 2003). His palace, later a home for the Writers Association, was a center for social life and there was no cultural-educational matter or issue concerning the social interests solved, without his, his wife's or his family's involvement at that time. Besides, the door of this house was always open for foreigners (Nanitashvili, 1993).

David Sarajishvili left his whole fortune to the Georgian people by his will, including 250,000 Rubles for workers and service staff and 300,000 Rubles, just like other 'Terek-Drinkers', to 'The Society for the Spreading of Literacy Among Georgians'. Most of these funds were used to build the future Tbilisi State University, while his moneyalso was spent for benefits of churches, theaters, newspapers, historical societies, etc (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

Unfortunately, among the public figures and advocates of the idea of Europe and modernization of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mentioned in the first part of my research, Niko Nikoladze was the only one who lived to see independent Georgia. None of them - who spent their whole lives or even sacrificed it for the national independence of Georgia, creation of the nation-state, education and modernization of the society - were able to witness their dreams come true. It is also unfortunate, that he was theonly witness whosaw how the fortunes, merits and works left by othersfor the sake of education, modernization, progress, freedom and the idea of Europe, was appropriated by bolshevism, communist dictatorship and the new empire.

Chapter 3.
Preparation of the Social Democratic Changes

The second period of modernization and implementation of European lifestyle covers the Social Democratic era during the times of independence of the first republic of Georgia.Though it didn't last long, the Georgian political and economic elite, led by Noe Zhordania and fueled with European ideas, still managed to modernize Georgia according to European trends. Even thoughthe spreading of liberal ideas took place a little bit later in Georgia than in Western Europe, social-democratic ideas were spread in the same period in Georgia. Moreover, Georgian social-democrats were actively involved in the formation and in the implementation of these ideas not only in Georgia, but also throughout the Russian Empire. The Social-democratic modernization in Georgia took place from the top of the government down to the ordinary public life. However, another Russian occupation, repressions and elimination of thousands of open-minded people, forced Georgia to deviate from the course of western development.In this part of my research, I will discuss Georgia from the late 19th century through the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, until 1921, when Georgia lost its independence by Soviet Russia. I have collected almost every existing literature, research and work concerning the matter in question within the extent of our research, processed large number of sources and will try to answer my main research question, as follows: Who were those Georgian social democrats, that led the idea of Europe and modernization, who were their major ideologues and what specific projects did they implemented for the purpose to introduce the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia.

Research showed that, Noe Zhordania, Noe Ramishvili, Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli, Silibistro Jibladze, Isidore Ramishvili, Grigol Lortkipanidze, Evgeni Gegechkori and Akaki Chkhenkeli stand out from other Georgian social democrats. However, worth noting that, unlike from the representatives of the liberal wing mentioned in the first part of my research – Ilia Chavchavadze, Vazha-Pshavela, Akaki Tsereteli, Iakob Gogebashvili, Aleksandre Kazbegi and Dimitri Kipiani, - social democrats did not leave works of literature of such scale. Some of them were only busy with publicism and mostly pursued active political and civil activities. Therefore, society does not know much about their activities for public good. Ergo, I will try to equally show their ideas, views and their feats in the foregoing study, which will provide the reader with relevant information about them as Georgian leaders of the 20th century advocating the idea of Europe.

For the beginning, it is necessary to study what kind of civil and political shifts were in progress during this period, how the social democratic wing was developed in Georgia, what similarities and differences did Georgian social democracy have with its Russian and European counterparts, and what were its major differences with both Georgian and Western-European liberal democracy. Scholar Al. Bendiashvili notesthat class differences were revealed as serfdom was abolished and capitalist relation were established, capitalists and proletariat, i.e. working class, were born. The ideological struggle between them gradually intensified and pavedthe way to development of political movements and parties. Despite Russian Tsarism having made a whole number of compromises in favour of bourgeoisie and democratic movements. However, these represented the interests of the aristocracy, leaving general

bureaucracy in their hands and making bourgeoisie displeased. Interests of the proletariat added up to the aforesaid, intensifying tensions between classes. As a result, robberies on social grounds, assaults on strict masters, and outlaws were becoming more common. Population supported such bands, which did not attack the poor. However, the government resorted to repressions and often exiled citizens to Siberia without court. Several disorganized and spontaneous labor strikes took place during the same period, which were easily suppressed by the government. From the 70s of the 19th century, so-called 'populism' (Narodnichestvo) was spread in Georgia, which aimed to disseminate propaganda among workers and peasants for the purpose of protecting their rights and promoting socialist and anti-Tsarist ideas. Brothers Chodrishvili were the veterans of those times labor movement, who founded one of the first worker's organization in Transcaucasia. They disseminated such books as 'The Tale of Four Brothers', Becher's 'The Question of Workers', Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy', and other pamphlets about the workers' conditions in Western Europe. In addition, they organized discussions and tried to improve workers' political and civil knowledge. Journals such 'Musha' (Worker), 'Gantiadi' (Dawn) and 'Skhivi' (Ray) were published during this period (Bendianishvili, History of Georgia 1801-1921, 1999). Secret populist circles were established in Tbilisi, Gori, Kutaisi, Telavi and in Guria region. Their aim was self-development, to study history and social sciences and then 'blend in people to proclaim against monarchy'. Gendarmerie shut down their almost every organization and arrested their members, as a result whereof, 'Narodniks' disappeared for some time, but since 80s, it was legalized and pursued educational activities more than rigid revolutionary actions(Janelidze, Georgian Students and Youth in Social-Political Arena , 2015).

In 1892-1893, on the next stage of class struggle, new leaders appeared who founded social democratic organization, which Giorgi Tsereteli named as the so-called 'Mesame Dasi' (the Third Troupe). These were Noe Zhordania, Silibistro Jibladze, Isidore Ramishvili, Karlo Chkheidze and future 'Bolsheviks' – Pilipe Makharadze, Mikha Tskhakaia, Razhden Kaladze and others. This was the first Georgian Marxist and social democratic group that gathered around the author Egnate Ninoshvili. Society came to know about its formation after a year, at Egnate Ninoshvili's funeral, where they swore an oath to protect democracy and workers' rights. As for the programme, Noe Zhordania elaborated it and named it as 'Economic Progress and Nationality'. He formulated his principles in the programme as follows: central pillar of a man's life is economic welfare, merger of each person and the nation. He believed that, if the bourgeoisie undertook steps to replace monarchy, in such underdeveloped countries, such as Russia, it was the working class that had to ensure the happening of such revolution (Janelidze, Georgian Students and Youth in Social-Political Arena , 2015).

Socialists of those times adopted Marxist ideas from Western Europe, as well as from Russia. According to scientist Vakhtang Guruli's inference, 'Mesame Dasi' had two periods of activities. I will review both of them. The first period includes the years of 1892-1897, when it emerged as a common Georgian political organization. It tried to merge the traditions of Georgian social thought with the socialist doctrine. Thus, it was not subjected to the influence of Russian socialist ideas. On the contrary, it was similar to the programs of the Western European socialist parties. It insisted on parliamentarianism as the method of struggle and opposed socialist revolution. At the same time, they founded national self-sufficiency of decisive importance (Guruli V. , The Georgian Social-Democracy in 1892-1904, 1995).

Bedianashvili argues the same too. According to him, Georgian socialists were divided into two camps from the very beginning. Namely, Noe Ramishvili claimed that, democracy was to be established by uniting the working class with the bourgeoisie. He and his supporters denounced oppression of nations and advocated independence of Georgia, however, the other wing of 'Mesame Dasi'upheld the different opinion. They viewed any reconciliation among the classes and national self-determination in a nihilistic manner. The proletariat had to be victorious in the growing struggle between classes and save the world in this way. Ultimately, merger of Georgian social democrats with the Russian Social Democratic Party completely removed the national issue from their agenda and only class struggle remained (Bendianishvili, History of Georgia 1801-1921, 1999). 'Mesame Dasi' propagandized, through the 'Kvali' Newspaper and opposed the 'Iveria' Newspaper, where the previously mentioned Georgian liberals were united. However, as I showed in the first part of my research, this wing did not avoid social issues, but even considered them as of high priority. However, their principal goal was to prepare Georgian nation for independence, while the members of 'Mesame Dasi' worked on only class issues. In this period Georgian social democrats developed nihilistic atitude towards independence and did not promote the idea of autonomy of Georgia (Vashakmadze N. , 2014). In the words of Guruli, it happened on the second phase of 'Mesame Dasi', during 1898-1903. Ideological influence of Russian social democracy on the members was increased during that period. However, they managed to remain autonomous and did not take part in formation of the Russian Social Democratic Party. And since 1903, they were unable to sustain their autonomy and joined in formation of RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) in Transcaucasia, later they even participated in the 2nd RSDLP congress, due to which 'Mesame Dasi' ceased to exist (Guruli V. , The Georgian Social-Democracy in 1892-1904, 1995).

Despite of the abovesaid, the social democratic organization of Georgia stood out because of its rather enthusiastic activity. Police reports from 1900-1905 reveal that the social democratic organization was growing quickly. They had highly organized working groups at Tbilisi railway, workshops, printing-houses and factories. They had 'officers' as the managers, who coordinated members of the party, organized meetings and headed propagandizing activities. Members of the party raised money themselves in order to attend meetings and took part in party's activities. Most of the social democrats arrested by the police were Georgian, and many of them came from Western Georgia – representatives of petty nobility, children of priests and peasants. Most of the people arrested in this period were younger than 30(Jones, 2007).

During this period of 1901-1904 began May First actions in various Georgian towns. Such inscriptions as 'Long live to Eight-hour Working Day' and 'Down with Tyranny' appeared on banners and leaflets at these May First demonstrations; in addition, they sang 'La Marseillaise' (Jones, 2007), which naturally was a forerunner of the revolution of western kind. Tbilisi labor strikes in 1902 were rather crowded and well organized. Presumably, 2,000 people participated in this demonstration. Workers met the Cossacks coming to disperse them readily with staffs. During the clashes, tens of workers were arrested and wounded. In return, these incidents attracted international attention, especially from Russia, where Russian social democrats declared their support to the workers of Tbilisi, which was followed by further repressions and exiles not only from Tbilisi, but also from Batumi, Gori, etc. Socialist workers were repeatedly fired, which was followed by protests and strikes from the same

workers and their colleagues. In addition to this, there were peasant protests, mostly in eastern Georgia, which were also responded with strict repressions. All of these prepared the ground for the 1905 Revolution, which happened all over the Russian Empire, and not only workers and peasants, but also intelligentsia and a large part of the Georgian bourgeoisie joined it too. They demanded to overthrow Tsarism, national and social autonomy and democratic governance (Bendianishvili, History of Georgia 1801-1921, 1999). Uratadze – a Menshevik politician of that period – describes that Georgian cities met the revolution politically well aware. Social democratic organizations of the workers were so powerful and influential that the whole city life could be disrupted in several moments at the time of necessity. Workers, artisans, shop assistants, pupils and their parents would all come out in the streets with socialist and revolutionary red flags for mass demonstrations. Political and economic strikes were organized, during the whereof, shops, factories, restaurants, colleges, telegraph, post, railway would close and cabmen would not work, even villages would support them (Uratadze, 1939). About the causes of the 1905 Revolution, the following is stated in the book published in English in London, 1919, dedicated to Georgia and re-establishment of its independence:

'Since 1880, the Russian Government began a colonization campaign in Georgia, and the hard-pressed Georgian peasantry had to give way in many places to the Russian peasants, who were liberally assisted by government funds to populate the rich lands of Georgia. The fertile rich Black Sea shores of Georgia were taken away from the industrious Georgian peasants and shared out amongst the Russian Generals and Ministers, who acquired enormous estates and summer residences all along the coast. The educated Georgians were not given the chance to occupy prominent positions in their own country, and in their stead, most corrupted Russian officials were given positions in order to maintain a system of organized tyranny. The Revolution of 1905 awakened the hopes of the Georgian nation for better treatment, and the entire nation unanimously demanded Home Rule. But, the noble movement was drowned in oceans of blood, and thousands of the best Georgians were banished to Siberia - never to return. Such was the treatment of Georgia throughout the nineteenth century up to the present war (Georgian National Committee, 1919). Protestants demanded economic welfare, freedoms of expression, gathering, unions and press, inviolability of dwelling and of individual, education in the mother language, democratization of the government. Since the government was unable to make difference by repressions, they went on compromises, permitted the freedom of expression and formed Duma - an advisory body, which would incorporate legislative functions too. Nevertheless, since neither this brought any results, police proceeded to dispersal. There were casualties in Tbilisi as well as in other cities of the Empire. Police squads would set buildings on fire and bring them down, and slaughter resisting people as insurgents. Eventually, Revolution was overwhelmed. Reaction practically became revenge, journals and newspapers were shut down one after another and repressions were applied. This lasted until 1917, however, social democracy managed to spread its ideas during this time(Uratadze, 1939).

3.1. Socialism as the Idea of Europe

Socialism, as a political ideology, was developed in the 19th century. Andrew Heywood, a scholar of political ideologies, interestingly discusses socialism in his book *Political Ideologies*. Plato's *Republic* and Thomas More's *Utopia* may be deemed as forerunners of socialism, although, as a modern political idea, socialism, as well as liberalism, has roots in the Western European Enlightenment. The major difference is its criticism of liberal market and its attempt to offer an alternative to industrial capitalism. Socialist ideas were developed during industrialization, when it stood against harsh conditions of the working class and to protect their living conditions. The term 'socialist' itself, is derived from the Latin word 'sociare', meaning to combine or to share. In the beginning of the 19th century, factory owners in Europe were completely free to define wage levels and factory conditions, which bounded the working class of those times to their jobs. Even women and children were exploited too. However, in parallel with social uprisings, protests of trade unions and advance of political democracy, socialism achieved more and more success in leading Western European countries. Socialists gradually gained places at legislative bodies and oftentimes used their legislative and constitutional leverage to protect the working class. Despite socialist theoreticians, including Karl Marx, whom adopted the idea of revolutionary overthrowing of capitalism, many socialists saw revolution hopeless and therefore, rejected this notion. The situation was different in more backward countries like Russia, where Lenin and his supporters chose revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Hence, two schools of socialism were developed in Europe.The first one, by the beginning of the 20th century had already gained formidable political power and was identified as socialists, or social democrats, while the second ones were called communists. Similar to Russia, socialism took more radical form in the colonies of European countries where it fused with nationalism, while the Bolshevik model of socialism was adopted in China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (Heywood, 2005).

Scholar N. Vashakmadze notes that, socialism, which means 'social' in its essence, was used as the concept supposed to be anopposite of liberalism and individual. Karl Marx's *Capital* is deemed as the most important work for the socialists. *Capital* formulates the following tenets: socialism is the first, lower stage of communism which must eventually replace capitalism and private property; establish proletarian dictatorship, reject pluralism since exactly the working class reflects the interests of other classes or social groups. Accordingly, social equality and equity ensures development of an individual (Vashakmadze N. , 2014). The same is stated in Heywood's book, where the author argues that socialists see human beings as a social creature, whose personality, skills and attributes were shaped by upbringing, and to the greater extent, by creative labour. Socialists believe that it is a market economy that incites human beings to act out of greed and cupidity. In their opinion, human beings tend to be cooperative, open-hearted and rational. Therefore, it is possible to develop human beings in such a way that they could be focused on cooperation and caring for others. Not only utopian ideas were developed based on this belief, but other certain projects in the form of collective farms in the Soviet Union. In their opinion, competition provokes people against each other and makes them ignore theirown social nature. Moreover, people, who work together, develop sympathy, care and love toward each other (Heywood, 2005).

Socialists believed social and economic issues could be prevailed over by the united power of society ratherthan by individual efforts. However, economic practice showed that the economy of classic socialism is inefficient as an alternative to capitalism. For this reason, socialism adopted a new set of political ideas. It means protections of the working class, broadening their political and economic rights, which eventually turned into the 'laborist' school. In addition to protection of the interests of the certain class, socialism is also based on the ideas that declare society, cooperation, equity and public property as priorities (Heywood, 2005).

Let us go back to the verge of 19th-20th centuries, when socialism mainly relied on Marx's views. It was an ideological school of cosmopolitism and promoted such a political and economic system that rejected private property and aimed to build a classless society through revolution (Janelidze, Georgian Students and Youth in Social-Political Arena , 2015). Hence, socialist movements and organizations were created throughout Europe. Thus, on Marx's initiative, the First International was established in London in 1864, for the purpose to make coordination between various organizations of workers. The First International was disbanded soon, due to the conflict between Marxists and social anarchists and the Second International was founded in 1889, May 1 was declared as International Workers' Day and it managed to put its representatives in the Parliament of France. By this, they rejected revolution and became more focused on parliamentarianism(Vashakmadze N. , 2014).

Inception of the idea of socialism in Russia is associated with G. Plekhanov's name, who in 1883 founded the Emancipation of Labor Group in Geneva. The first attempt to unite various Russian workers' organizations was made in 1898, when the first RSDLP Congress was convened. At the second congress in 1903, Lenin's and Martov's supporters were split because of their disagreement over the article of association and the major points of the party program. As a result whereof, two wings of the Russian social democrats were formed: Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. These names simply mean majority and minority. Bolsheviks were the most extremist group within the whole Second International and they were connected to the Russia-based revolutionary movement filed with violence. Social Democratic Party was finally split in these two group in the wake of the 1905-1907 Revolution. V. Lenin, I. Stalin, G, Zinoviev and others, supporting to renew revolutionary struggle, constituted Bolsheviks, whereas L. Martov, Ir. Tsereteli, N. Chkheidze and others, who did not exclude the revolutionary way of struggle but supported the parliamentarian tactics, were called Mensheviks. Karl Kautsky, a Marxist theoretician, wrote that, Noe Zhordania, Karlo Chkheide, Evgeni Gegechkori, Akaki Chkhenkeli and other Georgian leaders, constituted the elite of the Russian Menshevism (Vashakmadze N. , 2014). Stephen F. Johns, a scholar of Georgian social democracy, argues the same. According to him, Georgian Mensheviks were the members of managerial bodies of the RSDLP, chairs of united social democratic faction in Duma in 1905-1913. They represented RSDLP at the Second International Congress, chaired the committees of all-Russia's soviets and were included in the provisionalgovernment. Their differences with Russian Bolshevik and even with Menshevik circles were conditioned by the fact that the Georgian social democrats came from petty nobility, who were born in countryside and grew up with peasants. Differences between them was not as noticeable in Georgia as it was in Russia. They also studied in local colleges (seminaries) and not in the gymnasiums subjected to segregation rules. Therefore, social equality was reflected in their political party activities. Furthermore, as the working class in Georgia was multi-

ethnic, Georgian social democrats had to elaborate a comprehensive ideological basis in response of diverse interests and requirements. In the end, despite the fact that Georgian social democrats constantly criticized 'Terek-drinkers', they turned out to be the heirs to their practical activities and they naturally engaged in cultural, civil and charitable affairs (Jones, 2007).

For some reason, the news of the split of social democrats into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks arrived in Georgia later. Probably, because Caucasian Committee managed Georgian Social Democratic Party and the former was comprised by Bolsheviks. However, Tbilisi Committee was engaged in long-term opposition with them. It was Noe Zhordania, who brought the news of splitting social democrats in two. His arrival in Georgia highlighted this conflict and accelerated their final split. According to Johns' conclusion, rebellions in western Georgia in 1902-1906 stimulated the Georgian sector of RSDLP to transform into a separate party of masses, to realize that, there were the problems and opportunities of different nature in this country. Also, the Georgian organization directed toward the national unity rather than toward solidarity of international workers(Jones, 2007).

Moreover, as soon as the news concerning the split of social democrats into two groups, All-Union Committed of Caucasus endorsed Bolsheviks, while Tbilisi Committed supported Mensheviks. Therefore, Caucasian Committee requested the members of Tbilisi Committee to resign and transfer all functions to them. Tbilisi Committee did not comply. For this reason, they were declared disbanded and an open struggle between the factions ensued in all subordinated organizations in Georgia. These confrontations ended with total defeat of the Bolsheviks and their banishment. Following this, Georgian Mensheviks gained total monopoly on socialist ideas in Georgia (Uratadze, 1939). Numbers of their members reached 80,000, which was quite high considering the political culture and population size of that time (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009).

The fact that socialists were gradually gaining strength and received seats in parliament in Western Europe – England, Germany, France and Scandinavian countries coincided with all these events in Georgia. Millions of people were members of such socialist organizations. In the end, the socialists - united around the one ideadivided during the WWI. This war in Europe was caused by a disruption inthe balance of power and rise of nationalism, therefore, every socialist movement, except for the Russian Bolsheviks, supported the bourgeoisie governments of their countries. This made clear that, they put the interests of their countries higher than international solidarity. And, whereas Mensheviks were trying to preserve their democratic achievements after the February 1917 Revolution, Bolsheviks were preparing for socialist revolution(Vashakmadze N. , 2014). As for the Georgian socialists, after the October 1917 Bolshevik Coup, they officially declared themselves separate from the Bolsheviks, as well as from the other group of the Russian Social Democratic Party and established an independent political organization of their own - Social Democratic Party of Georgia (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009).

Despite the Bolsheviks losing two elections in Russia, they twice attempted to organize a coup under Lenin's leadership. The second attempt was successful thanks to the support of the army and they managed to overthrow the Provisional Government in October 1917. However, since they were defeated in the election organized by them and were unable to peacefully eliminate resistance, they declared civil war that lasted from 1917 to 1923 and claimed from 7 million to 15 million lives, according to separate

sources. As a result, the Soviet Union was founded and a number of free states, including the Democratic Republic of Georgia, lost their independence (Papasqiri, 2011).

During the same period, the Third Communist International was established under Lenin's organization in 1920, which was declared the Communist Party of the World and it cut all ties with any other leftist, reformist party, as traitors of the worker's movement. It rejected bourgeois democracy, parliamentary republic and recognized only rebellion, proletarian dictatorship. In this manner, it completely parted from the idea of Europe. Socialists of the Western countries tried to reorganize the Second International, where they denounced the Bolsheviks' methods. Georgian socialists, including Irakli Tsereteli, delivered speeches at its conferences. In his words, Tsereteli doubted that Bolshevism was taking proletariat to socialism; it was a dictatorship of the few, which was leading the country to destruction and corruption. First, Social Democratic Party of Germany gradually separated from the Second International, and the parties of France, Italy, Austria, Switzerland and Spain followed its example. In the course of reorganizing the Second International, they passed a resolution, that they only recognized implementation of socialism through general elections in terms of a parliamentary republic, which would aim to enforce the ideals of democracy (Vashakmadze N. , 2014).

Stephen F. Johns,a scholar of Georgian social democracy, notes that apart from the Russian socialists, Georgian politicians were always trying to merge socialism with European values, pluralism, human rights and private property. This explains their success not only within Georgia but also throught the Menshevik group of the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Georgian social democrats started to propagandize the struggle for national independence and the idea of establishing a socialist democracy in the imperial police state. Like the Western European social democrats, they tried to fuse socialism and nationality since in socialism they saw the means to defeat the foreign regime ruling their country. To them, socialism stimulated national consolidation, modernization and economic growth. They hoped that, socialism would unite Georgian people and turn them into Europeans, ensure the country's security, and end wars between states and different ethnic groups. Since neither imperial violence norinternal ethnic conflict was new for Georgia, they counted on socialism as an ideology that brings diverse peopletogether without violence and bloodshed, unalike the new, nationalist ideology(Jones, 2007).

3.2. Characteristics of Social Democracy as the Idea of Europe

I have studied the liberal way of the idea of Europein the first part of my research. In the current part, Ilearned what makes the second way, i.e. socialism, different from liberalism. Criticism toward social democrats in Georgia was caused by their failure to see the possibility of uniting classes and achieving the independence of Georgia through this way. Questions of nation and nationality were the topic social democrats could not avoid. Thus, eventually they adopted those principles, as they were incorporated in their program, which transformed Georgia into the first social democratic state in the world. I will follow the transformation Georgian social democracy underwent on the road of this debate.

On the initial stage, they entered in debate with liberals from the pages of the 'Kvali' (The Trace) Newspaper, criticizing their liberal articles published in the 'Iveria' Newspaper. They had different views

on education, development of capitalism and class struggle. Socialists rejected the class reconciliation idea of the 'Terek-drinkers' and declared class struggle as the precondition of uniting the nation. They positively assessed liberals activity of 60s however, deemed their contemporary liberals backward and enemies of progress. In one of Zhordania's pieces, they were fighting 'the course of the apostle of darkness – Ilia Chavchavadze'. Pilipe Makharadze was particularly aggressive; he even blamed Ilia for feudal thinking (Janelidze, Georgian Students and Youth in Social-Political Arena , 2015).

The national question was one of the major issues differentiating the Georgian social democrats from their Russian counterparts since their ideas coincided with those of the European socialists to more of an extent. M. Darchashvili–scholar of the political thinking of the beginning of the 20th centurywho completely studied the press article of 1900-1907–states that the national question overlapped other problems in Georgian press and was an almost a daily issue. National democrats were passionate advocates of national independence, while they criticized socialism at the same time. Social federalists also discussed the possible menace socialism could bring, while social democrats did not put such significant emphasis on the national question and for that reason they were constantly engaged in controversies. Because of this, a certain circle inside them founded the journal 'Alioni', where they raised the question of national territorial autonomy and criticized those social democrats, which paid less attention to this matter. However, it is an interesting that the social democrats followed the platform of their international organization, which recognized theright of nations to self-determination. This concept was a relatively new one at the time, and as it seems, other parties demanded from the social democrats to make more clear and loud statements regarding the independence of Georgia because social problems were brought forward.WWI made the question even more relevant, which was not only a Georgian phenomenon, as the whole world actively debated over it (Darchashvili, 2013).

Uratadze recalls that, the question of national independence had become prominent since the 1860s following the Emancipation reform and had never been removed from daily agenda (Uratadze, 1939). As the first part of my study has shown, this happened due to the merits of Ilia Chavchavadze and the 'Terek-Drinkers'. As Uratadze notes, the essence of the matter was everchanging. At first, it was 'preservation of national identity', which meant 'protection of language, homeland and culture'; since 1880s, it took political nature, while since 1890s it was transformed into a program, for what reason it became a subject of controversy between social federalists and social democrats. After the 1905 Revolution was defeated, the national question became the first among the others and each party defined it according to their doctrine. In this regard, Noe Zhordanias's program 'Economic Growth and Nationality',was published evenwhile he was in 'Mesame Dasi'. According to Uratadze, Georgian social democrats wanted to bring up the question at the session of London International, however, they failed to do so due to other numerous debatable questions. Nevertheless, they managed to receive consent from the Russian social democrats regarding equality of languages and regional self-governments, which took exhausting efforts to accomplish. A decision concerning 'self-determination' was made rather soon, though many vaguely understood this move in Georgia. For this reason, Noe Zhordania had to publish an explanation, where he clarified that this was a national program about the self-determination of nation, which would bring the country to independence. M. Plekhanov confirmed the same for the Polish social democrats. And when the Ottomans defeated Russian forces during World War I, Georgian social

democrats assembled and announced that, if Russia pulled out from the Caucasuses, which was very likely, Georgian social democrats would take over the power, declare independence and try to defend the country from ravaging, which was expected from the Ottomans, as well as from Russia (Uratadze, 1939).

V. Guruli has more of a different and critical attitude toward the national consciousness of social democrats. According to him, except for the political elite, socialist ideas prevailed over nationalist ones in worker and peasant circles. The 1905 Revolution influenced this as well, which, according to the professor's assessment, was an attempt to extinguish national spirit. Most of the workers were preoccupied with class-consciousness. They did not possess patriotic, civil consciousness. They saw supporting a political party advocating class-consciousness as their mission. Such workers mostly composed 'Sakhalkho Gvardia' (Popular Militia), which served the Social Democratic Party, rather than the homeland. Part of them were influenced by social democrats, while the other by the ideology of social revolutionists. In addition to this, peasant-soldiers –who came back from the World War I where they were strongly influencedby Marxism–encouraged the peasantry to take over the government by armed rebellion. Therefore, aack of national consciousness was noticeable in the highest legislative body – National Council, Parliament, Constituent Assembly, and even in the government. Despite of this, May 26, 1918, was a harbinger of the rise of national consciousness. However, it did not identify itself as a successor of the national movement of 60-90s of the 19th century, and the actual reason of separating from Russia, was not to separate from Russia in general but from the Soviet Bolshevik Russia (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008).

Karl Kautsky, theoretician of Marxism, has a different opinion. He noted that, Georgian social democracy was peculiar, extremely nationalist and popular. This was socialism in nation's service (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009). Scholar Shubitidze shares the same position, and supports this opinion by Noe Zhordania's *Our Way*, where he writes that, whatcolour socialism should have, it is always nationalist, and it should serve the whole nation, not some particular class. Every modern nation is going towards one direction, toward one civilization; however, each of them follows this way differently, according to their past and contemporary situation. To keep the common line and characteristics of each of them is necessary. The goal is common,the method is different (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009).

Scholar Stephen F. Johns refers to Noe Zhordania as the factor of the Georgian social democrats being nationalistic. He states that, Noe Zhordania was more interested in European socialist ideas while he was a student. That is why he joined Polish and Russian Marxists. He read Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Marx. However, he was influenced by the thoughts of other European social democrats, he studied the history of the Social Democratic Party of Germany when his Russian socialist and utopian illusions were shattered. In addition to this, Russian chauvinist acts started against representatives of other nations in everyday life, and Polish would not speak to Zhordania in Russian in protest. Johns argues that living in Warsaw influenced Zhordania vastly, causinghim to believe in fighting for cultural rights and the power of national movement against imperialism (Jones, 2007).

As I see, analysis of the research provides us with grounds to assess the worldview of the Georgian social democrats in such terms that, they were based on Karl Marx's socialist ideas. However, similar to Western Europeans, national motives prevailed in them, for which reason they were

influenced by nationalist ideas. They eventually abandoned thefundamental idea of Marxism that rejected private property. Real-life economic needs brought them to the conclusion that it is impossible to establish such a socialist utopian state, which will not be based on private property. Hence, I can unequivocally conclude that the Georgian social democrats shared the ideas of Western European social democrats and were radically different from Bolshevik ideas and approaches.

3.3. Establishment of the Democratic Republic of Georgia

The name itself – Democratic Republic of Georgia – indicates that, it was a complete manifestation of the idea of Europe and modernization, though, only for a very short period from 1918 to 1921, but it constituteda full realization of this idea. Even if the Georgian social democrats had not achievedany other service to Georgia, their paramount achievement left to the future generations would have been the re-establishment of Georgia's independence and establishment of the first republic. In this manner, they not only responded to their contemporary challenges but also left a legitimate legacy to Georgia, enabling it to re-establish its independence in 1991. The factthat modern Georgia celebrates Independence Reestablishment Day on May 26 is the result of political and legal contributions of the first Democratic Republic of Georgia and its social democratic government, the first of its kind in the world.

It should be noted that, the way towards independence, not to mention the one to its preservation, was significantly difficult and jumpy in a political sense. By the decree of the Russian Provisional Government, general elections were held in Tbilisi through secret ballot in 1917. According to the results, social democrats received 50 seats out of atotal 120 seats, while Dashnaktsutyun received 24 seats, socialist revolutionaries – 20, and Bolsheviks only 7(Vashakmadze N. , 2014). Scholar S. John provides the following explanation regarding such success of the Georgian social democrats: 'Georgian social democrats included the topics in their program, which concerned national self-determination, and they were the first ones among the social democrats to prove that nationalism and socialism did not contradict, but made each other whole. National rights were important for democratic socialism. Socialism was very attractive in Georgia since it promised to put an end to colonialism, exploitation from foreign proprietor, social and provincial division and it could do it without any conflicts forced from the outsiders. The fear of past wars and invasions made Georgians reject nationalist parties' (Jones, 2007).

Collapse of the empire following the February 1917 Revolution gave colonized non-Russian nations a real prospect to regain their statehood. This matter became topical in Georgian political circles, when they were considering through which form to re-establish independence of Georgia. Due to the rapidlychanging reality throughout the Russian Empire, political opinion swiftly underwent the transformation. And because of October Revolution and the threats coming from Bolshevism, social democrats resolved to preserve democratic achievements. Therefore, the question of Georgia leaving the Russian Empire and preserving democratic institutions in Transcaucasia through this way was raised(Vashakmadze N. , 2014).

In Vadachkoria's words, sincethe beginning, Georgian politicians restrained themselves from revealing any kind of radicalism since they anticipated negativereactions from the Provisional

Government of Russia. Therefore, they only demanded territorial autonomy at the beginning, which seemed to remain possible if Russia would transform into a federation. Georgian political reasoning was soon changed. In a month time, the establishment of Transcaucasian Federation became topical, implementation whereof showed political figures in South Caucasus the possibility of independence and this question was raised soon(Vadachkoria, The Issue of National Statehood in Georgian Political Thinking, 2008). According to V. Guruli, one of the reasons of political prudence was deployment of the Russian army along the Caucasian front and possible aggression from the Ottoman Empire. Georgian politicians realized that this case concerned not only declaration of independence but also its preservation, which seemed rather difficult. The fact that great European powers did not show any interest in Georgia's future, only strengthened this position. In addition, the Bolsheviks coming into power (though it was principally unacceptable for the Georgian social democrats) as well as many European politiciansassumed that it was temporary and democratic power would take back the reins of power in Russia. Guruli indicates that, because of this belief, Georgia did not start cutting political ties with Russia, propagandizing restoration of independence and seeking allies. As a result, the declaration of Georgia's independence was prompted not by anti-Russian propaganda and attitudes but by geopolitical and tactical necessity (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008). However, in my opinion, the goal was the same: independence of Georgia and its preservation.

In another of Guruli's works,I read that World War I prevented anti-Russian propaganda since Germany and the Ottoman Empire were allies in this war, and the latter did not conceal its ambitions to occupy Transcaucasia. In this scenario, only the same old Russia was able to protect Georgia. Georgian politicians thought that the Ottoman Empire was more distant from the civilized world of that time than Russia, so they had to choose between bad and worse. Germany was willing and ready to aid Georgia in the rebellion against Russia, but social democrats did not support this option. However, two German cruisers managed to enter the Black Sea, causing panic in coastal populations since they perceived the enemy of Russia as the enemy of their own (Guruli V. , 26 May of 1918, 2011).

Noe Zhordania published, in the newspaper 'Akhali Azri' (New Opinion), that 'the essence of socialism is based on self defense and not on offense'. He denounced the party that looks at the national tragedy from the distance. Therefore, his well-defined position was for the Georgian social democrats to keep neutrality, though, not every member of the party shared this opinion. He also wrote in 1915 that driving out Russian troops from Georgian with Germany's help was unrealistic since there was no guarantee that Germany would manage this because of its current state of war. In addition, there also was no guarantee that the Ottoman Empire would not occupy Georgia as soon as the Russian troops left the country. However, this position was gradually changed once World War I was accompanied by spread of nationalist ideas and the idea of self-determination, which promised to bring equality of rights of the nations. Despite this, Georgian social democrats could not take the risk to demand separate autonomy for Georgia at the beginning and believed that, it was possible to establish a Transcaucasian autonomy within Russia (Bendianishvili, History of Georgia 1801-1921, 1999).

The February Revolution in Russia also impeded anti-Russian propaganda. During the Revolution, democratization of Russia was declared; Russian military-beaurocratic governance in Georgia came to its end; autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church was restored; Georgian language,

national culture, national movement was no longer persecuted, which was attributed by strong Georgian Menshevik lobby in the Russian government, and represented by Karlo Chkheidze and Irakli Tsereteli. Therefore, Provisional Government of Russia spread its jurisdiction in Transcaucasia in such a painless manner that the question of independence was not even any longer raised in Georgia (Guruli V. , 26 May of 1918, 2011).

According to Guruli, countries in the South Caucasuses pursued different foreign political courses. It was impossible for these states to act jointly. Armenia took its course toward England, while Azerbaijan turned to Ottoman Empire. Georgia managed to establish close relations with Germany and was forced to act alone. Settlement of the procrastinated issue of declaration of independence–which was stalled even more in face of expected aggression from Russian and the Ottoman Empire–was sped up due to the aggressive policy of the Ottoman Empire itself. Under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which the Ottoman Empire signed with Bolshevik Russia, it was granted the right to regain the territories it had lost in the war. This was followed by the annexation of Armenian territories and occupation of SouthernGeorgian territories, in particular, large parts of Adjara and Samtskhe-Saatabago. Kutaisi and even Tbilisi were under risk. Georgian sub-units were unable to stop the Ottoman army. Therefore, the following tactical decision was made: Georgia would declare independence, because if the Ottoman Empire occupied Georgia, it would not be deemed as occupation of Russian territories but an invasion in Georgia. Such decision would ease the struggle for re-establishment of the independence of Georgia. For this reason, Transcaucasian Sejm was convened in February 1918, which in April proclaimed the establishment of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. Bolsheviks losing the Northern Caucasuswhere the 'White Movement' began, made clear that both factions within Russia were renouncing South Caucasus while the Ottoman Empire went on offensive and started occupation. Georgian social democrats did not wait for the situation in Russia to settle down and made their choice between the West and Russian in favor of the West (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008). Before declaring independence, the Executive Committee of the National Council of Georgia passed a resolution on May 14, 1918, which mentions Germany's support including the request for the Germans to carry on marching in the North Caucasus in order to get closer to the Georgian borders, ensuring the protection of Georgia from expected external threats (Guruli V. , 26 May of 1918, 2011). It happened so: pursuant to the treaty signed in Batumi, Germany was supposed to be a guarantee to protect Georgia from invasion of any country. It would deploy its troops in various regions of Georgia (Uratadze, 1939).

On May 26, 1918, Georgia declared independence, and neutrality as the foundation of its foreign policy. Gamkrelidze deems that the Western European countries played the vast role in formation of the Georgian state. 'The Act of Independence' of 1918 was exactly the result of their impact. This was manifested by the fact that, soon after the declaration of independence it was recognized de jure, which sped up the collapse of the Russian Empire, as a result whereof, Russia was forced to recognized independence of Georgia on 7 of May, 1920. This granted the Georgian people the right to independent life and to self-determination (Gamkrelidze, G., 2013).

Scholar Sh. Vadachkoria believes that, adoption of the act of independence on May 26, 1918,was provoked and conditioned by two political circumstances. The first was the wish of Armenians and

Azerbaijanis to refuse the Georgians objective to create the united SouthernCaucasian Federation. The second is entirely related to Germany. It seems that taking such a bold step needed support and protection of the civilized states since, considering the weak political and economic conditions, threat of military aggression was expected from the Ottoman Empire, and only Germany was supposed to neutralize it. Therefore, a consolidated political consensus was reached among social democrats, national democrats and socialist federalists of the country(Vadachkoria, The Issue of National Statehood in Georgian Political Thinking, 2008). In fact, Germany was interested in helping the Transcaucasian countries to negotiate with the Ottoman Empirebecause its positions in the East were weak and needed an ally to rely on. Neither Armenia nor Azerbaijan would accept this since they already had made their foreign political choices in favor of England and the Ottomans, respectively. The only one in need of support was Georgia. It was Germany that informed the Georgian delegation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and territorial claims of the Ottoman Empire. According to the counsel provided by the German general Von Lossow, the only way out was to declare Georgia independent. Akaki Chkhenkeli clearly wrote to his fellow party-members about this and asked them to show courage and take the risk. Noe Zhordania shared his position and he convinced the rest of the political elite without any hesitation (Silagadze & Guruli, 1998). Major Shalva Maghlakelidze discusses Germans' merit in his memoirs, according to which, Germans wanted to 'disintegrate the great Russia in national units' (Maghlakelidze, Memories, 2012). They would not be able to do this without the appropriate grounds, which also happened to be in Georgia's interests.

WhenI read Noe Zhordania's speech he gave on the day independence was declared, I clearly see thathe expresses regret about the wish of Armenians and Azerbaijani to dissolve the Transcaucasian Federation and hopes that it will be renewed in the future. However, from his words it is obvious, that he advocates this position only because he can sense the threat that Georgia cannot deal with external enemies alone and looks for allies. Due to the circumstances, he approves and declares independence of Georgia as a sovereign, neutral and democratic republic, which will ensure to equally protect the civil and political rights of its every citizen, despite their nationality (i.e. ethnicity), religious beliefs, social status and sex (Guruli V. , 26 May of 1918, 2011).

As I can see, the declaration of independence of Georgia was not monotonous and such simple that Georgians' desire for freedom could be enough for it. It was attributed by relevant circumstances as inside of Georgia, so outside of it. If it were not for these circumstances, gaining independence for Georgia would probably be delayed for a long time. Therefore, independence of Georgia was declared because of the set of several circumstances and reasons:

1. Aspiration of Georgians for independence;
2. Germany had a certain objective to disintegrate Russia in several nations and for that reason pledged Georgia its support, in addition, saved Georgia from the Ottoman aggression;
3. A real threat of aggression was anticipated from the Ottoman Empire, hence, it was tactically justified for Georgia to meet the military aggression as an independent state, which would make easier to re-establish Georgia's independence on the international arena;
4. Bolshevik government of Russia was categorically unacceptable for the Georgian social democrats, they did not even recognized it as a legitimate government;

5. Georgian political parties reached a consensus on taking advantage of convenient geopolitical and domestic events, and declare independence of Georgia.

3.4. Ideologues of Social Democratic Changes

The majority of political activists and elite in Georgia in the first quarter of the 20th century were social democrats. However, at this time I have picked out their leaders by political and intellectual aspects, their most effective manager, the most cosmopolitan theoretician, the most nationalist, the eldest activist and the most idealist academic social democrats. These are Noe Zhordania, Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli, Noe Ramishvili, Akaki Chkhenkeli, Silibistro (Silva) Jibladze, Isidore Ramishvili. Inspirer of social democrat ideas, author Egnate Ninoshvili, Mensheviks – Karlo Chkheidze, Evgeni Gegechkori, Grigol Lortkipanidze, Nikoloz Chkheidze, Noe Khomeriki, Seit Devdariani, Benia Chkhikvishvili and others are worth noting, though, they will not be discussed in the foregoing study.

Noe Zhordania

Noe Zhordania (1868-1953) is the indisputable leader of the Georgian social democrats. He was simultaneously a theoretician, intellectual, publicist, author and a practicing politician of international level. As a leader he is responsible for uniting the Georgian social democrats, transforming them into a governing political power, declaring the independence of Georgia, as well as for the defeat during the occupation. This research aims to study his activities and views, as an advocate of the idea of Europe and a modernist of the social democratic wave in Georgia. I will analyze his political beliefs, differences with other Georgian social democrats, attitudes toward Europe, democracy, socialism and the political organization of state.In addition, I will also outline his specificsteps in the state's service.

Born in a family of Gurian Aznauri (equivalent to baron) of Italian descent, Noe Zhordania received primary education at a school in Lanchkhuti and later graduated from the Tbilisi Spiritual Seminary. Despite this, his parents hoped that their son would become a priest, but Noebeing an atheist sympathizer from the very beginning, read forbidden Russian and Georgian literature at the Seminary. He familiarized himself with Narodniks' views about revolution, which aroused his interest, although he doubted its probability. His political views took the final form while he was studying in Warsaw in 1892, when he learned about Marxism, and about the movement for autonomy of the Polish people, which determined his final transition from Russian Narodniks' idea to European social democracy, and included nationalist ideas in addition to socialism. In his words, Russian Populism (Narodnichestvo) was of reactionary nature and would bring people to barbarism while European socialism aimed to make the working class politically aware and would lead them to the political arena. Noe Zhordania sent every novelty that he came across, including literature, in Georgiato Egnate Ninoshvili and Silibistro Jibladze. When he returned to Georgia in late 1892, he joined other socialists in a political movement concentrated around Egnate Ninoshvili. They organized the first meeting of Marxists in Georgia and because of the differences between them, they entrusted Noe Zhordania to prepare the first programme of action. Zhordania utilized his worldview and education, and as a resultthe program was socialist

andnationalist(Zhordania, My Past, 1990). The program examined the nature of nation and state, impact of globalization on national culture, impact of wars on small nations and their relations with Europe, and economic hardships. He believed thateconomic growth would unite the nation. In his words, 'nation, which is united economically, is consolidated ideologically as well. Then everybody starts to wish to look after national activities and the nation, to make it stronger... the more intensively trade grows, the more goods will go on international market... this will increase demand for industry and working force'. He believed that, class differentiation meant the progress of nation and was historically inevitable(Jones, 2007).

This was followed by the establishment of 'Mesame Dasi' and its first appearance on the political arena, because of which, Noe was facing arrest as the author of the program and thus he fledfor Geneva. By getting close to the socialists in Switzerland, he realized that most of them shared Narodniks' ideas and only few among them were Marxists. In Switzerland he developed close relationship with Georgi Plekhanov and theoreticians of socialism. Later, he became friends with Karl Kautsky while living in France and Germany. At the same time, he travelled in Western European villages, studied them and became convinced that they were very different from the Georgian social structure. A peasant in Western Europe owned private property and worried about taxes, no aristocrat lord bothered them, while in Georgia and Russia peasants were monarchists, though they opposed the lords of the manor. All this prevented the of spread socialist ideas in the similar manner as in Russia (Zhordania, My Past, 1990).

Noe Zhordania started writing publicist articles about Marxist-socialist ideas during the same period. Before returning to his homeland he shortly lived in England. Afterthis stint, he returned to Georgia in 1897, where he became the editor of the newspaper 'Kvali' and opposed the newspaper 'Moambe' led by Ilia Chavchavadze, whom he condemned for feudalism. V. Guruli studied the polemics of that period from the newspapers and came to the conclusion that the conflict between them was not personal. They did not even refer to each other by name and criticized only the ideas or actions of each other. Guruli argues that this was a manifestation of controversies between the eras, generations and ideas. Noe Zhordania even noted that, he acknowledged and respected the movement of 1860s, which he deemed progressive and appreciated the work it did in saving the Georgian nation, development of literature, creation of literary language, combating the old rules, defending the oppressed and this struggle was completely selfless. However, Noe Zhordania believed that from 1880-1890s, a new era dawned and the 'Terek-drinkers' fell behind it. Of course, Noe Zhordania believed such because he was attracted to socialist ideas while Ilia Chavchavadze and his team stayed loyal to free market, private property and first and foremost – to national independence. Noe Zhordania wrote that he fought misguided ideas and never a person. He thought his opponents were honest people following the wrong ideas. However, Ilia Chavchavadze did answer the activists of 'Mesame Dasi' and socialist with sarcastic essays in return as well(Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999). Everyone knows that he fought against social inequality and serfdom, though, he did not believe in socialism. Later, Noe Zhordania himself became a defender of private property and national independence. However, he explained all this through social democratic reasoning.

If I return to his career and the 'Kvali', he printed illegal so-called proclamations and disseminated them. In 1901-1902, Noe was arrested twice because of participating in May

1st demonstrations and his involvement in the Guria peasant movement. Later, he was temporarily released, forced in exile in Ganja and because of the warrant for his second arrest, he barely managed to flee to England. While he was in prison, all Georgian and Caucasian social democrat organizations joined RSDLP, which he disapproved of. Furthermore, the Transcaucasian Committee rejected his program because of his nationalist views (Zhordania, My Past, 1990). According to Stephen F. Johns, while he lived in Europe, Zhordania could easily enter into a debate with such theoreticians as Karl Kautsky, Edward Bernstein, Giorgi Plekhanov and Vladimir Lenin as their equal. In his works, he expressed his faith in parliamentarianism, legal activism, pluralism and decentralization within the Party. These were not only tactical matters to him, but also an ideological course and political belief, through which he saw Georgia coexisting with democratic Europe. In addition, Zhordania wrote that the Georgian nation belongs in Europe, because Georgians 'entered a new era, not as an ethnographic people but as the Georgian people which has its own history, culture, customs.Therefore, this is a national foundation on which we build the European civilization. Georgianness and Europeanness – that is written on our flag. The wish to become Europeans is strong among us, so strong that it causes crisis in people. This crisis concerns the fundamental concept of becoming European – economic growth' (Jones, 2007). Zhordania formulated his views toward Europe more firmly in one of his later essays, where he wrote: 'Georgia has always been seeking Europe, passionately desired to develop close ties with her. It was unable to find her nearby so decided to reach it through Russia. Russia came as the savior, as a European country and lent its hand to Georgia. Nowadays, the same Russia became anti-European country and drags it toward Asia. This bridge connecting us with Russia has been destroyed; let Moscow carry on going on its road toward the East, Georgia cannot follow them. Georgian will stay on its historical road toward the West. Georgian nation must eventually join the European family; this is only possible by ending Bolsheviks' rule and restoring liberty. Ground for this is ready in Georgia and in Europe. Entire democratic west is deeply interested in the Georgian people, greatly sympathizes and supports them. The West already sees Georgia as its own part, its own flesh and blood. On the other hand, Georgian people give in to Russian occupation, fights for its freedom and looks toward the West. They keep hoping and it will not be shattered'(Zhordania, Matter of Batle, 1923). Zhordania specifies geographical borders, as he believes that the European culture developed from the Roman and Greek cultures, which were based on private property while Asian cultures relied on state property. The first fostered appreciation of one's talent and individual development, while the second rejected and suppressed it. Therefore, Asia became a home for despotism, while Europe spawned a number of political orders, such as republic, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, constitutionalism, etc. where eventuallydemocracy prevailed (Zhordania, Matter of Batle, 1923).

Zhordania returned to Georgia during the 1905 Revolution by using a false passport. During this time Bolsheviks and Menshevikswere split in two different factions. He took part in defeating Bolsheviks in socialist organizations and undertook editorship of the newspapers 'Social Democrat', 'Skhivi' (The Beam), 'Gandiati' (The Dawn) and 'Elva' (The Lightning). He was elected in the first Duma of Russia where he led the social democrat faction. The Duma was shortly dissolved, but Noe Zhordania managed to put his candidates in future Dumas. He was arrested twice again for a short time because of his political activities and stayed in prison until he was affected by the 1913 general amnesty. Since 1917,

Zhordania supported the independence of Georgia, but in such a manner that Russia could not consider it as treason and lacked grounds to start repressions. In his words, 'in course of gaining independence of Georgia, it was necessary such a tactic that would take us to our goal and the Georgian nation would not face any physical danger in the meantime'. Another tactical step Zhordania considered very carefully was that if Russian armies left Georgia because of civil war in Russia, declaration of independence and taking Germany's side would not be seen as treason. Therefore, raids, repressions and arrests would be avoided. Thus, his principle was to act according to the circumstances and adapt tothem(Zhordania, My Past, 1990). Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and possible occupation by the Ottoman Empire simplified the matter, making declaration of independence of Georgian on May 26, 1918, practically justified. In the beginning, Zhordania became the leader on provisional parliament, and later the chairman of the government. Menshevik Wladimir Woytinsky noted that Zhordania was an indisputable leader of his small nation, surrounded by love and admiration, and the exemplary unity of the Georgian nation was a result mostly of his influence (Jones, 2007).

During the proportional system based general elections of the Constituent Assembly, his party received 102 seats out of the total 130. The government managed to receive recognition of independence from Russia and other free states. Zhordania remained as the head of the state. Below I will discuss the projects implemented by him as the modernist ones. However, in the meantime, it should be noted, that the Georgian army repulsed military aggression of the Russian army twice, in January 1918 and in April 1920. He waged a defensive war against Armenia in December of 1918. The Social Democratic Government of Georgia even dealt with the uprising in Abkhazia provoked by the Bolsheviks, however, they were eventually defeated by the 11th Army of Russia in 1921, following which Noe Zhordania emigrated along with other members of the government(Zhordania, My Past, 1990).He passed away in Paris, a few months prior to Stalin's death.

In addition to studying important fragments of his biography, it is interesting to analyze his social-political views in a little more detail since he was the leader of the second wave of the idea of Europe and modernization. It is surprising that, while being a Marxist or a social democrat, to be more precise, he acknowledged the National Question at the same time. His attitude toward nationality can be divided in four stages.

In the beginning, he did not have any answer regarding this question. Nationalist states had been successfully formed in Western Europe and social democrats of these countries shared nationalism.However, Zhordania wanted the solution for the peoples that live under colonial regime.

Therefore, on the second stage of formation of his worldview, National Movement of Poland, general boycotts against Russia, fight for Polish culture and language and demand for autonomy vastly influenced him. In Zhordania's words, 'if an individual should be free, if the whole society is supposed to govern itself, why a nation, as a large ethnic society, should not be allowed to govern itself, why not allow it to have its own state?'(Zhordania, My Past, 1990). On this very stage, newly returned Zhordania prepared such a nationalist action programme for 'Mesame Dasi'.Future Bolshevik P. Makharadze and other socialists could not hide their outrage to this programme. As for the second version, which was published under the title 'Economic Growth and Nationality', it was equally nationalist and socialist.

During this period, Karl Kautsky's essay had a defining influence on him. This essay convinced him that, Marxism did not reject nationalism as it acknowledged self-determination and equality of nations.

On the third stage, his tactical approach toward nationality is revealed. This reveal could drive one to the conclusion as if he rejected this concept, since he was opposing Ilia Chavchavadze and social federalists, who put the national question at thetop level. Zhordanias approach was tactical and was not based on worldview. This was conditioned by three reasons. First, he believed that formation of the nation took place in a capitalist environment, not in feudalism. For this reason, he saw Georgian national consciousness as a phenomenon of the 19th century, since in his book he especially mentions interruption of united Georgian state thought which lasted for several centuries. The second reason why Zhordania emphasized the socialist question more than the nationalist one, was tactical. He feared that by doing otherwise he would lose the support of the peasants who fought against the landlords and Ilia's concept of class reconciliation would dispose the peasants negatively toward the social democrats. For this reason, he preferred to gain peasantry's support by propagandizing class struggle. And the third, Noe Zhordania was very wary of Russia, which was able to brutally suppress any national movement at any time. Social democrats themselves were constantly subjected to repressions, and adding national sentiments to its ideology would completely divide their movement and bring death to many people. This was not an ideological but an entirely tactical question, which eventually proved right when Georgian managed to become an independent state at its very first opportunity and Zhordania devoted his life and career to national unity. He became the leader of a common nationalist government, which defended national freedom and fitted all these with socialist ideas.

As for Zhordania's views about democracy, he definitely is a Georgian philosopher in this regard. He formulated all his views in one book called *Democracy* and published in Paris 1933. While examining it, I see that he lays out the fundamental principles of democracy, names the bodies of democracy, reviews bourgeois, proletarian and social democracies and discusses the methods of its implementation in governmental agencies (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933).

Noe Zhordania finds individual and its sovereignty as the core principle of democracy. He believes that human being is a standard of each social phenomenon, object or idea. He/she is the master of his/her, plans, supervises and executes his/her own actions. He/she arranges and leads his/her own private of common affairs. Human being is autonomous individually and in a social environment. Any lord, monarch or the chosen one – messiah, who tries to intervene in his/her life without his/her permission, is an enemy of democracy. Zhordania recognizes civil and political liberty as the core political principle of democracy (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933).

Body of democracy is an assembly of citizens, i.e. people, which means individuals responsible before the society. Exactly this is the source of power. Such collective may exist in a village, city or state. This means that, people of the community and a decision of its majority is the source of power of this community, which is reflected in self-government and parliament (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933).

Noe Zhordania finds crisis of the ideas as a weakness of democracy. When people are not economically satisfied in democracy their ideas might become misguided and deviate from democratic aspirations. In such times, it is possible that people make way to dictatorship or monarchy. When dominating classes rule through democracy, it is called bourgeois democracy, which is similar to

anoligarchy and has nothing in common with the sovereignty ofpeople. Zhordania believes that democracy is born in and an indivisible nature of proletarism. Proletarian democracy in economics is based on poverty and the process of labor. It is not founded on individual labor and struggle but on the collective ones. Its power lays in collectivism, not in individualism. However, in real politics proletarian democracy is individualistic and is based on the weakening of the representative system through the direct intervention of people. Such interventions are referendum, legislative initiative etc., Social democracy has a broader meaning and includes proletariat as it consolidates the class. It promotes liberty and equality not only for its own nation but on the international level too, for every person in need, for every person who wishes freedom and equality, and strives for economic and social progress (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933).

In Noe Zhordania's opinion, democracy can be implemented through various methods. This is a matter of tactics and depends on the type of democracy, whether it be the bourgeois or proletarian form. The first one relies on parliamentarianism – possibility of being elected for several times, and legalism, i.e. operates within the scope of the written laws. The second one utilizes strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, labor movements with the aim to improve its economic conditions, which protected democracy multiple times and made antipopular reactionary constitutions collapse (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933).

In Zhordanias opinion, cheap governance is democracy's permanent requirement, where an individual should come first than the state, however, states tend to grow, gainmore power even under being democratic rule and seek to increase its influence, taxes and invade into individual's private life. This undermines sovereignty of people and democracy. For this reason, individual as well as socialism must be focused against the state in order to limit its constant growth and invasion into civil, political and cultural life. This will become possible by establishing communes which means allowing voting in every system, including organization of judiciary, law enforcement and educational ones, supervision of their budgets, etc. (Zhordania, Democracy, 1933)

After analyzing Noe Zhordania's biography, his endeavor, publications and works, I realize that he embraced modernization and the idea of Europe for all his life. His views on democracy are practically identical to those of liberals. He promoted freedom and equality of individuals and nations. He strived for progress and waged war against obsolete, reactionary, and pseudo values that aimed to control peopleideologically. His views on economy were different from the liberal views. However, they were absolutely consistent with socialism. His socialist views were against unjust oppression and were motivated by his will to protect the rights of the working class, to improve poor condition of the economy. Today, I can clearly say that socialism is ineffective for economic growth but it did protected people from vicious aspects of capitalism and feudalism. Zhordania, as the leader of the first social democratic government in the world, not only allowed private property but also created this by giving lands to peasants. This was the result of him perceiving and analyzing the reality that socialism did not work in practice as it seemed in theory. However, this does not mean that he rejected socialism. He remained loyal to such concepts that belong in part today. Those are the ideas that were based on classes, fought bourgeoisie and capitalism while stood for proletariat and socialism.

Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli

Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli (1881-1953) was one of the distinguished figures among social democrats, as the most cosmopolitan one. He was a theoretician of socialism and a publicist. He was born in a famous family. His father Giorgi Tsereteli was an author, publicist and a public figure, and his mother Olympiada Nikoladze was sister of Niko Nikoladze, whomIpreviouslymentioned. While studying in Saint Petersburg, Irakli Tsereteli became one the leaders of anti-Tsarist student movement, because of which he was exiled toSiberia from1901-1903. However, his exiles did not end there. He was elected in Duma, the legislative assembly of Russia, where he joined social democrats and actively engaged in the Revolution. Because of this, he was exiled toSiberia again from1907-1913for penal servitude. Kaki Tsereteli opposed Lenin ideologically from the very beginning. He upheld a different position regarding the WWI. While Lenin promoted his 'revolutionary defeatism' and opposed his own government, Tsereteli advocated peace without annexation and reparations. He was a member of the Provisional Government and held the position of Minister of Post and Telegraph. He was a famous antihero of propagandist communist art and cinematography, which showed his speech at the session of the Provisional Government, where he stated there was no party in Russia that was able to take over the government. Lenin, next to whom Stalin was standing, suddenly interrupts him and responds: 'There is such party! This is the Bolshevik Party!' Despite this, Mensheviks and the SRs constituted the majority of the provisional government while the Bolsheviks were in minority. Therefore, he devoted his entire career for creation of the Democratic Russia and disapproved the dissolution of Russia, and was accepted in the government of independent Georgia as an experienced politician. He emigrated after Soviet occupation (Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, 1987).

In the book published in 1907, Irakli Tsereteli strictly criticizes right-wing liberal democrats and considers them a politically impotent movement. He deemed Social Democratic Party as the only liberation movement that could establish democracy, socialism and make revolution happen. He strictly criticized nationalist approaches of the Georgian intelligentsia of the 60-90s. He believed that emancipation of serfs did not end with abolishment of serfdom and it was necessary to change feudal relations and approaches. In his words, 'strengthening wealthy classes, especially the nobility meant provoking hostility with other nations on national grounds, especially with Armenians' (Tsereteli I. , 1907). Tsereteli disapproved of the fact that intelligentsia was managing banks, school, municipal self-governments and other institutions, through which they ensured their own interests. However, they were unable to notice how the new classes – the working class and the peasantry – were coming into existence, whose interests the intelligentsia did not take into consideration. 'Mesame Dasi' and social democrats opposed all of this and they declared class struggle and establishment of a new civil structure. Irakli Tserereli criticized the idea of national autonomy as well, since he thought this idea was coming from the people who wanted to preserve titles. In such a case, clergy, intelligentsia, students, workers and peasants had to stand together, which would be an attempt to preserve the influence of impermanent titles. He believed the proletariat was the force that was supposed to implement real reforms of the country, and which was already fighting to defend its interests by the means of the social democratic ideas. He perceived the idea of nationalterritorial autonomy and the declaration of the Georgian language as a state language as satisfyinginterests of the nationalist intelligentsia. Through which it would

strengthen not only its influence but also subdue the 20% of the population that constituted ethnic minorities and therefore, oppression of these minorities, would begin.

In the abovementioned book, Irakli Tsereteli criticizes the Emancipation Reform in the Russian Empire because although the peasantry became free of their masters, not a single peasant received a piece of land. Landowners and capitalists remained the owners of the lands. A majority of peasants went to cities where capitalists at factories and plants subjected them to exploitation. For this reason, experience of Western Europe had to be adopted and peasants had to be freed not only by legal means, but in an economic sense too. This liberation would be achieved by abolishing private property and giving the means of manufacturing to the working class. Irakli Tsereteli, as well as other social democrats, saw overthrowing the monarchy as the beginning forstarting to build socialism in such circumstances as the only way to achieve the aforesaid. He even justified terrorism as a means toward this goal, while the only conditions in which he saw socialist ideas implementable was when relations in villages would be aggravated due to capitalism and the only ally of the peasantry would become the working class in city. He found making the proletariat aware was far stronger and effective than any terrorist act. In his words: this was the rock on which the church of social democracy was to be built (Tsereteli I. , 1907).

Irakli Tsereteli explains the vicious aspects of capitalism as follows: under capitalism, industry is focused on satisfying the interests of the market, not on personal consumption. The manufacturer gains profits from the realized goods, expands production and as it manufactures more goods, prime cost will become lower, and therefore, it will gain higher profit. Its competitor capitalist follows the same principle, i.e. it tries to produces more goods in shorter time and put it on the market in order to win more customers. The same behavior of each capitalist result in surpluses that causes crisis and production is suspended until all the goods manufactured by capitalist are sold. Such interruptions in production cause unemployment and withholding salaries of workers as a result of which they fail to pay rent and face the risk to be thrown out into the streets. Therefore, the more developed capitalism becomes, the more aggravated the relationship between the classes gets. All this will be eliminated only then, when the production controlled by society replaces competition, and society itself will match supply with demand. Irakli Tsereteli saw this possible only through liberation of proletariat and revolution. The lower limit of his social democrat program was democracy while the upper one was socialism. According to him, in such conditions, land of the landlords, churches, princes, monasteries and the ones in state's possession has to be transferred to municipalities, i.e. to town self-governments which will be elected by people through secret ballot. Only small owners will keep lands, which will be categorized by municipalities according to the local specifics. In such case, private property will be preservedbut it will be in return of rent. Monies collected from them will be used for schools, libraries, hospitals, roads and implementation of other infrastructural projects (Tsereteli I. , 1907).

As I can see, Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli mostly shared traditional Marxists views. Based on the first part of my research, his radical ideological assessments of the Georgian national movement can be deemed exaggerated. His public activities were related to Georgia only because of his Georgian origin and influenced Georgian politics only because of this aspect as he saw himself a Russian public figure and fought more for its social democratic reforms than for an independent Georgian Republic.

Akaki Chkhenkeli

Akaki Chkhenkeli (1874-1959) was a lawyer, publicist and a politician. He was one of the leaders of social democrats in Russia as well as in Georgia, and he represented a somewhat nationalist fraction. He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Georgia only for a few months in 1918. Diplomatic relations with the representatives of Germany during WWI, stopping the Ottoman aggression through diplomatic means, raising and hastening the question of declaring independence of Georgia are associated with his name. He was excluded from the Tbilisi Spiritual Seminary because of participating in the strike against anti-Georgian management of the Seminary. He continued studying in Moscow, Leipzig and Geneva, following which he returned to Georgia in 1909 and joined revolutionary movement again. For this reason, he was exiled for a year and in 1912, he was elected as a member of Russian Duma from Batumi and Karsi Oblasts and Sokhumi Okrug. Also, he was one of the first Georgian Mensheviks to raise the question of political autonomy of Georgia. In 1917-1918, Akaki Chkhenkeli was a member of the National Council of Georgia and its executive committee, as well as a member of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1919-1921). Furthermore, he was the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Transcaucasian Commissariat in 1917-1918, and in April 1918he was the chair of the Government of The Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. He is the author of the essays *Nation of Mankind*, *Nation and Us*, published a book,*State and Nation*, under the pseudonym made up by abbreviation of his name – 'Anchini'.While in Paris in 1971, Grigol Tereteli published*Georgian Emigration and Emigrants*, where he describes Akaki Chkhenkeli's personality as follows: 'incredibly polite and staid man. He was considered as the man of discipline in our party; however, he ideologically defended unity of all Georgians, in any instance. If he unconditionally shared economic program of socialism, instead he upheld entirely different approach to the national question, which he so skillfully defended' (NPLG, 2012).

In the essay published in 1912, *Nation of Mankind*, Iwasintroduced to his worldview on the formation of the nation. In his opinion, 'to all who looks ahead, individual, nation and the mankind must be equally dear and ultimate purpose'. He explains that the nation and people are not the same. People are just a material, from which a nation is formed with time. It is a living organism, not biological but a social one. At the same time, the nation is a historical category and a child of the modern world that is formed differently in various peoples. Social-economic conditions facilitate its formation. Generally, its characteristics are common origin (lineage), language, religion, customs, culture, self-awareness and psychology. As for the essay *Nation and Us* published in 1915, it clearly formulates Akaki Chkhenkeli's nationalist aspirations. According to the essay, socialist principles must correspond with national ones. That is why the RSDLP program was unacceptable for the Georgian nation – it did not even contain such a concept as the nation. Whereas the principles of internationalism required social democracy to pursue national policy as well, he considered that democracy would not be able to settle or resolve national issues if Georgia did not gain national-territorial autonomy. Akaki deemed that multinational empires had to be dissolved and each nation had to establish its own independent state. Such views of his substantially influenced the evolution of the ideology of Georgian social democracy, which was successfully implemented during the independence of Georgia(Gergedava-Chelidze, 2002).

As I have already mentioned, Akaki Chkhenkeli conceived his nationalist views at the session of the Duma and demanded nationalterritorial autonomy for Georgia. During his speech, he denounced Russian policy toward the oppressed nations, amongst which Russia was stirring up hostilities. In addition, he criticized how Russia deprived Georgia of its independence, autocephaly, opportunity of cultural progress and even took out the word 'Georgia' from vocabulary. For this reason, he demanded to repeal all the laws that restricted non-Russian nations and to grant them the right to self-determination, which would be manifested in free use of mother language and creation of the institutions necessary for national devilment. Actually, this was a very bold statement considering political situation of those times, duringwhich Akaki Chkhenkeli effectively dealt with. Moreover, thanks to Akaki Chkhenkeli's energetic activity, the National Congress of Georgia was convened on November 19, 1917. That was caused by cutting ties with the central government of Russia, eruption of the civil war, the world war, domestic and external challenges thatconvinced Georgian social democrats that they had to be the masters of their own fates. Therefore, they invited representatives of political parties, labor councils, municipal self-governments, cultural-educational and trading-financial institutions, ethnic minorities, etc. to the congress. National Congress was an essential event on the way of Georgia's independence. It created the National Council of Georgia under the leadership of Noe Zhordania with Akaki Chkhenkeli as his deputy. In fact, this was the Georgian government that had to undertake implementation of the independence of Georgia, which it successfully accomplished(Gergedava-Chelidze, 2002).

Since I have examined Akaki Chkhenkeli's political ideology, it is interesting, what role he played in the re-establishment of independence of Georgia. Russia dropped out of the World War I since Lenin took over the government. On March 3, 2017, he signed a treaty in Brest-Litovsk with Germany and its allies, including the Ottoman Empire. Under this treaty, the Ottomans received Batumi, Karsi and Erdehan districts. By then, the Transcaucasian Commissariat had already convened the Transcaucasian Sejm. Although it had not declared independence yet, it rejected the demand of the Ottoman Empire to receive the territories under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. To resolve the dispute, a conference was held in Trabzon on March 14 between the Ottoman Empire and Transcaucasia. Akaki Chkhenkeli led the delegation at the conferences where Transcaucasia did not recognize the Bolshevik Russia's authority to transfer Southern Caucasian territories under the Ottoman jurisdiction. On its part, the Ottoman Empire obstinately referred to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and as a resultnegotiations reached a dead-end. In addition, the Ottoman army crossed the borders and occupied Batumi, Ozurgeti and Meskheti region(Silagadze & Guruli, 1998).

Moreover, the Ottoman Empire supported Transcaucasia to declare independence. Noe Zhordania saw a threat in this encouragement, since until Transcaucasia remained in Russia, the Ottoman Empire was not allowed to demand more territories than stipulated by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. However, neither Party nor Sejm shared his opinion and independence of the Democratic Federative Republic of Transcaucasia was declared (Zhordania, My Past, 1990).

Zhordania turned out to be right. The Ottomans seized the whole Yerevan governorate and Azerbaijan. In addition, the Ottoman Empire took responsibility to enforce order in Transcaucasia. Akaki Chkhenkeli categorically refused to engage in the war, which threatened the peaceful population with bloodshed. However, he also realized that Azerbaijanis were not interested in defending Armenians,

which supported England in the WWI, and without Armenia, there would not be any Transcaucasian Federation. Since Georgia was unable to hold off the Ottoman armies, not mention German ones, Akaki Chkhenkeli convinced Georgian politicians to declare support to Germany and receive assistance from Germany. This would neutralize the Ottoman aggression in the first place. Otherwise, the Ottomans would capture Georgian territories, and until England's help would arrive, the enemy would decimate Georgian people on the frontline. Georgian politicians agreed with Akaki Chkhenkeli and declared the pro-German course. However, Akaki Chkhenkeli did not deem this enough for ensuring the security of Georgia and on May 15, demanded Georgian politicians to declare independence. In this period, Akaki Chkhenkeli developed close relations with a German General named Von Losow. It turned out that his pro-German course was a success. He was hoping that Germany would try to stop the Ottoman occupation, However, the details of the secret agreement between Russian and the Ottoman Empire were revealed at the same time, which would create unfavorable results for Georgia. Hence, the only way out would be independence of Georgia. Georgian political elite followed Akaki Chkhenkeli's advice without any hesitation and announced preparations for the declaration of independence (Silagadze & Guruli, 1998).

Noe Zhordania recalls this moment: 'The question of declaring independence of Georgia was raised. This was completely unexpected, a scenario never foreseen before, and its approval became a real puzzle for our revolutionary organizations.' However, the whole working class shifted on nationalist wave in 24 hours. In addition to this, Zhordania himself unintentionally started Ilia Chavchavadze's rhetoric on class reconciliation. The articles concerning confiscation of manors were removed from the Charter of Freedom according to his decision, and only the nationalist platform remained acceptable for all Georgians (Zhordania, My Past, 1990).

Since the Ottoman army was not planning to stop, with Georgians urgent request and Akaki Chkhenkeli's agreement with General Von Losow on May 19, Germany entered the negotiations as a party to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Representatives of Germany actually tried to stop the Ottomans. As a matter of fact, they did not meet any direct resistance, however, Azerbaijan already sided with Ottomans while Armenia had already been occupied by the Empire. Only Georgia remained unoccupied, which had to declare its independence to save itself and ask Germany for protection. This was not an easy step to take since both Russia and the Ottomans claimed Georgia as their own. Politicians passionate for freedom would necessarily be punished as well as peaceful population. Georgian politicians were practically signing their own death warrants by declaring independence. In spite of this, Akaki Chkhenkeli recommended to take the risk and even wrote in one of his letters: 'Nothing is done without a risk. Who has ever founded a state without a risk?! Audacity and more audacity are necessary!' (Silagadze & Guruli, 1998).

When Chkhenkeli was appointed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he signed the first international treaty with Germany on May 28, 1918 and left for Berlin in order to improve protectorate. There he met the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance, as well asmilitary leaders of Germany. He sent notices to each neutral state from Berlin and requested recognition forthe independence of Georgia. He also did not forget the opposing camp – the Entente, and dispatched Z. Avalishvili in Christiania, i.e. Oslo, to work with them. However, despite Georgia having declared neutrality as its foreign policy, Germany's defeat

in the war brought negative consequences. Georgia somehow was punished for supporting Germany and the League of Nations refused to recognize its independence. As for Chkhenkeli, he resigned as the pro-Germany politician, and went into the background. While residing in Switzerland during the whole year of 1919, he supervised operations of Georgian diplomatic delegations in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia. He intransigently opposed the Russian wing within the Social Democratic Party. In this regard, his hypercritical letters to Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli are quite interesting:

'For you, the history of Georgia begins with its unification with Russia. Modesty is a kind quality but exaggeration is harmful. I speak generally, however, the thing is, you do not value national freedom as it is, therefore, you fail to enumerate the crime of Russian domination: its educational, religious, and colonial policies, so our European comrades could know what freedom means to us'. In December 1919, he returned to Georgia and actively engaged in the activities of the Constituent Assembly. He travelled in regions campaigning for the independence of Georgia. However, for the sake of criticism, it should be noted, that his correspondence often contained wrong perceptions of the international political reality, which was cause by lack of information. Furthermore, sometimes it was hard for Chkhenkeli to leave internationalist socialist movement behind and criticized the 'imperialists of the west' at international conferences: 'if we found strength to fight Tsarism, we will also fight the world, imperialism, only through international socialist conference and with the help of the proletariat!' Such a statement from a representative of the country that sought for help and recognition of its independence from those 'imperialists', was a counterproductive move (Kobakhidze B. , 2015). However, in a historical sense, Chkhenkeli's public activity was exceptionally important in preparation and declaration of the independence of Georgia.

Noe Ramishvili

One of the key figures (the sternest one) of the social democrats was Noe Ramishvilli (1881-1930).Ramishvilli was the first chair of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, who held the position for a month until Noe Zhordania replaced him. He was the Minister of Internal Affairs during the three years of independence. As a public figure his views had a great impact in terms of the social democratic wave. He is the author of such works as *Historical Materialism*, *True and Fake Communism*, *Georgia and Russia*, *Democratic Socialism*, which show his key views on socialism, capitalism, nationalism, class struggle, internationalism and social reforms. In my study, I will examine the last book in order to analyze his ideas. During 1919, along with the position of the Minister of Internal Affairs, he assumed the positionsof the Minister of Defense and the Minister of Education as well. He also was a member of the Constituent Assembly and supervised the reforms of the army, school and communications. He organized suppression of peasant uprisings provoked by Bolsheviks in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region. On his initiative, the death penalty was introduced. He was one of the organizers of the 1924 rebellion of Georgia against Soviet Russia, which was crushed. During emigration Noe Ramishvili was assassinated under Bolsheviks instructions (NPLG, 2012).

Many critics referred to Noe Ramishvili as a dictator because of his strict and strong personality. However, some saw him as a strong leader instead. For instance, the leader of the 1924 rebellion of Georgia, Kakutsa Cholokashvili relates the occupation of Georgia to Noe Zhordania's weak and compliant

policy.Cholokashvili argued thatif Noe Ramishvili had been in his place, they would have defeated the Russian army in 1921. Thecontemporary politician and writer, Geronti Kikodze, shared this opinion too – only Noe Ramishvili could stop the Russian troops. Noe Zhordania f referred to him as a responsible person and agreed to form the government if Noe Ramishvili stayed in government. This proved how influential and respectableof a figure Noe Ramishvili was for the Social Democratic Party and Georgian society at the time (Sidamonidze, 2013).

Describinghow Noe Ramishvili gained authority and influence among the Georgian social democrats, historian V. Guruli states: 'Noe Ramishvili formed a strong terrorist organization in 1905. He could also arrange for a bomb-making workshop. His neutralization became an unsolved problem for the Gendarmerie department of the Tbilisi Governorate. In the reports of the Gendarmerie analysts, he was called the 'General of the social democrats'. Terrorist organization founded by Noe Ramishvili could execute a terrorist act of any difficulty. Starting from the same period, Noe Ramishvili acted as a radical-extremist revolutionary. However, he always identified himself as a Menshevik within the Georgian Social Democratic Party and never shared Bolsheviks' views' (Guruli V. , Political Course of Noah Ramishvili , 2016). Guruli notes, that unlike other social democrats, he had received a rather significant education, to which indicates the abovementioned works.

If I examine one of his works – *Democratic Socialism* – I will find that he was closely familiar with the ideas of such forerunners of socialism as Plato, Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. In Ramishvili's opinion, that was the time when they dreamt about building socialism in capitalism. Noe calls it utopian socialism, where an ideal industrial society and noble men can be created only under such socialist conditions: when workers would have working conditions appropriate to their dignity, while upbringing of the youth would be supervised. He was sure that only scientific socialism, developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels being built around class strugglewas able to realize socialism. Scientific socialism was founded on the concepts of the French Revolution, according to which each citizen was granted complete political and civil liberty despite their social status. For Noe, socialism is unimaginable without democracy. He believed that freedom of expression, gathering, conscience, collective bargaining and strike was as essential to the worker, as water is to fish. In his opinion, Lenin's theories and Bolshevism turned all this upside down and distorted socialism as they promoted proletarian dictatorship and elimination of democracy. For this reason, he called it tyranny that is afraid of the enemies of the proletariat to become active under democracy, so it aims to completely eradicate it. Under Bolshevism, not only the ones declared as enemies, but also the proletariat is subjected to the restrictions of democracy, which subjugate people to slavery. Noe Ramishvili strongly criticized Dekulakization and Collectivization. Under such terms, the government appropriates all the work of peasant, which he found unfair (Ramishvili N. , 1931).

Noe Ramishvili's views on capitalism coincide with the ones of classical socialism. Based on the reality of that time, he deduces that capitalism depends on the improper labor of workers, and on accumulation of surplus and therefore wealth by capitalist through this way. He finds growth of demand on money one of the negative aspects of capitalism that is caused by a need to purchase a number of various goods.Therefore, man manufactures goods not for its own consumption, but to gain profit, which forces the poor to be subjected to capitalists. Capitalism is mostly developed in cities, so peasants have to

leave their homes and engage into the process of urbanization. Capitalists desire to gain profit, thus eliminating the diversity of goods and making them identical, since this demands cheap and massive production. Competition is another vicious quality of capitalism in Noe's opinion.

This process subjects to the ruthless laws, and in one scenario, capitalist eliminates its competitor, while in the other, they create alliances and bring monopolies on the market. For Noe Ramishvili, class struggle is inevitable under such conditions and it must bring an end to the domination of few capitalists over the world, even though he rejects revolutionary means. He believes that socialism cannot and should not work without democracy. It is democracy that ensures the rule of the people, not a dictatorship, monarchy, supreme leader or party. He approves inviolability of individuals and the guarantee of civil rights. Despite all of this, Ramishvili acknowledges 'small proprietorship', he tries to support his opinion with Marx's words and thinks that the income that does not benefit through the exploitation of others, is not capital. Therefore, he believes that people should be given private property and the right to benefit from it, should it be land, workshop, small enterprise or other kind of private property that will help people to earn forthemselves(Ramishvili N. , 1931).

What Noe Ramishvili thought of national freedom is quite interesting. In his view, self-determination of nations is paramount as it is the foundation of democracy. This can be demonstrated through autonomy, where political sovereignty will be guaranteed, and through establishment of independent state. He presumes that modern nations are not pure races any more, and they evolved as a result of prolonged development, through combination of various races. Moreover, religion does not determine nationalities, since individuals of different religious beliefs are united under one nation. He believes that language is the key determinant of nationality. 'Modern nationalities are the result of historical progress, a psychological union, community, based on mutual language in the first place.' However, he does not reject exceptions and mentions the example of Switzerland, which has three (at that time) official languages. Ramishvili presumes that empires aim to assimilate peoples, however, it is impossible if the case concerns such nation, which had created works of literature in past; and one thing that drives nation to create its own state is democracy. Ramishvili condemns imperialism, which tries to enslave small nations. He demands for freedom of nations, their self-determination and equality among them. Noe Ramishvili thought that the Caucasian Confederation was the way to stand against Russian imperialism, since one small state would never be able to defend itself from the Russian threat on its own. Therefore, he saw a Transcaucasian military and political alliance as the solution, which would be a union of free states (Ramishvili N. , 1931).

It is noteworthy that Noe Ramishvili envisioned creation of a European economic-political union, somewhat similar to the modern European Union. As any other idealist theoretician at the time, he also saw free mankind as a union of free nations. According to him, economic inequality in Europe can be ended by rejecting protectionism, i.e. when the states abandon the nationalist economy and isolation, agree on the principles of freedom and equality and form 'Pan-Europe' (Ramishvili N. , 1931).

Through examination of the aforementioned book written by Noe Ramishvili allows us to see the author not only as an activist of the party that tried to fight Bolshevism and imperialism through rather extreme means. But also as an intellectual, whose ideas on capitalism, socialism, nationalism and equality

among nations are immensely interesting. For these reasons, he was a formidable Georgian representative of the idea of Europe and modernization.

Silibistro Jibladze

Silibistro (Silva) Jibladze (1859-1922) was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia and a member of the legislative body of the Democratic Republic of Georgia – Constituent Assembly, which he opened as the eldest member and delivered the first speech. Silva was the eldest social democrat leader in the Georgian Menshevik party. His name is associated with publicist activity at the newspapers 'Skhivi' (The Beam), 'Gantiadi' (The Dawn) and 'Elva' (The Lightning), as well as being an active revolutionary contributor. He was charged with the assault of the Rector of Tbilisi Spiritual Seminary and was accused of organizing an assassination of the Russian General Gryaznov. He was arrested and executed in the aftermath of the Soviet occupation of Georgia (Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, 1987).

S. F. Johns relates the beginning of social-political activities of 'Mesame Dasi' primarilyto the appearance of Silibistro Jibladze. He was sentenced to a three-year service in punitive battalion for assaulting the Rector of Tbilisi Spiritual Seminary in 1884. As I have previously mentioned, members of 'Mesame Dasi' publicly announced at Egnate Ninoshvili's funeral in 1894, that they entered the political arena. Silibistro Jibladze gave a speech, stating that: 'our new master is materialism… it is growing fast in our country... our current society is divided into two opposing classes. On the one hand, there are the ones who work physically and mentally, on the other hand – parasite bourgeois-capitalists. The first one are destined to unbearable toil and labour, while the other ones appropriate the fruits of the formers' work... as one scientist would say, now the circumstances of our time are expectant of eradication of this injustice.' Following this, he read out the first program prepared by Noe Zhordania, the one that I have mentioned earlier. All of this was unexpected and surprising for the mourners at the time. However, in fact the first Marxist-socialist demonstration was born at that moment. On the pages of the 'Kvali' (The Trace), Slibistro Jibladze indicated that they were not the successors of the precursor organizations. Maybe they had something common with the 'Terek-drinkers', but Silibistro called them reactionaries, while referring to his movement as progressive force. Later, a 'battle of life and death' was going to erupt between these two groups. However, as he had already seen, such attitudes of the Georgian social democrats changed in time. As Stephen Johns explains, they had no idea who was bourgeoisie and who the working class in Georgia. They were recent graduates, did not have either organization nor program, they were revolutionaries only by their instincts (Jones, 2007).

Jibladze's aggression in the Spiritual Seminary was not caused by outrage. At the time, the Seminary was more the scene of imperialist oppression than an educational institution. Despite this, it was supposed to educate future priests, monks and nuns, instead itt did the opposite. Not a single public school trained so many atheists and revolutionaries as this one. Tutors showed incredible disrespect and aggression toward Georgian culture. With excessive religious exhortations and extreme strictness, they provoked protest in students. Any work of Georgian writers or poets, or any foreign book or scientific work unacceptable for Tsarism, was forbidden. Regardless, Silibistro Jibladze, along with Isidore Ramishvili and Mikha Tskhakaia formed secret reading circles and published illegal 'newspapers'.

Assaulting the rector, as well as storage of 'populist' Nikolay Chernyshevsky's book '*What Is to Be Done*?' were stated as the reasons of Jibladze's expulsion from the Seminary (Jones, 2007).

Silibistro was already the leader of 'Mesame Dasi' in 1897. He stood out with his oratory and managerial skills, yet he felt indifferent toward theories. He remained such an active political figure and promoter of socialist ideas till his end. Although he was not a theoretician of socialism as Noe Zhordania or Irakli (kaki) Tsereteili were but his role in spreading socialist ideas in Georgia, and in formation of the Georgian 'Menshevik' Party, was immense. Before he was executed, he stated: 'Georgia has fallen, so has socialism. Georgia will rise, so will socialism', thus demonstrating that he associated his service for party with the service for the country, for which he was executed by shooting (Ramishvili N. , 1931).

Isidore Ramishvili

Isidore Ramishvili (1959-1937) came from a peasant family. He was a teacher, publicist, politician, one of the leaders of the social democrats, and a member of the legislative body of the Democratic Republic of Georgia – Constituent Assembly. Isidore was a coeval and associate of Silibistro Jibladze. They studied together at the Seminary where they jointly engaged in educational and revolutionary activities. His name is associated with provision of financial support for the assassination of the Seminary Rector. For twenty years, he had been working as a teacher in various cities of the Empire, and he alone established a library and public school in Guria and Adjara. He was one of the founders of 'Mesame Dasi' and led a strike of factory workers in Batumi within the scope of the organization's activities. He was exiled from1903-1905 and later from1909-1917. When he was not arrested or in exile, he managed tolead the campaign against Armenian-Tatar clashes during the 1905 Revolution andserve as a member of RSDLP Congress, a member of the First Russian Duma and the leader of a Menshevik organization in Baku. During the independency period, he represented the Government of Georgia in Abkhazia, and participated in military campaign against the Ottoman occupation in Adjara. After the Soviet annexation, he was exiled for 15 years; and he was executed by shooting at the age of 78 during the Great Purge (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2014).

Despite his actions, Isidore Ramilshvili was not a socialist theoretician similar to Silva Jibladze, his political activity was quite interesting, which he describes in his autobiographic book *Memoirs*that was finished a year before his death. In this book, which was written by himself as well as by his dictation, he recalls all his life fromchildhood until old age. For instance, this memoir reveals that nationalist sentiments were not unfamiliar for Noe Zhordania from the very beginning, and Isidore Ramishvili and Karlo Chkheidze only advocated socialist interests. The book describes one episode, when Noe, Zhordania, Karlo Chkheidze, Ivan Luzin and anarchist Varlam Cherkezishvili met at Isidore Ramishvili's in 1897, where they discussed nationality of worker and bourgeoisie. It turned out that Zhordania and Cherkezishvili attached importance to this matter while the others did not. Then, displeased Karlo Chkheidze toldIsidore that Europe affects everyone in such manner: everyone, who returns from there, is turned into nationalists. On his part, Zhordania was angry with them too, since he found them being excessive internationalists. During the next meeting, Zhordania explained his opinion to the workers in detail, stating that national self-determination was supposed to occur first,

thenfollowed by unification of every nation under the socialist idea, which was approved by the audience(Ramishvili I. , 2012).

While describing the Batumi strikes, Isidore Ramishvili notes that, the city was divided into two – internationalist and nationalist societies. Social democrats did not discriminate against Georgian workers compared tothe workers of other nationalities, by not granting any special advantages to them. On the contrary, they cared more for the minorities in order to establish a sense of the unity and solidarity of workers. Ramishvili recalls that the workers driven out from Tatarstan agreed to work in any harsh condition, only to avoid starvation. Exploiters took advantage of this by hiring them in return of very low salaries and making them work without fixed hours. It was Georgian Workers who demanded to protect their rights. Later, they also demanded to improve the conditions of Armenians, which developed the sense of solidarity (Ramishvili I. , 2012).

One more episode is interesting: Isidore Ramishvili told a custodian of an educational district that he did not want any king, not Georgian, Armenian or Russian. When the district custodian told him that he also had such attitude when he was young, Isidore responded that, a man should not pay attention to the color of hair but to the ideas and aspirations(Ramishvili I. , 2012).

As I can see, Isidore was a respectable figure during his times, aware of his ideals and loyal to them. He was an internationalist, democrat and socialist and remained so until his death.

3.5. Social Democratic Modernization

On June 24, 1918, Noe Zhordania left the National Council with Karlo Chkheidze replacing him while Noebecame the head of the government. On October 8, the National Council of Georgia was named Parliament (Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999). After Georgia declared independence, the social democratic government of Georgia was the first of its kind in the world, which started to implement this ideology in practice (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009).

Noe Zhordania presented the program for organization of political institutes to form the statehood of Georgia. At the SDWP congress in August 1918, he declared that they were choosing the model of European socialism and admitted that they could not jump over the capitalism phase; and premature socialist experiment would bring not social liberty but social reaction, destruction of social welfare, and a disruption of the national economy. He acknowledged Georgia as a bourgeois state, where private property had to be incited, and industry had to be developed. Zhordania believed that his party had to establish democracy at least, and socialism in the best case. He realized that introducing socialism through rough methods would destroy the economy, so he focused on strengthening democratic institutions. In this regard, he shared the opinion of Marxist theoretician Karl Kautsky who argued the first steps of a victorious proletariat should not be socialist reforms but creation of democratic institutes (Vashakmadze N. , 2014).

Moreover, V. Shubitidze notes that the Georgian social democrats were not on the way of European social democracy but were acting on the contrary. European social democrats shared their

experience. Since Noe Zhordania's government was the first social democratic government in the world, he was the first to realize the absurdity of Marx's and Lenin's ideas to more of an extent, and the impossibility to implement them in practice. For this reason, his government preserved the principle of private property but also rejected nationalization of lands. Land reform was implemented peacefully and without any bloodshed; by this reform, a certain portion of land was given to each peasant. In addition to this, the fund of land was created. German and Austrian social democrats only acknowledged in the middle of the 20th century that their goal was to create a classless society, where private property and market economy would be untouched (Shubitidze V. , Georgian Menshevism and Modern Social-Democracy, 2009).

In order to learn more details how Georgian social democrats realized their views and what modernization Georgia underwent duringtheir rule, I will individually discuss the reforms of political, economic, and social systems.

Modernization of the Political System

Noe Zhordania prepared the program 'Social Democracy and Political Organization of Georgia,' which intended for the modernization of the political system. The program was based on the analysis of the experience of the Western European democratic states. He was looking for an experience appropriate for Georgia and acceptable for the Georgian reality. A long time before the independence of Georgia Noe Zhordania thought about a new political system, and he considered democratic republic the most adequate form. The Act of Independence defined Georgia as a democratic republic, and therefore, the type of organization of the state government was determined accordingly. Though Georgian social democrats were united with the Russian Mensheviks for some time, the platform of Georgian leaders was based on European ideals. On Noe Zhordania's initiative, the National Congress of Georgia was convened, which determined the fate of Georgia. At the same time, he was the chair of the regional center of the Council of the Deputies of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants of Georgia. He alsohad the ability to declare the independence of Georgiaor determine the country's fate by convening the Congress.However, it would be the Bolsheviks that split the nation into classes. Therefore, he invited the intelligentsia, nobility, bourgeoisie and other political parties, even the ones with radically different views, to the Congress. 324 delegates with decisive votes and 19 delegates with advisory votes attended the Congress. 67 delegates represented political parties; 15 – councils of workers and soldiers; 33 – municipal governments; 89 - executive committees of governorate districts and communes; 20 – Georgian army; 8 – cooperatives; 9 - teachers union;8 - press; 35 – cultural-educational institutions; 26 – industry and trade sector and banks; 20 – nobility; 6 – migrants; 1 – the Church of Georgia; 7 – Catholics and Muslims; 3 – Jews; 2 – Abkhazian delegation; and 8 – various institutions(Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999).

Despite the fact the Congress was convened after the February Revolution in Russia, as I see, the working class did not have majority, and each social class of Georgia was represented at the Congress to some extent. This eliminated any confrontation between the classes and the Congress represented all of the Georgian people. Members of the Congress unanimously agreed on the type of future government –a democratic republic.Key principles of which would be based on political self-governance of people.

Hence, power would be distributed between the center and peripheries, where people would elect deputies, executive bodies, governors, judges etc.(Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999).

The Congress passed the resolution, according to which a legislative body would be created that would compose the government. This would be a unicameral parliament for effective legislative operation and it would be elected for a two-year term. For this reason, an election system was determined that would be general, equal, with direct voting through a secret ballot. Every adult citizen (individual, who had attained the age of 20) was granted the right to vote, despite their sex, ethnicity and religious beliefs (Arsenidze, 2014). Pursuant to this law, parliamentary election, i.e. election of the Constituent Assembly, was held on February 14-16, 1919. This was an unprecedented event in the history of Georgia. Georgian people were granted the opportunity to participate in legislative elections of their own democratic state for the first time. A wide range of parties participated in pre-election campaign. Even the Bolshevik Party was allowed to take part in the elections. However, they boycotted the elections (Chumburidze, Pre-election campaign and party agitation in 1919 in the Georgian press, 2011). Fifteen political parties were registered in total, while the number of voters reached 1,024,682. Voter turnout was 60%, i.e. 618,675 voters cast their votes, which is a really good result considering the political culture at that time. The Social-Democratic Party of Workers of Georgia claimed the victory and received 102 seats out of 130, collecting 473,638 votes in total. The Social-Federalist Party of Georgia was second, with 9 seats and 43,649 votes. The third was the Social-Revolutionary Party of Georgia. Next was Dashnaktsutyun with 3 seats, and the last was the National Party of Georgia with 2 seats (National Archievs of Georgia, 2014). During its two-year history, the Assembly adopted a Constitution and 126 laws, notably on citizenship, local elections, the country's defense, agriculture, legal system, political and administrative arrangements for ethnic minorities, a national system of public education, and some other laws and regulations on fiscal/monetary policy, the Georgian railways, trade and domestic production, etc.(Losaberidze, 1998).

Among the legacies of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia, the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia should be mentioned, which came into force 4 days prior to the Russian occupation on February 21, 1921. It expressed the essence of the structure of the state that functioned under social democracy and demonstrated its nature. Despite Georgian states having existed through three millennia, they were all ruled under an absolute monarchy. When the republic was established for the first time, the power was perfectly divided between the three branches. Those were legislative, executive and judicial branches (Inasaridze, 1984). It is worth noting that, the Constitution of Georgia represented a mixed, compromised form of democratic republic "combining and interwninig" the French type of Parliamnetary democracy and the principles of Swiss type of direct democracy (Matsaberidze, 2008).The Constituent Assembly started drafting the constitution, debated it on a regular basis, and eventually ratified it on February 21, 1921. This process was complicated. Firstly, there was no previous precedent, and second, there was no relevant terminology in Georgian language. Constitution was practically written from an empty page (Vadachkoria, Georgian Social-Democracy in 1917-1921, 2001). In Noe Zhordania's words, these were three branches, through which people would govern. He believed that, the legislative body had to be limited by such a mechanism as referendum. This could bring one risk. It was possible that people's choice would hinder progressive laws drafted by the parliament. Therefore,

referendums were to be held only on such matters, which concerned their pockets. Those are taxes, monetary system, trade agreements, etc. As for the executive body, Noe Zhordania considered them administrators. They were to be servants of their people, not masters, and they had to execute even such orders, which they might disapprove. They were not supposed to have any prerogatives and they had to obey common criminal and civil laws. Lastly, Noe Zhordania deemed judiciary somewhat an institution for the oppressed. It necessarily had to be separated from executive bodies. The only way was for people introducing election system for judges, which would be elected for certain terms. People would reserve the right to recall the judge. If court proceedings were administered by them with money before, from now on court proceedings would be funded in that way, which would enable the poor to file lawsuits (Zhordania, Social-Democracy and the State Organization of Georgia, 1918). Therefore, by reforming the judiciary, the question of bringing the judicial system in compliance with international standards was raised for the first time in the history of Georgia. Georgian social democrats were inspired by the 1893 constitution of one of the Swiss Cantons – Bern. Pursuant to this constitution, people elected judges of civil and criminal systems through delegates for certain terms, and the judges examined cases in the presence of a jury. In addition to this, there was to be a supreme court, which would supervise all other courts and discuss special cases and appeals. The actual problem was that there were no competent and qualified cadres, and such a system had to be created from nothing, since the judicial system of the Russian empire was far from that of modernist,free states. Therefore, to accomplish this objective, the Assembly adopted a law, pursuant to which positions of arbiters, rules to elect them by cities and districts, as well as determing their rights and obligations. In 1919, a law was developed, which introduced the right to legal counsel (attorney) and defined procedures for election of the council of sworn advocates; and in the same year, the 'Senate' was formed, which was considered an institution regulating operation of courts and observance of law. In its essence, it was an analogue of Supreme Court. The Constituent Assembly designated sworn advocate Davit Kheltuplishvili as its first chair. While management of organizational affairs was assigned to the Ministry of Justice, which would be separated from the Senate after the reform was completed (Vadachkoria, Georgian Social-Democracy in 1917-1921, 2001). As for the institute of jury, it could be composed by any adult citizen independentof their education or profession, and they established if a defendant was guilty or not, where a judge would pass on a relevant sentence considering their verdict. Detention, imprisonment of a citizen or imposing fine on him/her without court was prohibited, as an instrument of subduing and enslaving (Arsenidze, 2014). As I can see, despite the absence of judiciary and legislative basis and lack of human capital, social democrats managed to take a solid step toward modernization of the state judicial system.

Noe Zhordania's report, 'Social Democracy and Political Organization of State,' answers the question on development of a constitution and the essence of governance. According to him, every state represents the interest of the class that leads the government. It could be nobility, bourgeoisie, or other. In this instance, I have social democracy, which had to protect the interests of the poor not at the expense or confrontation of other classes, but by coexisting with them. To be more specific, peasantry, workers and petty bourgeoisie constituted the foundation of Georgia. Therefore, Zhordania argues that, only a republican governance could ensure this coexistence peacefully. On his part, he distinguished three types of republics. Those were parliamentarian, social and democratic. By parliamentarian republic

he meant constitutional monarchy, where the king has only a decorative role. This formationgenerally represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and the will of people is ignored. Practically, it means that a strong parliament and bureaucracy assume the role of absolute monarch, which ensures power of the bureaucrats to be prolonged. As for social republic, it excludes private property. Since Georgian democrats would never take such a radical step, they believed that a democratic republic was the only form, which would be compatible with socialism in such a way that private property would remain untouched. Under this system, power would be distributed between the center and peripheries. People choose not only the parliament but also executives, administrators and even judges too. As a result, people are directly involved in government. Such system enjoys one more advantage too: since regions of state are not depended on central government in everything, coup d'état in the capital (center) does not affect the entire formation of the state and it remains a local event.While under a constitutional monarchy, coup d'état in the center automatically affects peripheries because they are not governed by strong local self-governments. In Noe Zhordania's words, 'we prefer such republic, which will ensure democratic rule in such way, that prevents central bodies from becoming a hub of provincial reactionarism (Zhordania, Social-Democracy and the State Organization of Georgia, 1918).

In August 1918, the law on state agencies was adopted, which regulated the establishment of the administrative institutions of governorates, regions, and districts. However, the governorate system was abolished and local self-government system was created in the form of multi-party advisory bodies and municipalities in districts and cities (Vashakmadze N. , 2014). This turned out to be the most successful project. Socialist and theoretician Karl Kautsky wrote about the local self-governments in Georgia: 'Revolution gave Georgia complete self-government of provinces and villages. Such self-governments replaced pro-center bureaucratic systems' (Inasaridze, 1984). The self-governing units, such as Mazra and Temi, became the undivided part of the state-governing machine. The central government transferred some functions of the local government to the local structures. Competencies were divided effectively and rationally. The Constitution evidentlydetermined that local self-government is a body of local-self-governance, which managed local cultural, educational and economic affairs. Local self-government was subordinated to the central bodies of the government, which had the right to suspend the orders of self-government that did not comply withlaws. However, their annulment was within the court's authority. Local self-government was granted the right to its own budget according to a special law (Bendianishvili, The Role of the Self-Governing Bodies in the State Structure of the Forst Democratic Republic of Georgia, 2008).

Social democrats took political and civil affairs of individual to the highest level in terms of modernization of the political system and cemented thisthrough theconstitution. The supreme law of the country defined the rights of citizens in the third chapter as liberty of opinion, printing, i.e. press, and expression. Article 31 stated: 'every citizen enjoys full liberty of conscience. Citizen cannot be persecuted nor have his/her rights restricted because of his/her religion or personal beliefs.' This revolutionary accomplishment was a result of decades of struggle of the Georgian people for freedom and against autocracy. As I mentioned earlier, there were about 15 political parties and movements in Georgia at the time. They had their own newspapers, journals, and openly expressed their opinions about political,

economic, cultural and social situation in the country since for the first time in a very long time, nobody would persecute them for their beliefs (Inasaridze, 1984).

One more right the Georgian social democrats granted to citizens was freedom of gathering. Article 33 of the Constitution states that, 'the citizens of Georgia have the right of public assembly without arms, either indoors or in the open air' (Inasaridze, 1984). Even modern the Constitution of Georgia does not contain such a provision. Although free gathering is not restricted today, citizens are obliged to notify relevant state agencies about the time and place of gatherings, in order to hold manifestations (Law of Georgia on Assembly and Manifestations, 2013). In addition, under Article 37 of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, citizens were granted the right to submit their critical views to the government through an individual or collective petition. Whereas under Article 64, if citizens found any regulation unacceptable, parliament was obliged to submit it to a popular referendum in case 30.000 electors required it in writing (Inasaridze, 1984).

Moreover, the Constitution determined the right of moving freely. As Article 31 states, 'every citizen has the right of moving and selecting his own residence; there is no restriction of this right except by order of the court of justice' (Inasaridze, 1984).This may sound like an axiom for modern free states.However, people under feudalism and monarchy were deprived this right, as well as in the Soviet Union, where freedom of dwelling was extremely restricted. Therefore, such modernist policy was unarguably revolutionary and a large-scale novelty for Georgia of those times,whichlaid foundation of the modern developed state.

Modernization of the Economic System

In his memoirs, Noe Zhordania recalls that stability was soon established in the country. Police force was organized, rule of law was established. However, the financial situation was the main challenge. Every institution or person asked the government for funding, even though the state budget, that was based on taxes, was almost on the brink of deficit. It was necessary to work out a plan in order to improve economic policies, for which they again relied on the experience of the Western European countries(Zhordania, My Past, 1990). Scholar D. Chumburidze argues that the difficult economic condition was caused by the fact that Georgia was dependent on Russia and neighboring countries. These ties were naturally cut due the collapsed of the Empire and conflicts in the neighboring states. In order to improve the economy of Georgia, it was decided to allow both state and private properties. Experts and trainers were invited from Western Europe (Chumburidze, The Economic Policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, 2008). Guruli notes that, modernization of the economic system was based on the programmes developed by Noe Zhordania during the 'Mesame Dasi' period and later. This included:

1) Private property;
2) Social and economic freedom of individual; and
3) Social, political and economic progress without elimination of the bourgeoisie.

Noe Zhordania was against the confiscation of properties, in favour of state and state-monopoly capitalism. Private and state sectors had to be balanced in such manner that would prevent both the middle class from impoverishment and the foundation of the state's economic growth – private property from elimination (Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999).

Specifically, regulation of financial management, establishment of independent monetary and customs system and issue of national banknotes, establishment of state control, establishment of state monopoly on circulation of a number of goods, carrying out agricultural reform, etc. were determined as the strategic course for implementation of economic reforms of Georgia (Atanelishvili, 2010). My study does not aim to analyze each economic reform, but to review those ones which I find important for the modernization of the country.

Firstly, I will discuss regulation of fiscal policy. The Central bank did not exist in Georgia back then. The Tbilisi branch of the State Bank (GosBank) of the Russian Empire assumed its functions and since October 1917, without having any connection with the GosBank. Therefore, a law establishing the National Bank and creating its charter was adopted in 1919. It was called the National Bank of Georgia. Its model was based on the example of the Central Bank of Sweden (Sveriges Riksbank) which enjoyed the best reputation of the time. It was responsible directly to the legislative body – parliament. Its primary function was to ensure the stability of money circulation of currency and the banknotes of the Republic, as well as to provide short-term loans for developments of trade, industry and agriculture.Iason Lorkipanidze, afamous Georgian financier and banker, was elected as the first chair of the National Bank of Georgia. Despiteits short existence, the Bank managed to accomplish a number of important and beneficial things: implemented monetary reform, accumulated significant foreign-exchange reserves, took the Ruble of Transcaucasian Commissariat out ofcirculation. The Money Fund of Georgia was founded, which was supposed to become one of the solid guarantees of stable exchange rates of the Georgian currency. It should be noted that, in July 1918, a tender for selection and establishment of specific artistic design of Georgian banknotes was announced. Marchili - the term used for denoting a unit of currency in in circulation in Georgia since the 16th century - was chosen as a general name of the Georgian currency. The name presumably derives from Venetian money 'Marcello'. Unfortunately, it was never introduced into circulation as the national currency (National Bank of Georgia, 2017).

The National Assembly adopted the law on 'Organization of Customs Agencies' in 1918. Pursuant to that law, all customs agencies established by Russia in Georgia were abolished. 19 customs, instead of 14, were established in the territory of Georgia. Analyzing the operation of Georgian customs reveals that most goods were imported from Russia, Azerbaijan, the Ottoman Empire, England, Unite States, Italy, Armenia, etc. Most goods were exported toGeorgia into Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, England, etc. (Atanelishvili, 2010)

80% of the population was engaged in agriculture and two-thirds of total revenue came from this sector. The problem was a shortage of land resources. A significant part of peasantry owned either very small plots or nothing at all. The Russian Empire owned most of the lands, including domains of the Georgian Royal Family, land of the Church, lands previously owned by the nobility, and lands confiscated at different times. The Government of Russia owned more than 36% of the land, and the rest was in possession of private landlords and property owners. Those lands, which were actually cultivated by peasants, remained in possession of the descendants of the nobility, were subject of dispute. Social democrats and the Revolution aimed to transfer such lands in possession of the peasants, which owned them de facto (Anchabadze J. , 2009).

Noe Zhordania recalls the matter of land reform as follows: 'our socialism was generally manifested in agricultural reforms. What happened in our country was mostly called revolution, but in reality, it was reform. Why? Because it was implemented without any violence, disturbances or struggle...our socialism incorporated special Georgian nature. We gave confiscated croplands to peasants in the form of private property, which contradicted the socialist doctrine. ... Our aim was to help the peasantry, the largest part of the Georgian population, to see that, independence brought them independence and new instruments for living. Therefore, agricultural reform became the most nationalist reform in Georgia' (Zhordania, My Past, 1990).

Consequently, Georgian social democracy aimed to eliminate defects of the agricultural reform implemented by the Russian Empireand to right the remaining malicious elements. As I can see, the government did not adopt Bolshevik's methods. Thanks to the agricultural reforms, 340,000 hectares of the lands - formerly owned by the nobility and transferred into state's possession - were distributed among the population. Natural persons, as well as the legal ones, were allowed to own 7-14 Dessiatins[7] of land according to soil fertility. The nobility kept some of the lands as well, and the state took forests, winter and summer pastures, totaling 756,046 Dessiatins, into its possession. It was obviously a guarantee of civil peace and economic growth (Guruli V. , Political Portrait of Noe Zhordania, 1999). According to Vadachkoria, the law on lands and instructions of land ownership adopted in 1919 recognized three types of land ownership. Those were private property, municipalization and state property. It assumed the role of the facilitator was the development of capitalism in agricultural sector, and of merging the agricultural reform with Georgian traditional agriculture(Vadachkoria, Georgian Social-Democracy in 1917-1921, 2001). Zhordania recalls: 'since Georgian Socialism was extremely nationalist, its first reformatory step included protection of interests of the large majority of the nation – the peasantry, aimed to lead it out from the lower social class and declare it as the foundation of the nation. All this was accomplished through implementation of the agricultural reform. Lands were confiscated from the landlords and all of the croplands were distributed among the landless peasants and smallholder farmers, while large cultivated estates, forests and pastures were declared state property' (Zhordania, Selected Works, 1990).

Reforms in foreign and domestic trade, strong currency, the introduction of mechanization in agriculture, exporting silk, tea, tobacco, manganese can be deemed as examples ofeconomic growth in period of 1918-1921. During these year, the state procured planes, ships, agricultural machinery. New factories were established, while obsolete machinery was replaced with modern ones. Such industries as stone processing and clay processing, glass production, metallurgy, printing industry and electricity generation were well-developed. New plantations of tea, tobacco and cotton were established. Unfortunately, this was not enough after three years of reforms. By economic parameters, Georgia was a poor but developing country, which had a significant potential to achieve the economic growth similar to Western European countries, if it was not for the Soviet Occupation in 1921 (Chumburidze, The Economic Policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, 2008).

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[7] 1 Dessiatin = 1,09 Hectares

Modernization of Civil Society and Culture:
Secularism

It is interesting what processes were developing in relation to national (ethnic) and religious minorities in terms of modernization of civil society. In the first part of my research, I discussed the views of Georgian liberals, namely Ilia Chavchavadze, which changed the attitude toward religious minorities.If earlier, religion determined Georgian nationality, in Ilia'stime this changed. Religion, Christianity in our case, was no longer the decisive factor in defining one's nationality. This was significantly caused by reuniting the Adjarian Muslim population with the rest of Georgia (but under the rule of the Russian Empire). In Ilia's words, Adjarian Muslims were Georgians as much as the rest of the nation.He put the human dignity in the foreground rather than the origin or the confession.This issue was not even under question in the social democrat's period, when secularism, freedom of religion, or ethnicity didnot prevent individuals from exercising their democratic rights.

Yet in 1906, famous Georgian author and public figure, Mikheil Javakhishvili, discussed the vicious aspects of the Church being merged with government institutions in his publicist essay *Peasant's Letters*. He wrote: 'we demand to separate the Church from the state. This means that the state and the government must not intervene in Church's affairs at all. In return, the clergy and the Church must not intervene in state affairs. Those, who believe in God and his church, should provide financial support for the Church and clergy. Let's say, that in one village, hundred men believe in God while ten others donot. Those hundred should elect the priest and organize church affairs as they wish, without imposing their religious beliefs on those ten nonbelievers. Everyone should pray to the god he/she believes in, in a manner he/she likes. Therefore, we demand complete freedom of religion' (Javakhishvili, 2016).

Some scholars relate such attitude of the Georgian social democrats to athe theistic beliefs of their leaders. For instance, V. Guruli labels the secular policy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia from 1918-1921 as one defined by atheism. He argues that since the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church was re-established in the aftermath the February Revolution on March 12, 1917, the Church was unable to regain its traditional place in state affairs (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008). For example, Noe Zhordania openly discusses his religious beliefs in his memoirs. As it turns out, he was brought up as an Orthodox Christianand used to fast and receive the Eucharist in his childhood. The first time he doubted God's existence was after he read *Bunebis Kari* (The Door to the Nature) at school. According to him, he discovered that there was nothing supernatural in natural phenomena, rather there were scientific explanation for each of them. It turned out that rain was not the tears of God and thunder was not the sound of Saint George's horse galloping. Therefore, he also questioned the legitimacy of the king's rule.According to the popular belief of that time, the king was anointed by God. While studying at the Seminary, he developed a strong belief that the king was as much of fictitious authority as God was. He put these two concepts on the same level while associating atheism with republicanism.He realized thatrepublicswere for everybody and not for those who constituted the majority. Thus, when the coat of arms of Georgiawith the image of St. George was adopted, on Zhordania's initiative, they removed all religious attributes from it in order to avoid clericalism(Zhordania, My Past, 1990). Moreover, Isidore Ramishvili recalls that at Batumi Sunday school - which was filled with workers every day and where literacy, history, geography, and natural science

were taught - Karlo Chkheidze headed teachings of Darwinism, which was widely promoted (Ramishvili I. , 2012). According to Guruli, secularization policy was taken to the level of high government officials. They did not take part in important religious celebrations. In addition, even Noe Zhordania forbade Catholicos-Patriacrh Leonid to mention his name in his prayers, and only decided to give his consent, after the latter had already left his office (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008).

In my opinion, this was the result internalization of the secular policy and not a demonstration of one's religious beliefs. Especially the re-establishment of autocephaly of the Georgia Apostilic Church had political importance too.Social democrats considered this circumstance as a very important step toward the re-establishment of independence. For this reason, Georgian Mensheviks operating in Russia, such as K. Chkheidze, I. Tsereteli, and Z. Avalishvili, provided the Georgian Church with significant support (Gegenava, 2013). In spite of this, the fact is that Catholicos-Patriarch was not an important political figure during the existence of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. According to Guruli's conclusion, the highest legislative body of the country and the government did not consider his opinion. The Church's role in educating pupils and students, as well as in the Georgian army, was diminished. Teaching the Bible in public schools was prohibited since its essence was religious, not scientific or theological. Moreover, church hierarchs were prohibited from holding liturgies in military units (Guruli V. , National Consciousness, Statehood, Political Orientation, 2008). The number of holidays in a calendar year was decreased by eight on the expense of church holidays (Gegenava, 2013). I believe that, all this was the result of the rational comprehension of reality, and a huge leap forward in terms of democratic values. Since Georgian schools, troops, and other public institutions did not represent only believer orthodox Christians and they included people of various ethnicity, religion and ideologies, therefore, their discrimination was impermissible. This was exactly the result of the birth of comprehended nationalism, not of some tribal union in the Middle Ages. Noe Ramishvili believed that people manage their own self-determination, and 'will and blessing of God' is absent in this process; deciding the fate of people from above was rejected and its (people's) sovereignty is recognized universally (Ramishvili N. , 1931).

Knowledge and values of the Georgian social democrats were manifested in the first constitution and in the policy pursued by the government. In 1920, they drafted a law, which separated church from state. Pursuant to this, the state would not fund the Church anymore; on the contrary, the Church was obliged to pay a special tax. The Constitutional committee discussed the matters of religion based on secularist principles. Article 31 of the Constitution guaranteed full liberty of conscience and prohibited persecution, and restriction of civil and political rights on religious basis. However, no person was allowed to evade his/her political or civil obligations forreligious reasons, except for the cases prescribed by the law. Article 143 acknowledged equality of all religions and granted special privileges to none; and under Article 144, local self-governments were forbidden to pay for the needs of any religious order (Gegenava, 2013).

Meanwhile, the Clergy and politicians supporting them actively opposed the social democrats. They protested against financial restrictions on the Church. However, supported separation of church from state, freedom of religion, and demonstrated tolerant policy toward the followers of other religions

(Gegenava, 2013). They even declared in 1917, that 'according to Holy Writ and early ecclesiastical teachings, the best form of government is democratic republic, not monarchy or rule of king' (Papuashvili, N.). Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia Kirion II stated: 'bouquet is more wonderful as it contains flowers of various colours. Our ancestors understood it completely and the history of Georgia does not show us any example of persecution of the people of other ethnicities, or the followers of other religions. On the contrary, significant freedom is noteworthy as well as in public so in religious affairs' (Gamakharia, 2006).

Ethnic Minorities

Georgian social democrats did not show any discriminatory approach toward ethnic minorities in Georgia. Georgian nationalist movements supported them in this matter too. One of the reasons of Noe Zhordania taking on the matter of ethnic minorities was that he grasped ethnic diversity in Georgia. He favoured pragmatic policy over the pseudo-patriotic one, and offered social equality and freedom to each of them. Such an approach of his paid off forhis party. Ethnic minorities did not felt being treated discriminated either. For this reason, social democrats won elections in Akhalkalaki, where the population was mostly Armenian, while Armenian nationalist Dashnak lost. The result was the same in Tbilisi, despite Georgians then being the minority. Noe Zhordania explained these facts with the ideology of their party: 'our national policy toward ethnic minorities was founded on our political doctrine and on our previous political activity. Influence of the Social Democratic Party was based on that I defended the interests of every ethnicity; for us there were no Hellenes and barbarians, I considered everyone as Hellenes. However, this theory and past would have been hollow words and activities, if the objective reality in our country had not forced us to realize them. A domestic peace treaty between the ethnic minorities and the mother-nation, Georgians was needed, which would guarantee their solidarity and unity in times of joy and sorrow, which was released not by empty propaganda but by granting appropriate rights' (Zhordania, My Past, 1990).

On such an important day, when the independence of Georgia was declared, Noe Zhordania emphasized ethnic minorities in his speech. In his words, throughtout its history, Georgia only fought to defend its own interest, not against anyone. 'In addition, it fought not only for Georgians but also for all the nations that lived in Georgian state... nonation living in our country, or outside its borders, should not feel uneasy, hurt, or offended because of us... I would like to have friendly relations with the nations living in Georgia and abroad. I will pay special attention to the tragedy of the nation, one part of which lives here, with us, and the other does not. Those are the Armenians. Modern Georgian will remember the testament of our ancestors and the Armenian nation will be granted the same protection they enjoyed under the rule of Georgian kings. We are willing to be on good terms with the majority of the Transcaucasian population – Muslims. We would like them to follow our example, establish a state like ours and extend their hand to us as a sign of unity... there are minorities of various ethnicity living in our state. We declare that national minorities will enjoy the same rights as well as the national majority of our state – Georgians' (Guruli V. , 26 May of 1918, 2011).

Attitudes toward ethnic minorities were demonstrated in the first constitution of Georgia. The 14th chapter and 9 articles were completely dedicated to this issue. Pursuant to it,every ethnic minority

in Georgia was granted the right to free social, economic and cultural development; especially the right to teaching in their mother tongueand interior management of the matters of their ethno-culture. They also were granted rights to printing and writing in their mother tongue (Article 129). We must bear in mind that Iam not talking about the Georgia of the 21st century, where all of this is natural.Instead, we are dealing with the beginning of the 20th century, when Georgia had been freed from the empire for only two years, where ethnic minorities paid in blood for fighting for their rights. Moreover, ethnic minorities were allowed to create self-governing units (commune, collective, or municipality) through their representative and establish ethnic unions in order to direct and organize their cultural educational activities in a better manner, including themselves who did not have such self-governing agencies (Article 130). In addition to granting civil, political and cultural rights, the constitution of Georgia paid close attention to their education. This meant establishing schools in accordance with proportion of the ethnical composition (Article 134); in such schools, pupils would be taught in the language they spoke (Article 135). Furthermore, in terms of local government where the proportion of ethnical minority exceeded 20%, the official language of sessions and proceedings would be the language of the minority, along with Georgian, should the said minority demand such (Article 136).Any deputy of non-Georgian origin, who did not know the official language sufficiently to express his opinions, was enabled to give his speech in his own language provided that he would submit to the Bureau of the Parliament an exact translation of his speech before delivering it (Article 137) (Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, 1921).

As I can see, from the day independence was declared, Georgian social democrats considered equality among ethnicities and such opportunities for ethnic minorities to integrate with the rest of the nation. Thus ensuring the realization of their cultural, economic, civil and political rights, as the fundamental principal of the country.

The Second Wave of Women's Movement

When I was studying public activity of Georgian liberals, I saw that the foundation of women's liberation movement was laid during that period. Struggle for women's rights was intensified at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, which was facilitated by the spread of social democratic ideas. I learned that the constitution of Georgia, which fully demonstrated the social democratic views of that time, ignoredgenderin civil and political affairs. In this regard, they advocated complete equality. It is interesting to study what public figures thought about women during the second wave of the idea of Europe and modernization, and which specific movements of fighting for liberation women were active in.

For instance, public figure Giorgi Tsereteli, father of famous Menshevik Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli, was seriously interested in women's conditions. He argued that women had been involved in political activities for centuries, and corroborated this with *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (History about Georgia). He cited the example of Saint Nino, who managed to turn Kartli Kingdom into a Christian state; the example of Queen Shushaniki, who sacrificed herself for Christianity, and Tamar Mepe (King Tamar) who ruled Georgia during its golden age. As Georgia becamepart of the Russian Empire, women lost the necessity of being somewhat politically important. Tsereteli believed that Georgian women of the 19th became

Europeans on the outside, thus lacking any ideological base. In his opinion, they would be liberated if they broadened their field of action in the society. By which they would be able to earn their own living. For this reason, he demanded to give women primary and vocational education. According to him, only rich families could affordthisWhile in villages, the daughters of poor peasant familieswere unable to fund their education. Therefore, Tsereteli welcomed the establishment of a school for women, and encouraged villagers to study there, promising to provide them with accommodations and to organize their enrollment at the school. Giorgi Tsereteli believed that by educating women, making them more aware, and culturally improving themwould free them from degrading slavery done by men. Society's rules prevented women to hold official positions, to become teachers, doctors and executors of civil positions. That is why Giorgi Tsereteli joined Niko Nikoladze in financing the first group of Georgian women to study in Western Europe. Yet in the 1870s this was a real novelty for the society at the time. He also tried to support his position through theater. He created dramas, such as*Maiden of the Family* and *Darya*, through which he helped society to see the regrettable results of wrong attitudes, and underlined the necessity to destroy these barriers, which hindered Georgian women to achieve appropriate social status(Sulaberidze, 2010).

Another public figure, who paid close attention to the women's movement, was Archil Jorjadze, founder of the Social Federalist Party. Since he did not gain any political influence over Georgia my research was not concerned with his ideas.However, he was a publicly acclaimed scientist, intellectual, theoretician and publicist. Althoughhis ideas did not have such a significant impact on society as those of social democrats, his views on the liberation of women are unquestionably important, since his contribution in the development of Georgian civil-political and legal thought is more than notable. Similar to Giorgi Tsereteli, he also focused on the matter of the education of women. In 1911, he wrote an essay titled *Sorrow of Woman* that was about the state of women's rights. In his opinion, there should not be any difference between woman and man since legally women deserve to achieve a position in society equal to that of men. He criticized the state of women that made them slaves of men's desires and simple instruments for reproduction. According to him, this state was developed since the establishment of patriarchate, and was conditioned by popular customs and religious dogmas. He denounced marriage based on covetousness, i.e. when families were not created out of love between two individuals, but instead for obtaining private property, profiteering, and mercenary purposes, etc., that are typical for patriarchate. Therefore, only socialist society could liberate, not only women, but also human beings in general. Nevertheless, Archils Jorjadze doubted complete emancipation of women and explained it with sexual differences and variations in temperament (Lobjanidze, 1989).

Scholar of women's emancipation, L. Gapridashvili indicates that, Georgian women started to actively engage in politics since the beginning of the 20th century. She argues that there existed a phenomenon of Georgian feminism, which was not just based on imported ideas but was adapted to the basic needs. It was not forced or artificial. Kato Mikeladze (1878-1942) led the movement of fighting for women's civil and political rights (Gaprindashvili L. , Georgian Feminism or Feminism in Georgia?, 2008). In the beginning of the 20th century, she developed close ties with the members of 'Mesame Dasi' and engaged in the revolutionary movement. With help of the 'Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians' she went to Moscow to study pedagogics, and later traveled to Europe. She studied the

subjects of social and political sciences in Brussels and settled in Paris after graduation. There she thoroughly studied the European experience of women's movements. When she returned to her motherland in 1916, she started to gather like-minded people around her and began fighting for women's rights. In 1917-18, she established a regional network 'League of Women', which united the women fromall districts of Western Georgia. During the same period, she edited and published the newspaper '*Khma Kartveli Kalisa*' (Voice of Georgian Woman), which laid out the western experience necessary for the women's liberation movement and a whole range of other Georgian problems(Gaprindashvili L. , feminism-boell, 2014).

In her view, fundamental criticism of the existing culture was necessary to improve the political status of women. She called the Consecutive Assembly for equality of rights based on law; insisted complete individual and political freedom in the first place; for women to have the right to vote, as well as to be elected. She also demanded equal labor rights, eradication of sex-based differences in punishments, to abrogate men's privileges in family and with regards toinheritance law(Gaprindashvili L. , Georgian Feminism or Feminism in Georgia?, 2008). Interestingly, she demanded to prohibit prostitution, perhaps based on the argument that woman must not be a subject of exploitation for men.

Although the women's movement in Georgia were not as wide as in the places of their origin. However, Georgian feminists protested which was demonstrated through publicist essays and was not a futile effort. As a result of their struggle, women voted in the elections of the Constituent Assembly of the first Democratic Republic of 1918-1921. Moreover, 5 out130 deputies were women (Anna Sologhashvili, Liza-Nakashidze-Bolkvadze, Minadora Toroshelidze, Kristine (Chito) Sharashidze, Eleonora Te-Parsegova-Makhviladze), which was a significant success in terms of equality between men and women(Gamtenadze, 2016).

3.6. The End of the Social Democracy

After the conclusion of World War I, the international society did not forgive Georgian politicians for choosing the pro-German course. Having declared independence, they applied to the League of Nations twice in 1919 and 1920, requesting to accept Georgia as a member, but the League rejected their application. Georgia needed 16 votes from 24 but received only 10 (Kirtadze, 1997). However, thanks to the energetic work of Georgian diplomats that was backed by international support of social democrats and parties of various countries, Georgia was recognized De-facto and De-jure. The visit of the delegation of social-democrat members of the Second International in Georgia in 1920, led by K.Kautsky, significantly facilitated this since they enjoyed international authority(Zhvania, 1998). Among them,Ramsay MacDonald, the future Prime Minister of England, wrote that, ''Georgian social democrats managed to achieve such things that the socialists leading the European governments have been unable to do; namely, they established complete harmony between village and city; painlessly and peacefully implemented agricultural reform. They made labour the foundation of the existence of the Republic. They gave lands to the landless. They adopted socialist legislation... Individual initiative was welcomed... An entirely democratic state is being built under the leadership of the socialist government...

If freedom of nation is not a hollow concept, the Georgian nation is the one that deserved freedom, and proved its high culture and political maturity to the whole humankind. I familiarized myself with its constitution and social and economic development, and I would like to see life in our country organized like this' (Inasaridze, 1984). 'There was no proletarian dictatorship here, no one abetted one class against another... freedom, honesty, respect of the rights of minorities – these are the principles of the government of Georgia. Georgia is a wonderful country, so is its nation (Shubitidze V. , Political Vews of Noe Zhordania, 2003)'

Foreign politicians encouraged their governments to recognize Georgia De-jure as they returned to their homelands. Through the press they widely presented their impressions of the first social democratic republic. This was promoted by De-facto and De-jure recognition of Georgia by Russia on May 7, 1920. 25 states in total recognized the Democratic Republic of Georgia during its lifespan. Turkey was the first (in 1918), then Germany, Austria, Argentina, Italy, France, the UK, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Poland, Switzerland, Romania, Haiti, Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Siam, Luxemburg and others(Kirtadze, 1997).

Georgia was in almost a permanent state of war during 1918 to 1921.

1. In January 1918, until Georgia declared independence, the Caucasian Army of Russia attempted to occupy South Caucasus. They marched toward Tbilisi. However, Georgian militia and units of the regular army managed to repulse them.

2. In June 1918, the Ottoman army invaded Southern Georgia. At that time, Germany had already pledged to be a guarantee of Georgia's independence. Therefore, they interfered in the conflict and the Ottomans were forced to pull back. After World War I was over, British troops were stationed in South Caucasus instead of Germans. One garrison was dispatched in Batumi to ensure peace. They particularly sympathized with Armenia.

3. In October 1918, encouraged by Britain's support, the Armenian government started a war. However, since they encountered strong resistance, the situation was defused, and assessed as a misunderstanding. At the time,Armenian government circles demanded to separate their territories from Georgian on ethnic and religious basis. They demanded districts of Lori-Botchily, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki, also laid claims to Tbilisi, Gori, Batumi, and Batumi province. The Georgian party offered them negotiation and arbitration. However, Armenian forces invaded Lori-Borchali and captured important strategic outposts overseveral days. They assaulted villages in Akhalkalaki district and demanded to surrender territories, including Tbilisi. In response, the Georgian government declared mobilization; advantage of the Georgian party the on front became obvious and Armenian forces eventually fell back. Armenian-Georgian peace talks were held in Tbilisi in 1918, where they reached the agreement according to which, that Lori – disputable territory in Borchali district, was declared a neutral zone, and its borders were established. Georgian and Armenian troops would be stationed there in turn, until the dispute was finally resolved. According to the agreement signed in 1919, all disputes were to be resolved through negotiation or arbitration. Georgia finally regained its jurisdiction on this disputed province in November 1920.

4. Azerbaijan as well based the demarcation issue on religion. It laid claims to Zakatala province, and Borchali and Akhastikhe districts. They captured Zakatala province by military force, while

theGeorgian government tried to resolve the matter through diplomatic means. They even signed an agreement in 1919, which provided for mutual assistance in case of external threat.

5. In April 1920, Russian Bolshevik army occupied Azerbaijan, and invaded Georgia in May. Georgian soldiers were informed as if it was Azerbaijanis, and after a counter attack, Georgians managed to repulse the Russian troops again. Despite being a Russo-Georgian conflict, the Democratic Republic of Georgia signed two armistices, one with Russia, and the other with the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. According to the second treaty, the administrative border during the Tsarism between Tbilisi and Ganja governorates was designated as the border between the republics. However, the parties failed to reach agreement on Zakalatala province, and the matter was transferred to arbitration court.

6. There were local military clashes in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region in 1918-1920, which was instigated by the Bolsheviks. The Social Democratic government resolved these problems by military force and maintained stability.

7. In February 1921, 3rd, 9th, 11th, and 13th armies of the Bolshevik Russia invaded Georgia from various sides. Resistance lasted only for a few days but it was in vain. On February 25, the Russian army captured Tbilisi, while the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia moved to Kutaisi at first, then to Batumi, from where they went into exile. They never recognized Soviet rule or signed capitulation. The government existed in exile until 1954, when the last head of the government Evgeni Gegechkori passed away(Anchabadze M. , 2017).

Since the day independence was declared, Georgian politicians realized that this independence could be temporary. Moreover, since 1920, they were aware that Soviet Russia was planning to occupy Georgia by any means necessary. Despite this, Georgian politicians continuously implemented modernist reforms. They adopted the constitution practically during the occupation. All this indicates that they worked hard for the future of Georgia, not for only the present. They wanted to lay foundations to a democratic republic, which would be a legitimate predecessor of the future Georgia. In this case, de-occupation of Georgia and re-establishment of its independence would have more legitimate grounds than it would in the 18th century when the descendants of a disintegrated feudal country demanded independence. They created the democratic state that became a political and legal basis of the 21s century Georgia. After his visit in Georgia in 1920, Karl Kautsky wrote: 'representatives of Georgia had a proof that the Russian government was taking preliminary military measures to attack Georgia in December 1920, which it did in February. As a result of this attack, they made this country a Russian province again, under the flag of an independent soviet republic. This small country is restrained by the Russian Red Army with the strength of 120,000, which is robbing it without showing any mercy. As a conquered country, Georgia endures far more suffering from the Bolshevik dominance, then the ignorant Russia. The process of ravaging and bringing the country on the brink of starvation, which took four years in Russia, was concluded in Georgia only in a few months brought the same horrific results' (Kautsky, 1921).

In order to prevent strong popular resistance and to facilitate reinforcement of the occupation regime, Georgia formally remained as an independent republic under the name of Soviet Socialist Republic. The Constitution of the Soviet Union granted it the right to leave the union, which it was

unable to exercise over the span of70 years. However, it served as a legitimate ground to declare independence in 1990 (Tarkhan-Mouravi, 1997).

As I have learned, it took Georgian social democrats decades of struggle to earn a chance to realize their ideas. They only had two years and eight months for this. However, they had to simultaneously deal with permanent conflicts, difficult political and economic situations.

It was the social democrats who managed to make their ideas the most popular under the harsh economic conditions and aggressive capitalism in the times of the Russian Empire. Their paramount goals were freedom and equality, which would be followed by self-determination of nations and their freedom. When people struggled daily to survive, to save family members from starvation, they saw socialism as the end of such everyday turmoil. Especially, when it was obvious that workers and peasants constituted the majority in every state, still they remained ruled. Besides, the matter concerned their life or death but no one asked them an opinion. In these terms, socialism turned out to be more so a revolt of the oppressed than comprehended economic views. The geopolitical situation in Georgia unexpectedly changed the tactics of the social democrats. At first independence was declared and later the question of socialism was brought up. However, by assuming government functions, the elite realized that socialist ideas would not be beneficial for the economy in real life. Distribution of lands, preservation of private property, and other financial policies looked like a bourgeois revolution rather than a Marxist one. Practice demonstrated that the Georgian social democrats did not follow the way Bolsheviks chose, since it results in economic hardship and death of millions of people. As for the democratic reforms, as I have learned, their social democrat views were far more progressive than the ones of some politicians in the 21st century. R. Kalandadze notes that, the concept of 'Democracy, as only the form of political organization of state, incorporated the meanings of the idea and political worldview. To some extent, it also had an ideological nature, which was clearly demonstrated during the first republic of Georgia, when the government ideologized democracy (Kalandadze, 2000). Many people did not comprehend the importance of democratic reforms and considered it a utopia, unfitting phenomenon. For instance, General Maghlakelidze recalls in his memoirs that, they were unable to implement real policy since Zhordania's government pursued such ideals that exist only in theory and cannot be realized in practice (Maghlakelidze, Memories, 2012). It is a fact that the reforms of the Georgian social democrats and political, civil and cultural modernization were the achievement that transformed Georgian people into the nation, which was a part of the free civilized world. In conclusion, I can boldly say that modernization and the idea of Europe were practically one and thesame during the social democrat period, and they evolved together. Despite this course beingviolently interrupted by the Soviet occupation, it left significant and necessary achievements as a legacy to the future Georgia.

Chapter 4.
The Return of the idea of Europe in Modern Georgia

Research and analysis of the contemporary era constitutes the last part of my study. In particular, I am going to examine the third wave of modernization and the idea of Europe. This wave includes the period from 2003, i.e. from the Rose Revolution through the year 2014, when Georgia became the associated member of the European Union. I deliberately skip two important historical eras following those of 'Terek-drinkers' and Social Democrats. These periods are when Georgia was under the Soviet rule from1921-1991, and the first stage of independent Georgia from1991-2003. I believe that these periods are extraordinarily interesting ones that are the subjects of another research, but not with respect to the idea of Europe. Although both epochs contain the elements of modernization and idea of Europe. However, they are quite different from the approaches of Terek Drinkers from the second half of the 19th and in the beginning of 20th century, or those pursued after the Rose Revolution, the time when the idea of Europe and modernization was fully revitalized.Unfortunatly, the third wave of the Idea of Europe in Georgia was spread very late compared to Western Europe. While Western Europe embraced its own values, Georgia was still part of the Soviet Union and the delay of the half a century became very a painful process for the country.

I consider that modernization and industrialization in the Soviet Union were administered through centralized political course and completely excluded any Georgian independent movements of modernization and the idea of Europe. The Soviet Union was an utterly different phenomenon.Under totalitarian rule, there were a couple of cases of dissident activity, which were suppressed until the end of the 1980s, when the Soviet Union itself allowed freedom of speech and transparency (Nodia, Attempts to Establish Democracy in Georgia, 2003).

As for the 1990s, it was a period of rapid collapse and desolation of state, social, political, cultural, economic systems. The only manifestation of the idea of Europe took place in 1990, when Georgia was admitted to membership of the Council of Europe(Dogonadze S. , 2000). A successful military coup, ethnic wars in the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region, followed by the establishment of puppet governments in these regions, were orchestrated with the support of the Russian Federation(Pipinashvili, South Caucasus conflicts and regional stability problems, 2009) Chairman of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara did not obey the central government as well. He did not recognize his internal opposition and established some kind of family dictatorship in the region (Nodia, Attempts to Establish Democracy in Georgia, 2003). Armed criminal gangs were enforcing order in the streets instead of police, which mostly ended with the distribution of spheres of influence and bloody clashes among them. In most occasions, police and organized crime acted in cooperation against citizens, thereby robberies, burglary, theft, violence, kidnappings, torture, racketeering, hooliganism became an everyday routine (Asatiani S. , 2014). Every state institution was devoured by yet unseen corruption, for which reason the state budget was never replenished and it continued decreasing year by year. Judges, law enforcement officers and prosecutors, whose salaries were significantly lower than the living wage, were desperately dependent on bribes as it was the only means for them to earn a living, at a result. Where as,

legal rights, health and even lives of the citizenswere sacrificed (European Iniatiative - Liberal Academy Tbilisi, 2011). The Georgian army was in insufferable conditions, without any equipment, weapons, and because of lack of provisions, the army was starving (Materipress Worldpress Theme, 2017). There was no electricity and natural gas. Supplying them to the population in exceptional cases by schedules caused living conditions to be thoseof the past by a century (Bochorishvili, 2014). The system of higher education also depended on corruption, operating with the Soviet methods. The difference was that national and religious pathos replaced the Soviet communist rhetoric (Rostiashvili, 2004). Pensioners were in harsh conditions as their pension was 14 GEL (bread price was 0.5 GEL) and they were unable to receive it for months (Shanidze, 2012). Migration or trade became the only tangible means to survive, which was encouraged by opening the borders, especially by opening the Turkish market, which played the significant role in the physical survival of Georgians under the Russian blockade and terror (economy.ge, 2017). Elements of modernization and the idea of Europe, such as peace, freedom, equality, rule of law, democracy, human rights, civil society and welfare, became the subjects for Georgian citizens to dream about.

Scholar Nizharadze notes that Georgia belongs to the so-called 'small group' collective cultures, which are similar to tribalism-based relations, which was manifested during the period of collapse of state institutions (Nijaradze, 2001). Other Georgian scientists explain this with fact that Georgia was cut off from Western Europe as the Renaissance started in Europe. This is the period, when an individual-based society was established in Europe. However, Georgia did not have any relationship with that already. During the Renaissance and Enlightenment in Europe, Georgia was under the influence of the Persian and Ottoman empires, that was later augmented with Russian culture and collectivism(Tsereteli & Kakitelashvili, Culture and Modernization, 2006). Collective culture of 'small groups' meant relationships between the individuals of one circle and their relation with the people from the intersecting circle. For example, relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, friends, etc. and it lacked the concept of such 'large group' collective culture as a nation, a state, and religious communion. This phenomenon was manifested from time to time, however, it was never meant to be realized in long perspective. It revealed itself during the national movement by the end of the 1980s.Though, the sense of statehood was weakly manifested in the everyday life of people. Elements of small groups culture prevailed here, which directly contradicted the state, as the institution based on the rule of law. During the first ten years of independence, relations such as kinship, friendship, and 'acquaintanceship' and similar small social circles, and norms within these groups determined the everyday life of people. Such norms of members of society had been developing for centuries, when Georgia was not an independent state and decisions on the matters vital for the country were made abroad. The area of the person's thinking and responsibility was limited by the aforementioned narrow groups and did not nearly cover larger social unions – state or nation, and especially such an abstract concept as law (Nijaradze, 2001).

The team assuming power through the 2003 Rose Revolution intended to weaken all this and strengthen state institutions, improve state consciousness, modernization and bring back the idea of Europe. The revolution, which was caused by total rigging of the results of parliamentary elections, happened without bloodshed through peaceful mass protests (radiotavisupleba.ge, 2013). Presidential elections scheduled almost two months after the revolution, showed that 97% of population supported

this team (cesko.ge, 2004), which indicated that the absolute majority of people were ready to start a completely new life, introduce European values and entirely modernize the country. It did not mean that all this 97% was going to be loyal to the new president and his team. However, it was obvious, everyone had rejected the past for good. Changes implemented during this period remain politically sensitive and relevant today. Therefore, I will try to academically study them very carefully and avoid party-related narrow speculations. I will study them only through the lenses of facts, and academically analyze the changes brought into political, economic, legal and social lives.

4.1. The 'Rose Revolution' and modernization in the name of the European idea

Leaders of the Rose Revolution, Mikheil Saakashvili and Zurab Zhvania, were members of Eduard Shevardnadze's party until 2001. He was the first Secretary of the Soviet Georgia from 1972-1985, then Minister of the USSR in 1985-1991, the chairman of Parliament of Georgia from 1992-1995, and the Presidet of Georgia from1995-2003. As a result, he was the leader of Georgia for about 30 years, and as I mentioned even the leaders of the 'Rose Revolution' arose from his team. Moreover, during the government of Shevardnadze, Zhvania was the Chair of the Parliament of Georgia while Saakashvili was the Minister of Justice. Among the young reformers within the Citizens' Union of Georgia, were mainly included in the executive economic team and opposed the minister of law enforcement bodies and political bureaucrats who impeded implementation reforms in the country. The conflict was intensified in 2001, when the officer of the Security Service raided the independent television broadcasting company Rustavi 2 with the aim to uncover financial violations. This act was declared as a pressure on the independent media, which was followed by mass demonstrations of students and civilians. They demanded the resignation of the government. The president was forced to make concessions and removed the ministers of law enforcement bodies. Zhvania-Saakashvili's team supported the people; they both resigned and joined opposition. They condemned the government for authoritarianism, corruption and breaches of human rights. At that time, Shevardnadze did have more or less popular oppositionist parties. Those were loyalist opposition in the form of New Rights and leftist-populist Labourists. However, the active support of Western partners only managed the Zhvania-Saakashvili's team to win, andconsequently they were the flagmen of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia (Khutsishvili, 2008). Despite this, they failed to establish a united party and ran local self-government elections as members of different parties.

Saakashvili headed the United National Movement and took first place, while Zhvania headed the Democratic Party, which took third place after the Labourists. They composed the government of Tbilisi and started to implement reforms. Within a year, their popularity ratings skyrocketed. When the results of the parliamentary elections were announced in November 2003, the Central Election Commission of Georgia announced Shevardnadze's Citizens' Union of Georgia as the winner, while placing the Revival – the party of the separatist autocrat head of Autonomous Republic of Adjara, A. Abashidze – and the UNMinthe second and third places respectfully. As a matter of fact, the United National Movement won the elections. Numerous cases of electoral fraud were confirmed, and it became

obvious that the elections were falsified, which was followed by strong protest by the people. They were marching in the streets for twenty days; and the president was forced to resign on November 23. Later, early presidential elections were held in January 2004, where Saakashvili enjoyed the support of 97% of the electorate (BBC, 2005). Regardless of the post-revolution euphoria, protests continued in Autonomous Republic of Adjara, which was governed by the separatist local clan with Russian support. This regime was practically cut off from Tbilisi and ruled the region with far more cruel methodsthan even Shevardnadze did. During the mass demonstrations, Aslan Abashidze fled to Russia on May 6, 2004. Thereby, Adjara was freed from the separatist rule and found itself under complete control of Saakashvili's government (Timer.ge, 2004). The Tskhinvali Region and Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia remained outside the jurisdiction of Tbilisi. Events developed there are subject of separate research and we cannot discuss them now. As a matter of fact, Saakashvili assumed the office as a progressive, modernist and European political power and started to modernize the failed state institutions with such reputation.

4.2. Modernization of the State System

Since no state body was functioning properly during the rule of Shevardnadze and there was no sense of statehood, Saakashvili's team started to bring the state institutions up to modern standards. The national flag, coat of arms and even anthem were changed. The first two symbols were previously based on medieval Georgian motives. The three-colored national flag adopted in 1918 that had dark tones, was changed with one havingfive red crosses on the white background, sometimes interpreted as representing the Five Holy Wounds of Christ. While the coat of arms - Saint George with the five-point star in the background, also dark-colored and adopted in 1918 - was changed with the new one based on the royal coat of arms. This coat of arms incorporates two golden lions supporting the red shield with an image of Saint George too. As for the anthem, which was also adopted in 1918, which contained such complex lyrics that it was hard for almost every citizen to memorize; so, it was changed with a simpler, easily memorable lyrics and music (The State Council of Heraldry, 2014).It seems that I should pay less attention to state symbols in this part of my study. However, it symbolizes the beginning of building of the new, modern state. Eventually, it became reality – there was no state agency or matter left untouched by reforms and modernization.

Corruption, very low salaries and bureaucracy insurmountable for citizens were the factors that mostly hindered state system from functioning properly.Before 2003, Georgia ranked 124th out of 133 countries surveyed on corruption in Transparancy International's Corruption Perception Index(UNDP Georgia, 2008).In 2005, the Government of Georgia created the Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan, which organized the fight against corruption and organized crime. It took steps to make government administrative bodies more transparent, and eradicated needless bureaucratic barriers for citizens. The plan included recommendations from GRECO andinternational NGOs forcompliance with international standards. As aresult of these efforts, corruption decreased visibly and significantly. Investigations of civil servants and law enforcement officials resulted in arrests, convictions, and the

seizure of illegally appropriated assets. At the same time, the Government of Georgia considerably increased salaries for civil service officers as a way toreduce their incentives for bribery. Public agencies were staffed by personnel recruited through a system of open competition. This successful campaign against corruption led to an increase of the state budget for the first time. Rather than going to the pockets of corrupt individuals, money began to flow in a systematic and sustainable manner to the state budget. The decisive progress made by government in its effort to reduce corruption, improve administration, and liberalize the business environment was accordingly reflected in the World Bank's 2006 report of Doing Business. Georgia was recognized as the number one reformer in the world, and jumped 75 places in one year – from 112th to 37th in the world – with regard to business attractiveness (Government of Georgia, 2006). According to the IFC's 2009 survey, only 4% of firms in Georgia expect to make "informal payments", against an average of 32% in Eastern European and Central Asian states. Also, according to Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer in 2010 Georgia was ranked first in the world in terms of the relative decrease in corruption levels and second in terms of the public's perception of the Government's effectiveness in fighting corruption. According to this TI survey less than 3% of the population said they had to pay a bribe (A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

The second most important challenge was to set order among citizens. Georgia was one of the most criminalcountries in the world before the Rose Revolution. The country had its Soviet heritage of organize crime that controlled streets, schools, villages, cities, penitential systems, economic activities, and even the police and government. Jail was not a place to marginalize them from the public. It was more like a comfortable places like head offices from where they could control crime activities. They were equipped by cell-phones, cold weapons, and any other facilities to have control on prisons and the outside world.It was a combined version of Italian Mafia and Camora called Thieves in Law. There were hundreds of criminal authorities in every district thathad not only public fear but supportfrom teenagers to elderly people who helped their grip on power. As I mentioned above, criminal activities were ordinary life in Georgia and the government announced an intransigent fight against crime from tiny hooliganism to heavy criminal offences. Parliament adopted the Law against Thieves in Law and organized police reforms (Government of Georgia, 2006). In 2004, the retrainment and re-equipment of Georgia's police force was launched. Most of the old police force was fired and a smaller police service was recruited to replace them. Their salaries were raised tenfold and open, merit-based competitions were established for hiring new officers. The police were provided with new equipment, cars, uniforms, and some of the instant 'checks' on citizens - like instant checks on the road-worthiness of vehicles, which was a common source of extortion - were suspended (UNDP Georgia, 2008).The old police buildings were all sold or demolished. In their stead, new, modern glass buildings were built, which symbolized that in these new police buildings no pressure, torture or coercion would be exerted on anyone, since any passer-by could see what was happening inside the transparent building.

Public confidence in the police force rose from 5% to 80% according to a poll conducted by Gallup and IRI in 2006. In 2006, the Government of Georgia built two new prisons that met rigorous international standards and instituted large-scale reforms to put an end to human rights abuses and combat the prevalence of organized crime. Meanwhile, organized crime leaders were held in separate

facilities to reduce their ability to manipulate the system. Soon, all criminal authorities were under arrest or emigrated from Georgia. Almost every criminal activity was reacted by police and Tbilisi was announced the safest city in Europe. Police Reform and the merciless fight against crime transformed modern Georgia from one of the most dangerous countries to one of the safest(CNN, 2012). It was not easy, it was very hard as there were more than 40 police officers killed while on duty (Reginfo.ge, 2013).

The next important challenge was state bureaucracy, artificially increased personnel, dysfunctional state servants and barriers, all inherited from the Soviet Union. Because of such, citizens were unable to receive state services, or were served in return of bribe. For this reason, the government decided to optimize the state institutions, reduce personnel as much as possible, and provide services to citizens without any barriers. Even the number of ministries was reduced from 28 to 13. Ministry staffs were reduced by 35%. Only 34 were left from 52 state institutions. In total, the number of the people employed in the state sector was reduced by 50%. Obviously, although it was not a popular step, it was a necessary precondition to create effective institutions and a modernized state system (New Economic School, 2007).

Eighteen state departments were abolished and a large number of staff were either fired outright or were required to re-apply for their old jobs in smaller departments. According to the Public Service Bureau, the total number of public officials (120,000 in 2003) was cut in half by 2005. At the same time, the majority of licenses and permits were abolished. From 909 original licenses and permits only 159 remained, mainly related to health and safety issues (UNDP Georgia, 2008). The principle of "silence is consent" was introduced, which meant that if the license application was not answered in due time, it would be deemed as an approval (A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).Re-organization, consolidation and conglomeration of all state services into one space was planned and implemented. After the reform, every citizen was enabled to receive any service under 'one window' principle within the set terms, which were determined as from 5 minutes up to 10 days. All this put Georgia in second place among the most transparent countries in the world after New Zealand. Public service halls of comfortable design were built in 30 cities and towns and remain the calling card of Georgia today (psh.gov.ge, 2017).

As I have already mentioned above, ordinary citizens did not have access to higher education without passing by some form of corruption. Because of this,the future of many talented young men and women was lost. In addition to monetary bribery, there was another similar mechanism for the students to receive marks – to buy the books published by their lecturers. Therefore, everyone in Georgia managed to receive diplomas but fewer received education. This facilitated the increased number of unqualified citizens at a disastrous rate, which stroke a deadly blow to the country's economy as well as to its future development. The first thing the state did to eradicate this problem was to remove entrance examinations from universities. Unified National Entrance Examinations, held by a specially trained examination center, were established thatdid not have any connection with or interest in universities. The results turned out to be fair, objective and adequate. Young people from regions and with low income became the absolute majority of the students atprestigious universities instead of the ones born into wealth. This encouraged mass migration of talented youth to university cities and the availability of higher education according to one's talent and yearning. The education system of Georgia joined the

Bologna Process in 2006, by which it fully came into compliance with European standards. This beganaccreditation of universities that evaluated university resources and its programmes. Universities, which did not meet the European standards, were either closed or merged with other ones. From 2004 to 2007 the number of Higher Educational Institutions recognized by the state decreased almost five times and left only 52 accredited universities (UNDP Georgia, 2008).Corruption was virtually eliminated in academic processes of universities, while student were given opportunity to be elected in faculty councils and participate in the management of academic processes, where they were enabled to express and protect their interests. At first glance, positive reforms were not going to be implemented easily. The professorate, which was deprived of their previous privileges, was strongly opposing the government since according to the new reforms, no professor could be elected for a lifetime as it used to be during the Soviet era(UNDP Georgia, 2008). Anti-reformist movements mostly took place in Tbilisi State University, which unfortunately, always had been the object of political interests. Finally, after a big fuss, hunger strikes, and street protests against the reforms, Tbilisi State University was transformed from the swamp of corruption into a hub focused on a transparent education.The Georgian higher education system withthe European Higher Education Area gave students the freedom to choose Major and Minor academic programs for their BA curriculum and form their own individual, educational programme according to their academic interest. Moreover, they got opportunities of mobility through other European universities that opened them to a wide window of multiple capacities (UNDP Georgia, 2008).

One of the most apparent reforms to modernize the state system was implemented in the Georgian Army.In the security sector, Georgia's primary foreign policy goal became NATO membership. The government of Georgia revamped the armed forces and created a new military strategy that brought Georgia's security up to NATO standards. The control of Ministry of Defense came under civilian figures, not just military officers. Civilian-run structures were responsible for policies issued, financial management, and international affairs. A steady increase in defense spending, which some interpreted as a sign of growing militarism, was instead evidence that Georgia finally embarked upon the task of building a modern army. Military spending was kept in line with NATO standards of constituting at least 2% of GDP and it was ten times more than before 2003 (Government of Georgia, 2006).The Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) was elaborated with NATO in 2004. Moreover, the Ministry of Defense began to produce military equipment and weaponry instead of importing them, for instance, ballistic vests and helmets, sniper rifles, grenade launchers, noiseless and anti-tank grenade launchers, artillery, heavy armored vehicles like 'Didgori' and 'Lazika', multiple rocket launchers and self-propelled rocket launchers. 'Didgori-1' and 'Didgori-2' armored vehicles were even exported in 2016, as Saudi Arabia purchased them (Agenda.ge, 2016).It is also important to note that military forces were trained by NATO instructors and gainedexperience in Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq and African campaigns against terrorism and/or keeping peace(CSIS, 2009).

With the active participation and assistance of local NGOs – as well as a broad range of international institutions, led primarily by the EU – the Government of Georgia created a comprehensive judicial reform. Understanding that one of the main reasons for corruption was poor remuneration, from 2006 the Government significantly raised judicial salaries, making judges among the highest paid employees in the public service. Since, 2004, 10 judges were detained for bribes and 15 were brought to

criminal court. However, there was no simple way to change all of the judicial personnel or facilitate a 'clean break' in the fashion of the traffic police reform. The new government did use a number of mechanisms to ensure the replacement of the old cadre of judges. About 150 new judges were appointed through the merit-based transparent competition for media and public, which consisted of an examination of judicial knowledge and a personal interview. After the selection, the High School of Justice conducted periodic retraining of sitting judges to develop and advance their qualifications (UNDP Georgia, 2008).This reform package increased the accountability and efficiency of the legal system. The number of pre-trial detentions in lower courts, and convictions in both appellate and cassation courts have decreased markedly. Notably, the use of bail during the pre-trial period has increased up to 50%. In 2004, the Parliament introduced trials by jury into the Georgian constitution – reviving juries first established by the Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1919 – and the new Criminal Procedures Code incorporated the jury process as an essential component of criminal trials. Concrete steps were undertakento liberalize the criminal procedure. In reforming the criminal justice system, Western legal principles – such as the right to an adversarial trial and a prohibition on the use of illegally obtained evidence in court –were adapted and adopted. A system of plea-bargaining was introduced as a tool for fighting corruption, organized crime, as well as human rights abuses (Government of Georgia, 2006).The universal reform of the judiciary completely cleaned it from corruption. Disputes between citizens were resolved on a competitiveness basis by competent judges. However, in cases when acitizen was suing the state government, the judiciary failed to remain the third branch of government completely free of the control of the executive branch. Initiators of the reforms, in particular high officials of the Prosecutor's Office, gained the influence over the judiciary themselves, which became the weak point of the government and the subject of our discussion below. In fact, courts rendered the judgments in favour of citizens in less than 1% of the cases against the government (Khidasheli, 2011).

4.3. Modernization of the Economic System

In the wake of the Rose Revolution, the new government attempted to prevent the state from collapsing by radical and rapid reforms, hence it took the course of liberalization of the economy. In the first place, it meant to deliver the national government from corruption, and create optimized institutions, as I have already mentioned above. In addition, matters such as privatization, tax and financial sector reforms, free trade, new labor code and other reforms were put on the agenda (New Economic School, 2007).

A large-scale privatization was declared in 2005. The concept of the so-called 'strategic object' was rejected and state-owned large industrial enterprises, telecommunications, ports, airports, hydroelectric stations, lake, forests, etc. were put up for sale or long-term lease. One of the authors of these reforms and the Minister of Economy KakhaBendukidze stated, 'everything, except for conscience' should be sold. However, not everything was put up for sale. For instance, while the state-owned 500,000 hectares of agricultural lands including the borderlands, on lease or not, these were subjected to privatization. Pastures, livestock pathways, forest fund lands and the lands designated for the objects of

historical, cultural, or religious heritage, or for natural monuments remained in state's possession. Moreover, only the citizens of Georgia and legal persons of private law registered in Georgia were granted the right to buy land. Foreign citizens did not enjoy this right but the enterprises established by them were not restricted (New Economic School, 2007).In my research, I will not discuss the fact that private enterprises are more effective for the economy and development of the state than the state-owned ones. I believe that this is a naturally essential component for a free and developed country. Thanks to such privatization policy, direct state revenues reached 1.6 billion laris in 2005-2010, which encouraged implementation of social and infrastructure projects(A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

Fundamental changes were made within the scope of the reforms implemented intax and financial sectors. Only 7 taxes were left out of 22. In addition, tax rates were decreased too. The income tax was reduced to 20% from 33%, VAT – from 20% to 18%, while import duties were all abolished, which put Georgia among the small number of countries with the most liberal trade regime.Moreover, quantitative restrictions on export, or re-export tariffs were abolished. EU and OECD technical regulations for internal markets were recognized. As a result, trade turnover increased on average by 30% annually and exports increased 3.4 times between 2003 and 2009(A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).. According to the "2009 Tax Misery & Reform Index" released by Forbes Business & Financial News, Georgia became the fourth lowest tax burden in the world after Qatar, the UAE and Hong Kong (Anderson, 2009).With respect to anti-monopoly policyapproaches changed as well. Instead of the Anti-Monopoly Service, which had been a real heart of corruption, a small-staffed Free Trade and Competition Agency was created. It operated based on the law on Free Trade and Competition instead of the previous law on anti-monopolies. By this approach, it was recognized that the state creates monopolies in the market economy through adopting various regulations and granting privileges. The best preconditions to avoid this are a free market, competition and independent creation and development of various companies, which should not be hindered by state regulations. Besides, the Labour Code was simplified, pursuant to which, the state's involvement in the relations between employer and employee should be as small as possible, except for the cases when an employee is a minor, a pregnant woman or nursing mother. Operation of the banking sector was simplified as well. Opening branch offices in Georgia was made easier for local and foreign banks, and share purchase limits in active banks were repealed. Bookkeeping was adjusted with international standards. With regard to the rights of the banks of developed countries operating in Georgia, this was partially regulated. However, capital stock of bank increased significantly and became 12,000,000 Laris, instead of 6,400,000 Laris (New Economic School, 2007). In result, such companies as KFW, ProCredit Bank, London Stock Exchange, HSBC, Societe Generale, Halyk Bank, JPMorgan, OPIC, LibertyCapital, BankTuranAlem, TaoPrivatBank, BTA Bank, FMO, Rakeen, and VTB entered the Georgian market. As for the insurance market, it grew tenfold from 2003-2009 and 30% of the population was insured in private insurance companies (A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

In the 2010 Economic Freedom Report byThe Heritage Foundation, Georgia moved up to the 26th place in the world and surpassed average European indices by 1.2% (Heritage Foundation & The Wall Street Journal, 2010). It received rather high scores in freedom of labour market, business and fiscal

policy.According to the 2007 report of Doing Business, Georgia ranked as the12[th] place among 112 countries and was named a top reformer. The World Bank reported in 2009 that "since 2003, Georgia has implemented an impressive array of reforms, these reforms are reflected in pronounced political, social, and economic transformations following the 'Rose Revolution' at the end of 2003. The processes since the start of the reforms can be qualified as unique in terms of speed of reforms, degree of innovations, and extent of institutional restructuring. The reforms are recognized to have noticeably improved the institutional environment, provided a basis for more sustainable economic growth and human capital accumulation, and increased multi-fold foreign direct investments" (MacFarlane S. N., 2011).I read in S. Neil MacFarlane report that from 2003-2008, the macroeconomic results were extremely positive. In the years prior to the war, gross domestic product (GDP) increased from \$4 billion in 2003 to \$12.8 billion in 2008. The per capita shift was from \$772 in 2002 to \$2,919 in 2008. The GDP growth rate rose from 5.5% in 2002 to 12.3% in 2007. State revenue grew from 10.5% of GDP in 2002 to 25.7% in 2008. The (public) external debt-to-GNI (gross national income) ratio declined dramatically from 54% in 2003 to 22% in 2007. Net foreign direct investment (FDI) rose from \$160.2 million to \$1.75 billion annually in 2007, reflecting both the increasing ease of doing business in Georgia and also growing investor confidence, which pushed inflows up while reducing outflows (MacFarlane S. N., 2011).

According to the UNDP in 2008, when the government came to power in 2004 the country's infrastructure was in a state of collapse: electricity and water supply were unreliable across the country and non-existent in some place, roads were ruined and irrigation system could not provide water for crops. Since then, began thebuilding of roads, bridges, different infrastructural projects. Over 33% of Georgia's road network, and more than 115 bridges, have been repaired or completely rebuilt. The construction of an East-West highway traversing the entire country began. Overall, more than 225 km (about 14%) of Georgia's railway network and 20 railway bridges had been repaired or completely rebuilt. New international airport terminals were constructed in Tbilisi, Batumi and Kutaisi. One local airport was built in Mestia, too. 57% of schools were renovated or rebuilt. Drastic improvements were made to the electricitysector and it was supplied to the population without any delays, which had been a dream since the collapse of the Soviet Union.Even more, Georgia became a net exporter of electricity and had a diversified supply of natural gas coming from three different countries. Besides this, Georgia became a transit hub for energy resources going from the Caspian and Central Asia to the rest of Europe. These projects are: Baku-Supsa, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyha, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzerum, Nabucco, and White Stream Projects (UNDP Georgia, 2008).Old buildings and structures were restored, while new ones were built in Sighnaghi, Telavi, Gori, Akhaltsikhe, Kutaisi and Tbilisi in accordance with old Georgian architecture.While within the project 'Batumi Miracle,' the port city of Batumi was restored and completely redeveloped, with a new boulevard and skyscrapers were built. Hence, since Georgia did not have such natural resources as oil or natural gas, tourism became its main attraction.Georgia has year-round attractions for tourists, including snowy mountains perfect for alpine skiing, seaside resorts with a rich cultural heritage, remarkable churches and charming ancient villages in the heart of Europe's oldest vineyards. As aresult of various government initiatives since 2004, the number of visitors has increased ten-fold. Major world-renowned hotel brands operate in the country, including Marriott, Radisson, Sheraton, Hilton, Holiday Inn, etc. (A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

From 2004-2008 Georgia's annual GDP growth rate averaged almost 10%, with a peak of 12% in 2007. However, after the 2008 Russo-Georgian War, the world financial crisis, the slowing down of reforms, and challenges in the democratic changes, the economic growth was 6.4% from 2009-2012(A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010), while from 2012-2016 it was only approximantly3% (Facktcheck, 2016).

It should be noted that, pensions were not payed for months while it only amounted to 14 GEL. However, it had been increasing gradually and in ten years, it was increased by ten times. Pension delays were eliminated and an electronic payment system was introduced. Fire and rescue services, city cleaning municipal services, free ambulances were modernized and construction of new hospitals began(NPLG, 2008).

4.5. Modernization of the Political and Civil Environment

Scholar of political culture, G. Abesaze notes that the top task of the modernization of the Georgian political culture is to improve political-intellectual standards and overcome irrational process. Irrational process means political alienation, which may be conquered with political optimism, which will change the manner citizens' cohabitate in such way that will regulate cultural, political and economic life. In his opinion, modern democratic modernization depends exactly on the transformation of political culture. This is a change of epochal importance and implies fundamental changes of political mentality, thinking and rules of action, which are based on institutional changes and their proper operation (Abesadze, 2011).The government that rose to power in the aftermath of the 'Rose Revolution' set this exact goal: to bring not only outward but mental changes into people's lives as well. However, it did not depend only on the role of the government. Civil society played a large part in this as the government provided it with such institutional changes that facilitated development of strong and stable institutes. To begin with, it concerned the gradual disappearance of criminal mentality and identification of state institutions with oneself in one's consciousness. In pre-2003 Georgian society, 25% of the male pupils wanted to be a thief in law while 35% of the female pupils wanted to be a wife of a thief in law (Burakova, 2012).If citizens not having the sense of statehood under the Soviet Union was explained with fact that the USSR was not their homeland, and state institutions were simply collapsed, were obstacles, or even a threat for the citizens in the 1990s, people had to perceive these institution as of their own from now on. Unfortunately, reforms implemented by the state in this regard were cancelled out due to the wrong policy pursued by the state itself and the requirements of the civil society went beyond the policy offered by the state. Regardless, changes leading to modernization of political culture were still implemented. These changes concerned attitudes towards ethnic minorities, gender issues, secularization, and the matter of the consolidation of democratic institutions. Let us see and discuss each of them below.

Civil Society

The term 'civil society' is generally associated with the sum of non-governmental organizations. This narrow interpretationhas beenspread in the world since the 1990s. In a broader sense, it is defined as the forms of social relations and activities that do not belong in the spheres of family, business or state. Civil society cannot be accommodated within the family domain since family is based on personal and natural ties. Civil society falls in public space, i.e. it goes beyond the borders of close personal relationship. The essence of its concept includes the whole spectrum of non-governmental relations such as economic, social and cultural (including religious) aspects(Nodia, Development of Civil Societu in Georgia: Achievments and Challenges, 2005).Since the 1980s when the Soviet Union allowed the freedom of speechcivil activity in Georgia has dramatically increased. This was followed by the rise of nationalism and the idea ofestablishing a national state. Unfortunately, this was not based on thoughtful, pragmatic and realistic views but on mythopoetic[8]mentality, an idealized view on country's development that caused a coup, military conflicts, yet unseen rise of the criminal underworld, collapse of the economy and complete apathy of the society. The activity and development of civil society is associated with the beginning of the 2000s. It is considered to include political parties, civil society organizations, mass media, religious organizations, civil and labour unions. As we know, political parties were developed in the beginning of the 20th century and in general, when they have hada great impact on social life.However, the single-party system during the 70year-long Soviet Union eliminated the development of political culture that returned to its natural course in the 1990s.

Development of civil society organizations started exactly in this period. This was induced by critical attitudes of intellectuals toward the government, when public service was not considered prestigious, and holding an official position was related to corrupt mechanisms. As a result, the social class thatwas mainly engaged in intellectual labour and did not want to make moral compromises, moved into the third sector. Financial support of the West also played alarge part. Considering the economic crisis of that time, persons employed at non-governmental organizations were provided with rather high income. In addition, they were practically free from censorship and were able to realize their ideas or opportunities without any restrictions. They had an impact on state policies.From 1999-2003 they managed to influence social processes and established as an important actor in political life. Starting in2003, after the 'Rose Revolution', most of them moved to the public sector (Nozadze, G., 2007).Scholar of civil society, G. Nodia argues that qualified and experienced human resources had been accumulated in this sector at that time. Organizations with nearly modern standards of management and internal resources for sustainable development were founded. Specialization inside the sector took place and more advanced organizations developed skills to perform the functions for the benefit of their society.Traditions,a culture of cooperation and work in coalition were established. They accumulated some moral capital in the specific part of society as the well-organized protectors of democratic values and human rights. Thus, civil society became the stronghold of spreading and defending liberal values in Georgia. It was these people who presented the authentic evidence of massive election fraud in 2003:

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[8] It is a type of the thinking typical for ethnic nationalism, when the past is idealized and connected to the present without any tangible grounds, e.g. attempt to replicate David the Builder's policy in the modern world.

what the legitimacy of the revolution was based on(Nodia, Development of Civil Societu in Georgia: Achievments and Challenges, 2005).

Scholar M. Tsurtsumia notes that in terms of the advanced civil society, democratic values turn into established and shared rules, and the risk that the state will tend to authoritarianism is almost gone. This encouraged the interest of international organizations and donors to support civils society in the countries of the former socialist camp. At the beginning, western donors were interested in funding less politically active organizations. Therefore, financial support focused on environmental organizations, which founded the Green Movement and stimulated environmental and cultural heritage protection activities. At the same time, non-governmental organizations gradually began to play the leading role in the formation of civil society in Georgia. These organizations were formed in the context of the country's liberal democratic transition since they are considered the essential actors supporting democracy. These are not some mere words: the major directions of their activities were protection of human rights, improvement of the voting environment, monitoring of elections, civil education, social welfare, women issues, collection and dissemination of information, conduct of surveys. They were aiding the certain target groups such as displaced persons, socially vulnerable persons, youth, women, alienated groups, etc. (Tsurtsumia, 2011).

As for mass media, its role had gradually been increasing since the 1990s, while oppositionist media outlets became in fact a formidable force in the 2000s. It turned out that 70% of the population received news from television, 10% from the newspapers, and only 5% from the radio (Nozadze, G., 2007).In this regard, since 2004, important reforms have been implemented to expand and institutinalize media freedom, pluralism and freedom of expression in Georgia. The Georgian Public Broadcaster was established in 2005 in accordance with international standards. A law established GPB's minimum annual budget as 0,12% of total GDP, which should guarantee the full financial independence of GPB. In 2009, the GPB board was expanded to include NGO and political party representatives chosen by consensus by majority and opposition parties. A BBC monitoring report in 2010 emphasized the progress made toward greater independence and editorial professionalism in GPB's news programs (Government of Georgia, 2006).However if we judge with the ratings of viewers, it had not a wide audience and was watched by only 5% of the population (Tabula, 2015).What the government could be proud of was that there were no libel or defamation cases against journalists since 2004. It was guaranteed by the new law of "freedom of speech and expression". Under this law libel became decrimilized and journalists or editors could not bear individual responsibility for the publication of a defamatory statement. The protection of whistleblowers became guaranteed and journalists were relieved of general criminal responsibility for revealing state secrets. They should not be asked to disclose confidential sources, including in court. During the election campaign, free political advertisements and accessibility of equal participation by major political parties on political talk shows on TV were made mandatory by law on public or private channels, and airtime was allotted according to a formula agreed by a consensus between the parties. As the cornerstone of any democratic system is free and fair elections, the government tried to ensure to all of the international society that Georgian citizens are able to exercise their fundamental right to choose their government under the election according to international democratic standards. The government improved the quality of all procedures and reduced the threshold

to parliament from 7% to 5%. For the first time, the Mayor of Tbilisi was directly elected by the people in 2010 when even the number of complaints fell dramatically compared to previous elections. Opposition parties and civil society groups had full access to monitor elections. Despite the fact that the opposition criticized errors and mistakes made during the pre-election campaign, every election expressed the will of the people and they were recognized by all international organizations. Hence, the result of a 2010 survey carried out for NDI by CRRC shows that majority of Georgians believe that the elections were well conducted (A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).Finally, 2012 parliamentary elections became the first precedent in the history of independent Georgia, when the government was peacefully changed through elections,and not by coup or revolution. Besides this, handing over of government structures and their affairs to the representatives of the victorious party took place peacefully, in compliance with the democratic standards and the political party completely different from the United National Movement – coalition Georgian Dream led by Bidzina Ivanishvili came to power (Tabula, 2012).

Secularism

It is essential for the formation of civil society that its members are not restricted because of their religious sentiments and beliefs. This can happen only in a clerical state or in acountry following the path ofbecoming one. Georgia was declared secular since the day it gained independence. This meant that unlike from the Middle Ages, the state would not subordinate church and the church would not intervene in state affairs. Faith became an individual and private matter, not some state or religious ideology. This was also determined by the rational approach, which considered that not all the population of Georgia was Christian Orthodox. Many of them were not even in a congregation, while many were. People's attitude toward religion and church was never determined or measured with any statistic data. The problem was that affiliation with any church was determined based on an ethnic marker, which did not represent the real picture. Religious affiliation is quite a vague concept, However, their classification in categories is possible. Hence, we should separate affiliation with a church in two:cultural identity and religious identity. I define them as follows: Cultural identity means that a person is born in a certain religious environment, is baptized in accordance with the tradition, follows and observes the traditions, rituals and customs characteristic of this particular religion. For instance, baptism, Easter, Christmas, etc. in such case, this person may equally be a believer or not. His/her views may be agnostic, philosophic, materialist, etc. but not incompatible with church as it is a part of his/her culture.

As for religious identity, it means that one believes in a particular religion as church teaches him/her. He/she choses himself/herself to be a member of congregation, prays because he/she is willing to and not for the sake of tradition. For them, religion is not only a part of their culture but also the matter of personal, individual belief. Preciselythese two issues have never become a subject of research. Even in the UN's population censuses, people were listed not by their culture or religious/philosophic viewsbut by their cultural identity.In result, 83% of the population is deemed Christian Orthodox. The picture was the same withthe Muslim population. For instance, ethnic Azerbaijani born in Georgia were automatically registered as a Muslim. However, religious attitudes have never been determined. Many of

them could altogether be non-religious, like many ethnic Georgians, though many observed traditional praying traditions. Affiliation with the Gregorian Church was determined in the same manner, and all the Armenians were listed as the followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Despite being considered more as the part of the cultural identity than of the religious one. Moreover, we are aware that there are ethnic Georgians who are Catholics or Muslims. In addition, there are followers of various religions, whose total number had never been higher than 5% of the population in Georgia, even so, they cannot be ignored and rejected (Nozadze, G., 2007).More specifically, according to the survey, 83.8% of population by religion are Orthodox Christians, 9.9% - Muslim, 3.9% - Armenian Christian, 0.8% Catholic, 0.8% other, and 0.7% indicated non-religious(A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

Ethnic diversity in Georgia and emphasis on it only causes labeling, creation of stereotypes and alienation of different people. It is a fact thatthe military conflicts in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region, regardless if they were fomented and supported by Russia, were based on ethnic differences. Hence, if underlining Georgian ethnicity and religion with the motive to achieve the consolidation of the nation and aspiration for independence was some kind of weapon. While Georgia was deprived of its independence, the same approach in the context of independent Georgia would cause religious/ethnic conflicts. This rational approach became one of the foundations for Georgia to choose secularism and take certain steps toward it. However, following this pathwas not easy because the interest confuses secular and clerical authorities with oneanother, which encouraged manifestation of numerous antisocial acts committed by fundamentalists. This was caused by the ignorance of the major moral principles of Christian teachings and the history of Georgian Christianity. It was replaced by superstition, fundamentalism and phyletism (Papuashvili N. , 2011). There were cases of raiding nontraditional confessions, forced disruptions of their gatherings, beating the members of the congregations and burning of their literature, including the holy books, which had been just published by another confession (Fanjikidze & Kancdareli, 2006).There were more than 700 cases of persecution of and violence against religious minorities from 1999-2001. Besides, perpetrators did not deny participation in the raids and even talked about such incidents in front of television cameras (Zurabishvili, 2003).

The first step of the state was to declare the freedom of belief, confession and religion, and its protection. A special law was adopted, which concerned not only the individual freedom of religion but also the foundation, registration and dissolution of religious organizations (Vashakmadze & Metreveli, 2013).In addition, the constitution guaranteed equality of all citizens despite their race, language, sex and religion. However, adoption of the law and its enforcement was not easy. Despite Georgia historically beinga country with great traditions of religious tolerance, there were a number of incidents of violation of the freedom of religion by extremists in the 1990s, to which the government did not at all respond until 2003 (Vashakmadze & Metreveli, 2013).

Although the 1995 constitution guaranteed the complete freedom of religion, however special concordate conluded according to which the special role of the Georgian Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the history of Georgia was acknowledged. We highlight it as 'in the history of Georgia' and received a guarantee that the state would not intervene in its affairs. Georgia was a successor state of the Soviet Union, where the Church, as well as other institutions, were strictly

controlled by the state. In addition, it was an actual victim of repressions. Upon the dissolution of the Soviet Union, an atheist environment typical for the communist regime quickly disappeared and was replaced by religious traditions, rituals and rules. It also influenced the protocol of public officials. Due to this, politicians in a way tried to be associated with the populous Church and receive support of the congregation through this manner. Following from the fact that during the Soviet rule the Church was not only under control but also was subjected to repressions both in the form of imprisonments and executions, and confiscation of and encroachment on its property, it was decided, that the victim itself (Georgia), and not the legal successor of the Soviet Union – Russia, would take the responsibility for the legacy of these atrocities. Pursuant to the concordant mentioned above, the government and the Orthodox Church agreed that the state would return lands, buildings and various properties to the Church as a state compensation. However, it was not specified, how much compensation the Church was going to receive and within what terms. Later, it caused problems: the clergy would receive so much movable or immovable property from the state that the Church had never owned throughout its history. It looked like an attempt to receive their support rather than compensation. This also contained signs of the state's control over the Church, which was followed by other steps. As the theologian Papuashvili notes: political course deviated from secularism since the one religion was declared as a state ideology while the others found themselves being ignored and discriminated (Papuashvili N. , 2011). Furthermore, Georgian legislation released the Orthodox Church from taxes(Vashakmadze & Metreveli, 2013).Moreover, the state became the annual funder of the Church, which would be unimaginable during the Democratic Republic of Georgia from1918-1921. Trade in such items as crucifixes, candles, icons, ecclesiastical literature, calendars and other items for divine service were exempted from taxes. Profit from the sales goes directly to the Church without any taxation, state control or accounting (Papuashvili N. , 2011).

Status of religious organizations was determined by the Civil Code of Georgia in order to eliminate discriminative environment. The Code regulated registration of such associations, granted them the status of legal entity, which was supposed to make organizational and financial activities easier for them. The code also provided for and determined the procedures of registering a religious association in the following sense: either religious denominationhad to have a historical link with Georgia or it had to be recognized as a religion by the legislation of the member states of the Council of Europe. In this manner, invention, fabrication and registration of new religious organization were avoided (Metreveli A. , 2012).

Amendments were made to the Law on Education. This occurred because during the religious euphoria in the 1990s, there were numerous cases when the clergy of the Orthodox Church would conduct special lessons and prayers of the same religion in schoolswhere children of the parents who were the members of non-orthodox churches were studying. Chapels were organized in schools, next to them or even in schoolyards,churches were built on children's football stadiums. Children would be taken to churches or encouraged to pray in an organized manner. All this happened when children were at such an age that they could not possibly have any kind of religious perception at all. Unfortunately, proselytism and indoctrination are not the problems only of the schools of the regions populated by religious minorities(Liberali.ge, 2013). Therefore, pursuant to the new law, education institutions were

declared independent from political and religious associations, and being present at forced prayers and sermons was prohibited. Teaching religious subjects in schools and universities was abolished. The faculty of religious studies of Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University was removed, because the subject of religion was taught through the lens of Orthodoxy, not as a science (Fanjikidze & Kancdareli, 2006).

The Criminal Code of Georgia stipulated that unlawful interference with the performance of divine service or other religious rites or customs using violence or threat of violence, or by abusing one's official position would be punished by a fine or imprisonment for a term of one to five years. Despite this, incidents where orthodox extremists attacked religious minorities were frequent. Law enforcement authorities did not take any actions in response to suchfacts (Liberty Institute, 2002).The government found itself in a difficult situation. Religious intolerance was obvious, which was making the 'problem' of religious minorities much worse, instead of solving it. Such religious fundamentalism turned out to be a real obstacle on the way of building democratic and law-abiding state. The Church supported the state in this regard,as it banished the groups inclined to fundamentalism and denounced any kind of violence committed in the name of Christ. The state took advantage of this moment and prevented religious conflicts, raids, and arrested the leaders of the most radical groups (Fanjikidze & Kancdareli, 2006).These activities were accompanied by strong physical resistance of the excommunicated parish, which was followed by calling the special forces, seizure of the excommunicated church by force and physical violence against the resisting members of the parish, including women. Eradication of religious hostility cost the government dearly, because the news on the said operation was spread in such a way that the government was acting against the Church and peaceful congregation (Ambebi.ge, 2016).It is fact that after these events the government cracked down on hate crimes directed against religious minorities. In addition, the Public Defender created a Council on Religion, which brought together representatives from a wide range of religious organizations to monitor the status of religious freedom in Georgia. This group served as a consultative body for the Public Defender on pressing issues that Georgia's diverse religious communities were facing. A law that prohibited religious organizations from conducting any non-religious activities was removed from the books. This improvement was of major significance in the fight against discrimination based on religion (Government of Georgia, 2006).

In conclusion,I can say thatalthough the government took numerous steps toward building a secular state, the clergy of various religions would often use the trust of the congregation and intervene in political processes, since religious associations remained influentialtothe population (Sigua, 2012).I believe that this will bring negative consequences to the state, as well as to those religious associations.

Ethnic Minorities

According to the survey, the population is ethnically: 83.9% are Georgian. 6.5% - Azeri, 5.7% - Armenian, 1.5% Russian, and 2.5% other – Ossetian, Greek, Qurd, Asirian, Chechen (known as Qist in Georgia), Hebrow, Ukrainian, Polish, and etc. Most ethnic Azerbaijanis and Armenians are concentrated in Southern Georgia, KvemoKartli and SamtskheJavakheti regions. However, they also are represented in Kakheti, ShidaKartli, Tbilisi and Batumi (Sordia, 2012).

In 2008, President Saakashvili announced that Georgia had never been and never will be a mono-ethniccountry.Georgia belongs to all of them regardless of their ethnicity (A Publication of the

Government of Georgia, 2010).As I see, the government realized that Georgia is a country that encompasses a diverse multiplicity of cultures and beliefs, and as such pays close attention to the treatment of minorities. Minority rights were guaranteed by the constitution and strictly prohibited ethnic or religious discrimination. However, full-fledged integration of all national minorities into public life was an ongoing challenge. Intergration of the ethnic minorities into civil society varies by region. For instance, in the regions where the members of ethnic minorities live densely, the main problem is directlyrelated to the level of knowledge of the Georgian language. Due to the Soviet legacy, they mostly used the Russian language as a means of commination outside their regions. Russian was also the language of local public administrations. However, the official documents, which were to be forwarded to the center, were translated in Georgian. With respect to knowledge of the state language, the situation was better in disperse settlements, especially in Tbilisi, where, for most of the ethnic minorities, knowing Georgian was equal to knowing one's mother tongue (Sordia, 2012).To realize this process, Georgia ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorites in 2005 and a National Concept and Action Plan for Tolorance and Civil Integration was adopted in 2009. According to Minority Rights Group International, "progress has been achieved in both the use of minority languages in national media and in the translation of Georgian news programmes in minority languages". The president regularly attended religious and traditional ceremonies with Georgia's different communities, and the muslim celebration of Norvuz Bairam is declared as a public holiday. The government began promoting respect for minorities as an integral part of the new school curriculum, which was quite a new attitude toward society. As a result, improved access to education and improved educational facilities for minorities as the access to higher education for minority students had become a primary focus of Georgian education policy. This included the development of general aptitude tests in minority languages and the introduction of a quota system in state universities for Azerbaijani (5%), Armenian (5%), Abkhazian (1%) and Ossetian (1%) students. 28 Armenian, 28 Azerbaijani and 84 other non-Georgian language schools were rehabilitated during 2006-2010. There are 350 non-Georgian language schools among 2,131 public schools.The government tried to strengthen the knowledge of native languages by national minorities and thus began Georgian language instruction at all levels – pre-school, general education and adult education. This policy became a priority for the Ministry of education in order to ensure that all minorities were able to participate and succeed in economic, social, and political life(A Publication of the Government of Georgia, 2010).

Noteworthy achievements were made in increasing minority participation in the electoral process. Areas densely populated by Armenian and Azeri communities in the Southern part of the country had traditionally been venues for gross violations of election legislation, including direct fraud. To address this problem, the Central Election Commission developed a set of measures, which included increasing participation of ethnic minority representatives in minority areas' election commissions, both at precinct and district levels. A special manual ofthe election law was published in minority languages and comprehensive trainings were conducted. A voter education campaign that included the "Get Out to Vote" initiative, was running on public and local TV stations in minority languages as well. Finally, voters in minority areas gained the opportunity to vote with bilingual ballot papers (Government of Georgia, 2006).

The government knew that the success of civil integration policies was directly contingent upon the government's ability to bring economic prosperity to minority areas and facilitate their integration into economic life. Due to the minor economic issues, the population of Southern Georgia found it easier to go over the border in Armenia or Azerbaijan than to get in touch with Tbilisi or other regions of Georgia because the infrastructure was ruined. Thus, the Government of Georgia created special programs to develop infrastructure in regions populated mainly by Georgia's minority group populations. The implemented project actually encouraged mobility and stimulated economic growth. The Tbilisi-Akhalkalaki highway was built. Main and internal roads were completely repaired, gas pipelines and power supplies were built. Since 2007, when the Russian Military Base left Akhalkalaki, where the large part of the population was employed, the government launched procurement of food in an effort to compensate for the loss of income by local farmers. Besides this, the rail link from Kars, Turkey to Akhalkalaki became an additional impetus for the economic development of Georgia's minority regions(Government of Georgia, 2006).Finally, rehabilitation of Rabati Castle in Akhaltsikhe turned the region into one of the great attractions for tourism that gave new life to the local people (Ivelashvili, 2012).

As I can see, the government had a well-established policy relating to civil integration. A number of agencies were created on government levels, which are still engaged in the implementation of policies related to ethnic minorities to some extent. This clearly shows the will of the government of Georgia to improve civil integration and the protection of ethnic minority rights (Sordia, 2012).

The Third Wave of Women's Movement

The issue of political and civil emancipation of women in Georgia was not as prominent as other issues. This was the result of the fact that the struggle for women's rights started already in the second half of the 19th century, when the idea of Europe was introduced. I have already discussed it above. The women's movement developed and accomplished tangible results in the beginning of the 20th century, when it achieved to obtain recognition of complete political and civil equality from the state. In addition, despite large-scale feminist movements in Georgia being nonexistent relativeto those of Western European countries, communist movements also incorporated the struggle for women's rights. Therefore, although the Soviet Union blocked the idea of Europe, it did not hinder the liberation of women. This is why the women's right to political and civil equality was not questioned after Georgia re-established its independence in 1991, and it did not become doubtable. The question concerned cultural emancipation of women, which was followed by the third wave of the struggle for women's rights, especially in the aftermath of the third wave of modernization and the idea of Europe, beginning in2003. According to the traditional public opinion ofGeorgia, the Georgian culture stands out with its respect toward women and this country does not know sexual discrimination (Khomeriki, 2003).However, scholars of gender issues believe that it is caused exactly by the masculine culture, where men thinkhimself superior to women and this 'respect' follows from the necessity of taking care of women. Georgian scholars of gender issues think that equality of man and woman means them having equal conditions and opportunities to fully realize their potential, equally participate in political, economic, cultural processes, as well as in the process of cultural development and equally make use of the achievements,

opportunities and resources of the society they live in. It should be underlined that gender equality does not mean that man and woman are the same. In a pluralist democracy, it is acknowledged that individuals have different values and objectives, different needs and ways of life. Regardless of this, their interests should be taken into consideration on every level, they should enjoy equal rights and opportunities, should have similar responsibilities and obligations. Therefore, some of the traditional views and values began to change since the beginning of the 2000s. This includes the attitude, according to which, if 'wife and husband both have jobs, their duties in the family should not be distributed equally regardless'. According to the established cultural stereotype, because of being twice as busy, women had a problem of combining a working career and family duties. Family should not have any problem with women's professional career, it did not prevent women from playing the parts of spouse and mother. It was unthinkable for men to share these duties. Therefore, freedom, power, success, and the right to unlimited choice was deemed as a prerogative of men(Khomeriki, 2003).

Unfortunately, nobody wins in this situation;not even men, of course. Such traditional gender role foes not to liberate men, on the contrary, it restricts himbecause he associates success only with power and making a lot of money. This is rather difficult for most of men in terms of economic crisis and unemployment. Exactly this stereotype of a 'real man' instigates him to be aggressive even when he does not want to. Besides this, they spend short time withtheir families and do not have defective emotional connections with their children. Statistic data reveals that life expectancy of men is almost ten years shorter than that of women. 80% of suicides are men, 97% of drug-addicts are men, 99% of people suffering from chronic alcoholism are men, 95% of convicts are men. Exactly these stereotypes and norms cause such unfortunate results to begin to change. The traditional stereotypes of men and women began to fall apart, and attitudes toward family changed as well and the tendency of bringing individuality forward became evident. The relationship between parents and children and the traditional view on women's role and function were changed (Khomeriki, 2003). The approach toward abduction of fiancée became stricter, which had been quite a common and completely acceptable form of getting married, even in urban settlements, including Tbilisi. This tradition gradually fell into oblivion due to immediate responses of police and the risk of criminal prosecution of the offender. A woman was elected as the chair of the parliament for the first time in 1999, and she was the acting president twice – in 2003 and 2007. Moreover, female leaders of various political parties appeared as well. Political and economic changes of the period had a great impact on women. In many families, women became the breadwinners due to their ability to adapt and survive. The process of modernization provided women with a number of possibilities to realize themselves. Nevertheless, emancipation of women and their engagement in democratization does not reach the necessary scale. This can be explained by the fact that the women's movement failed to consolidate and effectively formulate their tasks. Scholars of gender issues believe that women still do not have access to the channels through which they could contribute their share in complete modernization of the country. They argue that, hypocritical attitudes toward the issue of gender equality is still evident in Georgia. It seems as if international norms and standards of women's rights are protected in Georgia, however, in reality, state mechanisms effectively guaranteeing gender equality do not exist, and because of this, such topics as violence against women, femicide and gender-based discrimination are still relevant (Sabedalashvili, 2007).

4.6. Critical Analysis of Revolutionary Modernization

As I have mentioned above, President Saakashvili came to power through revolution. The previous government caused the necessity of revolution since it committed massive election fraud and rudely stole the victory from the United National Movement despite the latter winningthe elections. While still being in a revolutionary mood, 97% of the population declared their trust to the president, which meant that every citizen was ready to start a brand-new life. As I have already mentioned, the wave of reforms touched every area, which would be incredible without taking unpopular steps. In addition, reforms were accompanied by mistakes in some cases. All of this caused the polarization of society. Despite the United National Movement winning every Presidential and self-government elections during the period of two parliamentary elections and receiving twice the number of votes the party in second place did, oppositions sparkle always was significant. There were such massive demonstrations that endangered not only the government but statehood as well. The government responded to each attempt of coup and unrests with brute force, which was followed by violation of human rights and the larger wave of criticism. I will discuss the criticism of political and economic aspects of modernization.

The main criticism of the Rose Revolution on the way toward modernization of the political system concerns the mistake that hindered democratization and caused deviation from the European values. According to claims against President Saakashvili, he was bent to dictatorship. This was manifested in the constitutional amendments made in February 2004, which disrupted the balance between the branches of government and the mechanisms of balance. In fact, absolute and unsupervised power of the president was legalized. In addition, the judiciary lost its constitutional independence from the legislative and executive branches of the government. Most of the trials were conducted with violations of administrative and procedural laws. The practice showed that the judiciary executed the orders received from the Prosecutor's Office. In result, in the 2006 Report of Human Rights Watch, it is stated that the government of Georgia almost did not have any grounds to be proud of the rule of law and success achieved in protection of human rights (Nozadze, G., 2007).

Oppositionist T. Khidasheli takes the EU-Georgia action plan signed within the frameworks of the European Neighborhood Policy as a starting point to measure the success of the Georgian state achieved in human rights protection. These are the practical manifestations of the idea of Europe I am studying. Firstly, this is the rule of law, development of democratic institutions and respect of human rights. Her work is based on the records and reports of the Public Defender of Georgia and international human rights organizations operating in Georgia, and on the reports of the European Council. As a result, she came to the conclusion that the judiciary in Georgia has an extremely low index of independency, while there were frequent cases of inhuman and degrading treatment in the penitentiaries and temporary detention isolators (Khidasheli, 2011), and overcrowded cells and high mortality rate(Khidasheli, 2011). Moreover, the object of criticism became the government's failure to tolerate citizens exercising their right to gatherings and manifestations, while police used violence against the protesters and abused official power in the process. In this case, Khidasheli underlines that the protesters

resisted the police, attacked them with sticks, picket police buildings, etc. However, she criticizes the disproportional use of force by police, which should have been used less aggressively (Kobakhidze M. , 2012).

One more object of criticism was freedom of press. Georgia was unable to show better results than the 120th place in the world and fell into the partially free category(Khidasheli, 2011). Despite this, there were countless radical oppositionist newspapers, magazines, journals, radios, television channels, and internet and social media,which were completely free from any restrictions, and any person could tell society his/her opinion, certain fact stroke deathly blows on the freedom of press. These were the raid on the television broadcasting company 'Imedi' and the change of its owners, lack of transparency of the sources funding the televisions subordinated to the government, which propagandized the government policies; restriction of 'Maestro' and 'Channel 9' by prohibiting satellite antenna (Tsqitishvili, 2012).

From the mistakes in the course of modernization of the economic system, I will pick out the ones that concern more or less tangible facts and can be examined. I will not mention the countless rumors or unconfirmed versions, which were the part of the opposition's negative public campaign. Here are some: GEL is the government's share in the petrol business, Saakashvili secretly put by 9 billion, electricity price is artificially increased, etc. None of them became the subject of investigation after the change of government, they even were forgotten. Thus, if I discuss the opinions of the critics, I arrive at the conclusion that they mainly criticized the fact, that regardless of the implemented reforms and drastic improvements in world ratings, unemployment and poverty remained the major problems. By these indicators, Georgia remained one of the poorest countries in Europe alongside Armenia and Moldova. In a report by the Caucasian Institute for Economic and Social Research, it is stated that effective employment and unemployment are still pressing problems, which negatively affect the social situation of the population in Georgia. The problematic nature of the issue is complex. That is why it is important to outline the major themes that need to be resolved in a timely manner. Over the years, the government carried out programs for employment and unemployment, but they never amounted toreal results (CIESR, 2013).Although the budget was increased by ten times, critics relate this to elimination of corruption, not to economic growth. In addition, according to them there were cases when the budget was replenished through racketeering. In particular, the tax police were created and equipped with special rights in order to improve collection of tax. For instance, even in the case of doubt of non-payment, it might seize the property and bank accounts of any company or taxpayer without any court ruling. Besides this, by the decision of the head or deputy head of the department it was possible to debit taxes, penalty interests, or fines from the bank account of the taxpayer, or even seize cash from cashbox, while suspending operation of the enterprise until the inspection of financial documents was over. Such rights granted to the tax police, which used it quite frequently, hindered entrepreneurial activity, if not making it bankrupt at all. In addition, such an approach became dangerous for the public, because it turned into the instrument of political persecution (New Economic School, 2007).

In MacFarlane's report,the following is stated: "Anecdotal evidence suggests that the government is increasing its scrutiny of private businesses and the use of the financial police to extract additional payments from them. These practices raise disturbing questions about the state's attitude towards

property rights (see below) and are hardly likely to encourage growth through the reinvestment of profits" (MacFarlane S. N., 2011).One of the reformers and Prime Minister (2009-2012) Nika Gilauri mentions in his book that, "the biggest mistake the government made was not to reform the justice system intime. Even though some changes were introduced, the pace was slow and the results were barely visible. For example, in 2010, 98 percent of all cases, both criminal and civil, were settled in favor of the prosecutor's office. The prosecutor's office in some cases abused its powers, especially when dealing with local businesses. This was a period, when businesses were learning to paytaxes. In majority of cases, the deals made by prosecutor's office were understandable – there were clear cases of taxevasions, but as it appeared, there were cases where the approach was excessively harsh and by far not fair. As a result, people got frustrated with the inappropriate conduct of the prosecutor'soffice"(Gilauri, 2017).Journalists even published the list of 140 businessmen, who had been convicted of financial offences. At first glance, it is not the number that would determine the fate of the country's budget, however, when such information is spread, the sense of vulnerability and injustice appears in the society. "Academic research suggests that there is no obvious and strong correlation between levels of poverty and levels of political unrest. However, it has long been established that relative deprivation is a source of instability"(MacFarlane S. N., 2011).In the opinion of the critics, the monopolies focused on import became stronger under the government's rule. According to the opposition, high government officials supported them. The term 'elite corruption' appeared, which created somewhat a vague environment, because it was difficult to name the member of government in the cabinet of ministers, which would be accused of corruption. Instead, businessmen with close ties to the government or the individuals gone into business from the government, were mentioned (Burakova, 2012).

According to the abovementioned results of The Heritage Foundation (2005) andThe Doing Business, where Georgia was assessed positively in terms of its reforms, criticism was formulated as well. This mainly concerned the protection of the right to private property and selective justice (New Economic School, 2007). Economist V. Papava distinguishes de-privatization and encroachment on private property as the mistake of the economic reforms. The first implied that when de-privatized property was confiscated from the owners on the basis that mistakes were made in course of privatization, they were re-privatized. As for encroachment on private property, it has a deadly effect of formation and development of the market economy. Encroachment on private property was demonstrated not only with confiscation of property but their destruction (demolition of buildings). Papava argues that there were cases, when the owners had the documents confirming ownership and legitimacy of construction. However, the government ignored them by justifying it on the grounds to improve the appearance of the city (Papava, 2011).

Finally, the 2008 Russian-Georgian war presented significant economic challenges. On the positive side, the West responded with a substantial post-conflict aid package of $45 billion ($1,000 per person). Even so, growth declined from 12.3% in 2007 to 2.3% in 2008 and 3.9% in 2009. According to government estimates there appears to have been a recovery in 2010. FDI, the major driver of private GDP growth, declined from $1.75 billion in 2007 to $658 million in 2009. Data from the National Statistics Office for 2010 showed a total low of 6.6% year by year (MacFarlane S. N., 2011).

If before the Rose Revolution the state system was so ruined and useless that the society could not even feel its existence, under Saakashvili's rule the government became so overpowered, it gave rise to the sense that the importance of citizens was being diminished. Facts of encroachment on private property; attempts to control business; a rough economic policy that failed to cause massive increase of the middle class; artificially preventing oppositionist media from development; intimidation, threat, and pressure on the opposition; abuse of power by the police in times of political crises; attempted cover-ups of criminal acts committed by police; large-scale and systematic surveillance and wiretapping; violence in prison and inhuman treatment – these are the claims, justly or not, which people felt to be true. One could say that the state outweighedcitizens and this is where modernization deviated from the idea of Europe. For this reason, the opposition called the period of Saakashvili's rule the 'facade democracy', because they believed that human beings, its life, individuality and happiness still did not hold any value (Nozadze, G., 2007).

4.7. Modernization and the Idea of Europe by the Numbers

As my research shows, Georgia underwent three waves of the idea of Europe and modernization. During this time, certain indicators were added to the idea of Europe. It is now possible to measure in what form the values shown in my first chapter are represented in practice. Democracy is not an empty word anymore and the rule of law can be shown in numbers, like any other. Therefore, in this part of my research I will find out what results the three waves of the idea of Europe and modernization have accomplished, to which lots of people's invaluable toil, struggle, health and even lives were sacrificed. Has the idea of Europe and modernization been implemented in such a manner that the persons introducing these values in the second half of the 19th century were striving for? If yes, in what scale and what results do we have after a century and a half. Naturally, if it was not for the Soviet occupation and if modernization of Georgia had been continued uninterruptedly, it is possible that Georgia would have been one of the leading countries of today'sfree world. However, since history designated this path to use, we have to assess the reality we are living in.

Modernization of Georgia and development of the idea of Europe generated an appropriate response from international organizations. On the various stages of development of these values, Georgia was becoming a member of the European international organizations, which also indicates modernization of Georgia and strengthening of the values. Georgia was admitted membership of an international organizationfor the first time after the Soviet Union dissolved. It became a member state of the UN as country recognized de jure in July 1992; and since 1996, it launched an integration process with the European institutions as it signed a treaty with the European Union. In particular, it was the 'Partnership and Cooperation Agreement' (PCA), which underlined that Georgia was not a state receiving aids anymore, and it had become a partner (Beruchashvili, Karaulashvili, & Mshvidobadze, 2006).In 1999, Georgia became a member of the Council of Europe. Starting from 2004 when Georgia first openly declared its willingness to be integrated in the North Atlantic and European organizations, it joined the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). In 2006, the European Neighbourhood Policy Action

Plan was adopted, which stipulated the peaceful resolution of conflicts, strengthening of the rule of law, development of state institutions, protection of human rights, improvement of business and investment environments, combatting corruption, enacting efforts to overcome poverty, encouraging social development, protection of environment, regional cooperation in security, transport and energy affairs, development of educational and scientific system (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013).

In 2008, the government of Georgia was expecting to receive the Membership Action Plan of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was against Russia's strategic interests in the South Caucasus. By using its energy resources, Russia made several European states declare Georgia as a candidate member of NATO and Georgia's admission to membership was postponed for an indefinite period (Civil Georgia, 2008).This enabled the Russian Federation to hinder the West's interests in South Caucasus, invaded Georgia. Despite a five-day resistance, Russia occupied Tskhinvali Region and the autonomous Republic of Abkhazia. The war did not prevent Georgia's aspirations for European organizations but heavily damaged its economy, and as a result, 30,000 people became the victims of ethnic cleansing, whose homes were completely destroyed (Kakabadze & Asatiani, 2009).The war causedGeorgia to be faced with substantial economic losses, while generating additional demands on the public exchequer. War damages needed to be made good and the government faced the responsibility to feed and house a large number of displaced people. Western countries and organizations donated huge sums to assist Georgia's post-war recovery, especially aiming to accelerate the government's substantial programme of infrastructural modernization.Although the Georgian economy shrank from2008-2009, it began to recover the following year, despite the global economic downturn (MacFarlane S. N., 2011).

Regardless of the war, the Eastern Partnership was launched in 2009, and within its scope, Georgian citizens were allowedto travel to the European Union without visa from 2012. However, this decision came into force in 2014. In 2011, talks on the Georgia-EU Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area were launched, which concluded with the signing of the EU/Georgia Association Agreement in 2014, which envisages exports of Georgian goods in the markets of the EU member states (Shubitidze V. , Europeanization and Georgian Poitical Thought , 2013). In result, according to the 2017 Foreign Trade statistics, Georgian goods exported to the EU exceeded the total cost of the goods exported to the Russian Federation by 65%. In the last ten years, from2007-2016, Georgia exported 4 times more goods to the EU than to the Russian Federation (Forbes, 2017).

As for the figures concerning modernization of Georgia and the idea of Europe, I should first recall, how did I formulated them. The idea of Europe is the political idea on the land of Europe, which involves a community of values. These values have historical roots, which originate from the ancient world, had an impact onthe Christian culture, and today is embodied in the institutions ofthe European Union and its partner European states. These values are peace building and maintenance of it; freedom, equality and solidarity; governance by the people and the rule of law; secularism and environmentalism. In addition, all these values revolve around the main axis, called the human being and its rights. The idea of Europe has its own identity and spreads beyond the land of Europe in the context of Europeanization.As for modernization,it is a constantly updating process that transforms a societybased onscientific and technical achievements and is part of urbanization and permanent infrastructure

upgrades of the environment. Modernization originates from Western Europe and is part of globalization. Accordingly, there are the two types of modernization. The first is the modernization of the Western world, which include political, economic, social and cultural transformation. It is based on mass education and on values of the idea of Europe. However, the second kind of modernization excludes or poorly makes valuable transformation and upgrades the environment only by technical and scientific achievements.

Consequently, I can conclude that the idea of Europe necessarily includes modernization, while modernization does not always include the idea of Europe. Let us see, how the idea of Europe in Georgia is represented in figures and which form of modernization is manifested here. As a result, I will be able to figure out if the idea of Europe in Georgia and modernization are the same.

Social liberty

The 2006 State of World Liberty Index was created by combining the rankings of four other indexes of world liberty into one: the "Economic Freedom of the World" Index (Fraser Institute/Cato Institute), the "Index of Economic Freedom" (The Heritage Foundation/Wall Street Journal), the "Freedom in the World" index (Freedom House), and the "Press Freedom Index" (Reporters Without
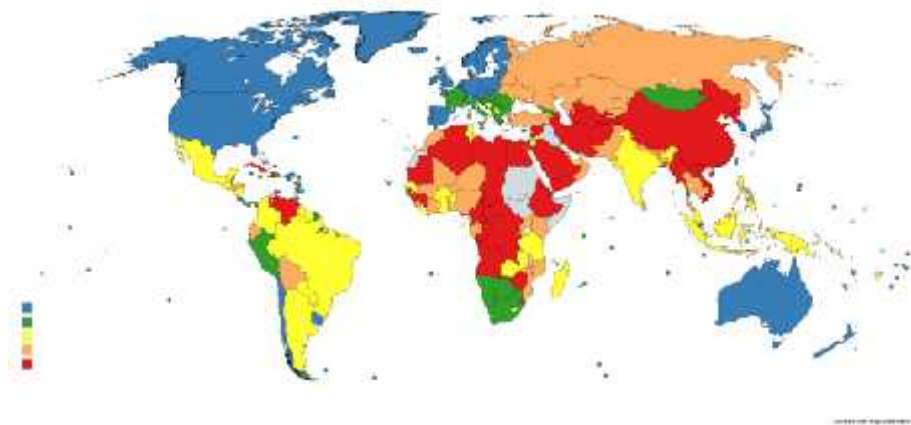

Borders). These reports are used to score countries in three categories: individual freedom, economic freedom, and government size and taxation. These three scores are then averaged to give a country's overall score. According to the surveys conducted in 152 countries, Fraser Institute/Cato Institute ranked Georgia as the 42th state (Vasquez & Porcnik, 2017).

While Patrick Rhamey placed Georgia in the 2nd category from the five, which means ranking between 20th and 40th places and Georgia is the 5th among the countries which made the most rapidleaps (Rhamey, 2017).

Democracy

The **Democracy Index** is an index compiled by the UK-based company the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) that intends to measure the state of democracy in 167 countries, of which 166 are sovereign states and 165 are UN member states. The index was updated four times from 2006 to 2010. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped into five different categories measuring pluralism, civil
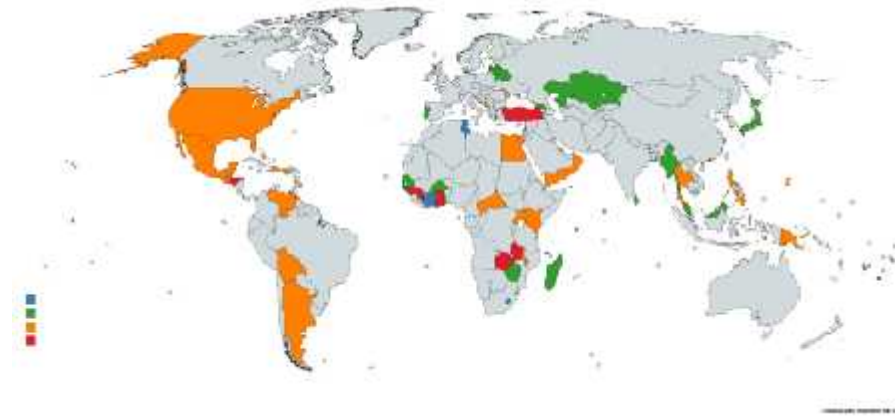
liberties and political culture. In addition to a numeric score and a ranking, the index categorises countries as one of four types of regime: **Full Democracies, Flawed Democracies, Hybrid Regimes and Authoritarian Regimes.** The democracy index is a weighted average based on the answers of 60 questions, each one with either two or three permitted alternative answers. Most answers are "experts' assessments"; the report does not indicate what kinds of experts, nor their number, nor whether the experts are employees of the Economist Intelligence Unit or independent scholars, nor the nationalities of the experts. Some answers are provided by public-opinion surveys from the respective countries. The questions are distributed into five categories consisting of: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. Georgia is ranked in 78th place and in the Hybrid regimes categorythat means nations where consequential irregularities exist in elections are regularly preventing them from being fair and free. These nations commonly have governments that apply pressure on political opponents, nonindependent judiciaries, and have widespread corruption, harassment and pressure placed on the media, anemic rule of law, and more pronounced faults than flawed democracies in the realms of underdeveloped political culture, low levels of participation in politics, and issues in the functioning of governance andhas 5.93 points from 10. It is narrowly close to the Flawed Democracy category which begins at the6.0 point mark and means nations where elections are fair and free and basic civil liberties are honored but may have issues (e.g. media freedom infringement). Nonetheless, these nations have significant faults in other democratic aspects, including an underdeveloped political culture, low levels of participation in politics, and issues with the functioning of governance (The Economist, 2016).

Secularism

There is no index of secularism as such in any survey. However, there are several researches that will help me to measure relationship between church and state. These are, for instance, the indexes of freedom of religionand morality. To measure regulations on religious issues, researchers Grim and Finke tried to develop measurement models and indexes for *government regulation, government favoritism,* and *social regulation* of religion. The three indexes will allow researchers and others to measure the government's subsidy and regulation of religion as well as the restrictions placed on religion by social and cultural forces beyond the state.According to their research, Georgia is ranked as 40thout ofthe 40 countries in Europe in terms of social regulation of religion, while by government regulation of religion it takes 30th place (Grim & Finker, 2013). As I can see, society has stricter attitudes toward

religion than the state. However, the latter is not among the secular states too, as I have mentioned previously. If I take the index of freedom of religion and check whether religion is important for citizens in their everyday life, I will see that 81% says 'yes', while only 16% answer with 'no'. By these results, Georgia is the 67ᵗʰout of 148 countries in the world, and is ranked as the last in Europe, if not considering Kosovo, that is not recognized by the UN. One theory is that religion plays a more functional role in the world's poorest countries, helping many residents cope with a daily struggle to provide for themselves and their families. An analysis of researchers supports this idea, revealing that the relationship between religiosity and emotional well-being is stronger among poor countries than among those in the developed world (Gallup, 2010). I cannot say that being religious and freedom of religion is bad. The problem is when politicians or clergy use people's religious beliefs to ensure the political interests of their own or others. Especially in such a country as Georgia, where religion had been the determinant of national identity for a long time and preserved its identity through its religious traditions and rituals until it gained independence. Therefore, the risk that the sentiments of religious people will become the subject of manipulation is large.
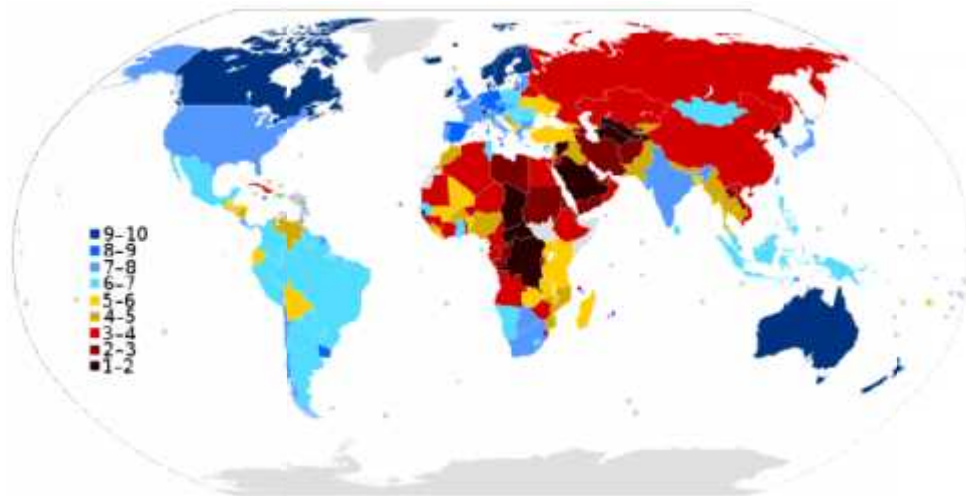

Beside this I mentioned the **World Index of Moral Freedom** that ranked 160 countries on their performance on five categories of indicators: **religious freedom** (taking into account both the freedom to practice any religion or not, and the situation of religious control on the state); **bioethical**
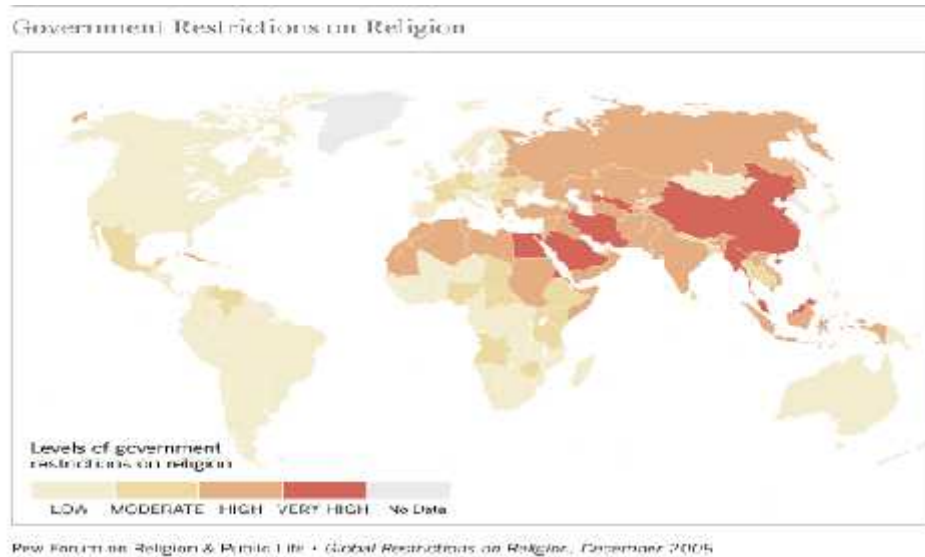
freedom (including the legal status of abortion, euthanasia and other practices pertaining to bioethics, like surrogacy or stem cell research); **drugs freedom** (including the legal status of cannabis and the country's general policy on hard drugs); **sexual freedom** (including the legal status of pornography and sex services among consenting adults, and the country's age of sexual consent), and **family and gender freedom** (including women's freedom of movement, the legal status of cohabitation of unmarried couples, same sex marriage and the situation of transgender people). Georgia is in 79th place on this scale and is characterizedin the**Insufficient Moral Freedom category.** By these figures, relatively higher numbers are in family, gender, drugs and sex areas, while in bioethical and religious freedoms they are lower(Kohl & Pina, 2016).

Equality

Scholars distinguish gender and economic equality indices. Since there is not an index that covers all aspects-national and religious minorities, disability, age or sexual orientation, I select the gender equality index; for national and religious minorities, disability, age or sexual orientation, I identify the Gender Equality Index. The World Economic Forum quantifies the magnitude of gender disparities and tracks their progress over time, with a specific focus on the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics. The 2016 Report covers 144 countries. If the highest score would be 1, then Georgia gets 0.681 point and 90th place, even after Azerbaijan and Senegal (World Economic Forum, 2016).
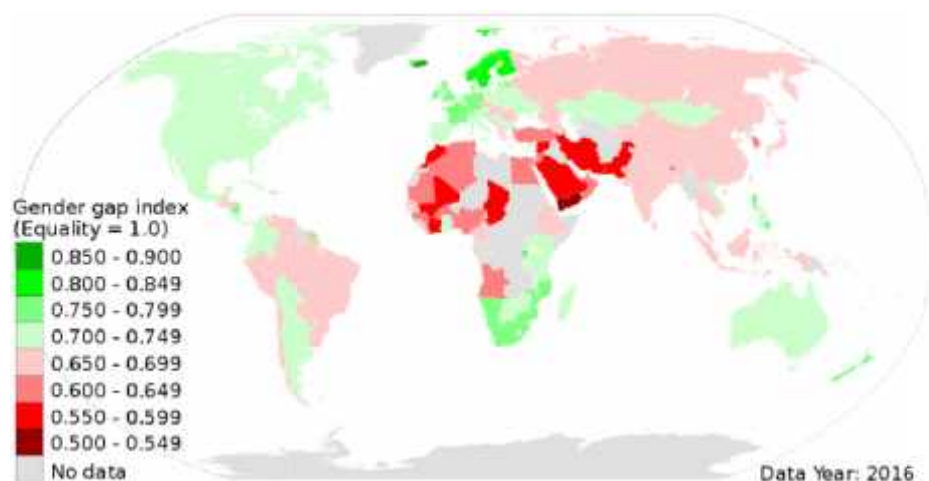
Solidarity

There is a Social Progress Index thatmeasures the extent to which countries provide for the social and environmental needs of their citizens. Fifty-four indicators in the areas of basic human needs, foundations of well-being, and opportunity to progress show the relative performance of nations. The index is published by the nonprofit Social Progress Imperative (SPI), and is based on the writings of Amartya Sen, Douglass North, and Joseph Stiglitz. The SPI measures the well-being of a society by observing social and environmental outcomes directly rather than the economic factors. The social and environmental factors include wellness (including health, shelter and sanitation), equality, inclusion,

sustainability and personal freedom and safety. The index defines social progress as the capacity of a society to meet the basic human needs of its citizens, establish the building blocks that allow citizens and communities to enhance and sustain the quality of their lives, and create the conditions for all individuals to reach their full potential. The index combines three dimensions: 1. Basic human needs; 2. Foundations of well-being; and 3. Opportunity. In this scale Georgia is in the third group of countries
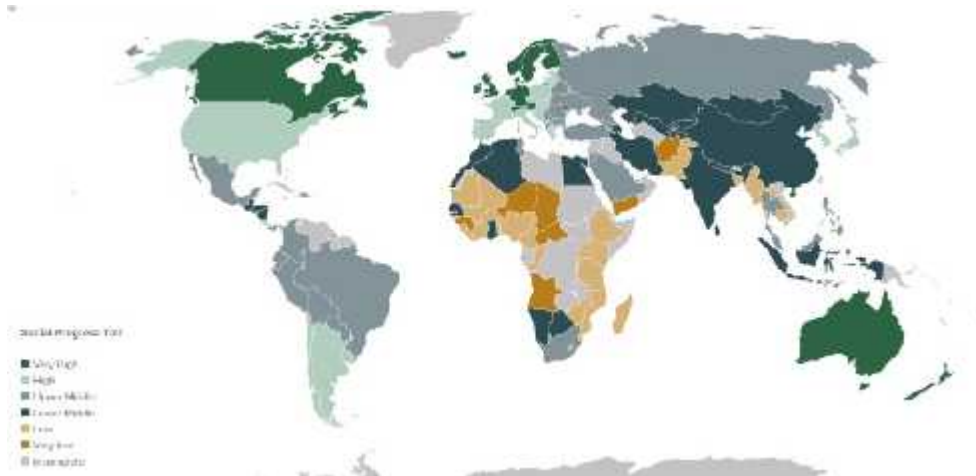
from the seven groups and is distinguishedas "upper middle" class. It is on the 60th place from 134 measured countries beside 30 more countries, which could not be ranked (SPI, 2015).

Peace

The Institute for Economics and Peace determined the Global Peace Index (GPI). The GPIis an attempt to measure the relative position of nations' and regions' peacefulnessof the world's nation states. It ranks 162 countries according to their levels of peace and provides several unique data metrics for identifying the presence of peace. The GPI is guided by an independent international panel of experts of scholars from leading academic and non-government institutions from 2007. According to its methodology, the GPI is composed of 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators from highly respected sources that measure both internal and external factors. The indicators are divided into three key thematic categories:

1. 6 measures of ongoing conflict such as number of conflicts fought and number of deaths from 166ilitariz conflict.
2. 10 measures of societal safety and security, such as number of displaced people, potential for terrorist acts, number of homicides, number of population jailed.
3. 7 measures of 166 ilitarization such as military expenditure, number of armed service personnel, ease of access to small arms and light weapons.

The overall score is weighted 60% for internal peace and 40% for external peace. The closer the score is to '1', the more peaceful the country is, with scores closer to '5' indicating relatively less peace. The GPI is then tested against a range of potential drivers or determinants of peace encompassing standards of governance and efficiency; the strength of formal and informal institutions and the political process; international openness; demographics; regional integration; religion and culture; and education and material well-being. According to the 2013 results, Georgia is 94thamong 162 countries. Obviously,

Georgia is a tourist destination and is one of the safest countries in Europe in this context. However, the 2008 Russo-Goergian War and occupied territories create such picture (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2017).

Human Rights

Human rights index is the opposite of other researches. It does not represent the categories where human rights are protected better, but rather where they are under risk. This is based on the fact that human rights are fundamental, universal and natural, which every individual has from his/her birth. Any political, religious, economic or social environment that restricts these rights are abnormal and unnatural themselves. Hence the Human Rights Risk Index evaluates the risk to business in 198 countries by evaluating 26 issues, including civil and political rights, human security and labour rights. Over half of the 198 countries assessed in the index (55% or 110 countries) are high or extreme risk in Verisk Maplecroft Human Rights Risk Index 2016-Q4. Conflict is the key driver of human rights violations in the worst performing countries. The failure of states to enforce legal protections for workers, and in many cases, the complicity of law enforcement authorities in repression of civil and political rights are also key factors driving countries into the higher risk categories. There is no clean bill of health for supply chains in Europe and North America, as the US and
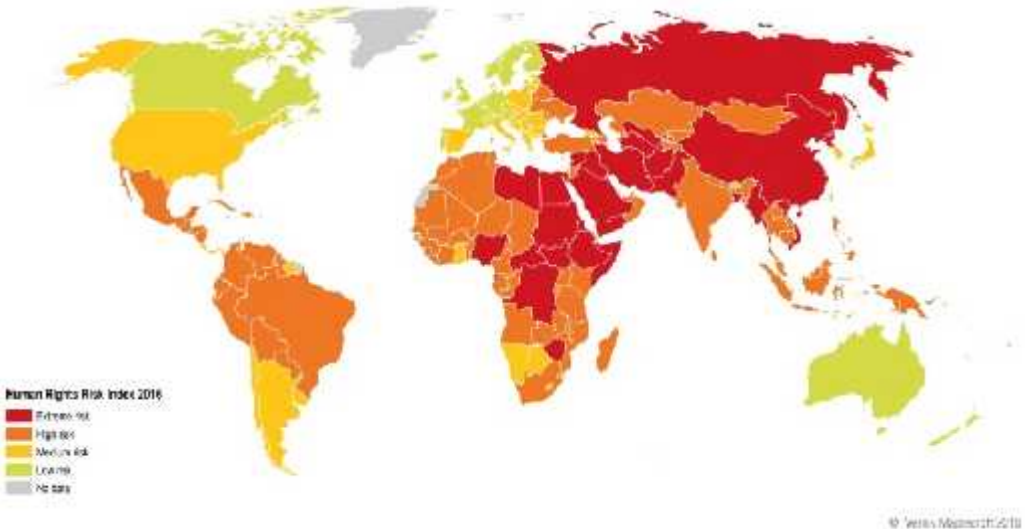

countries in Southern and Eastern Europe are all ranked medium risk for human rights. Accordingly, Georgia is among this group and is characterized in the medium risk category (Verisk Maplecroft, 2016).

Rule of law

The World Justice Project (WJP) *Rule of Law Index* is the world's leading source for original data on the rule of law. The 2016 edition expands coverage to 113 countries and jurisdictions (from 102 in 2015), relying on more than 100,000 household and expert surveys to measure how the rule of law is experienced in practical, everyday situations by the general public worldwide. Performance is measured using 44 indicators across eight primary rule of law factors, each of which is scored and ranked globally and against regional and income peers: constraints on Government Powers, Absence of Corruption, Open

Government, Fundamental Rights, Order and Security, Regulatory Enforcement, Civil Justice, and Criminal Justice. Georgia's rank in this study holds the 34th place from 113,which is a quite normal result compared to above. It has 0.65 points from 1 and has good ratingsin Absence of Corruption, Open Government, Order and Security, and in Regulatory Enforcement. However, Georgia has bad rankings in Constraints on Government Powers, Fundamental Rights, Civil Justice, Criminal Justice (World Justice Project, 2016).
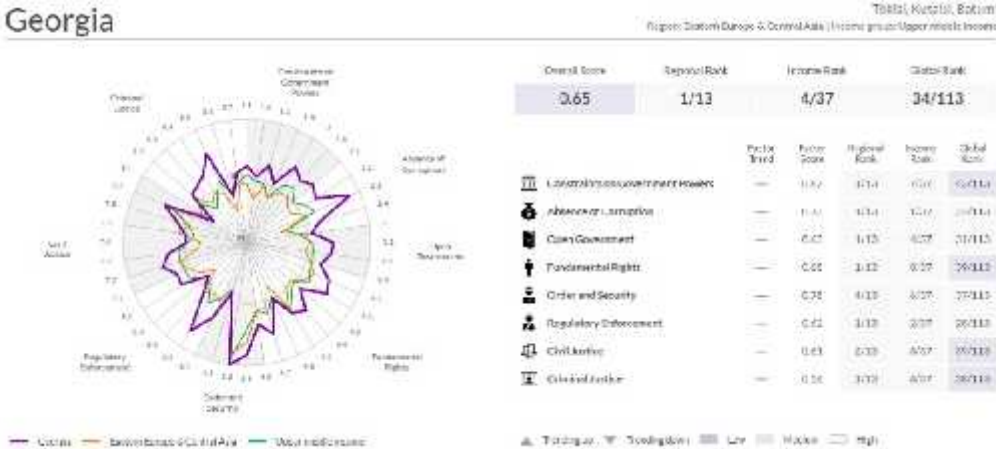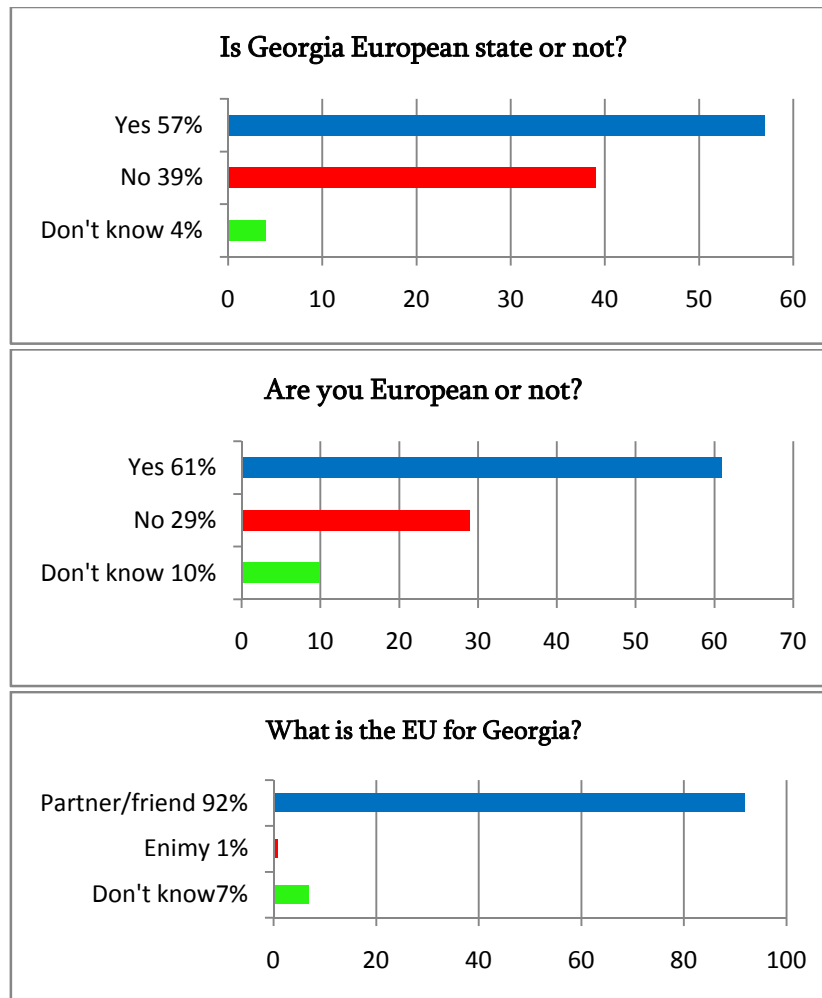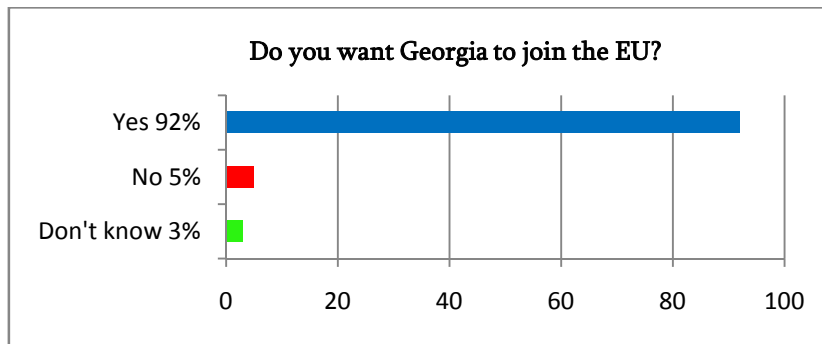

Environmentalism

The Environmental Performance Index (EPI) ranks countries' performance on high-priority environmental issues in two areas: protection of human health and protection of ecosystems. Within these two policy objectives the EPI scores a country's performance in nine issue areas. These indicators are combined into nine issue categories, each of which fit under one of two overarching objectives. These categories are: health impacts; air quality; water and sanitation; water resources; agriculture; forests; fisheries; biodiversity and habitat; and climate and energy. Based on these figures and analysis of them, Georgia is only 111thout of180 countries. From the aforementioned indicators, forest and agriculture have relatively good results (Yale Center, 2016).

NAME OF INDICATOR	SCORE	RANK	COMPARED TO GDP PEER SET (?)	COMPARED TO REGION PEER SET (?)	
Health Impacts	75.10	79	27%	-8.83%	⌄
Air Quality	79.95	94	6.68%	0.62%	⌄
Water and Sanitation	79.31	90	22.56%	-4.78%	⌄
Water Resources	0	140	-100%	-100%	⌄
Agriculture	98.18	44	18.94%	11.06%	⌄
Forests	100	1	85.89%	33.57%	⌄
Fisheries	31.85	114	-32.2%	-41.36%	⌄
Biodiversity and Habitat	70.31	123	3.47%	9.23%	⌄
Climate and Energy	51.28	98	29.67%	34.54%	⌄

The European Union

I have repeatedly mentioned above that the idea of Europe is embodied in the European Union. The main priority of Georgia's foreign policy is specifically to join this international organization. This means that the EU, as the union of European states, perceives Georgia as a European country. Iagree with this position completely and believe that Georgia was part of the European civilization throughout its history and if it was not, its political and religious establishmentsaspired toward Europe. It is interesting to see if other residents of Georgia perceive themselves as a European person and Georgia as a European state? To find out, I need to look for relevant studiesand the results of public opinion. As a result, the below composed charts will answer these questions (Gamkrelidze, G., 2013).

Is Georgia European state or not?

Answer	Percentage
Yes 57%	57
No 39%	39
Don't know 4%	4

Are you European or not?

Answer	Percentage
Yes 61%	61
No 29%	29
Don't know 10%	10

What is the EU for Georgia?

Answer	Percentage
Partner/friend 92%	92
Enimy 1%	1
Don't know7%	7

Do you want Georgia to join the EU?

Yes 92%
No 5%
Don't know 3%

As I see, an absolute majority of Georgians have a positive impact on Georgia's membershipin the European Union. However,they do not have similarly high perceptions about their European identity. The result is obviously positive, but it is a fact that there is still a lack of education or information about the relationship between Georgia and the rest of Europe.

Modernization

There is no named modernization index.However, considering my research, I believe that the Global Innovation Index best represents my opinion. The Global Innovation Index provides detailed metrics about the innovation performance of 127 countries and economies around the world. Its 81 indicators explore a broad vision of innovation, including political environment, education, infrastructure, and business sophistication.It is published by Cornell University, INSEAD, and the World Intellectual Property Organization, in partnership with other organizations and institutions, and is based on both subjective and objective data derived from several sources, including the International Telecommunication Union, the World Bank and the World Economic Forum. The GII is commonly used by corporate and government officials to compare countries by their level of innovation. According to
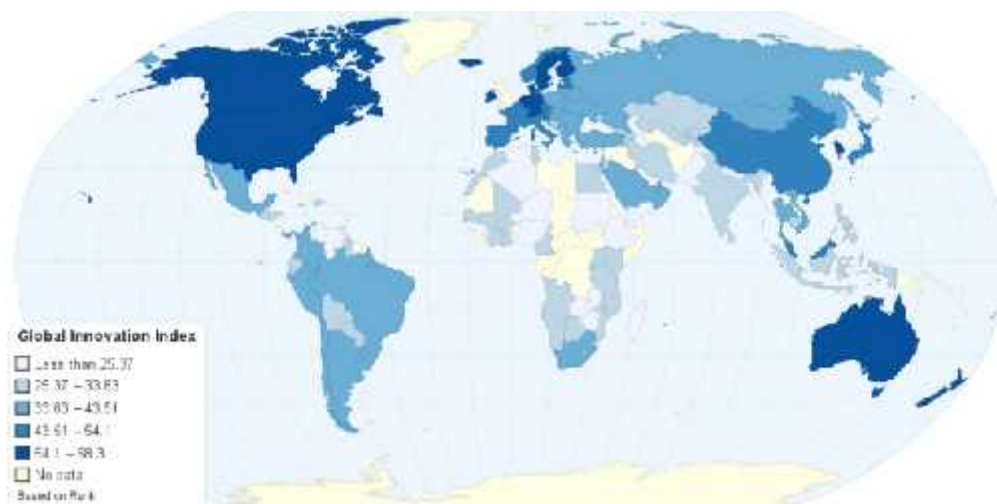
the GII 2017 rankings, the top 30 countries on the list are high-income countries, with the exception of China, which is the only upper-middle income country to be among the most innovative, according to the report.In this respect, Switzerland has the highest rating with 67.7 points while Yemen has the lowest – 15.6 points. Georgia is ranked as the 68th with 34.4 points (GII, 2017).

As I can see, according to the above results, Georgia falls in the category of average countries by all figures. In particular:

Below the middle line are:

Environmentalism– 180 – 111

Secularism – Freedom of Morality– 160 – 79

Modernization– 127 – 68

Above the middle line are:

Peace – 162 – 94

Social Liberty -152 – 42

Equality– 144 – 90

Solidarity – 134 – 60

Democracy – 167 – 78

Rule of Law – 113 – 34

Importance of Religion 148 – 67

Human Rights– 198 –Approximately in the middle.

Conclusion

My PhD research is an analytical thesis and exploratory project. Itssubject isanidea ofEuropeandmodernizationin Georgia.Above,Idescribed the relevancyofmentionedtopic,set aims and objectives, formulated mainquestions,took a theory frameworkandwrote hypothesis, organized methodology and overviewd the literature.I divided the bodypartintofourchapters to discuss the topic and formulated the main concepts of the topic at the same time. For developingmytopic of my PhD researchI usedmethods such as relevant books, publication, speeches, statements, articles, interviews, data evidence, and I made an analysis of such sources. Accordingly, I have worked on almost all English and Georgian relevant sources and scientific literature, which were dedicated to modernization, the EU and the idea of Europe as in general as specifically in Georgia.

Therefore,myresearchquestionwasasfollows: Have various historical visions and projects of modernization in Georgia been informed and justified by invoking then-dominant "ideas of Europe"?During the deep research of this topic I came to the conclusion that the answer is - yes, the idea of Europe in Georgia was always a form of justification for modernization projects. Based on this, my theory is confirmed, according to which I think inGeorgia modernizationisassociatedwiththeideaof Europe.Everypolitical, social, cultural, legalandcivilreformis justifiedbytheidea ofEurope.Nomatter whatoutcomestheyhave—whethertheygivebenefitto thecountryor damagepeople'slife. Theideaof Europeissostrongthatitis a synonymofmodernizationandmodernizationmeansdevelopmentof countryandpeopleitself. However, it has been established that at a certain stage of history modernization projects do not always include the idea of Europe.

Apart from answering the main research question, it would be interesting to review some other findings of my research. Initially I will summarize the concepts that I have developed during the study, followed by the summary of the three waves that have taken place in Western Europe and Georgia, the three historical epochs of Georgia influenced by the idea of Europe and modernization.

Thereby, the first findingtooutline isbased on the fact thatI deeply researched the authors who studied the concepts of idea of Europe and modernization is that in academia there is no single definition of these concepts. Hence, I have made my own formulation that gives more importance to my research and contributes to the academia. To sum up my achievment, I can formulate, the idea of Europeis the political idea on the land of Europe, which involves a community of values. These values have historical roots, which originate from the ancient world, has an impact on the Christian culture, is based on the ideas of French enlightenments and today is embodied in the institutions of European Union and its partner European states. These values are peace building and its maintenance; freedom,

equality and solidarity; governance by people and the rule of law; secularism, human rights, and environmentalism. And all these values revolve around the main axis, called the human being and its rights. The idea of Europe has its own identity and spreads beyond the land of Europe in the context of Europeanization.And according to the next formulation, modernization is the constantly updated process that transforms a societyon the basis of scientific and technological achievements and undergoes urbanization and permanent infrastructure upgrades of the environment. Modernization originates from Western Europe and is part of globalization. Accordingly, there are the two types of modernization. The first is the modernization of the Western world, which include political, economic, social and cultural transformation. It is based on mass education and on values of the idea of Europe. But the second kind of modernization excludes or poorly makes valuablesocial transformation and upgrades the environment only by technical and scientific achievements. Consequently, I can conclude that the idea of Europe necessarily includes modernization, while modernization does not always include the idea of Europe.

The second and the general finding of the following research after formulation the concepts can be considered that the idea of Europe and modernization has passed three important phases. Initially they took place in Western Europe, which was later or concurrentlyhappeningin Georgia. These phases are as follows:

1.Theideas of the public thinkers or philosophers in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, which were imported to Georgia in the secondhalfofthe19th century. It was the epoch of the Terek-drinkers, the time when first emerged the idea of Europeas liberalismandbeganmodernization of political, economic, social and cultural fields in Georgia;

2. The spreading of the social-democratic ideas in Western Europe at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries followed by the Georgian politicians with the same views and at the same period. They managed to implement the idea of Europe and specific modernization projects in Georgia from 1918-1921;

3. The introduction of a new European order from 1945 and the third wave of the idea of Europe that returned in Georgia only in the beginning of the 21st century. The rapid modernization projects implemented in this period and the weakly implemented idea of Europe still managed to lead Georgia to becoming an associated membership of the European Union.

As I can see, the first wave was echoed in Georgia almost after a century later; the second wave developed simultaneously with Western Europe.Even more, Georgia managed to form the first social democratic government in the world. As for the third wave, if we skip the modernization during the Soviet Union, the idea of Europe returned to Georgia half a century later.

As the third finding,after studying three epochs in Western Europe, I could outline the three epochs of the idea of Europe and modernization in Georgia, that leads to the following conclusion:

1. The second half of the 19th century was the epoch of the Terek-drinkers, when the idea of Europe emerged as liberalism and began to modernize political, economic, social and cultural fields. At that time, liberals were called freedom loving people, including the nobilitywho wanted to abolish the system that gave them those privileges and emancipate the peasantry. Europe was the only way to liberate their nation and represented it as a symbol of humanism, freedom and development. Georgians managed to establish the principles of liberalism in conjunction with the idea of Europe and Georgian

traditions to prepare the nation psychologically for the establishment of freedom and the European nation-state. The main aim of the political establishment of the time was to raise Georgian civic self-consciousness, consolidate the nation to achieve independence and to educate future generations with European standards. The writings of the 19th century are shared by the ideals that serve the individual as the unique, fundamental value. Here individual liberty and national freedom are often intertwined and defined by oneanother. This group of public thinkers and philosophers were called 'Tergdaleulebi' (Terek-drinkers), which meant the people who received education across the river Tergi (Terek), i.e. abroad as this river was on the border of Georgia. They never created any political or economic theoretical treatise. However, through their literary works or pamphlets it can be seen their devotion to the idea of Europe and an attempt to adapt it to the reality of Georgia. From this era terms expressing such democratic values like liberalism, tolerance, equity, female emancipation, freedom of speech etc. were created. Properly passing those democratic values to the broad masses, increasing civic consciousness, promoting freedom of thinking, speech and choice, right of living, education and pursuit of happiness, supremacy of law – became the mission of the authors, publicists and statesmen. They firmly stood up against social, sexist, religious and ethnic inequalities, violations of person's or society's rights. These people resisted the dominant imperialist reactionary ideology of those times by instilling progressive ideas in the societywith the extent of their thinking, humanism and principles, they were far ahead of their time. These people are Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha-Pshavela, Iakob Gogebashvili, Dimitri Kipiani, Niko Nikoladze, etc. They were the Georgian wave of the global Enlightenment. That meant an ideological struggle against the established system for freedom and equity, based on the humanist ideas, giving the way to start liberal and socialist movements. They realized that Georgia, which has been occupied by Russia since 1801, had not resulted in constant rebellion against them. That is why a peaceful fight was chosen based on a national-democratic worldview, consolidating the nation and stepping out of the path of independence as a nation-state. Their ideas were based on the principle of democracy and free market, which had not only a material value, but ithadintangible value such as freedom of thinking, belief, expression of them etc.In the first wave of the idea of Europe and modernization, the projects were carried out specifically by these public figures. For instance, elective democratic institutions, movement for women's rights and secular ideas emerged at that time.

2. The beginning of the 20th century was a social-democratic epoch that was the second wave of modernization and implementation o f the Europeanlife-style. During this period, the Georgian political and economic elite led by Noe Zhordania, were able to follow European trends and to some extent achieve Georgia's modernization.Thismodernizationtookplacefrom thetopofthegovernmentdown to theordinarypubliclife. The survey revealed that Noe Zhordania, Noe Ramishvili, Irakli (Kaki) Tsereteli, Silibisto Jibladze, Isidore Ramishvili, Grigol Lortkipanidze, Evgeni Gegechkori, and Akaki Chkhenkeli are outstanding representatives of the Georgian Social Democrats. Unlike the liberal wing representation, they have not left similar literary works. Some of them were only engaged with publication and were mainly engaged in active civil and political activities. In 1892-1893 they laid the foundation for the first Georgian Social-Democratic Organization, Called "Mesame Dasi" - "Third Troupe", which later merged with the Social Democratic Party of Russia. In spite of this, they differed sharply from the Russian model and stood close to the socialist movements of Western countries. Value and tactical distinctions drove the

RSDP during 1905-1907 into "Bolsheviks" and "Mensheviks". Georgian Social Democrats used their absolute support in the socialist organizations of Georgia and took the leading positions in the Russian Menshevik Organization. Unlike Bolsheviks, they demanded a parliamentary path to fight for. For them socialism was a catalyst for national consolidation, modernization and economic growth. They hoped that socialism would unite the Georgian people and develop it as a European nation-state. Thus, ensuring the security of the country which would endthe inter-state and ethnic conflicts. They believed that socialism would bring unity without violence and bloodshed, unlike the new nationalist ideology, as Georgia was familiar with violence of the empire and internal ethnical disagreement. After coming to power, they refused the fundamental view of Marxism that denies private ownership. I found out that one of the main distinguishing features of the Georgian Social Democrats is the national issue from the Georgian liberals. As I know, their primary task was to prepare the Georgian nation for independence. While Social-Democrats preferred priority on class issues. They were followed by their international organization platform, which was recognized as the right of self-determination. This meant a socialist victory at the first stage, which should have brought freedom of the nation and not vice versa. They rejected the perception of the Terek-drinkers on the reconciliation of classes and they believed precisely that the class struggle should unify the nation. To the end I can say that the announcement of the independence of Georgia is the main achievement of the Georgian social-democrats, which not only responded to the challenges of the time but left the legitimate legacy of Georgia to re-establish the statehood in 1991.

3. The return of the idea of Europe in Modern Georgia is the last epoch research and alalysed by me. In particular, I studied the period from 2003, i.e. from Rose Revolution through the year 2014, when Georgia became an associated member of the European Union. After 2003, the team that came to power through the "Rose Revolution" decided to restore the idea of Europe to strengthen state institutions, intensify and modernize state awareness. Changes in this period are still a politically sensitive and actual issue. Therefore, I have tried to make an academic analysis of the changes in the political, economic, legal and social life of events.I reviewed the advantages of modernizationas well as their limitations and provided a critical analysis.The main criticism of the Rose Revolution on the way toward modernization of the political system concerns the mistake, which hindered democratization and caused the deviation from the European values. The main complaints against President Saakashvili showed that he had dictatorial inclinations. During this time, certain indicators were added to the idea of Europe. It is already possible and measurable to reflect the values in numbers.As I find out Georgia ranks below average in the following categories: environmental protection, moral liberty, modernization. It is above the middle line in the following categories: Peace, Freedom, Equality; Solidarity, democracy, the rule of law, the importance of religion; In terms of human rights, there is an average index.This indicates that Georgia still has a lot to work on the way of the idea of Europe and modernization in order to appear among the ranking countries in the world.

Having summarized the three epochs of Georgian history and seeing how the idea of Europe was represented in these periods, it is necessary to recapitulate the thematic issues and see review our findings. It concerns secularization, ethnic and religious minorities, women's emancipation, and the

formation of the civil society, which has been modernized and which laid the foundation for a modern nation-state.

In this regard the first finding will be the establishing of democratic institutions, which laid the basis for modern state systems. Initially, it took place in the 19th century whenthe idea of democratic elections took root in Georgia specifically in the 1860s. The publications (or press) of that period were the first to talk about the formation of the local self-government institution, who should be elected by whom and for what purpose. Earlier, the fate of the society and the state rested in the hands of the only electorate's – the nobility. Since the abolishment of serfdom in 1865, they lost that privilege. Peasants, merchants, craftsmen, and clergy were granted the right to vote and the number of electorates was more than 100,000. This first democratic institution featured full transparency. Journalists were free to attend council meetings and write newspaper reviews, often even critical ones, about the realized projects.

After that Social-Democratic modernization took place in Georgia. Noe Zhordania presented the program for the organization of political institutes to form statehood of Georgia. He declared that they were choosing the model of European socialism and admitted that they could not jump over the capitalism phase.For him, premature socialist experiment would bring not social liberty but social reaction, destruction of social welfare, and the disruption of the national economy. He acknowledged Georgia as a bourgeois state, where private property had to be incited, and industry had to be developed. Zhordania believed that his party had to at least establish democracy, and socialism in the best case. He realized that introducing socialism through rough methods would destroy the economy, so he focused on strengthening democratic institutions. Aa a result, mentioned reforms during the social-democrats were a huge jump for Georgia toward being civilized European-style country. The democratic republic considered the Georgian social democrats the most acceptable form of state model. Power was distributed in three branches. It consisted of the legislative, executive and the court. A legislative body was created to form the government. The electoral system, which was supposed to be universal, equal, direct and secret ballot, allowedall adults (20 years) to participate in the elections, regardless of gender, nationality and religion. The jurisdiction was developed, local self-government was created, the rights of citizens, including freedom of speech, printing or press, freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of movement existed.In order to improve the economy of Georgia it was decided to allow private property. They invited experts and instructors from Western Europe and causing the modernization of the economic system to be based on:

1) Private property;

2) Economic and political freedom of the person;

3) Social, political and economic progress without the elimination of the bourgeoisie.

As for the modernization of state institutions in the contemporaryera, it should be mentioned that in this periodstarted to bring the state structures into conformity with modern standards. As a result of the reduction of corruption, improving the administration and liberalization of the business environment, Georgia became the number one reformer country in the world according to the 2006 World Bank report and moved to the 37th place in the ranking. The second important achievement of modern Georgia was that it became one of the safest countries in the world, thanks to police reforms. The reforms and modernization took place in the Georgian Army that satisfied NATO standards and

began even producingof military equipment and weaponry instead of importing them. The fire-rescue system, city cleaning service, free emergency services and others came aligned with modern standards. A significant challenge was the state bureaucracy adopted by the Soviet hereditary that reduced, became flexible andbecame on the second place in all Transparency States in the world only after New Zealand.Higher education reform, according to which Georgia became a member of the European Higher Education System eradicated corruption from university admission system.From 2004-2008, Georgia's annual growth rate was 10%, and in 2007 it peaked when it reached 12%. After the 2008 Russia-Georgia war and the global financial crisis, the 2009-2012 annual growth was 6.4%.

Despite these successes, at this stage of the history of Georgia, the idea of Europe separated from the modernization processes.In result, in the 2006 Report of Human Rights Watch it was stated that the government of Georgia almost did not have any grounds to be proud of the rule of law and success achieved in the protection of human rights.Prosecutor's Office, gained the influence over the judiciary themselvesand the judiciary lost its constitutional independence that it never had. Besides, the subject of criticism has become the intolerance of the government by the right of assembly and manifestation by citizens, during which the facts of the abuse of violence and abuse from police officers were carried out.One more topic of criticism was freedom of press. Georgia was unable to show a better result than the 120th place in the world and fell into the partially free category. The problem was with the protection of private property rights.Despite the reforms carried out with the path of modernization for the economic system and drastic improvements in world ratings, unemployment and poverty remained as major problems. By these indicators, Georgia remained one of the poorest countries in Europe alongside Armenia and Moldova. The fact is that all the state structures had become so strong that it gave rise to the sense that the importance of citizens was being diminished. It was believed that the human being, its life, individuality and happiness still did not hold any value. Consequently, here the modernization deviated from the idea of Europe.

Based on thematic findings, the second important achievement of the thesis is to summarize the process of modernization of the civil society. Women's emancipation process, ethnic and religious minorities, secularization and other civil institutions are interesting in this regard.

For example, the secularization process began in the 19thcentury. During working on the thesis, I found thatas a value, secularism concerns state and church institutions and social consciousness and perceptions as well. This is not only a religious-political agreement, but a huge achievement of social thinking and progress. Statements and publications were made by above mentioned public figures about the separation of functions of the Church and the state. Ilia Chavchavadze believed that religion is a matter of conscience. There should not be any point of religion if a man was doing good and useful things. He was regarded as a religious pluralism and diversity. Vazha-Pshavala also preached secularism in his publicity and demanded a total separation of religion and politics. The emergence of the idea of secularism, which implies strict separation of these two institutions, found the best way to protect the church from interference by the state and had a truly religious function to perform. Also, thestate had been protecting the temptation of church members from interfering with politics and statehood, which in most cases gave only negative results. During the Social-Democraticerain Georgian a secular policy took place on the legislative level. Accordingly, the state was no longer obliged to fund the church. On

the contrary, the church was obliged to pay a special tax. The constitutionguaranteed freedom of conscience and prohibitedthe persecution of citizens and restrictions on political and legal rights due to religion. At the same time, it was inadmissible to refuse to perform civil and political duties on religious grounds, except for the cases prescribed by law. The equality of religious beliefs was recognized and nobody was given an advantage. State and local self-governments have been banned for reliable matters. The Patriarch was no longer involved in political processes. The Bible education was banned in secular schools because it had no scientific, theological, but only religious contents. At the same time liturgy in the division of the army was prohibited. The number of days of holidays decreased for eight days at the expense of church holidays. It is noteworthy that the ecclesiastical persons and their pro-politicians protested against the financial and material oppression of the Church, but supported the separation of the Church from the state, the freedom of religion, and declared tolerant policy towards other religions.Secularization affected the policy regarding the national minorities.Georgian Social Democrats preferred the pragmatic policy rather than the Hurrah-Patriotic rhetoric and offered social equality and freedom to all. Ethnic minorities did not feel like they were being treated discriminatly towards either. For this reason, social democrats won elections in Akhalkalaki and Tbilisi, where the population was mostly Armenian, while the Armenian nationalist, Dashnak lost.According to the constitution, every ethnic minority in Georgia was granted the right to free social, economic and cultural development, especially the right to teaching in their mother tongue and interior management of the matters of their ethno-culture. They also were granted rights to printing and writing in their mother tongue. Moreover, ethnic minorities were allowed to create self-governing units (commune, collective, or municipality) through their representatives.The secularization process continued in the third historical epoch of my thesis. But in this period, the situation was slightly different from the epoch of social democrats.At this time, the government of Georgia has taken steps to build a secular state, but because religious organizations having had a great influence on the population, the clergy of different religions often used the confidence of the parish and they interfered with the political processes. In order to eradicate discrimination on religious grounds, the Civil Code of Georgia defined the establishment of religious organizations, The Code regulated registration of such associations, granted them the status of a legal entity, which was supposed to make organizational and financial activities easier for them. The code also provided for and determined the procedures of registering a religious association. Changes were made to the law of education in order to eradicate proselytism and the teaching of ideology teaching in schools. Therefore, the Faculty of Religious Studies at Tbilisi State University stopped admitting students because religion was studied not as just science, but only in Orthodox views.Civil integration was necessary to implement proper policies towards ethnic minorities. The government faced two major challenges: language barriers and less involvement in common economic policy. That is why the access to education for minorities has improved. The government elaborated the general skills tests for admission examinations in minority languages and quotas. It also started strengthening the teaching of the state language at all educational levels. Out of 2,131 public schools, there are 350 non-Georgian schools represented. The translation of Georgian news programs started and news programs were used by minority languages. As for the integration of ethnic minorities into economic life, special programs for regional infrastructure development have been implemented for this purpose. Thus increasing their

mobility for economic activity. At the same time a number of structures were created at the government levels, which is still involved today in the implementation of policies related to ethnic minorities.

The next finding that I want to outline is the condition of women.The First Steps of Feminism in Georgia took place in Georgia in the second half of the 19th century. The women's rights movement in Western Europe was soon echoed in Georgia too. They were desperately trying to find their natural place in the social structures that would give them opportunity to express themselves and obtain their place in society. Georgian women were actively involved in the matters of the new universal public education form – increase of literacy. They were delegated into the managing body of the "Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians", and also were involved in library and pedagogical activities. They collaborated with the press as good authors, interpreters, editors, critics, publicists etc.The struggle for women's rights was intensified at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, which was facilitated by the spread of social democratic ideas. The constitution of Georgia demonstrated the social democratic views of that time, ignored sex in civil and political affairs. In this regard, they advocated complete equality. Georgian feminist protests were demonstrated through publicist essays. As a result of their struggle, women voted in the elections of the Constituent Assembly of the first Democratic Republic of 1918-1921. Moreover, 5 out of 130 deputies were women. This was a significant success in terms of equality between women and men. The emancipation and integration of women in the process of democratization has had a significant role in forming civil society. Unfortunately, even nowadays there is clearly a hypocritical attitude towards the issue of gender equalityin Georgia. The international norms and standards of women's rights are protected, but in reality, there is no effective state mechanism to guarantee gender equality. This is still relevant for women acts such as violence, femicide and discriminationoccuredbecause of the difference in gender.

And the last finding that I would like to outline is the concrete projects or processes that promote the modernization of the Georgian society and the formation of the nation-state. This is not state policy but self-organized activities by citizens itself. For example, since Georgia was not independent in the 19th century, and in the 1990s the state institutions were very weak and ineffective, non-governmental organizations were developed by citizens. Under the Russian Empire, the Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians is to be noted and outlined.This movement was founded in 1879 by Terek-drinkers and contributed to the education and modernization of Georgian society. Not only were schools established, but also it helped existing schools, libraries, publishing of textbooks and supporting books, establishing a national museum, collecting manuscripts, etc. As I see the universal availability of education and the raising of a new generation had been done by this organization, which should be loaded with the future political and economic management of Georgia.Education is the cornerstone for the modernization of the society, which was the primary task for Georgian public figures of that time and has made significant impact on the way of the idea of Europe. And as for the 1990s, this process has evolved independently from the state as well. Many NGOs and independent media corporations have been created.They were actually free from censorship and freely realized their ideas and abilities. The impact of their influence on state policy was to protect human rights, improve the election environment, election monitoring, civic education, social well-being, women's issues, the gathering and dissemination of information and conducting research. They provide assistance to certain

target groups, such as internally displaced persons, socially vulnerable persons, young people, women, marginalized groups and others. And Media was a significant force of the civil society, because 70% of the population received information from televisions. The overnment made reforms in the Public Broadcaster after 2003 but had a major influence on private TVs.The role of free media in Georgia's way of modernization and the idea of Europe is still vital. It expresses the aspirations and aims of Georgian nation which were made more than century ago.

And at last, I want to mantion that the development of the modernization of Georgia and the idea of Europe was appreciated by international organizations. At various stages of development of these values, Georgia systemically has been becoming a member of European international organizations, which is also an indicator of the strength of modernization and values in Georgia. As for the modernization of Georgia and the idea of Europe, I should recall how I formulated these concepts. **I can conclude that the idea of Europe necessarily involves modernization, while modernization does not always include the idea of Europe in Georgia. The idea of Europe and modernization in the first two epochs in Georgia covers each other, and at the third stage modernization has overlooked the idea of Europe and they became separate from each other.** And how close is the idea of Europe with the population of Georgia based on the survey mentioned above shows that 61% of population consider themselves as Europeans, 57% think that Georgia is a European state, and more than 90% think that the European Union is Georgia's partner and friend, and that's why Georgia wants to join it. As I see, Georgia's absolute majority have a positive impact on Georgia-EU relations and perspectives.

To conclude, as a result of my research, at first glance, it is good that Georgia is not on the list of dangerous and underdeveloped countries, but for the purpose of development it is not at all at a good point. Georgia will still need a few decades to reach the standards of European development if it continues development with its current speed. I believe a stable development is not enough, but a leap forward, rapid development steps, fast reforms in all areas and in all fields of political and economic spheres is compulsory. Civil society development and modernization in both political and economic spheres, as well as in legal and cultural spheres is necessary. The current political situation leaves many questions about the future of the democratic development of Georgia unanswered. Politically motivated persecution; obstruction of free television broadcasting; protectionism; dull foreign policy; suspended infrastructure projects, some of which were several years later resumed; a weak fiscal policy; and an ever increasing state expenditure are the issues that need to be overcome in accordance with the idea of Europe and modernization.

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