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## SECTION I: Culture, Politics

### Georgia Support Act H.R. 598 Passed by the House on October 22, 2019 - the Legislation Which Solidifies the U.S. Support for Georgia's Sovereignty and Security

IRINA BAKHTADZE\*

LELA VANISHVILI\*\*

#### Abstract

The Goal of the article is to highlight relations between the US and Georgia during the Trump presidency since 2016 –till present, analyze the importance of the US-Georgia Act passed by the House in October 2019.

Republican voters today are divided between three broad tendencies: **internationalist, nationalist, and non-interventionist**. Donald Trump won the GOP presidential primaries partly by playing upon these divisions in an unconventional way. The election campaign of the 2016 was also radically different, because unlike all other predecessors (since 1940s), D. Trump did not make the foreign policy as his main focus that appeared as one of the most challenging for the internationalists. (Dueck, 2016). Republican internationalists believe in an active US role overseas – economically, militarily, and diplomatically. They support existing US alliances and military commitments, along with free trade agreements, foreign aid programs, and relatively high levels of defense spending. The elections of 2016 revealed the existed differences in values and approaches between the GOP's main foreign policy tendencies and their historical relationship to one another. Following the changes brought by Trump administration, it was rather complicated to make accurate predictions regarding further development of US – Georgia relations though it has been declared that Georgia would have a bi-partisan support.

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\* Affiliated Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\* Ph.D. Candidate, American Studies Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

A brief overview of the official visits, some facts and communication which took place between Trump and Georgian government in 2017- 2019 will highlight the importance of cooperation between two countries.

**Keywords:** Georgia Support Act, security, defense, GDSC - Batumi, the US House Foreign Affairs Committee, US. Rep. Adam Kinzinger, Russian aggression, US support of Georgia's sovereignty

## **Introduction**

The importance of the U.S.-Georgia relations is codified in the 2009 U.S.-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership. The Charter had been signed just eleven days before Barack Obama, newly elected President of the US came to the office, Obama's period of presidency in the United States lacked the active involvement in foreign affairs, and this policy also affected Georgia: an insignificant involvement of the U.S. in the Georgia - Russian conflict (WALT, 2017). When a Republican candidate Donald Trump became the president of the United States, there have been strong expectations that the cooperation between partner countries would strengthen and reach higher point. Undeniably, for the last three years, political and economic relations between two countries have been intensified, and Trump administration shows greater interest towards Georgia and extends support. *Georgia Support Act H.R. 598* passed by the House on October 22, 2019 - the legislation which solidifies the US support for Georgia's sovereignty and security once again testifies the enhanced interest between two countries.

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

On March 15, 2016, U.S Secretary of State John Kerry met Georgia's Foreign Minister Mr. Mikheil Janelidze. Mr. Kerry expressed the United States' support for Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

During the same period, May, 8 2017, then Prime Minister, Giorgi Kvirikashvili had an official visit in Washington (Invited by M Pence, US Vice President) during which Donald Trump invited him to his Oval Room for a meeting which was not on the agenda. The political analysts and critics evaluated the President's initiative as a message sent to Moscow telling about the importance of the relationship between the two countries. "It is not accidental that on May 8, 2017, President Trump Invited Georgian Prime Minister in the Oval Cabinet if we consider the fact on a broader context," says Dr. Nika Chitadze, Professor of International Black Sea University. Another example that new administration continuous to support of Georgia is a regulation signed by the US President which says that the United States shall not communicate with the countries which will support independence of occupied territories of Georgia. G. Kvirikashvili who had a meeting with Vice President Mike Pence, and discussed further strategic plans of the two partner countries, in his interview said that the meeting was very important and the participants discussed different directions of the two country's relations, such as, defense and security, culture and education, support in development of democratic institutions and intensifying economic assistance (Commerzant, 2019).

In August, 2017 as Mamuka Bakhtadze then Prime Minister of Georgia declared that Georgia got unprecedented support from the President Donald Trump as he signed the Authorization of the US National Defense Act. The document features Georgia as a strategic partner and confirms its support extended towards Georgian national interests (also at regional level), security and sustainable development, as well as the perspectives of Georgia becoming a NATO member (Commerzant, 2019).

In 2019, President Donald Trump signed National Defence Budget Act, the budget increases up to - 716 Billion US\$ The Act deals with Georgia's aspiration to join NATO, and also includes military and financial assistance extended towards Georgia and Ukraine to increase their defense capabilities and enhance compatibility with NATO standards. The act also says that Georgia and Ukraine should be included in the Trainings planned on the Black Sea (Commerzant, 2019).

In September 2019, Mamuka Bakhtadze then Prime Minister of Georgia visited the US and the first meeting with John Bolton, President's consultant in Security issues was held in a White House. Washington. Also he had meetings with Secretary of State M. Pompeo, European leaders and UN representatives (Commerzant, 2019).

As Davit Bakradze, Ambassador in the US says, Georgia received a strong support from Trump administration and important steps have been made to raise the relationship between two countries to a higher level. Also, he mentioned that Georgia has a bi-partisan support which means that both the Democrats and Republicans are unanimous in support of Georgia's territorial integrity, security and democratic development. The ambassador underscored that Georgia and the US do not have unsolved problems and as partners can face the challenges and negotiate the issues. (January, 25. 2019 (Commersant, 2019).

In February 2018, President of Georgia Giorgi Margvelashvili hosted the one of the most influential, academic organizations in the US. **Heritage Foundation** Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Director Luke Coffey the main aim of the meeting was to discuss current Georgian-US relations, NATO-Georgia relations and the US role of supporting Georgia in quickly integrating into the Alliance. The 2016 Index of Economic Freedom released by Washington-based Heritage Foundation says despite global and a regional challenges Georgia's economy has demonstrated "considerable resilience". It also highlighted Georgia's pursuit of greater economic freedom, reinforced by relative political stability, had made its entrepreneurial environment "one of the best in the region".

"It is in America's national interest to deepen the bilateral relationship with Georgia, help the Georgians improve their military capabilities, and keep Georgia on the path to NATO membership", the recent report of The Heritage Foundation says (Modebadze, 2018).

Luke Coffey said 2018 is an important year for the US–NATO–Georgian relationship, not only because it marks the 10th anniversary of Russia's military aggression against Georgia, but also because it marks the 10th anniversary of NATO's promise to Georgia of eventual membership in the Alliance during the Bucharest Summit.

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

1. Georgia is a proven and dependable U.S. ally in places like Iraq and Afghanistan.
2. Georgia's strategic location makes it important for U.S. geopolitical objectives in the Eurasian region.
3. Georgia's journey to democracy is an example for the region.

The author of the report believes that Georgians have proven themselves reliable US allies and gallant in combat and that they are undertaking a defense transformation program and investing in their military in a way far exceeding NATO's standard (The Heritage Foundation, 2018).

**2009: U.S.–Georgia Strategic Partnership Commission established.** This program established four high-level working groups to advance the bilateral relationship in: democracy;

defense and security; economic, trade, and energy issues; and people-to-people and cultural exchanges.<sup>15</sup> One of the four working groups includes a Defense and Security Working Group, which meets annually to help deepen U.S.–Georgian security cooperation. In 2009: Georgian Deployment Program begins.

This training and equipping program helped prepare Georgian troops for deployments to Afghanistan as part of the NATO-led operation there. Since 2009, more than 12,000 Georgian troops have served in Afghanistan, and on a per capita basis they have suffered the most combat deaths of any coalition partner. In 2012: Enhanced Defense Cooperation started. This agreement was built on previous U.S.–Georgian bilateral agreements in the area of defense. The Enhanced Defense Cooperation.

**2016: Memorandum on Deepening the Defense and Security Partnership between the United States of America and Georgia.** To mark the 25th anniversary of Georgia regaining its independence, this memorandum reaffirmed the strategic partnership between the U.S. and Georgia. This also launched the Georgia Defense Readiness Program, which, for the first time, focused on improving Georgia’s territorial defense capabilities instead of counterinsurgency capabilities needed in Afghanistan.

**2017: U.S.–Georgia General Security of Information Agreement (GSOIA).** The GSOIA agreement marked “a major milestone in security cooperation between the United States and Georgia.” This agreement improves intelligence sharing between the two countries and opens the door for future agreements on security cooperation and intelligence sharing. So far, the U.S.–Georgian relationship has thrived under the Trump Administration. Vice President Mike Pence made an early visit to Georgia in the summer of 2017, which was viewed as a major success. Crucially, he referred to the Russian military presence in the Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia as an “occupation.” In November 2017, the U.S. announced two very important steps to take the U.S.–Georgian defense relationship to another level. First, the U.S. announced an historic sale of Javelin anti-tank missiles to Georgia. The total package includes 410 missiles and 72 launchers. The Georgians tried for several years during the Obama Administration to get Javelins from the U.S. with no success. Second, the U.S. agreed at the same time to refocus military cooperation on improving the territorial defense capabilities of the Georgian Armed Forces—a stark change from the years of only training Georgians for counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan. The Heritage Foundation called for both of these steps to be taken

years ago and it welcomes this important and timely move by the Trump Administration (Coffey, 2018).

The report discusses Russia- Georgia political relations and argues that "Putin sees Russia's role in the region through an imperial lens. This is especially true in Georgia. Russia views the South Caucasus as being in its natural sphere of influence and stands ready to exert its influence in the region by military force if necessary. Russia's primary strategic goal in Georgia (as it is in Ukraine) is to keep countries which were once under Russian or Soviet domination out of the Western community" (Coffey, 2018).

The Report raised a live interest among wide circles of Georgian society because it dealt with different aspects of Georgia- US relations, such as, historical development, Georgian achievements on the way to building democracy and sustainable economy, Russian factor, "borderization" problem, "creeping annexation" in which Russia has taken additional territory from Georgia. Also, it offered evaluation and analysis of political and socio-economic situation in Georgian. Moreover, it was the first time when a clear message came from our partner country regarding our possible NATO membership. The authors of the document named some key political measures which the government of Georgia can take to support its path to full NATO membership. "The Georgian government should privately acknowledge to NATO members that it is willing to join the alliance without the occupied regions of Abkhazia or the Tskhinvali region falling under the protection of article 5 until the occupation is resolved peacefully" (Coffey, 2018). This approach was argued to be a realistic and reasonable way to admit Georgia into NATO and should not be viewed as the Georgian government, the U.S., or NATO changing its policy on Georgia's territorial integrity. Following these measures would also remove the issue of NATO membership from domestic party politics and make NATO membership a national cause rising above politics.

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

The President Trump's administration attitude, visits of high rank officials, invitation of Georgian government representatives to Washington, and financial support extended towards our

country once again confirms that the relationship between two countries are now developing fast based on mutual understanding.

**Trump administration continues the policy the US has had for more than 20 years.**

The most recent advancement in this cooperation took place in Autumn 2019. On the 10-year anniversary of United States-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership, signed January 9, 2009, the two countries recognize the necessity to strengthen their relationship in the fields of defense and security, economic, trade, and energy cooperation, democratic governance, people-to-people diplomacy and cultural exchanges.

The Charter on Strategic Partnership consists of preamble and five sections. In the first section there is a discussion of main principles of the Charter, where Democracy is the major source for political stability. Section II: Defense and Security Cooperation; Section III: Economic, Trade and Energy Cooperation; Section IV: Strengthening Democracy. Section V: Increasing People to People and Cultural Exchanges:

During the visits in 2019 (June, 11 -12), the United States and Georgia stipulated their shared commitment to global, regional, and homeland security for both our countries. The United States honors the devotion and sacrifices of Georgian military troops in Afghanistan, and deeply appreciates Georgia's outstanding contributions to global peace and Euro-Atlantic security. The United States once again emphasized Georgia's important role as a strategic and reliable partner in the region and said it would continue to support Georgia's right to make independent and sovereign choices on foreign and security policy, free from external pressure and coercion. Our strategic partner is willing to confront common dangers and threats recognizing the importance of self-defense and resilience.

**Georgia Support Act H.R. 598 passed by the House on October 22, 2019** Another breakthrough in the US – Georgia relations was when the US House of Representatives passed the bipartisan Georgia Support Act on October 22, 2019. After the bill also was passed by the Senate, it needed to be signed by President Donald Trump in order to be officially enacted. The two US Congressmen Adam Kinzinger and Alex Mooney, initiators of US Support Act visited Georgia between November 5 and 9, they had meetings with the Georgian PM, parliament speaker, foreign minister and defense minister. Georgian Foreign Minister David Zalkaliani declared that the bill supporting Georgia passed by the US House of Representatives as “unprecedented” in US-Georgia relations and in the history of independent Georgia. He stated that the US passed the bill at a time when the American political agenda “is too busy” with different issues. (<https://agenda.ge/en/news/2019/2865#> ). (Agenda, 2020). US congressman Brendan Boyle said he

supported the Georgia Support Act in the House of Representatives “to reaffirm and strengthen the US-Georgia partnership”. Georgian top officials, decision-makers, experts and foreign guests have gathered in Georgia’s coastal city of Batumi to attend the 13th Georgia Defence and Security Conference (GDSC) to discuss current defence and security issues and challenges. **Rationalizing Evolving Security Environment in the Black Sea Region** – the Georgian Ministry of Defence reports that Russia’s increased military build-up in the Black Sea region has encouraged NATO to bolster its presence in the area (Agenda, 2020).

Rationalizing evolving security environment in the Black Sea Region, the Georgian Ministry of Defence reported that Russia’s increased military build-up in the Black Sea region has encouraged NATO to bolster its presence in the area. “NATO has taken steps to strengthen the security of allies and partners in the region, thus the Black Sea region’s political, military and economic significance, as well as its security and stability has once again re-emerged,” the ministry said (Agenda, 2020).

**Georgia on the Right Track for NATO and EU Membership** – the ministry says that the “firm decision of most Georgians” to join the European and Euro-Atlantic family continues to result in the “highest level” of popular support for NATO and the European Union in Georgia. Are the allies and the member countries today encouraging and fairly treating those who - despite external pressure - firmly continue to uphold the values of freedom and democracy? Are we sending a clear message to Russia, who tries to create territorial divisions in Europe and resort to military force in order to restrict the freedom of nations to pursue their own future? The participants of this plenary session will be encouraged to talk about the NATO open door policy and the strategic momentum to extend an invitation to Georgia,” said the ministry.

The Conference participants underscored the following aspects in the US –Georgia relations: Georgia’s Strategic Readiness: From Words to Action - on the way to NATO and EU membership, Georgia has developed a new approach which combines strategic readiness with principles that develop sustainable territorial defense and the required defense capabilities that are compatible with NATO standards, which will ensure swift integration of Georgia into the alliance once the membership invitation is extended; Hybrid Tactics and Hybrid Threats- Walking a tightrope - the use of hybrid strategies, development of information operations and cyber capabilities have enabled Russia to direct its efforts towards shaping political narratives in many countries. Therefore, the country’s cyber security issues have be intensified.

**An Act (H. R. 598)** - To support the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Georgia, and for other purposes was received in the Senate of the United States on October 23, 2019,

read twice and referred to the Committee of foreign Relations. This Act is to support the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Georgia, and for other purposes. It may be cited as the Georgia Support Act.

Statement of policy: It shall be the policy of the United States, in consultation with Georgia, to enhance Georgia's deterrence, resilience, and self-defense, including through appropriate assistance to improve the capabilities of Georgia's armed forces.

The Act addresses the following issues:

United States-Georgia security assistance.

United States cybersecurity cooperation with Georgia.

Enhanced assistance to combat Russian disinformation and propaganda.

Sense of Congress on free trade agreement with Georgia.

### **United States-Georgia Security Assistance and Cooperation**

It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of State should take the following actions, commensurate with United States interests, to assist Georgia to improve its cyber security:

Provide Georgia such support as may be necessary to secure government computer networks from malicious cyber intrusions, particularly such networks that defend the critical infrastructure of Georgia. Assist Georgia to build its capacity, expand cybersecurity information sharing, and cooperate on international cyberspace efforts. The potential for new areas of collaboration and mutual assistance between the United States and Georgia to address shared cyber challenges, including cybercrime, critical infrastructure protection, and resilience against automated, distributed threats. Enhanced assistance to combat Russian disinformation and propaganda

Title II—Sanctions Provisions addresses the problem of imposition of sanctions on persons complicit in or responsible for serious human rights abuses, including right to life in Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia occupied by Russia. Title III—Determination of Budgetary Effects.

- support continued development of democratic values in Georgia, including free and fair elections, public sector transparency and accountability, the rule of law, and anticorruption efforts;
- support Georgia's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders;
- support the right of the people of Georgia to freely determine their future and make independent and sovereign choices on foreign and security policy, including

regarding their country's relationship with other nations and international organizations, without interference, intimidation, or coercion by other countries;

- support Georgia's Euro-Atlantic and European integration;
- not recognize territorial changes effected by force, including the illegal invasions and occupations of Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia by the Russian Federation;
- condemn ongoing detentions, kidnappings, and other human rights violations committed in the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia forcibly occupied by the Russian Federation, including the recent killings of Georgian citizens Archil Tatumashvili, Giga Otkhozoria, and Davit Basharuli;
- support peaceful conflict resolution in Georgia, including by urging the Russian Federation to fully implement the European Union-mediated ceasefire agreement of August 12, 2008, and supporting the establishment of international security mechanisms in the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia and the safe and dignified return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, all of which are important for lasting peace and security on the ground.

#### **United States-Georgia Security Assistance**

- In fiscal year 2018, the United States provided Georgia with \$2,200,000 in assistance under chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2347 et seq.; relating to international military education and training) and \$35,000,000 in assistance under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act.
- Georgia has been a longstanding NATO-aspirant country.
- Georgia has contributed substantially to Euro-Atlantic peace and security through participation in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Resolute Support Missions in Afghanistan as one of the largest troop contributors.
- The Act includes also the issues of free trade agreement: It is the sense of Congress that the United States Trade Representative should make progress toward negotiations with Georgia to enter a bilateral free trade agreement with Georgia.
- The act underscored the problem of violation of human rights in the region of conflicts and stated the Imposition of sanctions on persons complicit in or responsible for serious human rights abuses, including right to life in Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia occupied by Russia. The act also provides description of violation, sanctions, implementation and imposed penalties.
- The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.
  - Passed the House of Representatives October 22, 2019.
  - Cheryl L. Johnson, *Clerk*.

Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the heads of other appropriate United States departments and agencies, shall

submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report reviewing United States security assistance to Georgia and cybersecurity cooperation with Georgia.

The Act of 2019 differs from the United States – Georgia Charter on Strategic partnership in many ways:

It addresses wider range of problems; encompasses a number of issues which were not reflected in previous document, e.g. cyber security; It is more detailed and reflects the Georgia's achievements for the last ten years. It is important to mention that the Act of 2019 provides strategic plans to be prepared and submitted within 180 days from enactment of the Act.

Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the heads of other appropriate United States departments and agencies, shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report outlining a strategy to implement the policy described in subsection which includes the following: a. A detailed assessment of Russian disinformation and propaganda efforts across all media platforms targeting Georgia; (B) An assessment of Georgia's capabilities to deter and combat such Russian efforts and to support the freedom of the press. (C) A detailed strategy coordinated across all relevant United States departments and agencies to enhance Georgia's capabilities to deter and combat such Russian efforts. Georgia's capabilities to deter and combat such Russian efforts.

One of the most important part of the Act is discusses the cases when and what reasons the sanctions shall be imposed. For example: Imposition of sanctions on persons complicit in or responsible for serious human rights abuses, including right to life in Georgian regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia occupied by Russia. Also types of financial sanctions are described in details, Asset blocking, such as revocation of visa or other documentation, Inadmissibility to the united states, and other.

The Act specifies the Penalties imposed on a person in case of violation of the regulation specified in the documents.

A person that violates, attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of subsection (b)(1) or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out such subsection shall be subject to the penalties specified in subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International

Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) of such section.

## Conclusion

Initiation and bipartisan support of the Georgia Support Act in both Houses in Washington once again testifies that the United States, Trump administration in particular, strongly supports deepening of the U.S.–Georgian relationship while helping Georgia on the path to NATO membership. Georgia is a stable ally of the U.S. and NATO. It is located in a dangerous neighborhood, and Russia poses a constant threat. Nevertheless, Georgia has been able to implement serious defense reforms and continues to participate in security operations at a rate much higher than that of many NATO members (Georgia Support Act H.R. 598 passed by the House on October 22, 2019).

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# Strategic Security Dilemma Geopolitics and Its Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community - New Realities for the NATO's Modern Nuclear Policy

VAKHTANG MAISAIA\*

ALIKA GUCHUA\*\*

## Abstract

After disappearance of the Soviet Union and its satellite military coalition the Warsaw Pact in 1990, the NATO had to shift its reorientation from collective defense into collective security. The transformation affected also its nuclear planning policy that due to the one had become almost absolute and even regular sessions of Nuclear Planning Group been suspended. The transformation has been taking place until New Cold War starts with Russia's incursion into Ukrainian affairs and annexation of the Crimea peninsula. During the Warsaw NATO Summit in 2016 strategic balance with Russia and nuclear planning issues regained its relevance. In this conjunction in NATO authority intensively getting discussed possibility to re-invoke idea of constructing anti-missile defense system for providing strict protection of the Euro-Atlantic community against strategic ballistic nuclear missiles attacks not only already from already "nuclear club" members, like the Russian Federation but also from rogue nations, like the North Korea and Iran. Hence, the NATO leadership regains in position to reconcile sessions of the Nuclear Planning Group and prepares to reconstruct new type of "nuclear defense shield".

**Keywords:** NATO Summit, ballistic missiles, New Cold War, Euro-Atlantic community, strategic balance, the Warsaw Pact, "nuclear club"

## Introduction

The key role in the security policy of the North Atlantic Alliance is to control weapons of mass destruction. In modern international politics, the growing military militaristic policies of the states have created many dangers and raised the need for NATO to address new issues that Alliance did not face during the Cold War. NATO's main task is to safeguard the Alliance's security, develop

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\* Prof. Dr., Deputy Director of the International Studies Center, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\* PhD student at Caucasus International University; Assistant Head of the CIU MA Program in International Relations and International Security Studies, Tbilisi, Georgia.

and update new strategic concepts as new strategies respond accurately to existing and emerging threats, risks and challenges.

At the beginning of the 21st century, many crises arose around the world in the face of global security. In particular, over the past decade, we can observe an increase in the military capabilities of a number of countries, an increase in the intensity of local conflicts, and the erosion of security regimes that emerged after the end of the Cold War. These processes increase the level of uncertainty between key players, potentially exacerbating the security dilemma between them. According to classical definitions, the security dilemma implies the strategic choice of the state between cooperation and rivalry. The choice is made under conditions of uncertainty, which in the limit is fraught with the fact that, not having complete information about the intentions of the opposite side, the competing parties make a choice in favor of the “worst case”, building up their potentials or entering into confrontation.

After NATO was created in 1949, they soon began developing and endorsing strategic concepts. Several important military strategic concepts were developed. One of the first strategic documents of NATO is the "Strategic Concept of Defense of the North Atlantic Region". This strategic document has been in operation for almost a year since its inception, from October 1949 to April 1950. The main focus of this document was on the large-scale territorial defense operations strategies that emerged from the current geopolitical situation. Since 1950, a “mass response blow strategy” has been developed that explains the containment policy. This meant taking appropriate retaliatory action in the event of any possible military-political threats to NATO members in response to the existing threat posed by the nuclear forces. All the concepts of NATO were developed based on the problems that the Alliance faced at the time. Developing a strategic concept in which all the states of the alliance are involved is a very difficult process. The concepts of safety must necessarily be in line with the problems that Alliance faces and that may arise. At the same time, when designing a strategic concept, its creators must take into account the emerging threats and the expected risks. It can be said that NATO's strategic concepts have undergone significant changes in the way the world political environment was at the time of developing the strategy. It also takes into account the political interests and goals of the Alliance.

After a great deal of debate in the 1960s, in December 1967 the alliance adopted a new nuclear strategy in MC 14/3 known as "flexible response." NATO formally abandoned the strategy of massive retaliation (which had actually been dropped by the Eisenhower administration before the end of its term) and committed the alliance to respond to any aggression, short of general nuclear attack, at the level of force—conventional or nuclear—at which it was initiated. The alliance retained the option, however, to use nuclear weapons first if its initial response to a conventional attack did not prove

adequate to containing the aggressor, and to deliberately escalate to general nuclear war, if necessary (Mendelsohn, 1999, p.1).

Soviet nuclear developments in the second half of the 1970s led NATO to a new look at the requirements of extended deterrence. The United States and Soviet Union were making progress on a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty—SALT II—which was eventually signed in 1979. That agreement codified strategic nuclear parity between the two nuclear superpowers. At the same time, the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact maintained their advantages in conventional armed forces, and the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact showed little sign of progress, despite the “nuclear sweetener” of a NATO offer to withdraw 1,000 nuclear warheads to incentivize Soviet conventional force reductions. In 1976, the Soviets began deploying the SS-20 ballistic missile. Mounted on a large, mobile transporter-erectorlauncher vehicle, the SS-20 had a range of 5,000 kilometers (just under the range that would have made it subject to SALT II) and could carry three independently targetable warheads. It could strike targets anywhere in Europe and represented a substantial improvement over the older Soviet SS-4 and SS-5 missiles that it was intended to replace (Pifer, 2011, p.7).

President Reagan has decided to expand its nuclear arsenal because of concerns over the increase in world power. His supporters believed that the "window of vulnerability" that was created by the growth of the USSR's nuclear arsenal and Carter's neglect of the issue of closure should be closed as soon as possible. In 1981, total overhaul costs increased by 16 %, and in 1982 by another 14%. Work on developing a new nuclear weapons system, B1 bombers, Trident-type submarines and MX missiles, which slowed down under Carter's presidency, has continued to accelerate. There has also been a strong push for the technological development of European-type missile and wing missiles, modern and more efficient medium-range nuclear missiles. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), known as the "Star Wars" (SDI), has been very vocal in its efforts to create an umbrella anti-nuclear attack. All of these were response to the Soviet Union invasion in Afghanistan when then President Carter asked the Senate to delay the ratification of the SALT II (Baylis, 2016, p.216).

Two changes to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence have led to Reagan's change of nuclear strategy. The first was that the Reagan administration was more skeptical about gun control than Nixon, Ford or Carter. Reagan supporters believed that security and security should be available to individual players at the expense of their own potential. Reagan and his associates did not fully disclose gun control prospects, though they needed more leverage to control the situation. The second reason was that they questioned the doctrine of Guaranteed Mutuality (MAD) to maintain security and stability.

In 1979, in response to Soviet efforts to modernize its intermediate-range nuclear missile force with the triple-warheaded SS-20, NATO adopted a modernization plan of its own involving the

deployment of 572 tactical nuclear warheads on ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) and Pershing II ballistic missiles. After an elaborate interplay of negotiations, threats, walkouts, deployments and a significant regime change in Moscow (Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in March 1985), the United States and the Soviet Union agreed in the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty to ban all ground-based nuclear-armed ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers (Day, 2017, p.3).

During the Cold War, NATO successfully abolished the Third World War. It has effectively ensured the security of the Alliance, the territorial integrity and independence of its member states. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the issue of developing a new strategic partnership became important for NATO. Whatever the future policy of his activities would be after the “Cold war”. In particular, the main focus was on expanding its influence on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The start of the new NATO policy can be seen as the NATO Summit in London in July 1990. The Alliance responded at the London summit to the new threats and challenges it faced. At the end of the Cold War in 1985, there were believed to be 65 000 nuclear weapons in the world (Hough, 2015, p.131).

The purpose of the 1991 NATO Strategic Concept was to ensure the security of both the Alliance members and the European Common Security System. Since the adoption of this concept, cardinal changes have been made in Europe in the field of politics and security.

The introductory part of the document also notes that a new, more integrated Europe emerges after the Cold War and that the Euro-Atlantic security structure in which NATO plays a major role is changing. In order to achieve stability, the Alliance has taken on new functions that, as a result of, its successful implementation the North Atlantic Alliance has demonstrated the importance of establishing a stable environment for it. One of the priorities of the Alliance to reduce tensions in Europe is to reduce armaments and control armaments.

According to the 1991 NATO concept, the Armed Forces of the Alliance as well as Strategic Lifts have been significantly reduced. The Strategic Armaments kept in the Alliance bases have been shifted its goals and missions. After the Cold War, the locus of ballistic missile proliferation and its associated threats shifted. The expansion of SCUD missile capabilities in the Middle East, including North Korean shipments of SCUD-Bs in the late 1980s to Iran (Pollack, 2005).

At the Washington Summit in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Alliance, a new NATO Strategic Concept was adopted in 1999. The new strategic concept clearly stated that the alliance was not the rival of any country. NATO would also continue to respect legitimate interests in the security of other countries. NATO has been in favor of seeking ways of peaceful resolution of the conflicts and creating stable international difficulties. Particular attention is paid to cooperation between NATO and the European Union in establishing a stable and secure environment in Europe.

At the Lisbon summit in 2010, a new NATO strategic concept was adopted, which clearly showed the geopolitical interests of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was noted that NATO would continue to protect and provide security in alliance countries. According to the document, the member states of the alliance are obliged to work together in crisis management and elimination, as well as in conflict resolution and post-conflict situations, as well as in providing a stable environment. The concept also stated that NATO supports the idea of no nuclear weapons in the world. It should also be noted that as long as a number of states have nuclear weapons in the modern world, NATO must therefore remain a nuclear alliance (Strategic Concept, 2010, p.3).

The strategy emphasizes that NATO is ready to deploy its armed forces in the area where it is necessary in the interests of the alliance to achieve its goals. In order to ensure NATO's security in the Euro-Atlantic area, the Alliance must effectively perform the following key functions: 1. Anti-crisis management; 2. Ensure co-operation security. 3. Collective defense under Article 5 of the NATO Statute.

The role of US nuclear forces in extending deterrence to NATO allies is codified in NATO's Strategic Concept, promulgated in 2010. The document states, "The supreme guarantee of the Alliance, particularly those of the United States". In addition, NATO's strategy for deterrence will continue to be based "on an appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional capabilities."

What constitutes an "appropriate mix" is a matter to be determined by the NATO members themselves, however, the Strategic Concept notes, "As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance." Further, the document is clear on the inseparability of European and American Security, noting that "the transatlantic link remains as strong, and as important to the preservation of Euro-Atlantic peace and security, as ever" (Trachtenberg, 2011, p. 68-69)

The 2010 Concept focused on ensuring that the basic principles of conventional Armed Forces in Europe, as well as on nuclear weapons restriction and the entry into force of the new Convention on Chemical Weapons were implemented in Europe and more. Although NATO does not face widespread aggression in the long run, security challenges and risks have to be considered in the long run. Because of this, NATO's security remained subject to military and non-military risks. It also speaks of NATO member states, which have nuclear weapons and which guarantee the stability of the alliance.

NATO's special attitude towards the possible spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons should be noted. Although there has been some progress in this regard, the possibility of developing and using such weapons in a number of countries remains a problem for NATO. The main obstacles to the implementation of the strategic goals of the Alliance are the risks associated with terrorist activities, sabotage, organized crime, disruption of vital resources, illegal migration, etc.

NATO's defense structure is aimed at eliminating the potential risks of proliferation of nuclear and biological weapons and their means of transportation. At the same time, the document notes that work is underway to improve the missile defense system.

The Allied Nuclear Forces are mainly political: protecting peace, avoiding any kind of war. Allied security is guaranteed by the Alliance's strategic nuclear forces, in particular the independent nuclear forces of the United States, United Kingdom and France. They contribute to overall containment and allied security.

Nuclear weapons are a core component of NATO's overall capabilities for deterrence and defence, alongside conventional and missile defence forces. NATO is committed to arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation, but as long as nuclear weapons exist, it will remain a nuclear alliance (NATO Nuclear Deterrence, 2019, p.1).

## **Highlights**

- Credible deterrence and defense, based on an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional and missile defense capabilities, remains a core element of NATO's overall strategy to prevent conflict and war.
- The credibility of NATO's nuclear forces is central to maintain deterrence, which is why the safety, security and effectiveness of these forces are constantly evaluated in light of technological and geo-strategic evolutions.
- NATO's current nuclear policy is based on NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept and the 2012 Deterrence and Defence Posture Review, as well as guidance from Heads of State and Government at the Summits in Wales, Warsaw, and Brussels.
- The Nuclear Planning Group provides the forum for consultation on NATO's nuclear deterrence (NATO Nuclear Policy, 2019, p.1).

One of NATO's main political governing bodies is the Nuclear Planning Group, which makes decisions within the Alliance's nuclear policy. This is the highest nuclear organ of NATO, which includes NATO defense ministers, with the exception of France. This body meets twice a year to discuss a wide range of issues related to nuclear policy, security, deployment and reliability. Issues related to proper NATO communications, information and arms control systems throughout life, including: nuclear control and nuclear proliferation. In the modern era, the Alliance's nuclear forces are an integral part of NATO's containment policy, and their main role is more political and therefore has no specific purpose.

The NPG was founded in December 1966, when the Defence Planning Committee in Ministerial Session accepted the recommendation of the Special Committee of Defence Ministers, chaired by Robert McNamara of the United States, to establish a consultative process on nuclear doctrine within NATO. The key principles of NATO's nuclear policy are established by the heads of state and government of 29 members of the Alliance. The Alliance's nuclear policy is constantly being reviewed, modified and adapted in the light of new developments (NATO Nuclear Policy, 2019, p.15).

The basic concept of nuclear safety is a system of coordination of organizational and technical measures of nuclear facilities aimed at the maximum reduction and elimination of harmful effects on humans and the environment.

Since progress on arms control and disarmament must take into account the prevailing international security environment, at the Warsaw Summit in 2016, NATO leaders recognized that conditions for achieving further disarmament were unfavorable given Russia's aggressive actions and military build-up in recent years. During the 2018 NATO Summit in Brussels, Heads of State and Government once again affirmed NATO's long-standing commitment to nuclear deterrence, stating that "*as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance*" (NATO Nuclear Policy, 2019, p.1).

The Nuclear Planning Group acts as the senior body on nuclear matters in the Alliance and discusses specific policy issues associated with nuclear forces. The Alliance's nuclear policy is kept under constant review and is modified and adapted in light of new developments (Nuclear Planning Group, 2019, p.1).

### **Highlights**

- The Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) reviews the Alliance's nuclear policy in light of the ever-changing security environment.
- While the North Atlantic Council is the ultimate authority within NATO, the NPG acts as the senior body on nuclear matters in the Alliance.
- The NPG discusses specific policy issues associated with nuclear forces and wider issues such as nuclear arms control and nuclear proliferation.
- All members, with the exception of France which has decided not to participate, are part of the NPG irrespective of whether or not they themselves maintain nuclear weapons.
- The NPG was founded in December 1966 to provide a consultative process on nuclear doctrine within NATO. It was initially called the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee (NATO Nuclear Policy, 2019, p.1).

The existing arsenals of the nuclear-armed States represent the most obvious means by which terrorists or other non-state actors could acquire a nuclear weapon, although these are supposed to be very tightly guarded, without exception. Over the course of the last three decades, the number of nuclear weapons has been significantly reduced through a series of bilateral United States and Russian arms control agreements as well as unilateral reductions implemented by them and other nuclear states (the United Kingdom and France). These reductions were not necessarily motivated by nuclear terrorism considerations, but they nonetheless resulted in the elimination of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and thus contributed to lowering the risk (Borrie, 2017, p.85).

After the NATO summit in London on December 3 and 4, the leaders of the NATO member countries participating in the meeting published a joint London Declaration, which emphasizes future threats from Russia, China, terrorism, cybersecurity and the provision of safe technologies.

Article 4 of the London Declaration emphasizes the relationship between NATO and Russia. NATO is a defensive Alliance and poses no threat to any country. We are adapting our military capabilities, strategy, and plans across the Alliance in line with our 360-degree approach to security. We have taken decisions to improve the readiness of our forces to respond to any threat, at any time, from any direction. We stand firm in our commitment to the fight against terrorism and are taking stronger action together to defeat it. We are addressing and will continue to address in a measured and responsible way Russia's deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, which brought about the demise of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and which pose significant risks to Euro-Atlantic security. We are increasing action to protect our freedoms at sea and in the air. We are further strengthening our ability to deter and defend with an appropriate mix of nuclear, conventional, and missile defense capabilities, which we continue to adapt. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. We are fully committed to the preservation and strengthening of effective arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation, taking into account the prevailing security environment. Allies are strongly committed to full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in all its aspects, including nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We remain open for dialogue, and to a constructive relationship with Russia when Russia's actions make that possible (London Declaration, 2019, p.1).

On the whole, differences within Russia are growing within NATO. While the countries of eastern and central Europe are mostly afraid of Moscow and demand new guarantees to ensure their security (the Baltic countries and Poland are more concerned about this), many other states, including France, Germany and Italy, are interested in easing military tension and building Russia partnerships.

Resulting from all the above said, we can conclude that the role of NATO in the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and against asymmetric threats, risks and challenges, is

of a great importance for the global security. Asymmetrical threats have greatly influenced the change of the international system. In modern period, security dilemma has created a new dimension of the international system. Under conditions of a new security dilemma, during which future prediction of asymmetric threat is not possible, which makes the international system vulnerable to these threats; the role of international organizations significantly increases. International terrorism, proliferation of nuclear weapons and conflicts remain the main problem of international security. The further dissemination of nuclear technologies causes concerns about the possible emergence of new nuclear states and the capture of nuclear weapons by terrorist groups. The use of nuclear weapons will cause significant geopolitical changes. Some countries will try to establish or strengthen ties with nuclear-armed states, and other states will fight for global nuclear disarmament.

## **Conclusion**

NATO Nuclear Policy as an instrumental tool for pursuing collective defense principle in aegis of the 5<sup>th</sup> Article of the Washington Treaty of 1949 and stipulated in the same treaty in the 10<sup>th</sup> Article has very credent historic background and has been linked with two main strategies augmented in times of initial phase of Cold War – “Mutual Assured Destruction” and “Nuclear Deterrence Concept”. Nuclear deterrence has been at the core of NATO’s mutual security guarantee and collective defence since its inception in 1949. The very first NATO Strategic Concept (1949) referenced the requirement to “ensure the ability to carry out strategic bombing promptly by all means possible with all types of weapons without exception. Since that period of time, the “Alliance Nuclear Policy” sharing is a concept in NATO's policy of nuclear deterrence, which involves member countries without nuclear weapons of their own in the planning for the use of nuclear weapons by NATO. Currently NATO’s nuclear deterrence posture relies on nuclear weapons forward-deployed by the United States in Europe, as well as on the capabilities and infrastructure provided by Allies concerned. A number of NATO member countries contribute a dual-capable aircraft (DCA) capability to the Alliance. These aircraft are central to NATO’s nuclear deterrence mission and are available for nuclear roles at various levels of readiness. In their nuclear role, the aircraft are equipped to carry nuclear bombs in a conflict and personnel are trained accordingly. In conjunction with endorsement of New Cold War since the Crimea annexation by the Russian Federation in Ukraine re-invocation of the Nuclear Policy in NATO HQ in Brussels has made new impetus to promote the Alliance strategic goals and missions in nearest future.

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# Post-Secular International Relations in Action and Religious Resurgence

## Phenomenon: Reality and Myth

GEORGE ZVIADADZE\*

MAGDALENA BESELIA\*\*

### Abstract

In the Last period a term “Post-Secular” identified as new jargon in social sciences and has two meanings – one it has more descriptive identity, links with religious traditions and it analyzes and has influence on a daily life. The second one associates with novelty and perceives critical approach toward values such as: democracy, liberty, engagement, justice and equality (Habermas, 2008). Some scholars pay great attention to the phenomenon of post-secular theory in their researches. Based on their conclusions, secularism represents a powerful instrument in aegis of the modern state used intensively in post-colonial world. After Islamic revolution in Iran, in 1979, the concept of post-secularism became very actual and was on agenda in late 70-ies of the last century. Later that tendency transformed into afghan mujahidin resistance movement against Soviet Army with declaration of “Holy War”. The trend has been revived when occurred 9/11 tragic event in 21<sup>st</sup> century and new term “religious resurgence” emerged in academic vocabulary. Religious insurgency does not confront with globalization and is not referred to distinguish among nations on religious or cultural merits. Hence, the phenomenon is being reviewed from international political perceptions.

**Keywords:** post-secularism, democracy, secularism, Islamic revolution, 9/11 event, “Holy War”, religious insurgency

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\* Ph.D. Student, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\* Ph.D. Student, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## **Post-Secular International Relations in Action and Religious Resurgence Phenomenon: Reality and Myth**

In the past few decades understanding the conflicts between blasphemy and free speech, between religious taboos and freedom of thought and expression, and between secular and religious world views. It is the subject of a fruitful discussion among the scientific circles in international politics. Here the question should be asked: Is the language of the law an adequate mechanism for the adjudication of such conflicts and as possible multicultural and multi-religious societies.

The keyword of the “post-secular” the overcoming of the critique of modernity by a more religion-friendly one Post-Modernism is propagated. But that is only a possible reading of the figure of post-secular in the foreground moved. The picture changes when you see the operator “Post” not only on “Secular”, but the whole contrast of meaning of “secular vs. religious” relates, not only means overcoming a secular modernity, but also the Overcoming a modern age that is set off from a religious one has determined pre-modern as secular. Post-secular is then not an indicator for the regaining of the religious in the secular world of modernity, but a farewell to both the secular and the concomitant Religious. Only with that one lives not only in a secular age, but also in a really post-secular World. To concretize this at least in outline, the term post Seculars briefly explained in the suggested sense. A post-secular world exists only with a post-secular society, where the state no longer sees or determines itself as secular (King, 2003, pp.10-11). One can Post-secularity as regaining the religious understand (weak post-secularity) or as overcoming the difference between Religious and secular (strong Post-secularity). That's post-secular not alone or especially the one who is given the secular modern again sees the possibility and takes courage, religiously to live or religious to apply to yourself or to others (Hohn, 2007). Bryan Wilson defines secular as: “the process whereby religious thinking, practices and institutions loose social significance” (Wilson, 1966). This definition accepts that there are societies in which religious thinking, religious Practices and religious Institutions exist.

There is a basic distinction between the state (the political Sphere) and society (of all socially differentiated spheres), which has been permanently established since the 19th century. The relationship between state and church or of state and religion since then can no longer be a paradigm for determining the ratio of religion and society as a whole serve. Because that is a relationship between different subsystems of society (Religion and state), this against a relationship between of society as a whole and one of their subsystems (Religion and society). The meaning of the secular must therefore be differentiated think through by looking at society, the state and the lives of individuals specified (Germann, 2008).

In the early period, the historical experiences of the war of religion, which resulted from the consequences of the Reformation and a partly extreme diversification of beliefs, had led to an overestimation of the “secular narrative about religion and democracy”.

It is important to make a difference between religious, tolerant, secular and post-secular state types (Eberle, 2002):

- **In the Religious State**, certain religion is required that is binding on citizens. A citizen of such state in the full legal sense can only be one who (depending on the case) is Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu etc. The concrete form of such a state can change and have either the character of a theocracy (the collapse of the church with the state) or a state church (the collapse of the state with the church).
- **In the Tolerant States** other religions are tolerated if they adhere to certain rules, and they can be practiced by citizens without endangering or losing their civil rights. In such states, no particular religion is prescribed as binding for everyone, but different religions are tolerated: one state, different religions (or churches).
- **Secular States** are neutral not only in terms of which religion their citizens practice, but also in terms of whether or not they practice a religion at all or whether they live a non-religious or anti-religious life. In such state, no one will have religious or non-religious views of life or prescribed ways of life, but everyone has the right to choose the type of life that one desires: one state, many religions and non-religions.
- **Post-secular states** differ from secular states as they no longer define itself as neutral towards the religious or non-religious. They do not take a position regarding the religious or non-religious way of life of their citizens, but they also refrain from expressly their neutrality or expressly that they do not take or represent a position regarding religious questions. A post-secular state is accordingly indifferent and not only neutral regarding to religious or non-religious questions. There may be many religions and non-religions in a society, but the state sees no reason to define or emphasize its relations with them in a special way (Germann, 2008).

According to Alessandro Ferrara secularism has three meanings: The first - there is religious neutrality of churches and state and thus religious pluralism is announced (Ferrara, 2009, pp.1-3). The second - secularism as a social phenomenon, which means: religion ceases to influence the right to take politics, education and public life. The third meaning of secularism is purely secular for it does not put significance on religion and religious belief in public life of

individuals and in the society (Habermas, 2008). During secularism, religion completely lost place in public and moved to a more personal position. In modern times, however, religion has fallen into public space, and such a return to religion has been perceived in scientific circles as post-secularism.

Nowadays there is a discourse about post-secularism under the name Jurgen Habermas, he thought that post-secularism is a criticism of secularism, but it does not abolish secularism. He proposes an integrative liberal framework for the relationship between religion and the secular state. Religion not only strengthens its influence worldwide, but also among the national public. It should be born in mind that churches and religious organizations play an increasingly important role in the public sphere of secular societies. They can influence public opinion and education, help solve responsible problems, regardless of whether their position is convincing or controversial. In social sciences post-secularism have two meanings – one it has more descriptive identity and links with religious traditions and it analyzes and influence on daily life. The second one associates with novelty and perceives critical approach toward values such as: democracy, liberty, engagement, justice and equality (Habermas, 2008).

Most the concept of post-secularism has become very actual factor and agenda in late 70-ies of the last century affiliated with 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. The highlight of the dispute was between western-oriented Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and Ayatollah Khomeini. 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran was the fastest revolution in the world, it only took 4 months, but it also took a long time: the "White Revolution" from 1963, a major modernization project, and the dramatic year 1978, in which the balance of power was reversed and Ayatollah became the central figure in domestic politics. Hope of the Islamic Revolution Once the Shah had expelled him from the country, he became the hope of all those who feel betrayed by the Shah and the monarchy in the Islamic Revolution. In the end won Islamic fundamentalism, a new challenge for world politics.

The idea of combining religion and politics was well demonstrated in Iran in 1979. Three events fueled him: Khomeini's revolution in Iran; the attack of around 500 radical Islamists on the Great Mosque of Mecca, led by the young Dshaiman al-Utaibi. And finally, the Red Army's invasion of Afghanistan, which eventually led to the emergence of the Taliban, which had been upgraded by the United States. Three events and one message: radical Islam as a political protest movement is now to be expected. Political Islam was a powerful reaction to the brutality of the Arab regimes, both secular and religious. It was very obvious in Iran: the overthrow of the Shah, the storming of the US embassy and the subsequent hostage-taking of diplomats that lasted well over a year. The Shiite revolutionaries openly challenged the United States. Many Muslims looked spellbound and full of sympathy for Tehran. Radical Islam, Shiite as well as Sunni, has been filling a gap since 1979 year: secular governments had either failed like Nasser in Egypt or - like Saddam

Hussein in Iraq or Hafiz al-Assad in Syria - had deteriorated into dictatorial regimes. To them, political Islam seemed the only trustworthy way to reform political and social conditions. However, this path also hardened (Kung, 2005).

The combination of religious and political interplay shows the attacks on the World Trade Center and other American institutions on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2001 year. Jihad hardened even more in 2003 year when the Americans intervened in Iraq. Over the years, the Mullah regime in Tehran, like the rule of al-Saud in Riyadh, developed into a religious dictatorship. At the same time, new jihadist groups such as the "Islamic State" (IS) showed an unprecedented level of brutality perhaps unprecedented, in the region. But Iran and Saudi Arabia, the leading powers of the Shiite and Sunni Muslims, alienated gradually. Rivals became enemies that are waging wars against one another in Syria and Yemen. The region still suffers from the political and religious hardening that began in 1979 year (Luhmann, 2002).

It is important that we can see revolution in Iran as a religious and political interplay as post-secularism, which would be clearly demonstrated in an Afghan Mujahidin resistance movement against the Soviet army with the declaration of the "holy war" (Religious war). On April 28, 1992, Afghan Mujahidin celebrated the victory over the SSSR. Afghan Mujahidin fought with "holy war", with traditional jihad, which means fighting in traditional jihad is locally filled. A post-secularism can be seen as a result of "Holy War" (Religious War) In world history religion was often used as a means of warfare. Religion is used as a motivation for society and also as propaganda for example: The Catholic Church with its crusade and Authority of Islamic religion promise to fight for God and Islam (Jihad) entering the paradise.

The Soviet-Afghan war had a double result, it showed the green light for "Holy War", which is consolidated with religious spices, and would stand very strongly against democratic values. The reaction of democratic countries was very strong and powerful, which has shown that the interplay between religions and politics has been given very different results under the name of post-secularism. "Holy war" was developed in Islamic jihad as jihadist terrorism and jihadist groups were portrayed as independent and highly developed multinational organizations (Al Qaeda - terrorist organization).

The greatest event of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was 11 September 2001 Year, it was a new turning point in the world history. At that point, neoliberal civilization was welcomed worldwide and terrorism suddenly came into play. That was the result of "Holy War" and renewed jihad and also was worldwide the societies with religious sympathizers. 11 September was visible violence in response to invisible violence in countries such as: Afghanistan, Iraq, Saudi -Arabia, etc. "Holy War" (Religious War) was also used as a terrorist act for political reasons by jihadists and with the motto "Allahu Akbar"(God is greatest) and "God is our side" was motivated in this case religious

teaching and political rules were very different. Religion played a major role with motivation and was used as a weapon of war.

It is important to show what a major role religion plays in the Middle East especially we have to pay attention to Islamic Republic of Iran and reactions of Iranian supreme leader Sayyid Ali Hosseini Khamenei. In terms of the interaction between politics and religion it is very interesting in Islamic Republic of Iran. U.S. President Donald Trump has 3. January 2020 Year without asking Congress, a targeted killing of an Iranian general Qasem Soleimani in Iraq (Soleimani was the commander of the Iranian Al-Kuds Brigades and was shown an enemy of USA). Iran's response was strong they sent rockets to the US military bases (Ain al-Assad and Erbil). Iranian government, Iranian parliament and Iranian supreme leader Sayyid Ali Hosseini Khamenei had quite a reaction and have shown the world for one voice decision. Some statements and words of Iranian supreme leader Sayyid Ali Hosseini Khamenei are remarkable, in these words there is a lot of talk about politics despite being an Iranian supreme leader. He strengthened message at all with religious teachings and dogmas of Quran.

For Theocratic Islamic Republic the words of Iranian supreme leader Sayyid Ali Hosseini Khamenei are quite normal, but we can see a side of post-secularism because According to Jurgen Habermas: all citizens are equal under the conditions of post-secularism and can communicate with one another in public space through both secular and religious arguments (Hamermas, 2008). However, the state remains independent of religious institutions. But when there comes a lot of more religious arguments in public space we get "something like theocratic" where religion is used to achieve political goals or the other way around.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century when we talk about politics, we have to differentiate between politically and economically developed and undeveloped countries. For developed countries, which are mostly democratic countries, post-secularism is not welcomed because religion comes into play and that endangers democracy, freedom, commitment, justice and equality. Exactly the opposite situation is in undeveloped countries - Religion and Politics are mixed and mostly in society religion becomes more popular than politics. The process of secularization is under verification. Religion has lost its social meaning in the modern world. In modern countries, which are highly developed by society, religion has been considered as a part of old tradition and culture. The main topics are freedom, justice and equality.

Under religious rebellion: A number of events such as: 9/11 September terrorist attacks on the United States, the Madrid and London bombings and the discussion about the caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed, have exacerbated the situation of the Muslim communities. The central question is how stereotypical generalizations can be avoided, fears can be reduced, and social

cohesion can be strengthened in our diverse societies, while marginalization and discrimination based on ethnic origin, religion or belief can be counteracted (Eberle, 2002).

Secularization is under verification Religion has lost social importance. Empirical studies prove the longing of the modern society has about belief as a moral and ideological orientation offer, religion as a central resource of social capital as well as the influence of the churches as a civil society actor and that is exactly what makes post-secularism together.

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# China's Geostrategic Code and Its Implementation Mechanisms in Challenging Global Security Environment

KOBA KOBALADZE\*

BEKA MANAGADZE\*\*

## Abstract

China is emerging as having the strongest geopolitical weight in upcoming world politics. Being a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China aspires to continue its global mission even though the Cold War is over. Chinese geopolitical ambitions are quite real. In order to really perceive how powerful China is one must review its strongest leverages: nuclear capabilities. Chinese nuclear capabilities are composed of four different types of armaments: strategic bombers, ballistic rockets and missiles, nuclear submarines with ballistic missiles and tactical nuclear forces. Namely founded on these capabilities is being constructed Chinese national geostrategic code – is the manner how nation perceives its engagement into global security based on its strategic armaments' capabilities and military strategic culture via national security perceptions. This configuration clearly identifies the nation's applicability in deposing world order and reinforcement its "nuclear triade". In that respect China is seeking to reinforce the geostrategic code and predispose its role in global politics with namely strategic strike armaments.

**Keywords:** Cold War, nuclear capabilities, geostrategic code, strategic strike armaments, national security, military strategic culture

The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA, Chinese 中国人民解放军) officially the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is the biggest one in the world with 2 250 000 people. The army was formed after the Nanchang rebellion on August 1, 1927, as a communist Red Army led by Mao Zedong. During the Civil War, a great horde of Chinese Communists was organized. The term "People's Liberation Army of China" was used to refer to the Armed Forces, troops of the Communist Party of China formed in the summer of 1946, the Eighth Army, the Fourth Army, and the Northeast Army; After the proclamation of the People's Republic of China

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\* Ph.D. Student, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\* Ph.D. Student, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

in 1949, the name was given to the country's armed forces (Chinese People's Liberation Army, 2019, p.1).

The law envisages compulsory military service for men from the age of 18; Volunteers are accepted until the age of 49. All Chinese male citizens between the ages of 18 and 30 are required to perform compulsory military service for 24 months. The age limit for army reserve is 50 years. During the war, up to 400,000,000 people could theoretically be mobilized (Chinese People's Liberation Army, 2019, p.1).

The PLA is not directly subject to the party or the government, it is subject to two central military commissions - the state and the party. These commissions are usually identical in composition, and the term "Central Military Commission" is used in the singular. The position of Secretary of the CMC is a leading position for the whole country. In recent years this position has been held by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Chinese People's Liberation Army, 2019, p.1).

On August 1, 2017, the People's Liberation Army of China celebrated its 90th anniversary. Where it has been clearly stated that the People's Army of China is preparing for more change, the main aim of which is to create a stronger, integrated and flexible army. The People's Liberation Army has gone through a historic reform since 2012, after Xi Jinping became the secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Since being elected as a military leader, he has expressed his position on protection of China's security and interests. "China is at a crucial stage of world power and the country has new situations and challenges when it comes to security and development. The Chinese military must be aware of their responsibility," said the president (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1)

For decades, reform has yielded results. The largest military governing bodies in the world have been renewed at the Central Military Commission. Regional management systems are designed to enhance combat capability. As for the troops and institutions, they have united in order to improve efficiency. New high-tech units have been created for cyberspace. Changes were also made among members of the army. Many officers, including hundreds of generals, moved to new positions, some returning to civilian life. Soldiers now spend more time in combat training and firefighting (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1)

Although the theme of "national rejuvenation" was used by Chinese leaders in some way after Sun Yat-sen, Xi Jinping was the first to export the Chinese Dream narrative globally. Overall, the general view in China is that this rejuvenation restores China's lost international status and power. So, this is not a novel, it is a way for China to return to the appropriate order of international politics.

If Xi Jinping's dream comes true, we can imagine a world where democratic governments will survive in the West by the middle of the 21st century, but Beijing's political model will have the greatest place in the international system. As in the case of the Cold War, the struggle is material - economic and military issues are of paramount importance - but many ideological issues also arise. Of course, this course will raise and its outcome will answer the ideologically regulated question: Will egalitarianism remain dominant in international politics or will it give way to authoritarianism? However, Unfortunately, because of China's expansion of power and influence, it is likely that authoritarian politics will be the norm without serious challenges from the western side. It is likely that China will improve this new wave of authoritarianism in order to increase its legitimacy. Considering its advantage, Beijing will also push for arguments that are no different from the "end of history" arguments in the West in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Different from the principles of liberal democracy and free market of Washington, Beijing's political model offers to developing countries a regime type neutral investment model, which is based on "non-interference" in the internal affairs of and the promise that no special restrictions or preconditions will be required on the loans and on other financial forms of aid. This business model is part of China's "charm offensive" and seems like its popularity is increasing as many around the world see China as a better alternative to The International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programs.

During the Cold War, the United States came out as a global beacon for political elites who shared certain values and ideas. Today, China offers authoritarian values that are appealing to governments whose power is threatened by US principles such as the rule of law, freedom of speech, democracy, and transparency and accountability in government.

By 2049, China will be ideally confident and able to expand its dominance in the economic, political and military spheres more effectively. Beijing is no longer going to integrate or negotiate, it expects others to accept the order it offers. We are indeed witnessing an early phase of China-dominated international politics. The development of China's military bases in the South China Sea is a obvious violation of international law and an attempt to suppress freedom of speech, especially criticism of the Chinese Communist Party, which says it wants to push liberal values out of country's borders through authoritarianism (The World According to China, 2019, p. 1).

After a year from Xi Jinping's election in November 2013, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a formal decision to carry out mass military reform. In March 2014, the Communist Party of China, led by Xi, set up a group to draft a roadmap for reform and ways for its implementation. Finally, military reform plan of the military government's was approved in 2015. By the end of 2015, the Chinese People's Liberation Army

headquarters, missile and strategic auxiliary forces were set up, which officially began their historic work. In January 2016, the four departments of the Chinese Army: Personnel, Policy, Logistics and Arms were dissolved and their functions and responsibilities transferred to 15 new units of the Chinese Communist Party. From December 2016 to April 2016, ground forces were reduced from 18 to 13, and Chinese Army training dropped from 74 to 43, though naval and missile forces expanded. Despite the ongoing changes and fragmentation, the number of fighters has increased (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1). Major-General Chang Yu, deputy director of the Central Military Commission, pointed out that Xi Jinping's political acumen was an important factor in the implementation process of the reform (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1)

It is important to set combat training priorities that must ensure the correct tactical combat capability of the military. Whenever a president visits a combat unit, he focuses on combat readiness and joint operations. Xi also frequently mentions the role of science, technology and innovation in military activities. It also attaches great importance to civil integration. In March, during a meeting with the National Legislatures of the Armed Forces, the President said it was important for the Army to take advantage of the advances in technology and science to modernize weapons and equipment in the future. He also called on officers to make full use of technology to enable military development (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1).

In March 2016, 15 Brigades of the Land Forces participated in more than 100 live-fire exercises. Every year, the navy, like ground brigades, is being trained. The same process happens in the aviation space as well. During this week, the Chinese and Russian fleets conduct joint annual exercises in the Baltic Sea. For the first time in history, China participates in combat exercises in Europe (A strong army means a strong country, 2019, p.1).

According to experts, China owns 1.3 thousand km. length, Twenty shafts of DF-5-A Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. About thirty mobile DF-31,31A, intercontinental ballistic missiles, range from 8 to 12,000 km. Twelve DF-4 ballistic missiles of 5500 km. It is thought that all of these missiles carry a single charge. According to the latest data, Beijing is deliberately working to develop a multi-purpose system of individual targeting (Gvenetadze, 2007, pp. 232-233).

In 1980, the first and so far improved 1800 km long Chines ballistic missile submarine JL-1 was fixed. Work has finished on the second-largest vessel, the JL-2, with a total distance of 7,000 kilometers. Beijing's strategic aviation contains several dozen outdated H-6 bombers. There are 280 combat points in China's strategic nuclear potential. These nuclear bombs are equipped with fighter-bombers "Cyan-5". There is an information that China is working on small-range DH-10 wing rockets.

Even though it is true that China's nuclear forces are behind the US and Russian Federation, they can strike any territory, including capitals. The combat potential of the Indian Nuclear Forces amounts from 60 to 100 combat points. Part of them, according to the researchers, should be based on the 2000km Agni-2, 700km Agni-1 and 150-200km Pritkhvi-1 ballistic missiles. India tested its first 20-kiloton nuclear charge on May 18, 1974, at the Pokharan polygon in the state of Rajasthan, but has not officially recognized itself as a nuclear weapon holder. This happened only after five underground nuclear explosive devices, including a 32-kiloton thermonuclear bomb, were launched on May 11-13, 1998 at the same Pokharan polygon (Gvenetadze, 2007, p. 233).

On 2010, Agni-3 missile with the length of 3000 km was tested. The rest of the nuclear charge is deployed on the Mirage Jaguar jets with a radius of 1400-1800 km. Carrying a nuclear strike on the Russian-made CU-30MKII and МИГ-27 aircraft purchased in Delhi. 250-km long-range rocket launcher "Danush" was accepted in the army. Another winged K-15 rocket was tested. Work is under way to build a nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine. India has envisages nuclear doctrine, based on triad-based missiles, rocket launchers and missile naval forces, would create "decent minimum forces for containment" (Gvenetadze, 2007, pp. 232-233).

It is important for the growth of military potential to develop the economy of the country and to help the state produce and develop its nuclear potential otherwise it is impossible to increase its nuclear capability. In this context, China has benefited from the factor of withdrawal from the Pacific Forum by the Trump administration and held and launched a new initiative a few days ago. International Economic Forum "One Belt - One Way", which is actually a big Eurasian space acquisition and so-called Silk Road Strategy Implementation Project.

In fact, Chinese geoeconomic policy launched by Chinese President Hu Jintao, in which China intends to invest at least \$ 14 billion, American dollar is being formed to be implemented and will further expand the assets of the Silk Road Fund, which already comprises \$ 40 billion. US dollar. China considers the Russian Federation, India and Pakistan in this union, which are also united in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which may also be joined by the Islamic Republic of Iran, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Armenia and others (Maisaia, 2017, p. 1). The mentioned project is currently in active phase, which helps China to develop its military potential.

At the same time, China's geostrategic activity, especially towards North Korea, and this in South Asia even raises China's geopolitical status quo and its role in shaping the current New World Order (Maisaia, Maghradze, 2007, p. 126).

## Conclusion

The China's aspiration to increase its status-quo up to level of Global Power has been attaining since engagement of the country very actively into world politics. The trend has been confirmed since 2014 when ongoing world order was shifting from unipolarity into tripolarity modality. Certainly, the Chinese national geostrategic code promotes the trend development. Together with mega-project "One Belt, One Road" rising its military capabilities and combat "muscles" are reliable instruments for reaching up the mission and pursuing consistently national interests, even at any world place. Hence, China is seeking to its national interests at global, regional and national levels denoting ample ambiguity of the official Beijing for having influence on international political processes. The strategic "triade" is indispensable part of the mission achievement and concludes on promoting global hegemony perspective.

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## Why Russia Acts Against Its Own Long-term Strategic Interests?

GEORGE MCHEDLISHVILI\*

The 2010s decade which we are about to see off could by and large be marked as successful for the Russian Federation. Fluctuations in oil prices and their outsized influence on the economy of Russia aside, geopolitically the country has made some meaningful gains. The extent of Moscow's game-changing engagement in places ranging from Syria to Central African Republic to Venezuela, let alone the post-Soviet space, is so substantial that one would doubt the veracity of president Obama's repeated dismissals of Russia as a mere "regional power" earlier this decade (The Washington Post, 2014). The confrontation with the West, which intensified steeply in after Crimea annexation, is the major source of the regime's stability and popularity, while the lack of domestic progress and endemic corruption pulls the approval rate down, rendering the Putin's regime in a constant need of international adventurism (Deutsche Welle, 14 March 2019).

Russia's ties with China have been developing fairly smoothly over the past decade, much to the chagrin of the West. Both countries – although primarily China – pose a challenge to the West as influential players that flaunt their models of state development, different from liberal democracy. Their friendship, although still way short of genuine alliance, is weakening the West, particularly given the latter's current disunity on a number of vitally essential issues (The Moscow Times, 5 June 2019).

Russia interfered into the 2016 US presidential election, which manifested itself in a number of high-profile hackings, including Hillary Clinton's campaign and the Democratic National Committee (Time, 2019). Although few believe those hostile actions had any influence on the election outcome, the very fact that Moscow took on American democracy contributes to its perception (in Russia as well as internationally) as a meaningful global power.

But no other instance boosted Russia's international position (and arguably interests) as its sudden and intense engagement in Syria since the fall of 2015. And this time around Russia's military proved a real game-changer, saving and strengthening the Assad regime, which four years ago only controlled a sliver of land around Damascus and now has nearly two-thirds of Syria back in his command. The longer-term results of Moscow's Syria "gambit" are yet to be seen, but one can safely say that in the conflict where the US and European Union had their stakes and clearly

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Educations, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

stated their preferences, although have not developed any strategy, Russia has been outsmarting them so far (Ghilès, 2017).

Protracted civil conflict in Syria and western disunity gave Russia another window of opportunity to court a NATO member Turkey into rapprochement and cooperation on a number of important issues ranging from Syrian conflict to arms supply. Many western leaders rightly believe that this level of rapprochement between Moscow and Ankara threatens the balance of power in the wider region and calls for reaction (Fouquet, 2019).

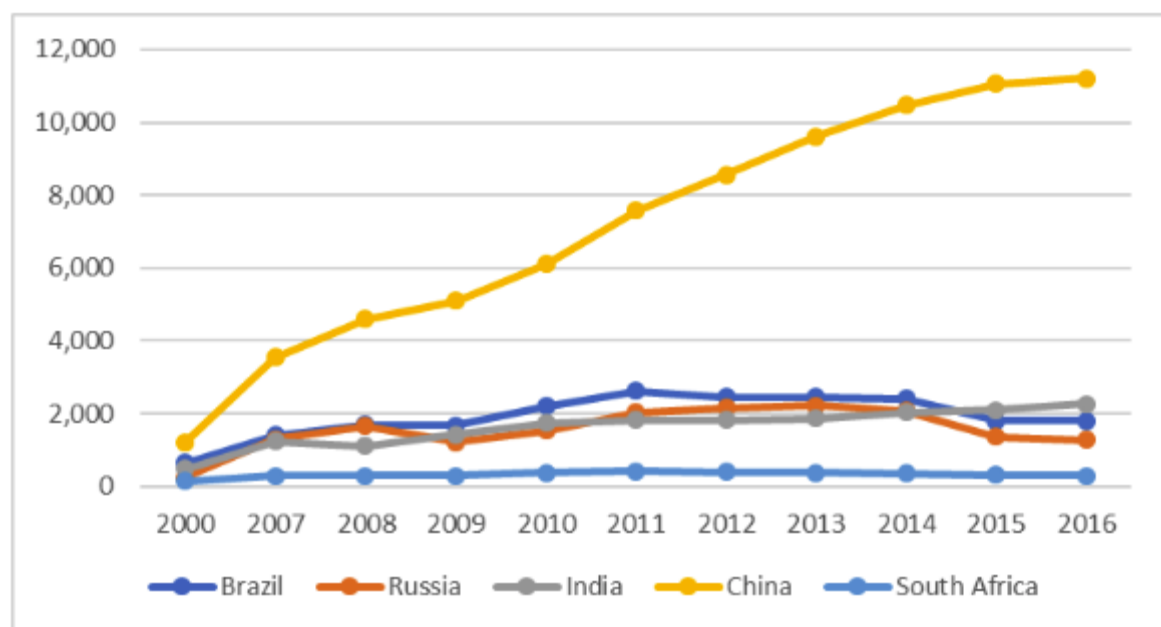
This is all very well up until we ask ourselves and the Russian leaders: what next and how sustainable all this recent activity and upgraded status are? Many analysts and policy-makers alike understand that Russia's recent advances are major tactical rather than strategic moves. Putin capitalized on western disunity and ineptitude plays his weak hand – with Russia's population as well as GDP just under 2 percent of the global indicators – remarkably artfully. But time indisputably and inexorably plays against Russia, both domestically and internationally. Firstly, it is perhaps only the matter of time (albeit not of 2-3 short years) when the West resolves its current problems and its ideational, political, economic and technological superiority vis-à-vis Russia will quickly take its toll. Secondly, Russia's almost flat demographics, whereby minuscule growth is primarily attributable to the influx of low-skilled migrants, does not bode well against the backdrop of global population growth. And, most importantly, Russia's domestic policies – extremely inefficient, corruption-ridden governance and hardening authoritarianism – are very unlikely to change anytime soon, as these policies are the only way for the regime to preserve itself, at the expense of the development prospects for the country (Transparency International, 2018). And this is the crux of the matter: we may debate the reasons, but the fact is that Putin's Russia made regime preservation, dismantling of democracy and manufacturing elections that are just a mockery of free choice. This very mundane goal is couched in a very sublime narrative, whereby Russia strives to become an autonomous and truly independent global actor and the West stands in its way (The New York Times Magazine, 2019). The West is accused of encroaching into Russia's backyard, the so-called post-Soviet space, when in actuality some countries of former USSR, like Georgia and Ukraine, strive to westernize.

From the standpoint of pure realism that gives primacy to the interests of the state, this current confrontation with the West, dubbed by many the New Cold War (or Cold War 2.0), is suicidal for Russia's long-term development. The latter requires technological know-how as well as efficient governance and economic modernization, only to be found in the West. Therefore, a genuine partnership with the West is a natural road to a thriving, affluent Russia. But instead there is a confrontation and the sanctions, which expose Russia's economic fragility and its overdependence on hydrocarbon export (Depresio, 2019).

And yet, Moscow (read Putin) chooses the hostility, as this “fortress Russia” discourse props his popularity more than any other factor (Lasser, Lefler, 2015).

In the absence of partnership, even despite some differences, with Europe and US, Russia gets closer to China. But considering the comparative development outlook of the two countries (see fig. 1), Russia can be already viewed as China’s junior partner and in the future will be little more than a political appendage and raw materials provider for Beijing (Anton Barbashin and Alexander Gref, 2019). So, given the recent trends and the evolution of China’s economic demands and strategic goals, a much wiser policy for Russia would be siding with the West in order to stem China’s growth.

Figure 1. Economic Growth of the BRICS Countries. Source: Revista Espacios, Retrieved from: <https://www.revistaespacios.com/a19v40n42/19404223.html>



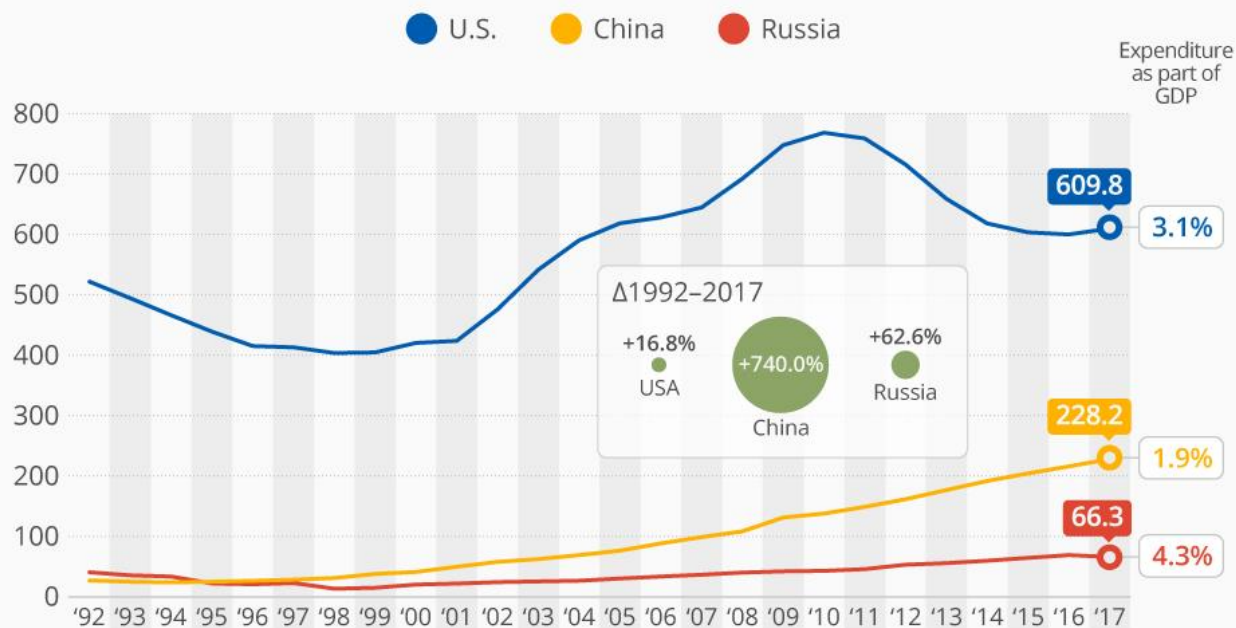
China is also becoming a military superpower – the distinction until recently reserved only for the United States. Granted, Beijing military spending falls far short of Washington’s, but grows in leaps and bound on the crest of economic advances, far outpacing Moscow’s (see fig. 2).

But despite Russia’s inauspicious prospects vis-à-vis China, Putin’s regime doubles down on its confrontation with the West, blaming democratic world and obsolescent liberalism in particular for the woes of the world (Barbel & Foy, 2019). This narrative and attendant policies are highly spurious and driven exclusively by the considerations of regime preservation, against strategic interests of Russia and its people.

Figure 2. Source: Retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com/chart/16878/military-expenditure-by-the-us-china-and-russia/>

## China Steps Up Military Spending

Military expenditure by the U.S., China und Russia (in billion U.S. dollars)\*



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## Residues of 9/11: Terrorism Still Challenges the USA Foreign Policy

EKA BERAIA\*

### Abstract

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, created the tense atmosphere, eternal fear and sense of insecurity in the Western world. What should governments do in order to protect their citizens in the age where adverseness is the main issue? When enemy tries to be concealed and where any citizen is under the threat of being attacked at any time or place? What are the roles of the presidents in such a tense and overwhelming processes? The article takes a look on the issues of modern and past events that could create such a hot climate in contemporary political arena. Due to these past and present events we can conclude that 9/11 does not only remain as the main element of present and immediate future, but it is acknowledged as the date of overwhelmingly strongest terrorist attacks that might be used as a good lesson for tomorrow.

**Keywords:** allies, attack, isolationism, objective, opposition, security, target, terrorism, terrorist acts

### Introduction

Some critics often compare the current political affairs to the waving ocean, where people struggle for survival, try not to sink and defeat the obstacles on their way to the desired destination. Political leaders often face such an overwhelming temptation: whether to listen to their intuitions or follow the international world order to change circumstances for the better. Time passes but the human nature remains. World leaders in every age has to deal with such problems. Of course, choice matters, choice wins and choice loses. Looking back the history, such major choices determined the US foreign policy courses very often. Therefore, the presidents are frequently judged for leading or returning the country to, for example isolationism or engagement political direction. In Woodrow Wilson's case, his choice to send US forces in Europe to fight was determined by situation, his insistence on membership of League of Nations, the intergovernmental organization whose aim was to restore and maintain the world peace. President

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\* Ph.D., Graduate of American Studies PhD Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Wilson was awarded with the Nobel prize for his crucial role in creating and architecting the league, but some critics blamed him moralistic attitudes and thoughts that returned America into isolationism. Franklin D. Roosevelt could not involve America into World War II until December 7, 1941 - Pearl Harbor that was also determined with the situation. President Roosevelt's hard attempt, to outline the threat by Hitler, played crucial role in "breaking" the American desire to keep isolationism. When the World War II was over, the structure of bipolarity of two superpowers set the framework for the Cold War. In the peak of Cold War in 1945-60 political "choice" was interestingly ordered: Truman's containment strategy – to shore up the non-communist defenses in critical points, was followed by Dwight D. Eisenhower's "New Look" policy. Among the main elements of the policy was not only: more bangs for the buck or vitality of US economy, but to deter communist aggression (by relying on Nuclear War) and if necessary to fight a war. John F. Kennedy's contribution has to be outlined in prevention of nuclear war during Cuban Missile Crisis as well as signing the first arms control agreement. If not the engagement in the Vietnam War the Fiasco would not mire the country. The end of Cold War the period of time –when president Ronald Reagan's negotiating skills was essential as well as George H.W. Bush's crises management experience in destruction of the Soviet Union. these presidents played a significant role in bringing about a peaceful end to the Cold War (Foust, 2012).

### **9/11 Terrorist Attacks**

After the al-Qaida terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, the Bush Doctrine took on a new dimension. That night, Bush told Americans that, in fighting terrorism, the U.S. would not distinguish between terrorists and nations that harbor terrorists.

Bush expanded on that when he addressed a joint session of Congress on Sept. 20, 2001. He said: "We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime" (Jones, 2017).

In October 2001, U.S. and allied troops invaded Afghanistan, where intelligence indicated the Taliban-held government was harboring al-Qaida (Jones, 2017).

In January 2002, Bush's foreign policy headed toward one of preventive war. Bush described Iraq, Iran and North Korea as an "axis of evil" that supported terrorism and sought weapons of mass destruction " (Jones, 2017). We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will

not wait on events while dangers gather. I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons," Bush said. We have to mention that, before the attacks on the United States in New York and Washington, al-Qaeda was a well-structured organization. In the words of the 9-11 Commission of the United States it was "a hierarchical top-down group with defined positions, tasks and salaries." The organization of al-Qaeda has been influenced by post September 11 counter-terrorism measures. Furthermore, it is probably only disassembled rather than defeated. Following the armed conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq and in the framework of anti-terrorist measures, the operational bases of al-Qaeda are more difficult to maintain. Many protagonists of al-Qaeda have been arrested or have had their movements restricted, financial transactions blocked and communication supervised (The 9-11 Commission Report, footnote 12, p. 67).

The al-Qaeda structure was not only the organization that brings everything under the control of its authority, but it also encouraged bottom-up initiatives and delegates the power from a central authority to local ones. The organization has promoted a global "jihad", seeking to motivate individuals or groups worldwide to join its "just war" and to define their local "jihad" as part of a universal fight. Cells or units of Al-Qaeda organization operating secretly in Muslim and non-Muslim countries fighting for the advent of the caliphate were sponsored by al-Qaeda or were acting under the umbrella of al-Qaeda while performing terrorist attacks in all the corners of the world, in the United States, Indonesia, Kenya, Tunisia, Pakistan, Turkey, Spain, Saudi Arabia and Russia, to name only the most well-known cases. Iraq has become the main point for shaping of Islamic terrorism.

The way al-Qaeda established itself in Afghanistan was an exception which gave it a territorial context. Today, its supporters are separated in different directions throughout the world and try to hide in order to strike the militarily stronger opponent through carefully targeted action.

### **What is Terrorism?**

Terrorism is considered to be a threat that should be responded with a vigorous defense.

It is firmly believed to be a marginal business. Majority of world population realize that it has only negative impact on people's life and brings no profit at all. Although, today all busy places: airports, railway stations, shopping centers, museums, etc. are too well protected to achieve their objectives directly, terrorists seek to mobilize fear and to cause overreaction, to use mechanisms that mobilize the targets of terror in order to assist in accomplishing terrorist objectives. Terrorism is a difficult phenomenon for most people to grasp as it is associated with killing people, innocent victims of violence, destroying often iconic places and things. The nature

of terrorism is hard to study. As professor Donald M. Snow defines terrorism as the commission of violent acts against a target group to gain compliance with a set of conditions. This definition consists of three main elements: terrorist acts, terrorist targets and terrorist objectives. Terrorist acts are illegal, they may occur anywhere and consist of murder and destruction of property. Their target might be people and places. As terrorism is a political act its objectives are normally measurable in terms of the political conditions they seek to attain.

As Donald Snow writes, there are three possible ways to think about terrorism: The first possible way is that *–terrorism is crime*, that is a standard position of opponents of terrorism and especially its victims. Therefore, it is nonmilitary and should be handled as a law enforcement problem by law enforcement personnel and should be treated within the criminal justice system. Although there are some cases when terrorists consider themselves warriors and preferred to be prosecuted within civilian tribunals while antiterrorists firmly believe that they have to be prosecuted within military tribunals (Snow, 2004).

The second possibility *–terrorism is a war*. This is the version terrorist think of themselves in this manner. They counter that in war (as they define it) there is no distinction between combatants and noncombatants.

The third possibility: terrorism is a particular kind of war- *asymmetrical war* that depicts the battle between unequal opponents. The 9/11 terrorist attacks, was the turning point of the main political events of the 20th century that has changed many concepts. After the destruction of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar order, 9/11 proved that a new enemy breaks rules, respects no national boundaries. “The attacks also demonstrated that a military could no longer guarantee its ability to serve as a buffer between the enemy and its own government or people. This shock to the Western psyche spurred much of the discussion that was already transpiring on the concept of asymmetric warfare—changing perceptions of strategy, tactics, security and threat forever” (Buffalo, 2006, p.1). The attacks of 9/11 left our society a warning:” *terrorism is emerging from the shadows!*”

### **U.S. Watches Terrorism: Syrian Case**

In 2011, U.S. supported Syrian opposition and the Federation of Northern Syria during the Syrian Civil war. In spite of the fact that President Obama turned to Assad’s regime and called for resign: “For the sake of the Syrian people”, as critics claim, he did not show readiness to make Assad leave. The president had his explanation that was prepared on the base of U.S. intelligence’s report: Assad ‘s regime would come to end without American president’s hard attempt. President Obama firmly believed that Assad would have followed Mubarak’s fate, referring the quick departure of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in early 2011, a moment that represented the acme

of the Arab Spring. But as Assad came to power, Obama's refusal to straight and immediate intervention only grew (Gartzke, 2013).

In 2014 Obama's administration started surveillance missions in Iraq and Syria. Later the U.S. attacked the ISIL group in Syria as well as the "Khorasan group", that is affirmed as a division of al Qaeda group, actively operating in Syria that was acknowledged as the main "threat to American homeland." By late 2015 the allies used to launch the bombs or missile strikes that caused severe consequences and heavy losses on ISIL.

In 2017 President Trump administration openly indicated its purpose to maintain an open-ended military presence in Syria, to encounter his adversaries. In September 2018, The U.S. governments outlined a new strategy, that included not only utilization of military efforts but also implementing diplomatic methods to achieve the goal, American government had set in Syria. However, in December of 2019 the U.S. ground troops were withdrawn from Syria that caused fear of so called "power void" (that means losing control over something, when there is no replacement for the future control). In the wake of withdrawal imperilment of Kurds were followed (Turkey took advantage over them). As a result, not only Russia and Iraq could gain the geopolitical benefits, but according to the consequences, terrorist groups were unintentionally harbored in Syria and were allowed to reorganize and rethink their military strategy. Some critics claim that president Trump tried to wash his hands of Syria by the withdrawal of US troops from northern Syria, enabling Turkey for further attacks and reshaping the particular territory. The Kurds who are thought to be the allies of the US in the fight in Syria have since allied with Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad and Russian troops to fight against Turkey. President Trump clearly defined his decision that Turkey and Russia should solve their problem without American government's involvement.

### **Contemporary U.S. Foreign Policy Dilemma: Engagement or Isolationism?**

Since 9/11 members of republic party has always stood for interventionism when it comes to combatting terrorist acts and to outline America's role in the international political arena. President Trump 's viewpoint that is formulated as "*America first*", is often understood as *isolationist philosophy* that might be a crucial challenge to mainstream republican worldview. Unlike president Bush his political strategy aims to pull America out of endless war, although abandoning Kurds in Syria still causes strong feelings and calls for endless debates. Watching his presidency period and observing his political "choice" can we appreciate his foreign policy as "Selective engagement or it is more inclined to isolationism?"

## Donald Trump's Presidency Period Foreign Policy Chronological Chart

Engagement	Isolationism
<p><b><u>January 20, 2017</u></b> from Inauguration speech: "I promise to unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism" and emphasizes that <b>"it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first."</b></p>	
	<p><b><u>January 27, 2017</u></b>-The president signs an executive order <b>banning nationals of six Muslim-majority countries from traveling to the United States</b>, also indefinitely freezes refugee intake from Syria. That same week, Trump signs two other executive orders concerning immigration and directs federal funds to the <b>construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border</b></p>
<p><b><u>April 7, 2017-Striking Syria</u></b> According to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's use of the chemical weapon sarin in an attack against civilians, Trump approves a limited cruise missile strike on the regime-controlled Shayrat Air Base.</p>	
<p><b><u>May 20 – 27, 2017</u></b> Trump makes his first trip abroad as president, traveling to Saudi Arabia, Israel, the West Bank, Italy, Vatican City, Belgium, and Italy. He attends a summit in Riyadh with leaders from more than fifty Arab- and Muslim-majority nations, where he delivers a speech calling on the Muslim world to unite against terrorism.</p>	
<p><b><u>July 5 – 8, 2017</u></b><b>Trump Meets Putin</b>-In Germany, president Trump participates the Group of Twenty leaders' meeting, where he meets with Russian President Vladimir Putin. The meeting is highly anticipated to the ongoing investigations into Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. elections.</p>	
<p><b><u>August 21, 2017</u></b>-Trump delivers a speech where he represents a new Afghan Strategy. It includes a counterterrorism that means keeping a particular on Afghanistan. He also declares that he will deploy more U.S. troops without fixed dates or exact deployment timetables.</p>	
<p><b><u>December 6, 2017</u></b>-Trump breaks with decades of U.S. policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by <b>recognizing Jerusalem</b></p>	

as <b>Israel's capital</b> . He justifies the move as a recognition of the reality that <b>Jerusalem is the seat of Israel's government</b>	
<b><u>April 13, 2018-A Second Round of Syria Strikes</u></b> , Trump orders the U.S. military to strike three facilities in Syria linked to the Assad regime's chemical weapons program. The air strikes, a response to the use of chemical weapons by Syrian government against civilians.	
<b>May 14, 2018</b> <b>Recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital</b> in December 2017, the Trump administration moves the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The fact becomes the reason for Arab and Western allies to acknowledge Washington's neutrality as a broker in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process into question.	
<b><u>July 16, 2018</u></b> -Presidents Putin and Trump meet in Helsinki. In spite of the Fact that both leaders claim to discuss the Syrian civil war, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and Russian- Ukrainian conflict, the details of their discussion remains unknown.	
	<b><u>December 2018-U.S. Troops to Leave Syria and Afghanistan</u></b> . Trump announces the United States will withdraw its troops from Syria, though he doesn't specify a timeline. He asks the Pentagon to come up with a plan to withdraw half of those serving in Afghanistan as well.
<b>2018-The White House not only recognizes Venezuelan opposition leader</b> Juan Guaido as the nation's interim president, considering the 2018 reelection of Nicolas Maduro illegitimate but also sends humanitarian aid are blocked at the border.	<b>2018Trump refuses to</b> rule out military action against Maduro and later imposes sanctions
	<b>June 20, 2019</b> -In the wake of an Iranian crashing of a U.S. drone down, Trump permits military action on Iranian targets, but calls off the operation at the last moment

<p><b><u>2019/September</u></b>-Trump declares an end to Afghan peace talks, calling off a planned meeting of warring parties, including Taliban representatives, at Camp David. It was followed by a pledge by the Taliban not to harbor terrorists in Afghanistan in exchange for a cease-fire and full withdrawal of Western military forces. In October, two thousand U.S. troops have been withdrawn, leaving some twelve thousand remaining.</p>	<p><b><u>October 6, 2019-</u></b> In the wake of a call with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Trump abruptly decides to withdraw all remaining U.S. troops from Kurdish-controlled northern Syria. Two days later, Turkish troops invade Syria to combat Kurdish groups, which Ankara labels terrorists, and the Kurds seek protection from the regime of Bashar al-Assad and his Russian allies. The Trump administration responds with sanctions on Turkey, leading to talks for a permanent cease-fire. The deal allows the Syrian Kurds to evacuate and divides control of the territory along the Syria-Turkey border among Turkish, Russian, and Syrian government forces.</p>
	<p><b><u>2019/November 14-</u></b> US President Donald Trump and Turkish Presidents Recep Tayyip Erdogan met at the White House. No particular resolutions were made on the most vulnerable issues in bilateral relations such as attacks and battles in Northern Syria and purchasing Russian military hardware.</p>

## Conclusion

To take everything mentioned above into consideration, it can be concluded that foreign policy making process is still affected by the greatest challenge - terrorism. World leaders are supposed to take measures instantly, immediately in order to meet the challenge correspondingly. Machiavellian and leaderships skills are primary for prediction the future consequences and act correspondingly. Donald Trump's Presidency period, is not over. It means that we have to watch and observe the political decisions he will take against terrorism, conflicts and aggression.

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## **Key Features of the U.S.-Georgia Relations: Mutual Alliance and Strategic Partnership**

EKATERINE LOMIA\*

### **Abstract**

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Georgia in 1992 following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, after which the U.S. recognized Georgia as an independent state and began strategic partnership with Tbilisi. The U.S. supports Georgia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and does not recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states currently occupied by Russian Federation. Furthermore, the U.S. is actively assisting Georgia in strengthening and deepening the Euro-Atlantic ties, building democratic institutions and supporting the country to transfer into the most developed and economically stable partner in the South Caucasus region. Georgia, in turn, is a significant ally of the U.S. in the war of terror and hugely contributes to the U.S. led anti-terrorism operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The mutual relations were developed after Russia's military intervention in Georgia. The U.S. condemns Russia's creeping annexation of Georgian territories and continuously calls on Russia to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent country. Moreover, the U.S.-Georgian Charter on Strategic Partnership established in 2009 marked a new beginning of the U.S.-Georgia relations and further ensured Georgia's long-term development.

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\* Ph.D. Candidate, Lecturer at European University, Faculty of Law, Humanities and Social Sciences, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## Introduction

On December 25, 1991, the U.S. President George H.W. Bush officially recognized the independence of the former USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) states. Under the decision of the president, the U.S. also considered Georgia as an independent sovereign state, which in its turn, marked the starting point for the U.S.-Georgia diplomatic relations. On April 23, 1992, the U.S. Embassy was established in Tbilisi. Shortly afterwards, in August 1993 Georgian Embassy was opened in the U.S. as well. Since then, the U.S. is committed to helping Georgia maintain peace and stability in the region, deepen the Euro-Atlantic ties and strengthen the core democratic values and principles (U.S Department of State).

The US-Georgia relations have deepened following Russia's military intervention in Georgia in 2008. Before the war, during the NATO summit held in Bucharest in April 2008, U.S. hugely supported granting Georgia the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) MAP (Membership Action Plan), which was terminated following Russia's full-scale invasion of Georgia (Asmus, 2008). The war considerably worsened political atmosphere not only between Russia and Georgia but it also negatively affected the U.S.-Russian relations as well. The United States supports Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders and does not recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions of Georgia, currently occupied by Russia, as independent (U.S Department of State). Under President of G.W. Bush the U.S. granted \$1 billion in humanitarian and economic assistance to Georgia to help rebuild the country following the Russian-Georgian war (Mayers, 2008).

Washington is actively involved in GID (Geneva International Discussions), which are international talks launched in October 2008 and address the consequences of the Russian-Georgian war. Together with the representatives of the conflict sides including Georgia, Russia, and delegates of the de facto Abkhaz and South Ossetian authorities, the U.S. actively participates in the Geneva International Discussions, which are mediated by the EU (European Union), UN (United Nations), and OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe).

"The U.S.-Georgia charter on Strategic Partnership" put the U.S.-Georgia relations on a new footing. The charter was signed on January 9, 2009, and aimed at deepening and strengthening the U.S.-Georgia bilateral partnership "to the benefit of both nations and expanding their cooperation across a broad spectrum of mutual priorities...based on shared values and common principles" (U.S. Embassy in Georgia, 2019).

"The U.S.-Georgia charter on strategic partnership" consists of four mutual working groups addressed to the following fundamental priority areas: democracy; defense and security; economic, trade and energy issues; and people-to-people and cultural exchanges (U.S. Department of State, 2019; Ministry of Foreign affairs of Georgia, 2019). In other words, at the core of the partnership

is strengthening democratization principles, ensuring regional peace and stability, promoting transparency of governance (including independent and accountable media) and creating effective civil society organizations. The partnership supports to approach for aligning Georgia's security and defense needs with regional peace and stability: assisting Georgia's wide-ranging engagement with the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia prior to addressing issues of final status (Welt, 2010b, p.2).

Georgia has continuously been receiving the U.S. military assistance as well, which has been deepened over time, particularly after 2008. For instance, in FY2008-FY2009 the U.S. military assistance to Georgia amounted to \$144 million for Georgia's postwar stabilization and security assistance, whilst in FY2010-FY2017 the assistance is estimated to have been around \$74 million a year as average, which increased in numbers in the following years as well. According to the Congressional Research Service, Georgia has received \$4,348,400,000 in financial aid from the United States between 1992 and 2020 (Welt, 2019a, p.18).

In the economic context, since 2012 the U.S. and Georgia have been discussing the possibilities of a free-trade agreement. The two countries have shared a "bilateral investment treaty" (BIT) since 1997 according to which Georgia can export certain products (mainly iron, steel and inorganic chemicals) duty-free to the United States, under the "Generalized System of Preferences" (GSP) program (Export.gov, 2019; Georgia's National Statistics Office, 2019).

The U.S. supports Georgia's deep-water port project in "Anaklia" and believes that the mentioned project will help Georgia grow economically and make the country an even stronger training partner for the United States.

### **The U.S.-Georgia Partnership in the Early Years of Georgia's Independence**

Following the Parliamentary elections in 1990 Zviad Gamsakhurdia's political team came to power. The mentioned period of time coincided with severe ethno-political conflicts and political instabilities in Georgia due to Abkhaz and Ossetian separatist movements which demanded independence from Georgia and insisted unification with Russia. A dissident, nationalist and true patriot Zviad Gamsakhurdia tried to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia out of the shadow of Moscow through the establishment of foreign and diplomatic relations with Europe and the U.S.

During the same period, the Parliamentary Delegation and then Government Delegation from Georgia visited the United States after which then-President of the U.S. Richard Nixon

visited Georgia as well. In 1992 the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker officially visited Georgia and in 1993 Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze paid his first visit to the United States. By that time “The U.S. had several interests in Georgia, particularly, maintaining stability in the region and avoiding conflicts, support of sovereignty of newly established state...support of American and in general Western companies in exporting the rich energy resources of Caspian Sea bases to free global markets and strengthening Georgia’s role in this process, as a transit country for energy carriers” (Tsereteli, 2018, p. 33).

Furthermore, the Parliament of Georgia, elected in 1995, officially recognized country’s pro-Western course which, in turn, marked a starting point of increasingly positive economic reforms. Yet in 1994, Georgia joined the NATO run Partnership for peace Program and the Georgia-NATO relations were established (Rondeli, 2001). The relations were deepened in 1998 when Georgian government presented an ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Moreover, in the late 1990 Georgia became a member of important international organizations, including the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe etc. (Modebadze, 2018, p. 344).

At the OSCE summit in 1999 which was held in Istanbul (Turkey), the leaders of the three-member states of the organization, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey reached an agreement to construct BTC (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan) oil pipeline. The project was designed to carry out the transportation of Caspian Sea oil to Turkey, bypassing Georgian territory. According to the plan, from Ceyhan, the natural resource would be delivered to European markets through the Mediterranean Sea. For Georgia, the transit fees were expected to reach approximately US\$60 million yearly. The project was extremely significant for Georgia’s economic growth and development.

The U.S. played one of the remarkable roles in designing the project since the President of the U.S. by that time Bill Clinton and his administration hugely contributed to Azerbaijan’s President Heydar Aliyev’s decision on constructing the BTC pipeline. Thus, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan was designed with great efforts made by American, Turkish, Georgian and Azerbaijani diplomats and government officials (Tsereteli, 2018, pp.34-35). With active support from the U.S. Russia agreed to withdraw three Russian bases from Georgian territories. The process fully completed in 2005 and was a great success of Georgian diplomacy and Georgian-American cooperation (Tsereteli, 2018, p.35).

In 1997 a very important agreement was signed between the U.S. and Georgia on “cooperation in the area of prevention of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the promotion of defense and military relations and reduction the biological threat...this has been a network of the labs working toward detection of factors causing particularly dangerous infections

and putting them under epidemiological surveillance”. Thus a cutting-edge central referral laboratory of public health (The Lugar laboratory) was built in Tbilisi. The U.S. investments in the project were estimated to have been about \$300 million (Gegeshidze, 2019, p.5).

The U.S.-Georgia relations have further been strengthened following the 9/11 events. Georgia appeared to be an important country in counterterrorism operations. The Bush administration launched Georgia train and equip program (GTEP) in 2002, the ultimate goal of which was training Georgian military forces, in other words, transforming Georgian troops to Western standards. It was a 20-month program for which the U.S. government spent about \$64 million (Georgia Train and Equip Program). The GTEP ended in 2004 and was regarded to be successful since the process was later continued with deployment of Georgian troops to fight against terrorism, first in Iraq and then in Afghanistan.

### **The U.S.-Georgia Strategic Partnership following the Rose Revolution**

The Rose Revolution opened a new page in the history of the U.S.-Georgia relations. Mikheil Saakashvili, American-educated, charismatic, young leader, had practiced law in the United States before returning to Georgia. Upon arrival in Tbilisi, he joined the party “The Union of Citizens of Georgia”, which was established by Eduard Shevardnadze yet in 1992. In October, 2002, Saakashvili was elected as a Minister of Justice, however, one year later he resigned, declaring the following: “I consider it immoral for me to remain as a member of Shevardnadze’s government...current developments in Georgia will turn the country into a criminal enclave in one or two years” (Saakashvili, 2001).

In 2001 Saakashvili founded the party “United National Movement” and in November 2003 with his Western-oriented political allies Zurab Zhvania and Nino Burjanadze, he initiated the so-called “Rose Revolution”. After almost two weeks’ increasingly tense demonstrations with the slogan “Kmara”- (English translation - “enough”), Saakashvili took the parliament building and overthrew President Shevardnadze. Following the presidential elections, Mikheil Saakashvili came to power with more than 90% of the vote.

“Rose Revolution” has positively been described by George W. Bush in Washington. According to the White House, it has been one of “the most powerful movements in the modern history that have inspired others to seek freedom”. However, at the beginning, the U.S. did not support Eduard Shevardnadze’s resignation prior to end of his presidential term since the core interest of Washington was a non-violent, peaceful change of power in Georgia, though, following Shevardnadze’s peaceful resignation, the U.S. fully supported reform-oriented program of Mikheil Saakashvili (Tsereteli, 2018). The historic visit of the U.S. President George W. Bush to Georgia

in May 2005 was a clear illustration of the close partnership between the two countries. Bush praised newly elected president of Georgia for his reforms and called the country “a beacon for democracy” whilst several months before Mikheil Saakashvili and Ukrainian President Viktor Yushenko were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by J. McCain and H. Clinton.

Following the Rose Revolution, U.S. and Georgia have considerably strengthened military cooperation. Yet in 1999, Georgia started to send its troops to Kosovo during the war of Yugoslavia, then to Iraq and Afghanistan. It is worth mentioning, that after the Rose Revolution the number of Georgian military troops have significantly increased in Iraq exceeding 1.110 men in 2005. Furthermore, since 2005 “Georgia Sustainment and Stability Operations Program” was initiated by the U.S. which replaced the GTEP. The program aimed at training Georgian military contingent for participation in the peacekeeping operations in Iraq (Gegeshidze, 2019, p.8). In August, 2004, the Georgian Defense Forces joined the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to the NATO-led international mission in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Soon Georgia became the largest per capita troop contributor among the Non-NATO countries (Ministry of Defense of Georgia, 2019).

In August 2008 U.S. vigorously condemned Russia’s military intervention in Georgia and called on Russia to respect territorial integrity and sovereignty of the sovereign country. The NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer called Georgian and Russian sides to stop the attacks and start direct negotiations. “Bullying and intimidation are not acceptable ways to conduct foreign policy in the 21st century” (REUTERS, 2008). “Russia has invaded a sovereign neighboring state and threatens a democratic government elected by its people”-noted the President of the U.S. George W. Bush. In support to Bush’s opinion, the Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice added: “We call on Russia to cease attacks on Georgia by aircraft and missiles, respect Georgia’s territorial integrity and withdraw its ground combat forces from Georgian soil” (REUTERS, 2008).

Under President George W. Bush, on January 9, 2009, a “Charter on Strategic Partnership” Was signed in Washington between the U.S. and Georgia (more concretely, the document was signed by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia Grigol Vashadze) (U.S. Embassy in Georgia, 2019). The charter had great historic significance since it was the first official document signed between the sides which directly aimed at strengthening democracy and sovereignty of Georgia. The charter outlined the core principles of the U.S.-Georgian relations, which are as following: defense and security cooperation, economic, energy and trade cooperation, strengthening democracy and increasing people-to-people and cultural exchanges. The sides emphasized the “cooperation between the two democracies is based on shared values and common interests. These include expanding democracy and economic freedom,

protecting security and territorial integrity, strengthening the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the right of dignified, secure and voluntary return of all internally displaced persons and refugees, supporting innovation and technological advances, and bolstering Eurasian energy security” (U.S. Department of State).

Furthermore, U.S. continued supporting Georgia financially after the Rose Revolution. According to the Welt (2019a, p.17), from FY2001 to FY2007 U.S. total aid to Georgia reached almost \$945 million. In addition to that, in 2005, under the program MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation), Georgia was also awarded an initial five-year (2006-2011) grant from the U.S. (U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation). The U.S. substantially increased its assistance to Georgia after Russia’s war in Georgia in August 2008. Under the Bush administration then- Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced that the U.S. aid package to Georgia worth almost \$1 billion. The purpose of this aid was to help Georgia reconstruct and rebuild war-damaged infrastructure, the post-war rehabilitation of the country (U.S. Department of State).

Since 2008 the U.S. continually calls on Russia to reverse its recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states and condemns Russia’s illegal occupation and creeping annexation of Georgian territories. Washington is actively involved in GID (Geneva International Discussions), which are international talks launched in October 2008 and address the consequences of the 2008 Russian-Georgian war.

With the support of the U.S. NATO-Georgia Commission (NGC) was launched in 2008. The commission aims at promoting political consultations and mutual negotiations towards the road of Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic aspirations, whilst since 2008 Georgia has actively been engaged in ANP (Annual National Program) format aimed at strengthening the NATO-Georgia relations (Gegeshidze, 2019, p.13).

In 2012, coalition “Georgian dream” celebrated a victory in the Parliamentary elections, which marked the end of Saakashvili’s eight years of rule in the country. Georgian billionaire, the founder of “Georgian Dream” coalition, Bidzina Ivanishvili unexpectedly entered politics. The changes were strengthened after Giorgi Margveashvili’s victory in the presidential elections in 2013, which again revealed a political crisis of Saakashvili’s UNM (United National Movement) since the vast majority of the people supported Georgian Dream. Since 2012 Georgia continued its readiness and willingness to integrate into the NATO and the EU. In 2014 new mechanism of cooperation was launched in the NATO-Georgia relations and the U.S.-Georgian relations have further been deepened correspondingly.

The U.S. is actively involved in “Anaklia Development Consortium”. The fundamental goal of the consortium is to create a world-class port complex for Georgia by developing the port infrastructure and thus improving the economic opportunities for the country (Anaklia

Development Consortium). The Consortium becomes of deep significance since it connects the ancient Silk Road trade route between China and Europe bypassing Georgian territories, which in turn will sharply increase Georgia's regional and international recognition.

## **Conclusion**

Georgia currently enjoys friendly relations with the U.S. based on mutual partnership and trust. While the U.S. remains Georgia's strongest and the most significant partner abroad Georgia has become a leading recipient of the U.S. financial aid in Eurasia, which covers a wide range of priority areas in political, economic, military and cultural fields.

Georgia, in turn, has achieved significant progress in strengthening democratic values and principles in a very short period of time and furthermore, aims to develop modern state institutions. There are strong grounds to believe that Georgia is the most democratic state in the Caucasus region whose international rankings, in terms of democratic development, are constantly increasing.

Georgia's pro-Western orientation has been defined from the very first day of its independence and despite the fact that there have been several changes of regime, the country has never altered its long-defined strategic choice. Former Presidents- Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Eduard Shevardnadze took first steps towards Georgia's pro-Western course, which has been strengthened by Mikheil Saakashvili. Whilst Bidzina Ivanishvili's pro-Russian orientation, at first, raised concerns in Georgian political elites that the U.S.-Georgian relations would undergo certain negative changes and Russian-Georgian relations would improve instead, nevertheless, Georgian government has continued moving in the right direction and has further deepened the partnership with the United States.

Since the early years of Georgia's independence, the U.S. has fully supported Georgia's democratization process and has tried to maintain stability in the region, thereby increasing the country's opportunities for further economic progress and development.

A Clear illustration of the above mentioned are the great efforts made by the U.S. President Bill Clinton to construct the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline in the late 1990s, which was of fundamental significance for the stabilization of post-war Georgian economy. The BTC pipeline gave Georgia a new dimension since it has attracted worldwide attention as a major transit corridor in the Caucasus region for energy resources.

Since Georgia's independence, there have been positive developments in the U.S.- Georgia relations under each administration of the United States on different terms as well. Although some observers widely discuss about whether the U.S. could have prevented the Russia-Georgia war in

August 2008, however, it should be highlighted that the war had many different causes, including Georgia's increased efforts to join the NATO and the firm support of Washington to the independence of Kosovo. Another significant aspect to consider is that since Russia's foreign policy actions seem to be rather unpredictable in the region and abroad, Washington studiously avoids military confrontation with Moscow.

It is also significant to note that despite constant clashes of political interests in the U.S. legislature between Democratic and Republican parties, Congress unanimously supports Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, condemns Russia's creeping annexation of Georgian territories and shows full respect for the so-called "Stimson doctrine" of non-recognition, according to which the U.S. does not recognize territorial changes caused by the use of aggression, military intervention and force. Accordingly, since 2019, the U.S. has prohibited foreign assistance to governments which recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states.

The U.S. is supporting the "Anaklia deep sea port project" (project of a century), which means that Georgia will gain significant worldwide attention as a regional transport and transit hub through the development the historic Silk Road route, which is considered to be the fastest trade routes between China and Europe. "Anaklia" is a project of key significance for the economic development of Georgia. The project will further strengthen the U.S.-Georgia business ties and stands to diminish Russian and Chinese economic influence in Georgia.

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# The Role of the U.S. in Ensuring the Energy Security of EU

NIKA CHITADZE\*

## Abstract

In the research paper there are analyzed such important topics, as a role of the energy in the world politics on the examples of the international energy crisis of 1973-1974 and ending of the “Cold War”, where one of the most important factor was decreasing the international oil prices at the second half of 80-th of the last century, which significantly affected on the economy of USSR, which was much depended on the export of oil and gas to the international energy markets. The biggest part of the research is dedicated to the energy security aspects of the European Union and perspectives of the export shale gas from the United States taking into consideration the increasing oil and gas production on the US territory.

**Keywords:** USA, EU, Shale gas, oil, energy, security

## Introduction

The energy factor has always played a decisive role in international relations. It is thanks to energy that small states can in some cases influence the politics of large states. The most striking evidence of this is the crisis of 1973-1974. The global energy crisis was triggered by US Middle East policy when OPEC member countries from the Arabic world protested the support of Israel during the Yom Kippur war by official Washington (Pivovarov, 2015). It is also worth to noting that energy played a decisive role in the ending of the Cold War, when under the effective measures of the Reagan administration, in particular during the conducting negotiations with Saudi Arabia, when as a result of the increasing oil production by this Middle East country, world prices on oil fell, which led to the weakening the economy of the Soviet Union and this factor has finally caused the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the end of the Cold War (Chitadze, 2011).

## Review of the Economic and Political Impact of American Shale Gas on the EU Energy Security

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\* Affiliated Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, Director of the Center for International Studies, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Discussing about role of energy in the world politics in the contemporary period, as an example it is necessary to point out the European strong reliance from Russian energy supplies, the reduction of fossil fuel production and the solution to the greenhouse gas emissions problem are just a few of the problems that European energy policy leaders face.

At the contemporary period, EU consumes about 450 billion cubic meters of gas annually, while production by European states is only 167 billion cubic meters, or 38% of total consumption (Janda, Kondratenko, 2018). Gas is imported either through pipelines (especially from Russia and Norway, 86% of the total volume) or in the form of liquefied natural gas (e.g. from Algeria). The major supplier, Russia, exports 76% of the fuel (together with oil and gas) to the EU market.

The increase in natural gas and oil production in the United States, having been caused by the exploitation of shale resources, coincided with the above problems and created the novelties in the gas and oil markets. From 2010 to 2015, oil production in the United States has greatly increased. And from 2005 to 2015, the increase in natural gas production exceeded 50%. This production boom was made possible by technological advances, such as horizontal drilling and hydraulic bending methods, which enabled efficient oil and gas extraction from shale and other dense geological formations.

The rise of US oil and gas production is important for Europe. Disputes between Russia and Ukraine between 2006 and 2009 led to a temporary cessation of natural gas supplies to Europe, which further highlighting Europe's energy security vulnerabilities stemming from strong energy dependence of the continent from Moscow. This attitude not only limits the EU's ability to respond to Russia's actions in Ukraine, but also forces Europe to consider the interests of the Russian state-owned gas company Gazprom and its price policy. Nevertheless, Europe has partly benefited from the increase the natural gas supplies from USA.

Thus, US Shale gas represents a new energy source that can balance power in economic relations and energy security. Shale gas explored and processed in the United States is also abundantly available in European countries, which may be used as an alternative to gas imported mainly from Russia and this process will enhance Europe's energy security.

### **U.S. Shale Gas and Energy Revolution**

United States of America has become a leader in the shale gas revolution. The benefit to it is that most of the wells are located inside the country, a huge resource allows the nation to remain on leading positions in the world. Technological advances will ensure a steady increase in natural gas and shale oil production in the United States.

It is unlikely that shale gas production in Europe will be as cheap as in the US. According to the International Energy Agency, production costs in Europe may be twice as high due to geological and geographical differences.

According to the European Commission's research, different types of environmental risk management policies with regard to shale gas have virtually no impact on energy production, energy prices or energy demand and therefore do not affect the economy. US shale gas production has already reduced global gas prices.

In 2019, the European Commission declared that by 2023 liquefied natural gas imports from the US to the EU would increase to 8 billion cubic meters annually, more than twice the amount imported last year (Business Press News, 2019).

In 2018, US President Donald Trump and European Commissioner Jean-Claude Juncker agreed that Europe would increase imports of liquefied natural gas if Trump would not raise prices for European cars. As a result of this agreement, US liquefied natural gas imports rose sharply to 1.4 billion cubic meters in March of 2019 (Business Press News, 2019).

## **Conclusion**

### **What Political Interest Does the U.S. Have in Delivering Energy and Energy resources to European Countries?**

The U.S. supply of energy resources to European states is directly linked to stopping the Russian Federation's growing influence on the European continent as Russia's reliance on energy sources increases Russia's ability to use energy as a political tool. An example of this is Russia's annexation of Crimea, the support of the self-proclaimed republics of Donetsk and Lugansk.

Although the Russian Federation has, through gross violation of international principles, altered the political map of Europe, it could be argued that European states have failed to develop an effective mechanism to prevent by the Russian authorities to violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of another country. For the most part, this was due to the energy dependence that European countries have on Russia. The current situation significantly restricts the scope of political action for European states. At the same time, Russia is aiming to polarize a united Europe that is not naturally in the U.S. interest.

Considered the United States and Europe as a united Western civilization, the US is considering European states as its major allies, it is directly interested in maintaining a united Europe, which is a prerequisite for united action in the international arena. The US views Europe's energy dependence on Russia as a major threat to the degree of polarization in Western civilization,

and it seeks to offer Europe as an alternative source of energy, which naturally allows Europe to diversify its market, freeing from Russian energy dependence, which in its turn destroys Europe.

The United States is aware of the essence of Russia's foreign expansionist policies aimed at disintegrating Western civilization. Diversifying energy resources at the expense of US energy supplies, Russia will substantially limit the scale of political influence in Europe, which naturally will have a positive effect on US-European cooperation.

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## **A Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Men (CEDAM)**

CARL AUGUSTSSON\*

In the 1970s the United Nations passed the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). It has been ratified by nearly all of the world's independent states. While CEDAW represents a great step forward in the name of gender equality, it—as the name itself would imply—is only half of the story. The time has therefore long come for a male equivalent: a Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Men (CEDAM).

I have therefore, on my own initiative decided to create a Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Men, to be modeled on the equivalent for women. What follows is a copy of my initiative.

There are a couple of points which I wish to emphasize from the outset. First of all, I am by no means trying to diminish the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. On the contrary, the first clause of the preamble is to reaffirm the goals set out in CEDAW: “Reaffirming the goals set out in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women”. Indeed, many of the points mentioned in CEDAW, if full implemented, would benefit men as well. Case in point, article 11 (especially section e) states:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

(e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;

What is noteworthy about this is that it calls for men and women to have equal access to retirement. If only this were the case. Up until recently, the majority of European states (among others) had higher retirements ages for men than for women. Any moves towards equal access—which is thankfully occurring more and more—would actually benefit men, since it is men and not women who face discrimination in this area. However, if the unofficial definition of equality is “the absence of discrimination against women”—which it should never be!—then I suppose that

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\* Prof. Dr., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

higher retirement ages for men would not violate this clause of CEDAW. I have reiterated this point in CEDAM in article 11:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that all age requirements, in both the public and private spheres, apply equally to men as well as women, including but not limited to retirement ages, minimum ages for withdrawing from pension funds, minimum ages for collecting state benefits for the elderly, minimum ages for marriage, and minimum ages for entrance into business establishments.

The other point I wish to establish is that this initiative is not merely for the want of having a male equivalent to CEDAW “just to have one”. Instead, there is a real need for a Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Men. After all, all of the 28 articles mention an actual present-day example of discrimination or violence faced by men and boys somewhere in the world; there are no purely hypotheticals in CEDAM. If several of these points were the only examples of discrimination or violence against men or boys in the world today, then perhaps a CEDAM would not be necessary. After all, it would probably be enough to simply fight against those few examples on their own. Likewise, while the 28 points cover most examples of discrimination and violence faced by men and boys throughout the world today, it is not a 100% exhausted list.

However, there is an even greater need for a CEDAM than the 28 individual points raised in it. That need is addressed in the thirteen clauses of the preamble. First and foremost, the basis upon which the equality debate rests seems to be that only women faced discrimination whereas men were privileged. The truth is that both men and women were forced into gender roles, like it or not. In essence, there were two gender “packages”; the package which each individual “received” was determined at birth. Each package came with its own share of advantages and disadvantages.

As to which package was the better of the two largely depended on one’s personal preferences. For example, if for a man who had no interest in politics, didn’t want to do military service (in the times and places when it was required), and would have rather stayed home with the children than going out and having a career, being a man really would not have seemed like much of a privilege. By contrast, for a woman who also had no interest in politics, was glad that she did not have to do military service and enjoyed staying home with the children with no interest in a career, being a woman, if anything, would have seemed like a privilege, especially when one considers the chivalrous ways in which men (at least in Western countries) were supposed to treat

women. There is no doubt that such men and women have existed throughout history. It is therefore highly simplified at best to claim that men were privileged.

Instead, as I have just stated, the reality was that both sexes have had their share of privileges and discrimination. This means that there never was a “patriarchy”, and if there ever was one there certainly isn’t one now. Moreover, if there ever was a patriarchy, a huge part of it was the belief that women’s lives are more valuable than men’s. Instead, the reality was that both sexes faced discrimination, just in different ways. If I accomplish nothing else with this CEDAM initiative, I hope to at least finally establish this as society’s view of the history of gender roles, instead of the current one-sided view. Indeed, if society would just finally realize that truth, most if not all of the 28 points in CEDAM would immediately or at least shortly be accomplished.

Obviously, no one country is in violation of all 28 articles. Likewise, most countries are in violation of at least one of them. Here in Georgia, the biggest examples of discrimination against men are required military service and the fact that the retirement age for men is 65, whereas it is only 60 for women.

Right now, I am attempting to find a member state of the United Nations to introduce CEDAM. I have written separate letters to all 193 member states of the United Nations. When possible, I wrote in the language of the member state in question. I have not received many responses, but I will continue to press for a sponsor. I am willing to visit any of these 193 states in order to present this plan. Obviously, this plan is just a rough draft. I understand if a sponsoring member state would want to make changes to it.

This initiative will lead to a better world for both men and women. If you are interested in working with me on this or if you are interested in men’s rights in general, please contact me at: [Tbilisi@ncfm.org](mailto:Tbilisi@ncfm.org). I am trying to start a chapter of the National Coalition For Men (NCFM) here in Georgia. Our web-site is [www.ncfm.org](http://www.ncfm.org). Also, please check out the Facebook page: “The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Men” (CEDAM). Finally, please watch the Youtube video on “Lagomism Channel” about this initiative: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ExqguEBTqtk&t=85s>

There are several thoughts with which I want to leave you: “The biggest example of sexism in the world today is the ridiculous notion that only one sex has ever been the victim of it”, and “The unofficial definition of gender equality must never be allowed to be ‘the absence of discrimination against women’”.

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# Reflection of Cyber Warfare Phenomenon in National Security Strategies - Myth and Reality on the Example of the United States

THORNIKE ZEDELASHVILI\*

## Abstract

When we talk about national security strategies and analyze what is a myth, what is reality, how should the cyber phenomenon be reflected in the "new cold war", we should look at what strategy Russia is choosing against the rest of the world, mainly against Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and the United States of America. Since it is hard to find out today, where the theoretical war begins and where practical military aggression ends, new research, recommendations or scientific papers are needed. Since it is difficult even to clarify where Russian chauvinism begins and whether it has an end at all, the world has a constant headache. That is why NATO has enacted Article 5 of the Washington Treaty - the principle of collective defense.

Russia is attacking the United States, Europe and the whole world with cyber meth, pre-processed hybrid tools and misinformation. For example, misinformation that spreads across Western, Central and Eastern Europe varies in content and depends on the country's cultural, political and historical features. Each message is carefully selected and mainly intended for the population of the countries in the region.

**Keywords:** Hybrid war, information war, cyber war, national security, geopolitical order, misinformation, economic pressure, cyber-concept, security strategy, asymmetric threat

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\* Ph.D. Student, Caucasus International University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## **Transforming Conflicts into a New Geopolitical Order**

Counterfeiting of history - this is another part of Russia, or part of a grand strategy that fits perfectly into the hybrid war. Some scholars believe that Russia has acted in the first place and still operates in accordance with the concept of the Third Rome, where self-legitimacy is brought to the forefront, namely, world domination by revolutionary means. In fact, this is not much different from the doctrine of the Third Reich, that is, Joseph Goebbels. Admittedly, Hitler's fascist regime, ideologically, gained much from the concept of the Third Rome, and a lot of things the Bolsheviks got out of it. Notice, today, Russia's relationship with the rest of the world is based on the already elaborate doctrine of Goebbels - "Give me the mass media and I will turn any nation into a colt of pigs" (Gobronidze, 2014, p. 1).

If there was a shortage of mass media in the time of Goebbels and during the third Roman period information was "spread" with the help of horses, today Russia has "complete happiness" and is using it in all directions. Moreover, Kremlin propaganda has no boundaries for a long time. For example, in February 2015, fake accounts of Radio Liberty and Voice of America appeared on the Twitter page. Representatives of these radio stations regard such imitation as a manifestation of hypocrisy towards the Kremlin, but they do not exclude that it could all be part of an insidious misinformation. The fake account profile in Russian had the motto: "We're changing your homeland into our sneakers" (Liklikadze, 2017, p. 1). The address indicated the German city of Munich, where Radio Liberty's headquarters were located until 1995, and the numbers indicated on the profile appeared to be a public reception of the Russian Federal Foreign Intelligence Service. Such cyber games are probably mainly aimed at establishing Russia's almighty factor and sowing hopelessness in the population.

Numerous papers have been submitted to the US Armed Forces Committee dealing with the repulsion of the Russian Hybrid War, Cyber war. One of them is the work of Christopher Chivis, a researcher at RAND Corporation (EU Georgia, 2017, p. 1). What is the Russian Hybrid War and what can the United States do? The first - Russia's hybrid war serves several purposes: to weaken NATO, to undermine pro-Western governments, to create a precondition for war, to conquer territory and to obtain economic benefits; Second, the hybrid war allows Russia to minimize the need to use military force while achieving its foreign policy goals; Third - a hybrid war removes the traditional edge between war and peace. Hybrid warfare is constantly going on; Fourth - occupation of the territory without open military confrontation. An example of this is the annexation of Crimea in 2014, when Russian Special Forces dressed in green uniforms occupied Crimea without blood in the wake of the information war and with the help of local influence groups. How should the US fight the Russian hybrid war? First - strong coordination between the various US agencies. Resistance to the Russian threat requires close cooperation between the

Treasury Department, the Defense and Army Departments, and the intelligence services; Allocation of resources for intelligence activities in Europe. The United States must have the resources to cope with the dangers in Europe. Investigation of Russian hybrid actions is needed. It is necessary to continue exchanging information with allies. Support for the reform of the internal security apparatus and support for building defense institutions in the Balkans and Ukraine; Promoting civil society to combat disinformation campaigns. Support for European efforts to overcome hybrid warfare. Supporting for centers opened in Finland, Latvia and Estonia and strengthening European cyber defense. As you can see, in the paper, which was presented by the most important US office, Georgia (with its lost territories) is not mentioned at all, focusing only on the Balkans and Ukraine. However, the work under consideration, which does not represent the South Caucasus, cannot be considered complete. However, any concept, any discussion is of interest to us, because whether Russia wants it or not, we are at least a continuation of a Europe that protects itself from Russian cyber warfare, and therefore we are in the sphere of security of US influence.

## **The Concept of Cyber Warfare and the 21st Century International Security System**

The United States is making every effort to develop new cyber security regulations and they also spend money. Expenditure on cyber security in the US budget is increasing every year. In 2015, the Barack Obama administration formally allocated \$ 14 billion, and then reported that much more has been spent. In fact, September 11, 2001, was a great lesson for Americans, and then the work in this field was strengthened. Although we cannot say that nothing had been done before, in 2007 the Cyber Command was created in the United States Air Force, which existed until the end of 2008, after that these functions were transferred to the Air Force Space Command (Handbook of European Data Protection Law, 2018).

In May 2011, the United States published its strategy for cyberspace protection. The strategy is based on a model of cooperation with international partners and the private sector, with measures to be taken in seven areas: Economics - attracting international standards and innovation; Protecting the national network - enhancing security, reliability and sustainability; Legal side - expanding cooperation and legal norms; Government internet network - enhancing the effectiveness and multiplicity of Governmental Structures; Freedom on the Internet - supporting citizens' privacy and freedom.

Georgia's National Cyber Security Action Plan came into force on January 13, 2017, which also states that the National Strategy foresees developments in 2008. If we read well, this plan

clearly derives from a strategy developed by Americans based on almost the same principles: government approach, cooperation between public and private sectors, active international cooperation, individual responsibility, adequate measures. If the US created Cyber Command, which was subsequently delegated to Space Cyber Command, in 2014, in order to provide cyber security in Georgia, a Cyber Security Bureau was established under the Ministry of Defense, which conducts cyber incident prevention in continuous mode. As for law enforcement activities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has already been involved here, where a unit for combating cybercrime has been set up. In 2015, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs was separated a National Security Bloc and was established as an independent agency - a security service responsible for detection, preventing and suppression of cyberspace activities. Following the enactment of the new constitution in 2013, many of the issues related to national security were transferred to the government. The issue of cyber security has also come under the competence of the Georgian government.

Georgia's National Cyber Security Action Plan focuses solely on threats coming from Russia, and the cyberattack of 2008 is just as focused as the events of 2001 on the US strategic plan. The Georgian strategy, that is, the plan, openly acknowledges that cyber security is not possible today with its own resources, as cyber incidents are already transnational, and in this case, it is necessary to engage in the international system. Here we go again to the plans and experiences developed by NATO and the US and then to cooperation. (Svanadze & Gociridze, 2015)

We offer strategies, programs, plans, concepts where every word is almost on the scale of a pharmacy and accurately reflects reality, but foreign experts say something else is needed. They ask the question: What laws should we apply when wars are waged through cyberspace? As journalist Koba Liklikadze points out in his article, the purpose of answering this question is to provide a new textbook, developed by leading experts in the NATO Cyber Defense Cooperation Center:

"The Commission has been seeking answers to questions about possible cyber wars in the Geneva and Hague Conventions, as well as the UN Charter for several years. The final results of this commission have just been published in a 300-page legal guide called the „Tallinn Handbook“ (Liklikadze, 2013, p. 1).

What is the "Tallinn Handbook", and how does it differ from the Kremlin's "Russian wishes", which demand the same level of regulation only in the first place? First of all, this is just a guide and secondly, it is compiled by professionals. The commission, which wrote the textbook, was led by Michael Schmitt, a professor at the US Naval War College. He has worked in the U.S. Air Force and Army for 25 years. According to Schmidt, the Tallinn Handbook is for military lawyers, for those who advise on military guidance that can be used by cyberattacks:

"We are going to offer people working on legal advice a mechanism that will improve the quality of their legal advice" (Liklikadze, 2013, p. 1).

The aforementioned guide was created under the auspices of the NATO Cyber Defense Cooperation Center, but is not an official political document of NATO. As Michael Schmidt explains, the textbook seeks to answer two important questions: Which law is regulated or for what dangers does the state need to conduct cyber operations in peacetime?

Keep in mind, experts are making plans, studying the situation, but note with caution that cyber-attacks that cause "excitement and irritation" may not qualify as use of force. It also does not consider cyberattacks targeted by hackers who have been dubbed the headlines of newspapers as cyber criminals.

According to Professor Vakhtang Maisaia, hybrid warfare (cyber warfare) is a new phenomenon that has become more widespread in the 21st century international security system. As Maisaia says, this is equivalent to the concept of fourth generation wars. Of course, the question also arises: What is the fourth-generation war? This is a space where priority is given to the fight to neutralize asymmetric military threats, defeat the will of the adversary, not the physical destruction of the adversary. Well, let's be clear, here we speak of the will, the desire of the adversary, not the physical destruction. According to Vakhtang Maisaia, virtual warfare in cyberspace is also present a hybrid war variety, called "cyber warfare": "Hybrid war military strategic options for the general directions can be represented as follows: not physical, but moral and political defeat of the enemy, the use of combined tactical elements of war, conducting of information-propaganda struggle - cyber war, cultural expansion, conducting of guerrilla warfare" (Maisaia, 2017, p. 1).

### **Cyber Security Policy and Hybrid Warfare**

The phenomenon of information-propaganda war is not new, it is as old as the oldest craft. It has just changed and is likely to change in the future as technology evolves. The whole strength of the propaganda war was revealed during World War II and still lives on. It's hard to believe, but the fact is, when World War II ended, many people in Germany were saying: yes, Adolf Hitler is guilty, he overdid a bit, but he did a lot more, restored dignity and gave us highways. Moreover, in post-Hitler Germany the influence of Goebbels' ideology and propaganda was so strong that in 1948 the witnesses at the Nuremberg trials were not present, American investigators searched for them with a candle. Even three years after the end of the war, people believed (many feared) that the Nazis would return to power. There was no internet, there was no computer, but there was radio, there was ideology, there was agitation and propaganda in the population, there was pressure

under the gun. In the spring of 1945, when coalition troops approached Berlin 12 kilometers and the Reichstag was already bombed, Hitler was sitting in a bunker and "Encouraging" the German people with his sick words, we would win.

From time immemorial, to the present day, the propaganda war has been accompanied by a mystical pavilion. In the same pavilion, the process of hybrid warfare also showed up. Of course, when it comes to mysterious and often inaccessible events, mysticism itself arises, but the more we can reduce it, the more clarity we have in this area. For example, when there was a known terrorist attack in the United States on September 11, 2001, (Article Agency "History", 2019, p. 1) from law enforcement to the military, everybody was confused: We are ready to respond to any attack, but we are not ready to respond to what we do not know. While we admit (specialists admit) that cyber warfare has no boundaries and that many things are still unexplored in this regard, there are still many "surprises" ahead of us. If we study the US experience and look closely at the strategy of this country, we also have to keep an eye on unpredictable Russia's "work" in this area, as understanding the Russian theory of hybrid warfare is important to avoid further dangers not only for Western countries, but also for Georgia. A good example in this regard is the article "New Generation Warfare Methods" (Gerasimovi, 2017, p. 1) by Valeri Gerasimov, the Chief of Staff of the Russian Army in 2013, which discusses the events of the "Arab Spring" and concludes that the "New Generation War" military force will be used covertly, without official declaration. What does a secret war mean without a declaration? According to Gerasimov, the essence of a new generation of war lies in the following: military action begins in a peaceful period, that is, no war is officially declared; instead of large-scale military action, the conflict is characterized by small-scale local clashes. There is the use of Special Forces units and armed civilians in combat operations. The battle is taking place not in three, but in four spaces - land, air, sea and information field. Hybrid warfare is impossible without propaganda and information-psychological operations. Perhaps those who are well aware of the peripetites of the August 2008 war will also remember how accurately the Russian side adhered to the doctrine developed by Gerasimov. The same thing happened in the case of conquest of Crimea in Ukraine, and the same thing will happen in future hybrid wars that Russia is planning.

Hybrid war means permanent war all over the world, where there are no red lines and no bans. It is a growing danger and a "sword of fire" on mankind on a daily basis. Against this background, as Vice President of CSIS Heather Conley states, Georgia and Ukraine are a laboratory of Russian practice, its influence and cyber actions:

"The information war between America and Russia has a long history. Commentators look back on President Reagan's reign, when information became an essential part of the national security strategy" (Magaladze, 2018, p. 1).

Seth Jones, senior adviser to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, says that if you look at the documents at that time and replace the word "Soviet" with "Russia," it may even be difficult to tell which time is it in history:

"Ronald Reagan, along with many other events, has set up an interagency working group designed to gather information from various sources of intelligence and expose the malicious actions of Soviet authorities around the world" (Magaladze, 2018, p. 1).

## **Conclusion**

How effective is the US effort to cope with Russian hybrid gush? Analysts gathered at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, in June 2018 debated how the US and the West are able to detect Russian misinformation and other actions aimed at weakening democratic institutions and using past experience. The analysts' answer is this: In today's international environment, this is not so easy. Even under sanctions, the United States government's unified strategy toward Russia is not clear, that is, politics and reality do not match each other. Consider that these are private opinions and not official statements. However, do not rule out that in these considerations are the seed of truth. It should also be noted that the United States has a global burden and has problems not only with Russia, but also with China, who has been accused of conducting cyber-attacks since 2013. Still, President Barack Obama has said in a televised address that attacks on US firms and companies are being conducted from China and mainly funded by the state. US National Security Adviser Tom Donilon has called on China to understand the magnitude of the problem and to comply with acceptable standards in the field of cyber communications with the United States. Hua Chun, a spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, said in a statement that China was ready to negotiate with the US on cyber security, though given that in this case China is a victim and not a perpetrator. However, a US-based Internet security group has written a 60-page report saying that a group of hackers operating in China have direct support from the government as they launch a large-scale, long-term cyber espionage campaign. According to the report, a group of Chinese hackers has stolen data from about 150 organizations operating in the US since 2006. Among them, 20 largest enterprises were attacked.

China, unlike Russia, is attacking the United States economically. In this case, the most numerous states in the world have no interest in enhancing military or political influence. So the specifics of cyber warfare are also different.

In September 2019, Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif said in an interview with NBC that the United States' status is a cyber war on his country:

"The US has carried out a very dangerous, irresponsible attack on our nuclear facilities that could have killed millions" (Zarif, 2019, p. 1).

Zarif says the Americans are blaming Iran vainly for interfering with the 2020 presidential election. By the way, as the presidential election draws nearer, the United States is more likely to be the target of Russian, Chinese or Iranian hackers. We will see in the near future how the world leader will handle serious challenges (Zarif, 2019, p. 1).

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# Political Marketing: the U.S. Experience

TAMTA TSKHOVREBADZE\*

## Abstract

The basic concept of political marketing refers to the relatively same features compared to the commercial marketing, as both concepts tend to accomplish the identified needs of the “consumers”. Despite the interconnection of these two types of marketing, political marketing is a relatively new terminology in political sciences. Plenty of evidences and indications that marketing has been an indivisible part in politics exist in history, however, the official cohabitation of those marketing strategies took place only in late 1950s.

The philosophy of political marketing is remarkably experienced and notably realized by United States of America, as political parties and political figures of the US have identified marketing concepts as indivisible part of the political processes, concentrated to apply political marketing mechanisms for the purpose of satisfying needs of the electorate. Political marketing categorization identifies marketing concepts as not only originated through electoral campaigns, but also considering it as a long-term campaign for popularizing international political communications, building a nation prestige and global image, gaining benefits from the exclusive influence of soft power techniques, cross-cultural preferences and public diplomacy. This paper explains the importance and vitality of political marketing shows how effectively can marketing tools be used in politics through concrete examples.

**Keywords:** marketing, politics, political communications, political marketing, USA.

## Introduction

In its clear definition, marketing can be described as a communication process where subjects promote themselves or their products with potential consumers. Despite its advertising campaigns that cost huge sums of money, the benefits gained from the process worth paying for. Political marketing is the resembling process where political figures and candidates promote themselves and their parties through using masterly crafted communication tools and techniques targeted in

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

increasing public support. As a business marketer, you may think that political marketing techniques and strategies don't apply to you, but while the entity being marketed is different, there are many parallels between political marketing and the marketing of goods and services (Woodward-Pu, 2015).

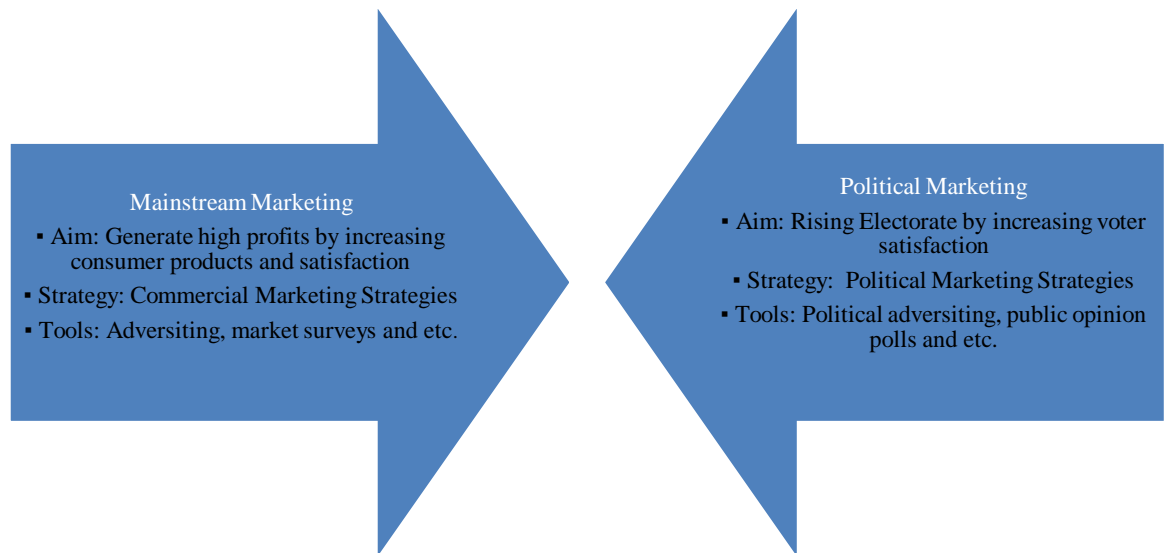
Here comes the central question of preliminary discussion - what is relevance between marketing theory and politics? If marketing is targeted to increase loyalty of consumers and generate high profits, politics is concerned with increasing voter confidence and electoral participation, enhancing and developing mutually beneficial relationships with followers and boosting number of potential supporters. Furthermore, both political and marketing relationships are intense and dynamic rather than being stagnant and solid. Both business marketers and political marketers use similar tactics. The most useful tool for marketers is media outlets nowadays to spread information, disseminate important messages, remind and attract attention of potential consumers. They both exploit analogous tactics while developing campaigns, using enhanced communication tools and applying statistical and research analysis in launching these campaigns.

Political marketing on domestic and international levels concerns with rising awareness and dissemination of information among people about critical issues, political course of the country, leadership choices and more generally, introduce state values, policies and system not only within specific community but also on international arena.

Political marketing implies the usage of marketing tools, techniques and methods in political process. In other words, political marketing is the outcome of the marriage between marketing and politics. As an activity and method, it reflects the penetration of the political space by marketing. Political advertising, celebrity endorsements, involvement of professional consultants and campaign managers, online campaigning, mobile phone canvassing, segmentation, micro targeting are some of the methods extensively used in political marketing. (Menon, 2008)

### **Political Marketing Tools**

The importance of political marketing is very well expressed in John F. Kennedy's famous quote - "The ignorance of one voter in a democracy impairs the security of all." Political marketing has become a fundamental part of politics. State authorities, including presidents, ministers, politicians and other representatives of government use marketing tools for pursuing their political goals. Figure 1 below illustrates differences and similarities of commercial and political marketing.



The mainstream marketing emphasizes the importance of high satisfaction rate of consumers to sales and profits as a “product” of the campaign. Whereas, expanding the electorate is nothing more than an increase in voter satisfaction, that in turn guarantees high voter participation in elections. An exact parallel of commercial marketing techniques in political marketing do not exist, however, political marketing can be understood as a set of processes of: a) building shared ideological platform among members of community, facilitating effectiveness of policies and policy proposals, b) rising of leaders and increasing receptibility of candidates and government officials, c) speaking on a common language understandable for all members of society. When a person knows commercial marketing basics, it is very easy to differentiate tools that could be effective in political marketing campaigns. The main goal of marketing is to firmly influence people’s decision-making process. Market research is used, when deciding on policies and service design, to understand what the people they serve and seek votes from want and need; voter profiling helps create new segments to target; strategy guides creation of the political brand to develop an attractive vision; internal marketing guides the provision of volunteer involvement; analytics and experimental research test and refine communication messages; and delivery management sets expectations and helps to convey progress once a politician is elected or a programme has begun (I. Kolovos, P. Harris, n.d.).

➤ Tool 1 - Market Research

Market research is frequently used in parallel of public opinion polling. The primary purpose of both activities is to measure performance of the product, identify target groups, potential consumers and identify drawbacks. Despite the fact that tactics may be slightly different, both political and commercial marketing strategies facilitate comparable data collection and data analysis tools expressing the sameness of their purposes.

➤ Tool 2 - Testing

Concept testing is essential part in marketing, since it refers to the discovering consumer reactions to offered products and services, modifying the product concept for better positioning in market and increasing satisfaction of target customers. Thus, similar to product concept-testing, the candidate concept-testing involves the following major steps: (1) identification of possible candidate concepts, (2) introduction of candidate concepts to the voters; (3) recording voter reactions to each concept; (4) identification of causal or associative connections among voters characteristics and their reactions to different candidate concepts; (5) choice of the most positively evaluated candidate concept(s) and (6) introduction and promotion of the chosen concept(s) among voter groups. (Shama, n.d.)

#### ➤ Tool 3 – Communication Tools

The digitalization of modern world and informational advancement produce various options for reaching potential consumers and target audience. Those myriad opportunities include immense possibilities of social media, direct e-mail advertising, publishing news in internet and etc. However, relatively “old” communication tools do not lose their actuality, like TV and Radio advertising campaigns, telephone calls and letters. Despite already mentioned myriad opportunities in addition to 24/7 news broadcasts and newspapers, general public is not fully informed on political processes and issues. According to a Pew Research Center survey of 3,147 randomly-selected American adults, only 33 percent were aware that the U.S. Supreme Court has three women judges, only 52 percent knew the correct number of Republican and Democrat seats currently held by the U.S. Senate, and only 51 percent could correctly identify Elizabeth Warren, Massachusetts Democratic Senator and former Special Advisor for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. (Woodward-Pu, 2015) This statistic is clear indicator how important well conducted and performed political marketing is. This is invaluable tool for addressing general public, influencing their decision-making process and rising awareness on contemporary political issues.

### **U.S. Experience**

One of the most common approach of consumer marketing is that their campaigns are not smooth and permanent, they tend to be episodic. However, US politicians learned that they had to campaign ceaselessly to remain in office, especially employing and remorselessly generating positive imagery and celebratory rhetoric. Thus, the Reagan presidency was calibrated by managed visual imagery from its very inception, where his inaugural address mutated into a travelogue of the major Washington monuments: no one had ever done this before (Stephan C. Henneberg, Nicholas J. O'shaughnessy, 2008).

In any political system, and especially in democracy, the most important participants are voters. Thus, politicians tend to have close communication with electorate, successful communication techniques directly affect political processes. Marketing tools are powerful persuasive weapon for political figures, as they enable building reputation and image, as well as make processes and things more relevant to people, influencing their thoughts and making them think in the same way they do.

Despite the fact that political marketing maximizes its affect when it continues constantly, most of the politicians consider it important for running successful campaigns. Technological achievements enabled politicians to have access to many different tools, having direct links to electorate. For instance, social media is enriching people involved in political process through keeping their finger on political pulsation of the society.

Persuasion and leadership are very important and it is the task of leadership to guide these tradeoffs and articulate the parameters of what is possible. Slater and Narver have convincingly argued that the consumer and market orientation of marketing theory conceptually involves “leading” as well as “following.” The same needs to be realized in political marketing theory in order to qualify the often-naïve definition of voter orientation. Otherwise, it will be difficult to relate underlying political marketing concepts to the reality of political marketing practice (Stephan C. Henneberg, Nicholas J. O'shaughnessy, 2008).

The appearance of political marketing and campaigning on social media is a relatively new phenomenon, which was first introduced in the US. Political marketing in States gains many different forms. For instance, an active online political marketing is easily visible in any recent campaigns of US. Leaders are building global images and reputation by intensifying the transmission of information and getting larger number of people involved in information sharing processes.

The Political marketing cannot guarantee winning at every election, however it does offer improved performance, and more appropriate ways of making decisions and managing campaigns. A marketing orientation will lead parties and candidates to understand more fully voter's needs, and how they can meet such needs (O'Cass, 1996).

The currently widespread communication strategy is very different from that of the 20th century. Introduction to internet opportunities was revolutionary in drafting new communication techniques. Nowadays most of the campaigns are built on internet sources and social media. Social Media Diplomacy has become indivisible part of contemporary politics.

In the setting of the 2000 U.S. presidential election, Bruce Newman has developed a set of ten political marketing guidelines:

- Guideline 1: Understand what voters are looking for
- Guideline 2: Marketing is all about making an emotional connection with people
- Guideline 3: We live in an age of manufactured images

- Guideline 4: Use one central vision to connect to the candidate's issues and personality
- Guideline 5: Talk about voters' concerns, not your own
- Guideline 6: Voters constantly want change
- Guideline 7: Market yourself to the media
- Guideline 8: Avoid verbal gaffes at all costs
- Guideline 9: Get support from party elites
- Guideline 10: Perform well in the debates

According to Newman, "the greatest marketing challenge to a candidate continues to be moving public opinion in a desired direction" (Johansson, 2010).

Those guidelines are apparent in almost all political activities of the US political leaders. Remembering Obama's SMS marketing can serve as a clear example for using digital space for creating different marketing strategies. Trump's remarkable political marketing campaign is another break point in facilitating political marketing and measuring effectiveness of marketing tools and attributes in political decision-making. His social media marketing strategy is another very successful marketing commitment and investment he made in social network has gained significant influence on popular votes.

"Right now, political marketing is less about cajoling people to get them motivated, and more about keeping up with the demands from voters." – says Will Bunnett. If the voter is changing behavior, so must the political marketer to identify those demands and attempt to meet them. Trump accomplished this feat, according to Bunnett, with branding, a strategy that will impact the future of political marketing strategies.

"The [Trump] brand handled the persuasion and the turnout, so branding strategy will get more attention in the future of political marketing thanks to Trump's success with it," says Bunnett. "I predict that in the wake of Trump, political marketers will refocus on strategy over tactics" (NEELY, 2017).

Trump's political campaign always involves very direct and consistent messages. His slogans and communication plans are wrapped in a way to easily get popular excitement and appraisal. "Make America Great Again" had a great value for all Americans during 2016 elections and still continues to be the main motto of the country.

What made Trump's political marketing popular and successful, is that he applied a problem/solution marketing formula. He framed the "problem" as the nation being in economic and societal trouble, rallied people to galvanize their dissatisfaction with government and positioned himself as the change agent.

“Trump created a sense of what the problem was, framed it and then juxtaposed himself as the solution,” according to Russ Klein, chief executive of the American Marketing Association (Rivero, 2017).

There are plenty of other examples showing the role of political marketing in attaining political success. There are many alternative strategies and models as well, however, specific success stories assert that correct and purposive individualism is a useful tool for pursuing maximum benefits. In reality, successful political marketing campaign is not always easy to plan ahead. But the correct concentration, sustainable strategic decisions, analysis of market preferences and demands, loyalty and advocacy are keys to further success stories.

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## Culture Map - “Software of the Mind”

MAKA CHILINGARASHVILI\*

Culture - “Software of the mind”. Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. Culture is the systems of knowledge shared by a relatively large group of people. “software of the mind”- while human beings all have the same “hardware”, the human brain, our “software” or “programming” is rather different ‘[Culture] is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another’ (Hofstede, 1991).

According to Hofstede, the hierarchy pyramid presents three categories of it universal, cultural and personal that shows how values and behaviors are related to each other. Universal refers to ways in which all people in all groups are the same. Cultural refers to what a particular group of people have in common with each other and how they are different from every other group. Personal describes the ways in which each one of us is different from everyone else, including those in our group (Hofstede, 2005).

Culture as collective programming of the mind manifests itself in several ways. Symbols are words, gestures, pictures, or objects which carry a particular meaning only recognized as such by those who share the culture. Heroes are persons, alive or dead, real or imaginary, who possess characteristics, which are highly prized in a culture, and thus serve as models for behavior. Rituals are collective activities, technically superfluous to reach desired ends, but which within a culture are considered as socially essential. The core of culture is formed by values. Values are broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others (Hofstede, 2005).

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\* Graduate of the American Studies BA Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

When speaking about culture it is noteworthy to consider following dimensions of it:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individualism</li> <li>• Small (Low)-power distance</li> <li>• Directness</li> <li>• Monochrome</li> <li>• Internal</li> <li>• Weak uncertainty avoidance</li> <li>• Communicating (low-context)</li> <li>• Trusting - task-based</li> <li>• Disagreeing – confrontational</li> <li>• Evaluating – direct negative feedback</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collectivism</li> <li>• Large (High)-power distance</li> <li>• Indirectness</li> <li>• Polychrome</li> <li>• External</li> <li>• Strong uncertainty avoidance</li> <li>• Communicating (high-context)</li> <li>• Trusting – relationship-based</li> <li>• Disagreeing – avoids confrontation</li> <li>• Evaluating – indirect negative feedback</li> </ul>
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Individualism - An individualistic society depends upon the values of freedom and independence. Collectivism - Collectivistic society depends on group harmony and consensus. Small (Low)-power distance - In lower power cultures, the emotional distance is relatively small. There are more democratic or consultative relations between expecting and accepting power. People are relatively interdependent to the power holders, and there is relatively low inequality of power distributed among the people. Large (High)-power distance These are cultures in which the power relations are paternalistic and autocratic, and where there is centralized authority. In other words, there is a wide gap or emotional distance which is perceived to exist among people at different levels of the hierarchy. There is considerable dependence of people on power holders, which, in psychology, is known as counter-dependence. Directness - In cultures with direct communication style (which tend to correlate with task-oriented cultures), both literal truthfulness as well as efficiency in communication are highly valued. Indirectness - In indirect cultures, on the other hand, directly communicating negative information is seen as impolite and rude, even in a business setting. Monochrome - Monochromic cultures like to do just one thing at a time. They value a certain orderliness and sense of there being an appropriate time and place for everything. They do not value interruptions. They like to concentrate on the job at hand and take time commitments very seriously. Polychrome - Polychromic cultures like to do multiple things at the same time. Though they can be easily distracted they also tend to manage interruptions well with a willingness to change plans often and easily. Internal - Internal: “*Life is what I do*”. People who base their success on their own work and believe they control their life have an internal locus of control. External- In contrast, people who attribute their success or failure to outside influences have an external locus of control. These people think that Life is often predetermined and strongly built in nature and can’t be changed. Weak

uncertainty avoidance - Unlike high UA, those with a low-level use informality in interaction with others, they often rely on informal norms and behaviors in most matters. Also, they will show moderate resistance to change. Those with a low UA, believe that it is okay to question the people in higher positions. They have lower stress and anxiety rates. Younger people in low UA are respected and when they are being taught the beliefs within their culture, they do not have to follow them right away. Strong uncertainty avoidance - Typically, the use of formality in interaction with others, dependence of formalized policies and procedures, apparent resistance of change, and intolerance of untraditional ways are all characteristics of high uncertainty avoidance. The use of rigid rules assists them with defining what they believe in and how they behave. The development of new ideas makes them uncomfortable and only take risks that they know have success rates. Older people in high UA are highly respected and feared of. When children are being taught the beliefs of their culture, they cannot question them. Communicating (low-context) - A low-context culture relies on explicit communication. In low-context communication, more of the information in a message is spelled out and defined. Communicating (high-context) A high-context culture relies on implicit communication and nonverbal cues. In high-context communication, a message cannot be understood without a great deal of background information (Meyer, 2014). Trusting - task-based Task-based – trust is built through business-related activities. work relationships are built and dropped easily, based on the practicality of the situation. You do good work consistently, you are reliable, I enjoy working with you, I trust you. Trusting – relationship-based. Relationship-based- trust is built through sharing meals, evening drinks, and visits at coffee machine. work relationships built up slowly over the long term. I have seen who you are at a deep level, I have shared personal time with you, I know others well who trust you, I trust. Disagreeing – confrontational Confrontational – disagreement and debate is positive for the team or organization. Open confrontation is appropriate and will not negatively impact the relationship. Disagreeing –avoids confrontation Avoiding confrontation – disagreement and debate is negative. Open confrontation is inappropriate and will break group harmony or negatively impact the relationship. (Hofstede,2005)

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## SECTION II: Literature, Women's Issues, Education

### The Role of English as a Language of Instruction and Communication in the Era of Globalization

TEONA TALIKADZE\*

#### Abstract

English holds the status as the global language for many decades. It remains as the primary language of professional and academic communication in higher education throughout the world. It is an official language of international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union. Most important scientific magazines are published in English. Universities where English is the language of communication are considered to be the most popular study destinations among the international students. University campuses where students with diverse language or cultural backgrounds get together, language is the main tool to bridge their differences. English as a central language of academe helps international students to interact with each other, find common interests, or share their knowledge. Furthermore, English language proficiency helps students to be more competitive and meet the needs of global world market.

The demand for English language has particularly increased in recent times as it has become a major language of communication not only in higher education but also in different fields such as medicine, engineering, politics, economics and international relations. English as a global means of communication has become a medium of instruction in large number of universities that supports for internationalizing of university campuses which directly responds to the tendency of globalization.

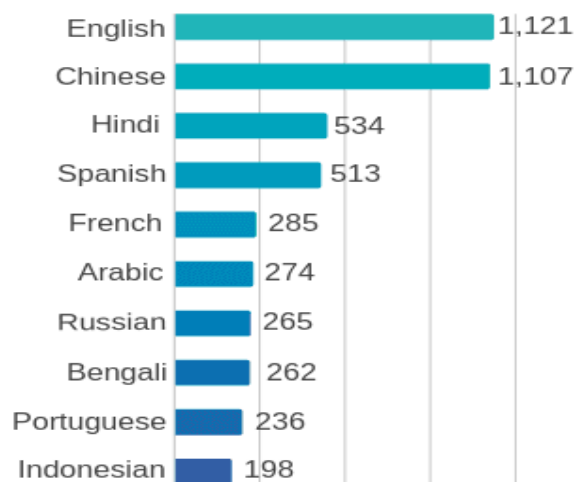
**Keywords:** Global language, academe, language of instruction, higher education, university campuses, internationalization, globalization

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\* Ph.D. Candidate, American Studies Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## Introduction

Universities all over the world are actively engaged in the rapid pace of globalization by offering academic space where students can get higher education that completely responds to the challenges of the new era. English holds a distinctive and dominant place in global higher education. It is often referred as a global language. “A global language acts as a ‘*lingua franca*’, a common language that enables people from diverse backgrounds and ethnicities to communicate on a more or less equitable basis” (ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE, 2011). Historically none of the languages had so many speakers as English even Latin or French. Latin was “*lingua franca*” at the height of the Roman Empire. Today English is the most widely-spoken language in the world. It has 1,121 million speakers (native + non-native). Here is a comparison of number of speakers of most spoken languages (English Language Statistics – an Exhaustive List, n.d.).



**Top 10 languages by number of speakers (native + non-native)**

Source: Ethnologue, 21st edition

The popularity of English language began in the 17th century when the British Empire and the United States appeared in the global world as the most influential and powerful countries that made English the leading language of international communication. It has already been recognized as the de facto lingua franca in the fields of academics, business, science, education, politics and entertainment. **One of the authors of the book, “English Language Standards in Higher Education: From entry to exit,” Prof. Sophie Arkoudis said that acquisition of the English**

**language in non-native speakers is “central to academic success”** (Is English Indeed the Language of Global Higher Education?, 2013) .

The influence of America as the most powerful country in terms of economy, politics contributes a lot to the reputation of English worldwide (ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE, 2011). Knowledge of English language provides opportunity for people to access modern education, access knowledge in many fields, communicate people around the world, and continue study in the best universities. Moreover, it practically ensures any person’s successful career. **English has become the second language of everybody," said Mark Warschauer, a professor of education and informatics at the University of California, Irvine. "It's gotten to the point where almost in any part of the world to be educated means to know English"** (Pasi, n.d.).

### **English as a Global Language**

English is the core feature of the higher education space worldwide. It enables students to get to know all the innovation of various spheres. It is the most widely used language among different nations and individuals worldwide for cultural and educational exchange. In addition, English language has becomes medium of instruction nearly in all universities and a lot of countries have even been promoting the benefit of its use for education receivers as globally useful language for further studies in future (Balan, 2011) (AL-Khalil, 2015). English as the medium of instruction is one of the ways of recruiting international students. It is practically a must for a lot of universities to provide education in English to equip students with the skills relevant to new demands. Gaining success and professional in different fields without English is impossible. Nearly all educational, social, cultural services are available in English. It is the main means of communication in the field of medicine, politics, economy, technology etc. It is especially important in the field of education as various academic publications or books primarily come out in English (Balan, 2011) (AL-Khalil, 2015).

**STM** (International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers), which is the leading global trade association for academic and professional publishers, collectively publish over 66% of all journal articles and tens of thousands of monographs and reference works every year. It has over 150 members in 21 countries. The members of STM are learned societies, university presses, private companies, new starts and established players. According to STM report, the annual revenues from English-language STM journal publishing were about \$10 billion in 2017. There are estimated to be of the order of 10,000 journal publishers globally, of which around 5,000 are included in the Scopus database which is the main English-language trade and

professional associations for journal publishers. It includes about 650 publishers producing around 11,550 journals, that is, about 50% of the total journal production by title. In 2018, 33,100 active scholarly peer-reviewed English-language journals were published compared to non-English journal which were only 9,400. Directory of Open Access Journals registered 11, 811 journals of which 9,172 were published in English in 2018. (Rob Johnson, 2018)

“The internationalization of universities is going hand-in-hand with ‘*Englishisation*’ (Jenkins, 2018). Jane Knight, who is an adjunct professor defines internationalization of higher education, as the integration of International, intercultural and global dimensions within the functions of education (Crisan-Mitra, 2015). All those processes are parts of the globalization which is often defined differently. For example, Robertson sociologist and theorist of globalization considers it as a compacted world where time and space are compressed. As for institutions of higher education, they are seen at the center of this compressed world (Nielsen, Douglas E. Mitchell and Selin Yildiz, August 17th 2012). Globalization which has a big impact on the major functions of institutions of higher education leading them to develop a consumerist mentality which turns education into a product exchangeable in an open market. According to the Armstrong (2007) conceptual framework, higher education institutions are seen as hubs where students and faculty get together from different settings through global partnership and satellite campuses. Such institutions are classified as non-traditional as they don’t have geographical borders. They are global campuses with international students, activities, and curriculum which are based on partnership between the people from different educational institutions around the world (Nielsen, Douglas E. Mitchell and Selin Yildiz, August 17th 2012). English as a global language plays a decisive role in those processes in terms of communication between students, staff, lecturers or just between campuses that are sprawled all over the world.

University campuses throughout the world are becoming more linguaculturally diverse on the one hand, and more focused on English on the other. The number of universities where English is a language of instruction is dramatically growing as it has become more appealing for international students who prefer to get education in English. Even those who stay in their own countries prefer English-taught programs.

According to the mapping project in 2016, more than three quarters of top universities offered at last one or more degrees in English including English-speaking countries such as the US and the UK. The most degrees with English medium in Europe were in Netherlands, where 12 universities offered over 1,000 English-taught courses. (Mitchell, 2016). In 2016, 8000 courses were taught in English by leading universities in non-English countries but the number has changed since then. There had been a fifty-fold growth in the number of English-taught bachelors’ courses in continental European universities, from just 55 in 2009 to 2,900 in 2017 (Jenkins, 2018).

I have to mention Georgian universities which offer students diverse programs in English. One of them is International Black Sea University founded in 1995 in Tbilisi, Georgia. It offers 30 degree programs in English in three cycles: first (bachelor's), second (master's) and third (Ph.D.) in education and humanities, computer technologies and engineering, business management, and social sciences. (International Relations Office, n.d.) In Georgia, the number of foreign students getting degrees in English have increased for the last decade.

Ten years ago, only 621 foreign students studied in Georgia but in 2017- 2018 academic year there were 10 074 international students which is 2 062 more students than it was in 2016. There are some factors that determine increased enrollment of foreign students in Georgia: cheap tuition fee, liberal visa regulation and English-taught degree programs. (Namchavadze, 2019)

Every year, the number of international students is going up that could drive this trend even further. By 2025, the number of international students could reach eight million, says Hans de Wit, director of the Center for International Higher Education, Boston College in the US (Mitchell, 2016). One of the reasons of the growing demand of English as a language of instruction is university campuses that brings together students from diverse countries with diverse languages and cultural backgrounds where the main means of communication is English.” It provides a starting point for people looking to "find a way through the maze for globally minded students", says StudyPortals' Carmen Neghina (Mitchell, 2016). At the international level, English language serves as the main academic language which contributes a lot to make national academic system more internationalized, more competitive or just become “world class” (Altbach).The main contributor of turning English into the dominant language in the world academic space is the United states that spends almost half the world's R&D funds and is home to a large number of the top universities on the world. Today, offering academic programs in English has become more profitable as well as more prestigious for universities.

Campuses that are sprawled in different places offer students academic programs in English, even those, which are not branch campuses of English -speaking countries.

More than half the world's international students are part of the English-speaking academic systems. The supremacy of the language is also due to the number of English speakers in non-English-speaking countries. “For instance, more students studying English in China than are studying English in the United States and more speakers of English in India than in Britain. Further, English has an official governmentally recognized status in more than 70 countries” (Altbach).

English as a language of instruction and communication on campuses has hold an important role in the world academic system which provides students with opportunities to

communicate in the multilingual settings, get scientific knowledge, access different kinds of information and get in touch at international level. Altogether, it contributes a lot to the internationalizing institutions of higher education and strengthening international academic system globally.

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## Thorny Path towards Title IX – the Law that Changed the Future of Girls in America

TAMAR SHIOSHVILI\*

“I feel confident that in the years ahead many of the remaining outmoded barriers to women’s aspirations will disappear” – Eleanor Roosevelt, chairwoman of President John. F. Kennedy’s Commission on the Status of Women, 1962

Our dynamic analysis is based on the concept of oppression, discrimination of American women as a group historically, although, it is used consistently even in the XXI century. Oppression works through systems of inequality, as well as the dominance of certain values, beliefs and assumptions about people and how society should be organized. Members of dominant groups generally have built-in economic, political, and cultural benefits and power, regardless of whether they are aware of, or even want, their benefits: this is assumed as privilege. Those most privileged are often those least likely to be aware of it or to recognize it (McIntosh, 1998).

Oppression involves prejudice, which can be defined as unreasonable, unfair, and hostile attitudes towards people, and discrimination, differential treatment favoring those who are in positions of dominance. Oppression results in appropriation – the loss – both voluntary and involuntary – of voice, identity, and agency of oppressed peoples.

“I have been far oftener discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black” – Shirley Chisholm, U.S. representative, 1969” (Ibid, p. 9).

The U.S. Constitution – the basis of the United States government begins with simple, but renowned words “We, the people”. But for the most part of the nation’s history, those people were all male. For many decades after the foundation of America, females were considered the property of their fathers or husbands, and not individuals with individual rights. In late 19<sup>th</sup> century in both rural and urban surrounding, working families were organized along strictly patriarchal lines. The man had unsurpassed authority to direct the lives and work of family members and to decide on occupations for his sons and marriages for his daughters. His wife had many crucial responsibilities – feeding, clothing, child rearing, taking care of apprentices, and all other domestic affairs of the household – but in

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\* Affiliated Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

all these duties she was subject to the direction of her husband. Men were heads of families and bosses of artisanal shops; although entire families were engaged in the enterprise, the husband and father were the trained craftsman, and assistance by the family was informal and generally unrecognized.

The patriarchal organization of the family was reflected in society as a whole. Legally, men had all the power: neither women nor children had property or legal rights. For example, a married woman's property belonged to her husband, a woman could not testify on her own behalf in court, and in the rare cases of divorce the husband kept the children, for they were considered his property. When a man died, his son or sons inherited his property. The basic principle was that the man, as head of the household, represented the common interests of everyone for whom he was responsible – women, children, servants, apprentices. He thus controlled everything of value, and he alone could vote for political office (Faragher et.al, 2004).

The first momentous step towards changing the existing situation came in 1848, when three hundred women and men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, to talk about the lack of women's rights. Women couldn't attend college in most states. The wages they earned while working outside the home went to their husbands or fathers, not to them, and finally they were helpers to change the laws because they weren't allowed to vote. The issue lost its force during the Civil War, when many supporters turned their attention to ending slavery. It's noteworthy, that after the war ended, black men, involving former slaves, were bestowed the right to vote-but not black or white women. After many outrageous women's suffrage movement for a couple of decades, in 1920, the Tennessee legislature became the thirty-sixth to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Finally, all American women had the opportunity to have voice in their government.

The 1920s and 1930s turned out to be something like a golden time for women. With their power to vote, they became active in a variety of social issues, began to enter colleges and graduate schools in considerable numbers, and soon made up almost half of the students of many universities.

However, once again, progress would be held back by bigger battles. The Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II transferred attention to the demanding issues of poverty at home and tyranny abroad. Since men were sent overseas to fight in the 1940s, women began fill nontraditional jobs. They joined the armed forces as secretaries and nurses and went to work in mills and factories, helping to make munitions and candles and build airplanes. Working side by side with men doing the same jobs, they were paid far less just because they were female.

When the men returned from the war, many women were forced out of their positions and encouraged to return to homemaking. Women who had to keep working, saw men come in at higher pay. Many women were pushed into lesser positions. The story was always the same:

married women didn't need the same paycheck as men, because they had husbands to support them. Single women didn't need the same wages because they didn't have families to feed. Over and over, women were told that men were breadwinners' women were working for just a little extra spending money – even though that was seldom true.

### **Myra Bradwell: America's First Female Lawyer**

Myra Bradwell, a young woman wanted to help her ambitious lawyer husband in the 1860s in his law practice. Lawyers of those days didn't go to special law schools. They studied legal cases and laws and then took a strict exam. If they passed, they applied for admission to the state bar.

In 1869 Mrs. Bradwell passing the Illinois bar exam with high honors turned in her application to practice law, however she was turned down, as she was a married woman. She filed a lawsuit, but the Illinois Supreme Court turned her down too, saying that her sex was “a sufficient reason for not granting this license”.

In one of the nation's early sex discrimination cases she appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. But America's top court had a different view: “Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender,” the Court wrote in 1873. “The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. The paramount destiny and mission of woman is to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the Law of the Creator” (Blumenthal, 2005, p.12). Mrs. Bradwell was frustrated, but her efforts had bore fruit. The Illinois legislature in 1872 opened up professions to both sexes. She had founded and was running the Chicago Legal News, the most popular and influential newspaper.

When she became ill with terminal cancer late in her life, as a result of her husband making a request to the Illinois Supreme Court, in 1890, Myra Bradwell was officially granted a license to practice law, retroactive to 1869 making her America's first female lawyer. However, American women had to struggle for one hundred more years to get the license of acceptance to the law department at universities and become judges.

If we go back to the postwar period, two dramatic events entailed a chain of events that challenged questions about how women were treated.

Halfway across the world, the much-scared Soviet Union launched the first man-made satellite, Sputnik, into space in 1957. The United States was concerned that the Soviets might one day launch deadly missiles from outer space, and that astounding prospect set off a race between the two rival superpowers. U.S. educators hurried to identify top students with scientific potential

to help country be competitive in the technical battle. Talented girls, who had previously been ignored, now were stimulated to take advanced science courses for the nation's benefit.

Meanwhile, in the Deep South, the civil rights movement gained momentum. A Montgomery bus boycott – as a result of the black event, when in 1955 Rosa Park's refusal to give up her bus seat to a white person entailed her arrest, set in motion a long fight to win black Americans basic civil rights – the right to sit at any lunch counter, buy any home, and attend any school.

By 1960s black were marching and protesting, and their cries were heard. In 1964, Congress embarked one of the most ground-breaking laws of the era, the Civil Rights Act, intended to end racial discrimination in American life.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had several titles. One focused on voting rights. Another guaranteed that restaurants, motels, and movie houses would be open to people of all races and yet another barred discrimination in public schools. Legislators could propose amendments that changed or even eliminated the various sections. After all amendments had been proposed and voted on, would the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate vote on the entire bill, and both the House and the Senate would have to approve the bill before it could become law. One section of the Civil Rights Act Title VII was especially tough. This part was meant to open all jobs to people of all races, and it created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the law. Many private businesses got annoyed at the government telling them who they should hire; many southern congressmen, unwilling to give up a history of racial segregation, were strongly opposed to it. Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a long-standing segregationist proposed adding the word "sex" to the section, so that it would forbid job discrimination against women as well as blacks. Mr. Smith's amendment was carefully calculated. He was strongly opposed to the bill, and knew how many southern legislators were against it too. He believed northern legislators who supported it might change their minds if the law implied hiring women on an equal basis with men. Barring discrimination on the basis of sex just might convince a majority of legislators to reject the whole idea.

Mr. Smith proposed the change almost jokingly, underlying that he was trying to help "the minority sex". The men on the House floor began chuckling and making jokes about the proposal.

Meanwhile, one of the few women in the House of Representatives saw an unprecedented opportunity. Martha W. Griffiths, a representative from Michigan, knew the hilarity would have to stop if the proposal was going to have any chance at all. She spoke: "I presume that if there had been any necessity to point out that women were a second-class sex, the laughter would have proved it". The men quickly silenced.

Mrs. Griffiths argued fervently that women should be included in this section of law. The members of the House listened carefully. And finally, the House voted 168-133 to add “sex” to the hiring section of the Civil Rights Act.

“We made it! “a woman from the visitor’s gallery cried out. We are human! (ibid, p. 17). Eventually, the Senate passed the bill too, with the provision including women. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law in July 2, 1964, calling on the nation to “eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in America” (ibid, p. 17).

For girls coming of age in the 1960s, the debates in Congress seemed far-off. They weren’t discouraged from pursuing careers, but weren’t encouraged either. In the delirium over Sputnik, twelve-year-old Shirley Ann Jackson, an African American in Washington D.C., was selected for accelerated science and math classes starting in the seventh grade. When the time came to apply for college in 1963, the assistant principal for boys, a black man, knowing about her top grades, encouraged her to apply to the prestigious Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Shirley was admitted. White woman, the assistant principal for girls, wasn’t impressed hearing Shirley’s acceptance, telling the class that the young woman was “trying to be too big for her britches” by going to MIT instead of a black college.

At MIT with only five African Americans in a freshman class of one thousand, many students at the beginning avoided Shirley. Some professors doubted women or blacks were able to work. One professor even told Shirley: “colored girls should learn a trade” (ibid, p. 18). Shirley was not disheartened” “I picked a trade,” she said, “I picked physics”.

She became the first African-American woman to receive a Ph.D. from MIT, earning hers in theoretical particle physics in 1973, in the 1990s she became chair of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and later, President of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, a top technology school.

Like Shirley Jackson, when Susan Love – an advanced student, member of a special summer science programs after “Sputnik” in 1960s decided to apply for the university, counselors encouraged the boys to apply to Harvard and MIT, meanwhile the girls didn’t get any specific college counseling at all. “It never occurred to me that I could apply to any of those places”, she admitted (ibid, p. 18).

She applied anyway, earning her medical degree from the State University of New York. She became a surgeon and one of the nation’s most prominent advocates for breast cancer research and education.

In the 1960s surgery and particle physics was a far-reaching choices for most females. Most married women had their hands full doing the family chores. In times before disposable diapers, fast food, and microwave ovens, much of their time was spent on cooking, washing, ironing, taking care of their children.

Still, about two of every five women worked, often as secretaries, retail clerks, nurses, teachers, or librarians. Many women ran into discrimination at work, where they were pushed into the lowest-paying jobs, denied promotions, or refused the chance to apply for better jobs.

### **For Members Only**

The few women elected to Congress in the 1960s had most of the same privileges as the men did, except one: They couldn't use the congressional swimming pool and gym. The sign said MEMBERS ONLY, but women members were not welcome.

Three representatives – Charlotte Reid of Illinois, Pasty Mink of Hawaii, and Catherine May of Washington – saw the closed door as just another way in which women were shut out by social customs and old habits. Congressmen could talk out issues or make deals in the gym, but the women couldn't join in. In protest, the three tried to enter one day in 1967, but they were turned away. The reason was, they were told, the men liked to swim in the nude. “So”, recalled Mrs. Mink, “we said, is it too much for the democratic process to ask you to put your pants on?”

Congresswomen were given access to the pool, but only in the early morning hours, when the men didn't want to swim.

By 1966 women had filed more than four thousand complaints with the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. However, the commission wasn't interested. According a top official at one gathering – women in the law had been a “fluke”.

The cavalier attitude infuriated woman who had been fighting so hard for a fair shake. In reaction, a group of women formed the National Organization for Women, or NOW. The goal of which would be to push for better enforcement of the law and to seek “full equality for women”. The group chose as its leader Betty Friedan, whose best-selling 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*, had awakened millions of women to ensure them, that their lives could be more than housework. With NOW, the second wave of the women's movement took root and began to grow.

On June 23, 1972, President Nixon signed the Education Amendment of 1972 into law, making officially the first legislation to ensure equal access to education for both sexes. That same year Congress passed a modest little law with a Title IX. It said that any school receiving money from the government couldn't treat boys and girls differently because of their sex.

For the first time, girls across the United States got a real chance to play on the athletic field. Within a small period of time tens of thousands of girls were engaged in basketball, volleyball, and soccer and pouring into colleges and graduate schools. Today, female lawyers, doctors, and Ph.D. s are common. Today, it's not a surprise to hear women playing softball in the Olympics, discovering cancer-causing genes, or serving as federal judges. In three decades, Title IX truly changed the lives of girls in America.

## **Title IX**

Title IX (“title nine”) of the 1972 Education Act is a historically significant piece of civil rights legislation requiring educational institutions that receive federal funding to provide equal opportunities for male and female students in academics, athletics, financial assistance, and resources like student’s health and housing. Title IX is a great achievement girls and women have reached in high education, particularly in sports. In 1971 294,015 girls participated in high school athletics compared to over 2.7 million girls in 2001 – and 847 percent increase (Nelson 2002, p.33), and there are now many more opportunities at the college level too.

A college must meet one of the following three standards to comply with the law. It must have about the same proportion of women among its athletes as it has its undergraduate student body; it must have a “history and continuing practice” of expanding opportunities for women; or it must demonstrate that it is “fully and effectively accommodating the interests and abilities” of its women students (Suggs, W. 2002 pp A38-41). People undervaluing the title argue that enhanced resources for women have ensured fewer opportunities for men, and some athletics departments have achieved equality by cutting opportunities for male students rather than increasing those for women.

However, the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, appointed by the Department of Education in 2001 to review the effects of Title IX, published its report in February 2003, including the false inference that opportunities for women in sports have resulted in fewer opportunities for men. The report proposes legal reconsiderations “to ensure that new sports opportunities for girls and women do not come at the expense of boy’s and men’s teams” rather than suggesting ways to redirect resources to benefit all athlete (Schemo 2003, P D1). It will have a crucial influence on the number of places in sports programs available to women.

## **Conclusion**

By the mid-1990s, the third wave of feminism, there were significant achievements in American girls’ and women’s equal opportunities, e.g. male and female students’ equality in academics, athletics, financial assistance, health and housing thanks to title IX, “title nine” enacted in 1972, during the second wave of feminist movement.

By 1990s there were more women in elected positions than ever before. Janet Beno was appointed as the first women U.S. attorney general in the nation's history, and Madeline Albright the first woman secretary of state. Bush administration first time appointed Condoleezza Rice as the first woman national security adviser. When the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress convened in January 2003, Nancy Pelosi, the new minority leader of the House, was the first woman to lead either political party and the highest-ranking woman in the 213-year history of Congress. More and more women held high office at the state level, whether as governors, attorneys general, state treasurers, chief educational officers, and so on. Whether or not elected, women are a strong force to make a consequential difference in political institutions and public policy that is still overpowered by masculinist and corporate interests.

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# The Analogy in the Development of the Mainstreams of American Literature and Jazz

GEORGE SHADURI\*

The development of both American literature and jazz coincides with the end of landmark social cataclysms. National literature starts developing after the Revolution (1775-1783 fight for independence), while the era of true jazz starts in the 1919, i.e. right after the WWI. Still, the roots of both literature and jazz formed earlier than that.

## Similarity of the Roots of the Origins

The basis for American literature was laid in the colonial times, through the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The literature of American colonies was based on Puritan tradition (Parrington, 1958). William Bradford, Cotton and Increase Mather, William Hooker, and John Wise are those thinkers, to name but the few, who laid its foundations in prose, whereas those working in poetry were Anne Bradstreet and William Taylor (Delaney, et al., 2009). Similarly, the primary root of jazz was (African-American) Puritan musical culture, having grown out of Black church, known as Spiritual music, through which African-American slaves expressed their sorrows or hopes, which was to grow eventually into more complex forms of musical art.

At the threshold of the Revolution, Puritan literature underwent the influence of two complex and different forms of thought and writing: (i) Enlightenment (as expressed through the works of B. Franklin, Th. Jefferson, and Th. Paine); and (ii) Gothic literature (which came from England). The Enlightenment/Revolution-influenced works can be the poems of Philip Freneau and Joel Barlow, whereas the Gothic elements can be found in Charles Brockden Brown's most famous novel *Wieland* (1798) (Spiller, et al., 1969). If Enlightenment was rational and optimistic, Gothic literal art was mystical and pessimistic. In the same way, Spiritual music of African-Americans was accompanied by the emergence of two somehow bipolar musical genres: (i) ragtime (heavily syncopated piano music, lively and cheerful to be listened to, and usually performed in cafes, bars, and vaudeville theaters); and (ii) the blues (the urban musical art of Black pianists, guitarists, and harmonica players). In the analogy pattern we have already been following, the blues somehow reiterate the structure of Gothic art: if Gothic literature treats the dominant

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Educations, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

theme of horror which can be accompanied by romance, then the blues do the same with that of misery combined with love (Delaney, et al., 2009). Again, just like Gothic art and literature being gloomy and depressive, the blues are doleful and pessimistic, as contrasted with the earlier mentioned analogy of brightness, high spirits, and optimism/cheer expressed at the stages of the Enlightenment thought and ragtime music.

### **Romanticism in Literature and Sensibility in Jazz**

The formation of both literature and jazz paradigms occurs *as a result of* the above-mentioned cultural developments and *after* certain turbulent historical events. What we now can call pure literature emerged after the Revolution, i.e., in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while what we call pure jazz appeared right after the WWI, in 1919. Somehow, historical cataclysms contributed to the formation of the mainstreams of the two types of art, but, what is of no less importance, they pre-determined the appearance of the *romantic trends* associated with these arts.

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is known as the age of Romanticism in American literature. High-flown language, idealizing the past, creating flat characters, and, above all, striving for beauty was the feature of American Romanticism (Delaney, et al., 2009, Poe, 1850). Fanciful language and flat characters are features of this current. Similarly, the music of Jazz Age of 1919-1929 is straightforward, flat, romantic, orgiastic, dealing with musical theme. And here, alongside the analogy of treatment of the musical or literary theme, lies another analogy: two streams form American Romantic literature, those of Enlightenment and Puritanism, those of reason and dogmatism, those of rationality and mysticism. In jazz of the mentioned period, the same is present: not only is the music based on ragtime and blues, but takes the binary form of New Orleans jazz and the Dixieland (Collier, 1982). Beside the similarity in structure, this kind of jazz bears another type of similarity, being *romantic* in its essence, with its touching and sentimental melodic and improvisational lines, the competitions between musicians for the sake of competition (who will play more beautifully?), and development of inimitable expressiveness of the sound (Panassie, 1946). Being romantic musically, it is also romantic socially, associated with liberation from conventionalities, praise of free relationships, emancipation of young ladies, resulting in sex, drinking and even murder (Fitzgerald, 1934). Revenge through murder is the theme in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Cask of Amontillado* (1847), and revenge through murder is mentioned in famous *See See Rider Blues* (recorded originally by Gertrude Ma Rainey in 1924).

## Realism in Literature and Reasonability in Jazz

The great calamities start the new age and the great calamities bring them to the end. The Great Civil War shook the States in 1861-65, after which the era of Reconstruction, expansion, technological advancements, and, hence, rapid development of capitalism began. This brought into American literature the need for new type of fiction, the fiction which would reflect and depict *the life as it was*, the real life here and now. The expansion and moving of the frontier in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought about not only the appearance of purely realist writers, but the break with the Genteel (and Romantic) tradition (the only exception was Henry James, who stayed faithful to the Genteel tradition and chose to leave America). It occurred because the leading writers of American Realism came from printed media, where they worked *for money* as journalists depicting the real life with real people and real language – the things they incorporated in their realistic art-of-letters. It occurred soon after the War. The writings of William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, and, especially, those of Mark Twain's became known as true American literature.

Mark Twain's use of language is... strikingly original. The stories of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn are told from the point of view of the young protagonists and contain slang, regional dialect and illogical sentence constructions that make the dialogue come to life. As a writer, Twain did not emulate European models; he created a distinctly American literary style. Many critics agree with Ernest Hemingway's claim that 'all modern American fiction comes from Huckleberry Finn'.  
(Delaney, et al., 2009, p.142)

By analogy, Swing came into being also after a calamity: the collapse of the Stock Market in 1929. Swing musicians were also 'realists': they entered the clubs to earn money in return for entertaining people who were willing not only to listen, but also to dance. It was no more a 'romantic' type of performance either to impress the public or please one's own soul, no – it was a real, mundane art for down-to-the-earth listener. All that, of course reflected itself in the type of music (both instrumentally and contextually) that they performed. Simone (2008) writes about apparently the greatest performer and leader of the Swing era, Duke Ellington:

Ellington once said "jazz is music; swing is business". He knew the difference. But his technique and his confidence let him marry the two with incredible results.  
(Source:  
(Simone (July 16, 2008).

What Ellington actually did in and for jazz became known as 'American music':

He became a worldwide legend in jazz where he consistently transcended the norm, pushed the envelope, and reinvented the structures and sounds associated with his genre of music. Duke Ellington called his music "American Music" while beating a new path in musical history that cannot be categorized, only followed.  
(Source:  
Dylan Rodgers (August 24, 2011).

Alluding to Ellington, the world-wide famous Voice of America's announcer Willis Conover called his daily jazz program *Music USA*, whose signature tune was Ellington's "Take the A Train".

It can be concluded that Realism as a new stage in the mainstream of American literature corresponds to Swing in the mainstream of jazz.

### **Modernism both in Literature and Jazz**

By the beginning of the 1920s, the realistic method in Anglo-American literature had exhausted itself. If Romantic literature was chiefly preoccupied by the Beauty and Aestheticism, and Realistic fiction was that by the Content and Truth, then at the dawn of the century the writers began to show interest in treating the Form and Structure. D.H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, and James Joyce made the Form primary concern, and they sought it as the core, providing the Beauty for the Content. This approach was taken up by Americans, especially Thomas Stearns Eliot and William Faulkner, whose works are viewed as the main pillars of (Anglo-) American Modernism.

In practical terms, this meant that some novelists dispensed with chronological plot and narration in favor of disjointed but highly significant flashes of thought which gave truer impressions of how the mind really works and how it perceives the world. <...> For the reader this approach is a great challenge because, instead of following the action of a novel from an identifiable beginning to a climactic end, he must piece the fragments of the work together to arrive at an interpretation of the meaning. This interpretation will be very subjective because Modernist works are deliberately open to myriad interpretation.

(Delaney, et al, 2009, Vol.2, p.181)

Literally the same began happening in jazz in beginning of the 1940s. Certain talented players, such as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Kenny Clark, and others started breaking with conventional harmonic patterns predominant in the 1930s, and began experimenting with harmony and rhythm (Collier, 1982). They deliberately complicated both of those often increasing the tempo of performance. The new style, known as "bebop" became the first current of modern jazz:

The characteristics of modern jazz, including bebop, are the use of forms based on riffs, with solo elaborations on the chords implied in the riffs; the development of the jam session, encouraging the soloist to build his own musical structure out of a series of choruses; the intensification of rhythm; the absorption of the popular tune, and the development of its diatonic idiom into "strange" chords such as ninths and elevenths, familiar chords diminished or augmented, the use of chromatic notes, and free and continual change of key. (Finkelstein, 1946, pp. 141-142)

Bebop is a musical counterpart of Modernism in American poetry and fiction. It started some 20 years later than literary modernism, but they both ended almost simultaneously, at the middle of the 1950s, with the rise of Post-Modernism in literature (e.g., Nabokov's *Lolita*) and



<i>Henry James, William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, Mark Twain</i>	<i>Benny Goodman, Count Basie, Duke Ellington</i>
<b>Modernism (1920s-1940s)</b> <i>Thomas Stearns Eliot, Ezra Pound William Faulkner, John Dos Passos</i>	<b>Bebop (1940s)</b> <i>Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk Kenny Clarke, Art Tatum</i>
<b>Post-Modernism (1950s-1970s)</b> <i>Lolita, the Beatniks, John Updike, Robert Penn Warren, John Cheever</i>	<b>Cool Jazz and Hard Bop (1955-1960s)</b> <i>Dave Brubeck, Jerry Mulligan, MJQ, Sonny Rollins, Jazz Messengers</i>

*Chart developed by the author*

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## Complementary Processes in American and Georgian Feminists' Movement

MARIAM MARJANISHVILI\*\*\*

### Introduction

In the XIX century, in America women suffered great hardships and humiliation. They were deprived of the right to vote, get an education at schools and high institutions. Women were not allowed at public gatherings and they could not have any kind of property. In America, women's education was restricted by reading, writing, music, dancing and embroidering skills, which were acquired at home.

The same educational restrictions were common in Georgia among women from noble and privileged families.

The struggle for political rights for women was started in the United States of America as a campaign against slavery. Meanwhile, in Georgia, women did the same by introducing reform in the educational system.

In order to achieve freedom, American and Georgian women chose an intermediary field of public arena and publicist.

In 1866, with the initiative and support of feminists, Elisabeth Cade Stanton, Susan Antony, Lucrecia Motti, there was established an "Association of Equal Rights of America", later "The Association of Women's Voting Rights".

In the early XX century, social-democratic ideas caused a powerful wave of women's movement in Georgia, when women's civil rights became vital.

There were a lot of organizations: "Georgian Union of Women's Equality", "Society of Georgian Women", "Society of Caucasian Women". And so, in 1918, Georgian women are getting ready to vote in the elections of the National Council of Georgia.

In her newspaper "The Voice of a Georgian Woman", the first Georgian feminist Kato Mikeladze called for "the founding council not to leave women in slavery when it establishes men's civil freedom".

Thus, in both the United States and Georgia, women's organizations and the press played an invaluable role in the process of improving women's rights and women's status.

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\* Doctor of Philology, Scientific worker, Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Kutaisi, Georgia.

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At first, Akaki Tsereteli, a prominent representative of the 60s in the struggle for political rights of Georgian women, remarked: "I have said it before and I repeat today that there were few places where female sex was as highly respected as among us. I don't consider spring to be real spring if swallows can't come because of the cold. I do not believe in the awakening of society when women are asleep" (Droeba, 1876, pp.1-2).

In the same nineteenth century, women in America faced many difficulties and humiliations. They were deprived of both suffrage and education in schools and higher education. Women were not allowed to attend public gatherings, and they were also not allowed to own private property. In America, women's education was limited to reading, writing, music, dancing, and embroidery, which were taught in the family.

Women of the nobility and privileged families in Georgia were also confined to the "rights" of such education.

Unlike Georgian women, during the first bourgeois revolution on the American continent in 1775-83, women had even hoped to be legalized for their ideals during the success of the revolution. However, as soon as the revolutionary storm subsided, society suddenly forgot about the contribution of women to the victory. Women were still left without basic political rights.

Fighting Women's Political Inequality United States women have launched a campaign against slavery.

In Georgia, however, women made efforts to reform the educational system.

Despite the lack of women in the United States, a strong and extensive network of their connections was established. Correspondence, personal friendships, official meetings, women's newspapers, and creative pursuits, women have been trying to somehow change their social status.

Similar processes were taking place in Georgia as well. The "quest for freedom and equality" required new energy, the maximum concentration and expression of the passions, feelings, ideas that had been clearly manifested and formed during the last nineteenth century.

Freedom is when you fight for personal, national or social dignity and values. The Georgian woman had to obtain all three of these formations of freedom. First of all, they revolted against the conservative beliefs, hatred, and abusive views of a Georgian woman held captive in order to gain personal freedom. They also raised their voices against the tsarist backlash and social oppression of women.

In this regard, Kato Mikeladze, the first feminist woman, in a letter to the Kutaisi-based newspaper "Voice of a Georgian Woman" from the 10th century, rightly observed: "There was no more oppressive women on earth and no one would oppress men as men and women for long. Yes,

by men, because the whole story is the story of men: their wars and revolution, their feuds and uprisings, where the female never participated in political and civic life until recently.

Women were a servant class who had to take part in the plight of men if they had to sacrifice themselves, but they had no voice and no right, neither in the family nor in society” (Voice of a Georgian Woman, N17-31, 1917).

In the nineteenth century, women were able to transcend feudal-patriarchal beliefs and gain their place in society. “Their efforts have been one of the strong currents in the anti-Russification movement that has been launched as an educational campaign. Established in 1879, the Society for the Spread of Literacy among Georgians became the provocateur of the formation of women as a social group. It is through this group's education that it has become possible for girls to gain the right to education, which has prepared them for their economic independence” (Improving Gender Equality in Georgia, 2009, p.27).

With the education of Georgian women, women's creative, public and charitable organizations have emerged in almost all areas of Georgia.

From the 1970s until the end of the century, there was hardly a periodical in Georgia that did not hold polemics on women's issues at least once a year. This controversy has led to a revision of traditional views on women's role and purpose, the introduction of the Euro-American history of the idea of equality, and the strengthening of solidarity between women's groups.

Like John Stuart Mill, an Englishman from the Great Sixties, he defended the rights of women in principle, and their first steps were not overlooked by Euro-American thinker and editor of the Times, Sergey Meskh: It is clearly proven that a woman is equal to a man Ammonization, deprivation of other rights, humiliates mankind for good...” (Pirtskhalava, 1903, p.16).

After describing the historical, contemporary picture of Western experience and the actualization of women's issues, Sergei Meskhi pointed to Georgian women as having three fundamental rights: education, labor and elections, as the basis on which the future of the country should be based.

Ilia and his comrades were well aware that the exercise of the will to freedom is in the knowledge. Knowledge is education, education is freedom.

Therefore, Georgian women have, in fact, been educated to embrace the idea of freedom, as they have come to realize the great role of women's literacy and education in the struggle for equality. Besides, to be educated, Georgian women were, in fact, educated to embrace the idea of freedom, as they have come to realize the great role of women's literacy and education in the struggle for equality. To put it another way, the role of an educated mother was invaluable in raising children. In addition, women were denied the right to express themselves verbally in education and in society because of a ban on speech. And that is why the struggle for education

was the struggle for democracy. Democracy itself demanded the transformation of the education system.

Admired by this reformist idea of Georgian women, Sergei Meskhi supported their first steps in the field of education and encouraged the action of American women:

“In no country do women act as vigorously and wisely as they do in America. That is why they deprived men of many rights by force. There are 26,000 teachers in New York's rural schools and 21,000 in them. There are 2,500 women in Massachusetts with 4,000 teachers. So, all public education is almost exclusively in the hands of women” (Pirtskhalava, 1903, p.17).

In order to gain freedom, Georgian women also became an intermediary in the public arena and in publicity.

The first female editor Kato Mikeladze in the first issue of her newspaper, *The Voice of a Georgian Woman*, founded in 1917, noted: "For anyone, the old regime whose demolition is celebrated all over Russia today, was not as oppressive as the women of Georgia. For a hundred years it has been delivering our homeland with all its weight, under whose gravity the dignity of the Georgian woman was at stake. It brought to our country historically unusual morals that changed the high-stakes knightly psychology of a Georgian man, and once proud, with his moral influence, turned his wife and mother into a voice, both in the family and in society, and impersonated Kekelka!

Georgian women know that we have the greatest self-control, the great wisdom to dispel those unworthy of our morally degrading human dignity that the Russian bureaucracy has brought into our lives. Who should be happy about her crash as we do? Get rid of the rule of force! And today, when the foundations of a new state form are in place, we have, in this glorious historic moment, a glorious debt to demand the conditions of political life that will allow our next generation to develop their individual human personality” (*Voice of a Georgian Woman*, No. 1, April, 1917).

Half a century ago, in 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York, the United States, the first conference on women's rights was held, which adopted the Declaration on the Equality of Men and Women.

The declaration called for the abolition of women's rights and the restoration of all the rights and privileges enjoyed by American male citizens.

With the initiative of feminist women Elizabeth Kate Stanton, Susan Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and their associates, the American Equal Rights Association was founded in America in 1866, later the National Women's suffrage association.

"By 1912, American women had won the right to vote in many states and, after eight years of debate and heated struggle, had achieved the ultimate victory - complete political equality under the leadership of Alice Paul."

And since the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of social democracy has triggered a powerful wave of women's movements in Georgia, where women's civil rights have become relevant.

Appeared: "Union of Women for Equality of Georgia", "Society of Georgian Women", "Society of Caucasian Women". And now, Georgian women were preparing for the National Assembly elections in 1918.

At that time, the first feminist in Georgia, Kato Mikeladze, demanded: "Georgian Socialists are mistaken today for hindering women's organizations, women's civic consciousness and activities. This mistake will show them the future. And we will remind them that as long as there is no difference between the law and the law, the interests of the proletarian woman can never be the same, and if they want the interests of the proletarian woman to be the same, they must try today to ensure that the Constituent Assembly does not leave women in bondage At a time when it will strengthen the full civil liberty of men. We do not see such a temptation and desire in them, women are interested in our human rights today" (Voice of the Georgian Woman, 1917).

Kato Mikeladze's assumption was justified, and as a result of the general elections held in February 1919, 130 MPs became members of the Constituent Assembly, including 4 women: E. Cholokashvili, E. Makhviladze, A. Sologashvili, S. Sharashidze. The Constitution of 21 February 1921 states: "Citizens of both sexes are equal in political, civil, economic and family rights" (Article 39).

It turns out that "the movement for women's civil and political rights has at least yielded results" (Improving Gender Equality in Georgia, 2009, p.28).

At the same time, women were granted political freedom and the right to vote under the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution. After ratification in 1920, American women were elected for the first time. Warren Harding was elected President of the United States that year, and women have made a significant contribution to his victory. Women are eligible to vote in the form first given by Susan B. Anthony was featured in the "Declaration of Relationships" presented at the first congress of American women feminists in 1848.

"The notion of women's human rights has become so popular that it is both prosaic and revolutionary. On the one hand, it comes from common sense. Here, the simple notion that women as human beings have human rights is stated. Today it will be difficult to defend an opinion against this" (Marjanishvili, 2008, p. 99).

Thus, women's organizations and the press in the United States and in Georgia have played an invaluable role in improving women's human rights and women's status, bringing together one focus: freedom and equality, as a result of the long international movement.

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# Residence Life Role in a College Education: Another Form of Classroom that Matters

IOSEB GABELAIA\*

## Abstract

College education in the United States is one of the kinds. Many students around the world are obsessed with an opportunity to study and explore education in the States. Prospective students consistently communicate with various university representatives.

The cost of tuition in the States is high, however, it does not stop students to apply. Colleges and universities offer various scholarships whether it is academic, athletic, visual arts, etc. It makes colleges affordable to attend. However, the question is, why students and their families pay so much for education in the States?

The uniqueness of college education in the States is a well-rounded educational package that it offers. Education is not only about sitting in the classroom and listening to the lectures. It is not only completing assignments and spending unlimited hours reading and preparing for the classes. Colleges have a residence life system, which is another type of classroom where students learn leadership, communication, integrity, conflict resolution, etc. Those are the top needed skills that employers look in today's multicultural environment.

The article will focus on small/private colleges and their residence life system in the States. The purpose of this study is to show and share how important is residence life in college education. It will show why residence life is considered another type of classroom. The results of a theoretical study will give another look at how prospective student and their families need to evaluate the worth of the money they pay.

**Keywords:** Residence life, college, university, campus life, classroom

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\* Ph.D. Candidate, Transport and Telecommunication Institute, Latvia, Riga.

## **Introduction**

Residence life is a crucial and exhilarating part of a college education. Many universities employ a residence life system as a part of the education process. It facilitates the transition process from high school to college, where a student learns to live, study and collaborate with students from all around.

The student does not need to have a problem meeting with new people. Residence halls provide the necessary capability needed for student growth. Residence life provides various activities that facilitate student interaction. It is another way to introduce students with each other and provide opportunities to enhance their college experience.

Besides campus activities, residence life provides opportunities to access various student services on campus. It makes learning interactive and comfortable. Students have an opportunity to access needed information instantly.

## **The Role of Residence Life**

Residence life plays a huge role in a student's life. According to (Blimling, 2015) few students choose colleges based on the quality of residence hall programs, yet those who live on campus will spend more time in residence halls than classrooms and their residence hall experience will significantly influence their success in college. It does not only involve students in social activities but rewards them with emotional and intellectual experience. It is very important for students to learn how to balance their emotional experience.

College is one of the great ways to explore the self. (Blimling, 2015) continues that residence halls are the source of college friendship, informal orientation, role modeling, socializing, and emotional support.

Residence life helps students to develop and explore their intellectual experience. Students from various backgrounds are gathered in the residence halls, where they share their ideas in various ways. (Blimling, 2015) elaborates that residence halls offer students the opportunity to learn from peers and connect with the academic community. That enhances the learning process. Besides lecturers, students learn from their peers. In the end, students learn how to work and live with each other. This type of environment encourages students to develop skills, attitudes, and interests.

Another vital role that residence life carries is learning responsibilities by evolving community values. Residence life provides various leadership roles that enable students to learn various proficiencies. It later allows them to be well prepared for real-world conditions.

Residence life holds the student accountable for adult standards. Their behaviors are sculptured for maturity and to become good citizens. Campus regulations let students understand rules and procedures. They keep them accountable to those standards. Students are usually expected to abide by the policies on campus.

The campuses always strive to have a strong residence life system. Residence life is a cornerstone of student retention. Universities must keep students busy and active. They must provide a vibrant living and learning environment. Universities strive to have a safe and supportive environment.

Residence life develops student-centered programs where students learn leadership, freedom of thought, accountability and responsibilities, and mutual respect. Those are essential skills that are learned outside the classroom which prepares students to become well-rounded professionals.

### **Challenges of Residence Life**

Universities face many challenges, especially, small private institutions. Out of many, the residence life system is challenged to better accommodate students and provide top-notch opportunities. Residence halls are no longer a place to stay and live, however, it has become a classroom, where many lifelong skills are explored and developed.

Students look for an exciting environment where they meet peers from around and learn skills on how to become a global citizen. Student expectations have defined many universities to create a vibrant learning environment in the residence halls. However, (Blimling, 2015) states that residence halls can be operated in ways that help students become successful, make friends, feel connected to the institution or alternatively, residence halls can isolate students, frustrate them with institutional overregulation's, and make them eager to leave the residence halls and perhaps the institution.

There are many new trends in education, however, today, one of the biggest challenges that residence life is affected by is online/distance education. Technologies are developing and demand for online classes will grow. The concern is how well a student will be preparing for real-life challenges. Nothing wrong with this type of learning, however, that takes away the concept of becoming a well-rounded professional.

Students cannot learn leadership, mutual respect, collaboration, and so on, with only studying online. Traditional classroom settings are important to enhance various skills for students. businesses want professionals who can communicate with people from diverse cultures.

Globalization has opened those routes and universities must deliver highly qualified students who are well prepared.

### **Another form of Classroom**

The primary goal for residence life is to provide social and educational programs for the student development. (Blimling, 2015) explains that new residence halls are socially engineered to maximize learning opportunities for students and to promote the development of community. Those programs should confront students' interpersonal skills, time management and leadership skills. It should assist students to be equipped with skills to navigate in conflict situations. They must be gentle in negotiations and respect surrounding cultures. Therefore, residence life has become another form of classroom, where students learn extracurricular skills.

The article investigates several items about how students benefit from residence life classroom. The benefits are illustrated in Table 1 and analyzed below.

Table 1. Some Benefits of Residence Life Classroom

<b>Some Benefits of Residence Life Classroom</b>
<b>Assists students to acclimate living with roommate and campus friends</b>
<b>Assist students learn to acknowledge responsibility for personal behaviors</b>
<b>Assist with the development of self-management</b>
<b>Encourage students to get involved in leadership activities</b>
<b>Assist students to acquire a sense of respect</b>
<b>Gain an understanding of diversity</b>

- Assists students to acclimate living with roommate and campus friends – residence room is associated with the workplace and residence hall with the company. Students are potential employees of the organizations. On the first day, they meet new colleagues, start building relationships, and so on, the same they do in the residence halls. Residence halls provide a chaotic environment where the student learns how to meet, live and work with students from various backgrounds. It showcases the potential workplace where they will face almost the same challenges.
- Assist students learn to acknowledge responsibility for personal behaviors – in residence life students will make many mistakes. Those mistakes should be a learning curve. Those cases should be acknowledged by students and they must feel responsibilities for their behaviors. It will prepare students to better understand personal behaviors and learn.
- Assist with the development of self-management – in residence life students learn how to grow socially and professionally. It teaches students how to balance responsibilities and pleasures. Most of the students have responsibilities to attend classes, athletic training and events, visual arts, and other campus obligations they end up. On-campus they learn how to balance everything, as they must balance their adult life with even more responsibilities. It allows students to develop routes and techniques for better self-management.

- Encourage students to get involved in leadership activities – residence life is an early stage where students can learn valuable leadership skills. Some students who have the inspiration to become leaders need those types of opportunities to explore themselves. Residence life provides that. It encourages students to apply for leadership positions and lead students, collaborate with other departments and so on.
  - Assist students to acquire a sense of respect – many students living in the residence halls have been living on their own for the first time. It teaches them first, to respect the self, second, to respect people around them, and lastly to respect the property they live on. In the working environment, they must do the same. Residence life teaches students to have a sense of respect for what they have and do.
  - Gain an understanding of diversity – diversity is the biggest part of residence life. The student must live and communicate with students with diverse backgrounds from all around the world. In the real world, students might work in different countries, cultures, etc. Residence life helps to gain knowledge about diversity. It enables students to think out of the box and understand diversity.
- Organizations globally are challenged to create a dynamic and vibrant working environment where everybody is welcomed. The residence life system can prepare students to become better work leaders and citizens.

In the end, residence life is a cornerstone of global citizenship. Students are challenged to free themselves and learn various skills, they thought do not have. Students are put in an exciting learning environment where they explore the Self.

## **Conclusion and Recommendation**

In conclusion, residence life does have a vital role in student development. In the college selection process, students and families must inquire about how residence life is set up. They must explore more information about the social and educational programs offered.

Universities must create programs where residence life plays an enormous role and students are fully challenged. It adds the value to the price that families pay for education, moreover, universities prepare highly qualified and well-rounded students.

Around this positivity, universities must also think about negative barriers where students will be affected. Universities must have short and long-term solutions. Students are different and residence life might have a negative impact. Residence life must identify these type cases and assist students.

Finally, residence life enables students to reflect and direct their intellectual skills. Demonstrate their knowledge in a safe environment and apply their talents and skills into practice. Residence life is another type of classroom, where students advance their knowledge.

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# **The Major Differences and Interrelations between the Theatre of the Absurd in Europe and the Theatre of the Absurd in the USA**

INGA ZHGHEINTI\*

## **Abstract**

The paper, on the one hand, explores the philosophical, historical and literary backgrounds of the Absurd Drama in Europe and the Absurd Drama in the USA, attempting, on the other hand, to investigate the similarities and differences of their postulates and how they affected problems and highlights depicted. At the same time, the work intends to look at those aspects European and American Absurd Drama interrelate. It is known that the Theatre of the Absurd in Europe and the Theatre of the Absurd in the USA developed from different backgrounds. Martin Esslin, Hungarian critic, in the book “The Theatre of the Absurd” highlights that in Europe and the USA there are different prerequisites for the development of the Theatre of the Absurd: in Europe, the formation of Absurdist Drama was conditioned by the catastrophic results of World War I and World II, in particular. Regarding the formation of Absurdist Drama in the USA, as there has been no corresponding loss of meaning and purpose and the American dream of the good life was still dominant and meaningful, American writers’ interpretation of absurd is dissimilar to what it means to European authors. Accordingly, the article looks at the manner absurd has been incorporated into particular/specific American vision. At the same time, I will examine those features American concept of Absurd has in common with European Absurd and differences in themes and accents of European and American Absurdist works.

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\* Assoc. Prof. Dr., East European University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## Introduction

It is known that the Theatre of the Absurd in Europe and the Theatre of the Absurd in the USA developed from different backgrounds. As Martin Esslin, Hungarian critic, in the book “The Theatre of the Absurd” states “The Theatre of the Absurd had its impact on writers in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Israel and Great Britain. The relative absence of dramatists of the Absurd in the United States, however, is puzzling, particularly in view of the fact that certain aspects of American popular art have had a decisive influence on the dramatists of the Absurd in Europe” (Esslin, 1961). It is this Hungarian critic highlighting that in Europe and the USA there are different prerequisites for the development of the Theatre of the Absurd: in Europe, the formation of Absurdist Drama was conditioned by the catastrophic results of World War I and World II, in particular. Regarding the formation of Absurdist Drama in the USA, it is related to absolutely different prerequisites. Esslin notes that, unlike Europe, in the United States “the belief in progress that characterized Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been maintained into the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup>” (Esslin, 1961). He as well mentions that “the shock administered by the Russian successes in the space race, the disillusion and frustration might become a factor in the American scene, but the rise of phenomenon like the best generation has been marginal compared to parallel development in Europe” (Esslin, 1961). According to the critic, “the convention of the Absurd springs from a feeling of deep disillusionment, the draining away of the sense of meaning and purpose in life, which has been characteristic of countries like France and Britain in the years after the Second World War. In the United States there has been no corresponding loss of meaning and purpose. The American dream of the good life is still very strong” (Esslin, 1961). C.W.E. Bigsby also defines that to American writers the interpretation of absurd is dissimilar to what it means to European authors: “absurd can only be acknowledged if it is susceptible of transcendence.”. According to Bigsby the history of modern American literature is a catalogue of attempts to understand and conceptualize absurd from this perspective and sets a context within which American optimism is a kind of “recurring irony” (Retrieved from: <https://journals.ku.edu/amerstud/article/download/2185/2144>). So, it can be definitely concluded that the notion of absurd undoubtedly had its impact on American literature. Therefore, this work looks at the manner absurd has been incorporated into particular/specific American vision on the example of three well-known Edward Albee’s plays “Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf”, “The Zoo Story” and “The American Dream”.

## **Backgrounds and Interpretation of Absurd in European and American Absurd Drama**

The formation of Absurd Drama and problems accentuated in the Absurd drama of European authors echo issues and conceptual focuses of existentialist philosophy. It displays alienated nature of a man “empty of real meaning” left alone facing the cruelty of the world. This implies feelings related to the loss of life’s essence, alienation from God, nothingness caused by the incomprehensibility of the “self”. The term “absurd” was used by French existentialist thinkers Albert Camus and Jan Paul Sartre in the 40s of the XX century to declare the impossibility of rational and logical explanation of life’s essence. This term highlights the meaninglessness and ambiguity of human existence in this cruel and unfair world. The term “Theatre of the Absurd” was established in literature by Hungarian critic Martin Esslin (1912-2002). He took this term from Albert Camus’ philosophical essay “Myth of Sisyphus” in which mythological character’s Sisyphus’ futile labour (he carries a stone to the top of the hill from where it goes down again and again, therefore Sisyphus’s torture to carry the stone up the hill never ends) symbolizes absurdity of human life. In this work Camus states that there is a big gap “between man and his life, the actor and the setting” (Esslin, 1961) which conditions the feeling of absurdity. The term “absurd” brought together the playwrights Ionesco, Samuel Beckett, Jan Gennett, Arthur Adamov, Harlod Pinter, etc. Tom Stoppard, Edward Albee and others started to follow the style of Absurd Drama later. According to Martin Esslin absurdism is “the invertible devaluation of ideals, purity and purpose” (Esslin, 1961), and “the Absurd drama asks its audience to draw his own conclusions, make his own errors“ (Esslin, 1961); Esslin considers the man described in Absurd Drama “an absurd creature loose in a universe empty of real meaning.“ (Esslin 1962: 21). At the same time, Esslin draws distinctions between dictionary definition and the meaning of “absurd” in literature and drama. In a dictionary definition, “absurd” as a term and lexical unit, has the following definition “out of harmony, completely ridiculous; not logical and sensible.“ (Retrieved from: <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/absurd?q=absurd>). In his book “The Theatre of the Absurd” Esslin brings the definition of “absurd” by one of the representatives of Absurd dramatists Ionesco: “Absurd is that which devoid of purpose... Cut off from his religious, metaphysical and transcendental roots, man is lost; all his actions become senseless, absurd, useless” (Esslin, 1961). In existentialist philosophy absurdity and absurd are represented as inherent features of human existence.

The foundations of absurd, ideology of traumatized and desperate humankind in Europe is linked to tragic results of World War II: murder of numerous Jews (i.e. Holocaust), destruction and exilement of people, systematic attacks of totalitarian regimes of the German Nazi and Italian Fascist parties on intellectual and creative communities. This historic reality formed basis for the

problems accentuated in Absurd Drama: moral and spiritual failure, disappointment, despair, nihilistic moods, hopelessness, death and darkness. The emphasis on these issues resulted in the rejection of traditional theatrical forms- playwrights of Absurd Drama refuse to use coherent and logical dialogues, plot and naturalist methodology to portray characters. As opposed to this, we got inadequate actions and illogical speech of Absurd Drama protagonists. English director of theatre and film Peter Brooke emphasizes the basic difference between Absurd Theatre and traditional theatre: “In Naturalist plays dialogues are composed in a way that naturalism of speech is preserved and the message fully conveyed. And the playwright of Absurd Drama creates an absolutely new dictionary through illogicality of language and strange behavior of characters” (Brook, 1996).

Regarding the standpoint of theoretical frame of the theatre of the Absurd in the USA, it is connected with the failure of the belief in the so-called American Dream. That is precisely why Martin Esslin puts American Edward Albee in the category of the Theatre of the Absurd - “his work attacks the very foundations of American optimism” (Esslin, 1961). At the same time, Esslin states that Albee “clearly takes up the style and subject matter of the Theatre of the Absurd and translates it into a genuine American idiom” (Esslin, 1961). C.W. E Bigsby in the as well states that “there are important distinctions to be drawn between the vision of Samuel Beckett or Eugene Ionesco (European Absurdist playwrights) and Edward Albee’s basically humanistic stance” (Retrieved from: <https://journals.ku.edu/amerstud/article/download/2185/2144>). He highlights that Albee’s “The American Dream” is expressionistic satire revealing the inadequacies of contemporary American society. The result of characters’ failure in this play is their helplessness and impotence to confront their reality whilst for protagonists of European dramatists of the Theatre of the Absurd the failure and loss of meaning is much more global being related to cosmic insignificance and total alienation. Therefore, it can be clearly noted that both European and American absurd is depiction of human failure but from different standpoints and for different reasons. Besides, due to the highlights mentioned above, it can be definitely declared that European and American Absurd Drama are based on different postulates sharing certain aspects as well.

General characteristics of European Absurd Drama in terms of depicting absurdity of human existence are universal for the authors Ionesco, Samuel Beckett, Arthur Adamov, Jean Genet, Harold Pinter, Tom Stoppard, etc. Ionesco clarifies that in the Theatre of the Absurd (he considers European Absurd Drama) “absurd is that which is devoid of purpose... Cut off from his religious, metaphysical and transcendental roots, man is lost; all his actions become senseless, absurd, useless” (Esslin, 1961). I have assumed that the Absurd Drama in Europe is extensively permeated by this interpretation of absurd. From Camus’ viewpoint, being shared by most European absurdist playwrights, but with variance of focal points and perspectives, absurd is “the

confrontation of the non-rational world by that desperate desire of clarity which is one of man's deepest needs" (Sharma, 2000). This means inability of communication resulting in alienated condition and inevitability of absurd and alienated state. Concerning American writers, e.g. with Albee, absurd is understood from a different standpoint as communication for his protagonists "is difficult but possible; human dignity rare but attainable" (Retrieved from: <https://journals.ku.edu/amerstud/article/download/2185/2144>.) **So, it can be stated that in American Absurd Drama absurdity/alienation is not unavoidable, ultimately. At the same time, in some cases there are certain similarities in dealing with absurd between Albee and Camus, for example, "The Zoo Story" being described as "an image of man's loneliness and inability to make contact" (Grillet, 1963). Martin Esslin puts it in the collection of plays entitled Absurd Drama (1965).** This interpretation is at least misleading because finally in Albee's play the protagonist "is prepared to establish a gospel of love- a fact emphasized by Christian overtones" (Retrieved from: <https://journals.ku.edu/amerstud/article/download/2185/2144>).

As for Camus' concept of absurdity which he constantly redefined himself, he writes that "the end of the movement of absurdity, of rebellion, etc. ...is compassion... that is to say, in the last analysis, love" (Bigsby, 1982). Regarding one more dissimilarity in terms of perception of absurd, Galloway considers that "absurd hero" in American literature is a man being aware of illogicality and disorder of the universe but the one who "persists in his demand for truth in a universe that says truths are impossible" (Galloway, 1966).

### **Difficulty of Adopting the Term Absurd to American Authors**

However, literary criticism still finds it difficult to identify accurate list of American authors and plays to be considered Absurd Drama. It is noteworthy to highlight what Esslin states: "It seems difficult in America to use the convention of the Theatre of the Absurd" (Esslin, 1961). He names a number of plays by certain writers sharing the style and subject matter of the Theatre of the Absurd. The authors he includes under this title are Edward Albee, Jack Gelber and Arthur Kopit but still, while writing the book "Theatre of the Absurd", the conventions of the above-mentioned writers were not clear. Therefore, from certain points, Esslin raises doubts whether some authors really belong to Absurd Drama. For example, he considers spontaneity and pointlessness in the dialogues of "The Connection" (1955) by Jack Gelber equal to the Absurd play, but, at the same time, points that its "laborious superstructure of pretense of realism" causes uncertainty it belongs to Absurd Drama or the Realist Theatre of social reform. This difficulty of adopting the term absurd to American playwrights is also noticeable in L. Kopit's intriguing play

“Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mamma’s Hug You in the Closet and I’m Feeling So Sad” (1960). As suggested by Esslin, “parodistic snigger deprives the playwright of the possibility of introducing a genuine tragicomic effect like those used by Ionesco and Adamov” (Esslin, 1961). It is also worth mentioning that Encyclopedia Britannica provides a different list of American Absurdist authors giving this title to some more writers than Esslin, but, at the same time, questions their literary linkage with Absurd Drama.

### **Conceptualization and Americanization of Absurd in Edward Albee’s Drama**

Americanization and conceptualization of European absurd is attributed to the playwright Edward Albee. Americanization of absurdity means adapting the notion of absurd to the American setting. As mentioned above, the loss of meaning and life’s essence conditioned by impossibility of finding rational explanation in human existence was conditioned by tragic results of World War I and World War II. The tragic loss of meaning, i.e. meaninglessness and illogicality of life was demonstrated in European Absurd Drama through illogical dialogues and actions, alienation and total hopelessness. In the USA there were no preconditions of absurd like those in Europe, therefore, it should be stated that Americanization of absurd means irony and criticism of the American Dream. The American Dream is an important part of the Declaration of Independence proclaiming that “all men are created equal” having the right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” (Retrieved from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Declaration\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Declaration_of_Independence)). The American Dream as well is the idea of becoming wealthy and gaining fortune. Accordingly, it is associated with the obsession with materialistic ambitions and consumerism. Albee criticizes American Dream through noting that “The American Dream is based on the falsity of values.” (Eisermann, 2004) “In the play “Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf” Albee reveals the failure and inappropriateness of the American Dream through the unhappy marriage of George and Martha. Demonstrating Martha’s attitude towards marriage- she only married George in order to fulfill her materialist wishes but George disappoints her as he turns out to be less obsessed with wealth and material world still believing in the possibility of successful career through fair competitiveness and professionalism. Albee exposes the destruction of values and principles in the American Dream. Albee discloses that within the scheme of American Dream marriage is approached as a kind of economic deal rather than a relationship based on true love, respect and mutual understanding. Stenz concludes that Martha represents “the product of a society which encourages a woman to believe that marriage and motherhood are the only solution to the problems of living.” (Stenz, 1978). On the other hand, George as well marries Martha aiming to become a member of the so-called upper class and beat the feeling of inferiority caused by being a representative of a lower class. As it is evident, both Martha and George attempt to escape from the reality they live in. This represents feeling of alienation and disappointment of characters, but unlike protagonists

of European Absurdist drama where alienation and despair are linked to the loss of life's essence, here with Albee characters are alienated from the reality they desire to make through the concept of the American Dream. Moreover, Albee masterfully exhibits that minds of American being too much obsessed with the desires of American Dream, are restless ending it total failure and recognition of the futility of their materialistic ambitions.

Besides the feeling of alienation and restlessness, characters of "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf" suffer from being enslaved by illusion caused by the willingness to escape from their reality, at the same time, revealing extreme form of alienation: Martha and her husband George compensate the emptiness caused by their childlessness by inventing their imaginary son: "...as she and George have not been able to beget a child, both have created an illusion of an imaginary son." (Eisermann, 2004) Finally, as George considers Martha to be lost between truth and illusion, kills their imaginary son through the fact of revealing their secret to the guests- he states that their son has died in a car accident. With this decision Albee demonstrates tragic and dramatic forms of alienation revealed in the characters' attempts to escape from reality and find shelter in illusion.

Although, *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf* is an attempt to Americanize concept of absurd, it as well shares certain technical traits with European Absurd, e.g. with Samuel Beckett's drama. In Beckett's works there is a tendency to demonstrate decay of characters' health and physical conditions in the succeeding acts (in the second act of *Waiting for Godot* Pozzo is blind and Lucky is deaf; Nagg and Nell's health also becomes worse in the second act of *Endgame* and Nell dies). In *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf* the three parts of the play represent the gradual depreciating of principles, values and ideals. In the first part characters discuss their interests and convictions with enthusiasm, whilst in the second and third parts they start drinking too much, consequently, divulging their secrets and thus depicting demoralization of human values.

Albee's first play *The Zoo Story*, as Martin Esslin states, as well "attacks the very foundations of American optimism." (Esslin, 1961) The critic considers this play to be closely akin to the work of Harold Pinter (Esslin, 1961). *The Zoo Story* shares the feelings of emptiness, alienation and lack of communication from existentialist philosophy and Theatre of the Absurd. Through the encounter of Jerry and Peter in Central Park, New York the author reveals human inability to establish mutual understanding and communication. The play shows that modern humans tend to be locked in cages like animals in the zoo and isolated in their own existence.

One more play through which Albee "takes up the style and subject matter of the Theatre of the Absurd and translates it into a genuine American idiom." (Esslin, 1961) is *The American Dream*. The play was first performed in New York at the New York Play House in January 1961

and visualized Albee's intention to attack the very foundations of the American Dream such as optimism, faith and belief in progress.

## Conclusion

The ideological postulates of Theatre of the Absurd in Europe develop from existentialist philosophy and tragic effects of World War I and World War II resulting in total despair and deconstruction of moral and religious principles in humankind. The destruction of beliefs conditioned total despair, ideological conflict with the universe, loss of life's essence and alienation from God and the "self". As there was no corresponding loss of meaning and essence of life in the USA and due to the concepts of the American Dream being still strong and followed, American idea of absurd is attacking the very foundations of the American Dream, thus revealing that, even within the materialistic society being too much obsessed with career, prosperity, economic success and wealth, humans in the modern world are, in any case, doomed to suffering, loneliness, miscommunication and alienation. With these features, American Absurd echoes conceptual highlights of the general understanding of absurd and absurdity of existence from European absurd.

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## Ayn Rand and America

NINO TSIKHELASHVILI\*

Significant number of people around the world are less familiar with the personality and creativity of Ayn Rand, she is even perceived as a mysterious woman. Accordingly, it would be reasonable to start the discussion about the author and then to draw the parallels of her ideology with the values of the United States of America (Society, 2015).

Ayn Rand was born in Russia, (1905-1982) at that time in the Soviet Union and that peculiarity determined the entire course of her life. Naturally, “she attended grade school and university; studied history, philosophy, and screenwriting”, during her presence in Russia, she has witnessed many significant historical events, such as “the Bolshevik Revolution and the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics”. From the very beginning, her father owned a private pharmacy, as a source of income, but later it was deprived under the communist command and was incorporated into the government ownership. From my perspective, this accident played a huge role in the process of defining her ideology and that could be the major reason, why she was so entirely against the collectivism and all the other forms of it, (societal arrangement, economic system). At the age of 20 Rand leaved the country and moved to the America. It is important to notice that at the time, both of these blocs were essentially distinctive and almost hostile with each other, especially, in term of ideology. Soon after the arrival in the US “She made her way to Hollywood, where she worked as a screenwriter, married actor Frank O’Connor, “and started writing the essays, books. One of the first novel was “We the living”. Gradually, she has become a creator of the philosophy that is called “Objectivism” and is different from any another ideology, with its essence, in other words, it presents “a philosophy for living on earth.”. Intention of Ayn Rand was the “creation of the kind of world ... that represents human perfection” and to go in deep, according to Rand “My philosophy, in essence, is the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute.”. Reason is the starting point that we as the humans and more properly individuals encourage to behave in a certain way, but because of the fact we are different with goals and ambitions there is no any absolute reason that has to be applied by two individuals. Our mind is another quiet powerful tool in order to get knowledge and based on your own reason plan. We are rational beings and our life belong to us, there is no any another second

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\* Junior Student of International Relations Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Educations, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

person who knows better what would be beneficial for me, except myself. Morality is based on my reason (Philosophy, 2010). The Only purpose in life for me as an individual is to achieve my own happiness as my duty, the reason of my existence and its different from one person to another. Altruism- egoistical act by an individual, in order to get something else in return, at least to go in the heaven. The sole economic system that would be suitable for such an ideology is “the unknown ideal” – Capitalism, because “it is the only system based on respect for human beings as ends in themselves” and guarantees protection of their freedom and property. Existence of private ownership is another determinant of personhood along with the freedom. Starting points for any kind of operation require to be guided by the self-interest; reason, mind, my own so-called egoistical interests, (from her perspective they are necessary and even more inseparable parts of our human nature) but respect the others, despite of their background, matters a lot, and especially their uniqueness (Biddle, 2014).

### **America – The Known Ideal**

The United States of America has a very unique history of establishment that by its essence is absolutely different from the other country’s foundations. Under the British authority they have experienced bitter conditions of existence and loyalty, cruel treatments from their side and illegitimate laws that supposed to regulate situation on their own territory. Additionally, having a second-class status on your ownership and resources, provide sufficient incentives for the unification and liberation. Subsequently, “The American republic was founded on a set of beliefs that were tested during the Revolutionary War. Among them was the idea that all people are created equal, whether European, Native American, or African American, and that these people have fundamental rights, such as liberty, free speech, freedom of religion, due process of law, and freedom of assembly. “The approach toward the importance of the liberty was very deeply rooted in every individuals mind and consequently that specific phenomena gave birth to the creation American Nation with its attached values as we recognize and respect today. Adoption of the Declaration of Independence once again stipulated the whole logic of humankind’s coexistence, highlighted the importance of freedom as the founding principle for various kinds of enterprises and appreciation of individuals as the highest moral. Respectively, “all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” As Ayn Rand stated, happiness is the final goal for every individual, for every ‘heroic being ‘, but the attitudes and methods are distinctive from person to person. From her understanding property is vitally importance, it is equal to the liberty, because of the simple truth, when you have a property you feel free and that’s the point. To set a certain type of criteria for an

ideal human creature is not her concern, as it is not for the US. Another feature is, procedure that you are required to pass in order to have an access over the property or at least you need a stable work to earn money, and suitable system for that is capitalism with its all characteristics and free market principle. Discussion on the progress that US achieved by persuading Randian related principles, (of course first was the American one), does not make any sense, because it is the simple truth, tested by time and humans. Finally, the US could be considered as the real embodiment of her ideology “objectivism”, with its values and principles (Jakobs, 2017).

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## Inferno in “Divine Comedy” and “Naked Lunch”

KETEVAN KHOKHIASHVILI\*

### Introduction

Post-modernism is the interpretation of various literary works and the main point is given, not on the basis of the original text, but on the copy. Similar parallels might be drawn to Dante Alighier's "Divine Comedy" and "Naked Lunch."

Under Dante's influence, Burroughs also tries to convey the gravity of his hellish journey, presenting a hierarchy of drug addicts as stages of Dante's sins, from the least to the hardest.

The hell on which they write is united by many parallels, the first being probably its geographical location. Hell with Dante is in the center of the earth, just like Burroughs.

"Divine Comedy" belongs to the visionary genre, as is the case with "Naked Lunch". The whole novel is a drug addiction, that is, the consciousness of a lost human being.

"Naked Lunch" is a novel about hell, where there is no hope, no sanctification and no paradise. So, we can only assume that these two works relate to each other only in the "hell" part.

William Burroughs is one of the foremost representatives of the Beat Generation, yet his work is at least distinct from the literature of the Beats. He is a master of brilliant education and intellect, which is evident in his novels. "Naked Lunch" was published in 1959 and is one of the best-known novels by the creators of Burroughs. He is a kind of confessor to the public. The Hell that encompasses the whole universe.

As the post-modernist literature characterizes the novel with numerous other works and parallels, one of these parallels can be traced to Dante Alighier's "Divine Comedy."

This work is written with the intention of changing the world, so that it can be regarded as a regular occurrence in relation to the rest of the literature of this world, but there are no occasional parallels with a writer like Burroughs. If you look at the beginning of the poem, Dante writes:

“Midway upon the journey of our life  
I found myself within a forest dark,  
For the straightforward pathway had been lost.  
Ah me! How hard a thing is to say  
What was this fores savage, rough, and stern (Alighieri, 2008, p.11).

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\* Ph.D. Student, Faculty of Humanities, Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

The exact date of Dante Alighieri's birth is unknown, though it is speculated in 1265. Since the biblical life span as explained in the Psalms is 70 years (Psalm, 89, p.10), we realize that Dante must have been 35 years old, and this imaginary journey must have taken place in 1300 (Barolini, 2014, p.11).

With similar content, age, and a middle-of-the-road awakening, Burroughs begins a conversation about "Naked Lunch": "I awoke from the sickness at the age of forty-five, calm and sane" (Burroughs, 2001, p.3). Consideration of the autobiographical moment occupies an important place in the writings of both writers.

"Divine Comedy" belongs to the visionary genre, as is the case with "Naked Lunch". The whole novel is a drug addiction, that is, the consciousness of a lost human being.

As Burroughs writes:

"When I say I have no memory of writing Naked Lunch, this is of course an exaggeration, and it is to be kept in mind that there are various areas of memory. Junk is a pain-killer, it also kills the pain and pleasure, implicit in awareness. While the factual memory of an addict may be quite accurate and extensive, his emotional memory may be scanty and, in the case of heavy addiction, approaching affective zero" (Burroughs, 2001, p.8).

Dante notes that he remembers the Inferno he went through.

"So bitter is it, death is little more,

But of the good to treat, which there I found

Speak will I of the other things I saw there" (Alighieri, 2008, p.11).

By the influence of the poet, Burroughs repeats the same thing. That is, both authors tell a detailed story of the hell that the lost consciousness has seen. When Dante completes his journey into hell, he realizes that what he has written and written is incredibly difficult:

"And if I then become disquieted,

Let stolid people think who do not see

What the point is beyond which I had passed" (Alighieri, 2008, p. 244).

Like Dante, Burroughs is trying to convey the gravity of his hellish journey, which he has come up with: "I was standing outside myself trying to stop those hangings with ghost fingers... I am a ghost wanting what every ghost wants- a body- after the Long Time moving through odorless alleys of space where no life is only the colorless no smell of death... Nobody can breathe and smell it through pink convolutions of gristle laced with crystals not, time shit and black blood filters of flesh." [Burroughs 2001: 11] That is, the journey through the mazes of hell described by Burroughs is also difficult and difficult to overcome.

As for the significance of the vision of hell with Dante, it is explained by his Catholic outlook, and with Burroughs it all relates to an artificially created substance that is certainly not

related to any particular religion, since God is long dead for post-modernist writers. The details of this vision, Burroughs explained in a delightful way: "Most survivors do not remember the dilirium in derail. I apparently took down detailed notes on sickness and dilirium. I have no precise memory of writing the notes which have now been published under the title *Naked Lunch*" (Burroughs, 2001, p.3).

The Hell on which Dante and Burroughs write is united by many parallels, the first being probably its geographical location. Hell in the "Divine Comedy" is at the center of the earth, that is, the most sinful place in the world itself, just as Hell by Burroughs is in Tangier, since after World War II it has become a place for homosexuals and drug addicts to hide, however, if we look at Tangier again, we realize that it is the face of the whole universe and not of any particular place. Burroughs reiterated the importance of Dante's Hell, according to which this is the world where the most sinful ones are:

"My Son," the courteous Master said to me,  
"all those that perish in the wrath of God  
Here meet together out of every land" (Alighieri, 2008, p.30).

The same structure gave Burroughs the structure of Hell as he writes: "I have seen the exact manner in which the junk virus operates through fifteen years of addiction. The pyramid of junk, one level eating the level below (it is no accident that junk higher-ups are always fat and the addict in the streer is always thin) right up to the top or tops since there are many junk pyramids feeding on peoples of the world and all built on basic principles of monopoly" (Burroughs, 2001, p.3).

Even with Dante, sins are arranged in a specific order, at the top of the pyramid are fewer sinners, that is, those who are not baptized, a similar hierarchy by Burroughs, where sins begin with simple drug addicts, i.e., those who only use weed, and at the end of the pyramid are those who receive much more powerful substance. If the structure of Hell with Burroughs expresses a pyramid shape, it resembles a Dante with a pyramid (though if we turn a darth, it resembles a pyramid) the reason why Dante does not directly transmit Dante's technique is postmodernism, where everything is upright rather than straight from the original, but rather directly from the original not meant to be. So, the inscription on the door of Hell is exactly in line with post-modernist hopelessness: "All hope abandon, yo who enter in!" (Alighieri, 2008, p. 26).

Hell, of course, is the place where there is no light, all this has its reason, because for the sinner and for the souls who come here there is no way to be cleansed, they are doomed to eternal suffering, as Dante expresses:

"These have no longer any hope of death;  
And this blind life of theirs is so debased,  
They envious are of every other fate" (Alighieri, 2008, p. 28).

Like Dante, Burroughs conceived of the idea of Inferno as a world of evil, the dying of the soul, the defilement of the heart, and, of course, nothing wonderful can exist here. "Naked Lunch" is a novel about Hell, where there is no hope, no cleansing, and no paradise because the Devil has just granted us suffered so much in the form of World War II concentration camps and atomic bombs, and it was impossible to endure more than that, it was impossible for God to live in such a situation, so in both works Christ does not appear; as Borges wrote in "Divine Comedy": "He is a hero Who does not appear in "Comedy" nor can He be portrayed because He is too human, this is Jesus, He is not in "Comedy". The human, evangelical Jesus, cannot be second to the Trinity see, as it exists in "Comedy" (Borges, 1988, pp. 97-121).

There is also no God in the Burroughs novel, just as there is no paradise, since post-modernism excludes paradise, hope, absolute truth, and shows the gloomy colors that enveloped the whole world, and of course there was no place for God or any other ideals.

Of course, it is difficult to compare centuries-apart works just because they have a common theme.

However, in one credible phrase, we can confirm the connection between "Naked Lunch" and "Divine Comedy". In one section of Inferno Dante writes:

“Now go, for one sole will is in us both,  
Thou leader, and thou Lord, and Master thou”  
Thous said I to him; and when he had moved” (Alighieri, 2008, p. 23).

Of course, not all of this was directly quoted by Burroughs, which can be explained in a post-modernist sense; But he wrote:

"Look down LOOK DOWN along that junk road before you travel there and get in with Wrong Mob....

A word to the wise guy” (Burroughs, 2001, p. 7).

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## SECTION III: History, Art, Economics

### The Role of Native American Women in Women's Suffrage Movement

TEA CHUMBURIDZE\*

#### Introduction

The Suffrage Movement in the United States was the seventy-two-year-long battle for woman's right to vote. The movement was rooted in the abolition of slavery and promoted civic action among newly enfranchised women through the following organizations: The League of Women Voters and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

As it is known, famous suffragettes Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the first woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 and were influential in this process, however, we should not forget significant contributions of minorities as well, particularly Native American women, who had a strong political voice within their nations before the arrival of white settlers in the United States.

#### Importance of Native American Women in the Suffragist Movement

Liz Weber is a Consultant, Speaker, Author, specializing in Strategic Planning, Leadership Development and Succession Planning. In an interview with the *Independent*, she notes about the importance of Native American women in the Suffrage Movement, “Susan B Anthony and the rest of the suffragettes are hallmarked as the leaders of the movement, but the contributions of Native and African American women have been left out of the history books” (Weber, 2019, p.1).

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

The story of the suffragist movement is usually woven with a single strand. While we are discussing the emergence of Women's Right Movement, we should mention the names of Susan B Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Alice Paul; women whose names are etched into the history books. They were significantly influential in the effort to give women the right to vote.

But that's not nearly the whole story. The story Americans remembered in the previous year (and are celebrating this year as well – 2020) of 2019 – celebrating the 100th anniversary of congress passing the suffrage amendment – does not mention women of color and their contribution to the movement's success.

According to Sally Wagner, "it didn't start with white women, that's not the point of entry into women having political voice," Dr. Wagner, is one of the first doctorates in the country who earned PhD degree in women's studies at the University of California at Santa Cruz. "Indigenous women have had a political voice in their nations long before white settlers arrived" (Washington Post, 2019, p. 3) states Dr. Wagner. Herein, we should mention that historically, Native Americans were used to experience the Matrilineal Clan System, according to which Native women occupied very important role in the governmental decision-making process of their society (Ojibwa, 2011). In their matrilineal society, each member of Native culture worked together in order to have the society function, "each gender and age group had their particular tasks that needed to be accomplished and did so as a way of stabilizing the society" (McGeever, 2015, p. 31).

Wakerakatste Louise McDonald Herne, the bear-clan mother of the Mohawk Nation, says that her community has a "whole different memory and experience from those of white women" (Washington Post, 2019, p. 3).

As clan mother, Herne is charged with appointing leaders, naming members and working for the general welfare of her people. She says that despite the residual effects of colonialism, there is a huge reservoir of indigenous research and indigenous scholars are beginning to craft their own narratives, including those of their ancestors.

"It was our grandmothers who showed white women what freedom and liberty really looked like," Herne says. "They began to witness for themselves a freedom that they had never seen before" (Washington Post, 2019, p. 4).

Wagner, in her books entitled: "Women's Suffrage Anthology" and "Sisters in Spirit", has for almost 30 years studied the Haudenosaunee (or the Iroquois) influence on the early feminist movements. According to her research, many of the suffragists interacted with native women and saw the political power and respect they received (A National Research and Art Project Celebrating the Centennial of the Suffrage Movement, 2019).

As she notes, “they knew these women, they spent time with them, and they wrote about them,” According to her view, this gives the sense that Native American women can have a different world and they can be treated in a different way (Independent, 2019).

We know that the story of suffragist is long and twisted. The organized movement lasted from 1848, with the first women’s rights convention in New York, to 1920, when the amendment was ratified by 38 states. In other words, it took almost seventy-two-years – three generations of women and advocates – before it was law.

The Native American influence on the movement can be traced to the Seneca Falls convention of 1848, which is considered to be when the effort began. For two days, activists gathered in the New York hamlet to draft the Declaration of Sentiments. Signed by 68 women and 32 men, the document argued that anti-women laws held no authority, declared that men and women should be held to the same moral standards, and ultimately called for women’s suffrage.

### **Interaction between White and Native American Women during the Women’s Right Movement**

According to Wagner’s research, Lucretia Mott, one of the signature drafters, spent the summer of 1848 with the Seneca Nation, one of the largest of six Native American nations that made up the Iroquois Confederacy.

Wagner describes Mott’s experience while living with the Seneca Nation, “she watches the women have equal voice politically and she’s watching women have this spiritual responsibility to plan ceremonies” (Independent, 2019, p. 3). During this period of time, Mott was used to observe how clan mothers were nominating chiefs, putting them in positions of power and removing them as necessary. Due to the long experience of matrilineality\* among Native American societies, this is the responsibility that clan mothers still hold. “Women have a strong position, and our society cannot move forward without the presence of women,” says Mrs. Herne.

Ellen DuBois, a history and gender professor emeritus at the University of California at Los Angeles notes that, while this inspiration was filtering in from indigenous women, the organization of the suffrage movement emerged from the earlier abolition movement (Dubois, 1999).

But as the movement progressed, the two main suffrage organizations – the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Women’s Suffrage Organization – merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (Nawsa) in 1890. This ultimately shifted its

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\* Relating to, based on, or tracing ancestral descent through the maternal line.

trajectory (Independent, 2019). As the Nawsa expanded, the structure decentralized and auxiliary organizations in each state were given more power to do what they wanted to gain support. Under that policy, Southern states explicitly bar black women from participating.

Tammy Brown, professor of history at Miami University in Ohio emphasizes that, missing from the list of the matrons of the movement are Ida B Wells and Mary Church Terrell.

According to Brown, Wells, an investigative journalist and civil rights activist, fought for racial equality on the international stage while Terrell, one of the first African American women to earn a college degree, appealed to white suffragists to acknowledge the plight of African American women (Independent, 2019).

While Brown has seen an increase in the coverage of the crucial role African American women played in the fight for the vote, she doesn't believe there has been an honest dialogue about the history of racism within women's movements.

## Conclusion

As historians think, in order to build a stronger and more equitable society in the future, it is important to acknowledge Americans fraught and often tragic history. Native historians agree that the story has to change and there should be a revitalization of their voice.

Outside of the straight lines of a textbook, history is a hard thing to pin down. Anniversaries offer an opportunity for greater accountability, a chance to create a fuller, more detailed accounting.

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# The Impact of American Multinational Companies on the U.S. Economy

DAVID NIZHARADZE\*

## Abstract

The article discusses the role of multinational companies, its impact on the economy and country's global competitiveness. The purpose of the study is to evaluate the US based multinational corporations' growth dynamics, market capitalization rating, number of hired staff around the world, volume of produced production, assess the impact of income and the labor productivity of the people employed on the country's macroeconomic indicators, including GDP.

Qualitative and quantitative methods are used in the process of the study, specifically: the methods, of statistic, comparison, grouping, analysis and other methods. As a result of research, the growth trends of American multinational corporations and their level of influence on the US economy have been identified.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Internationalization, multinational corporation, GDP, personal productivity

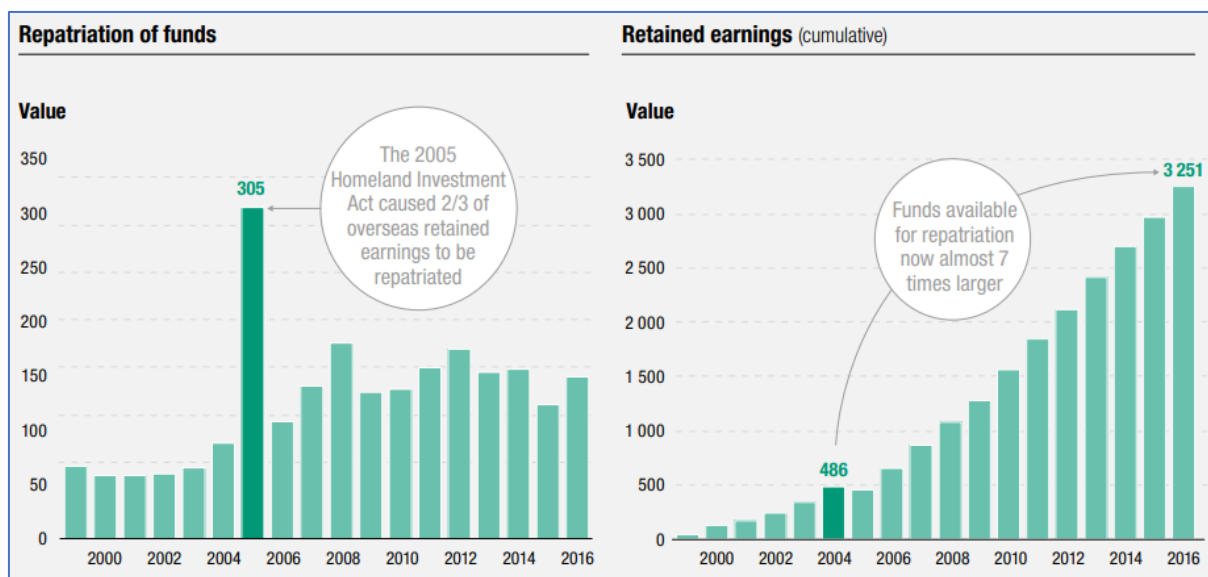
Modern business development is incredible without the influence of globalization and internationalization, which recently has become more and more complex and dictates the rules of the game, both for individuals, for firms and for the economic policies of states. While globalization has long been praised for its economic benefits, some scholars believe that globalization is a kind of euphemism for "Americanization" - implying how the US absorbs US cultural values and American business philosophy (Nizharadze, 2017, pp. 368-370).

Undoubtedly, for developed countries, globalization is the best way to expand the international market with competitive goods and services produced through multinational companies based in their own countries, thus, enhancing their economic standing (See **Figure 1.1**) and create even more jobs Chokheli, 2014, p. 4).

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

**Figure 1.1** Retained and repatriated earnings of US MNC's, 1999-2016 (Billions of US dollars)



Source: UNCTAD, World Investment Report, United Nations, Geneva, 2018, p. 17

The U.S. tax reform, passed in December 2017, could have a significant impact on the structure of global investment. It is also noteworthy that almost half of global FDI is in the United States or owned by US multinationals. The primary purpose of the tax reform is to facilitate the repatriation of US multinational companies to the United States.

Overseas retained earnings of United States MNCs are now much higher. At 3.2 trillion dollars – with some 2 trillion dollars held in cash – now they are about seven times the level in 2005 year (UNCTAD, 2018, p. 17).

Every year, famous magazine Forbes compiles a list of the world's 2000 largest global companies. This list is compiled on the basis of four element that rank companies by sales, profits, market value, and assets. Global 2000 companies have become larger and more important over the time period of this example. The list was released in June of 2018 and providing 2017 data. The top 2000 famous companies in 2017 accounted for 39 trillion dollars in sales and 57 trillion dollars in market capitalization, over 50 % higher than in 2003, when top companies accounted for 25 trillion dollars in sales and 31 trillion dollars in market capitalization. In both years, 18 countries had more than 1% of the world's top firms, and together these countries account for the vast majority of all top 2000 companies A list of these countries and their share of the world's top companies is provided in **Table 1.1**. (Transnational Corporations, Investment and development, 2018, pp. 43-44).

**Table 1.1** Countries (Economies) with more than 1% of the top 2000 companies, 2017

Rank in 2017	Country	Number in 2017	Share of total in 2017 (%)	Number in 2003	Share in 2003 (%)
1	United States	559	28	751	37.6
2	China	233	11.7	25	1.3
3	Japan	228	11.4	316	15.8
4	United Kingdom	88	4.4	137	6.9
5	Republic of Korea	67	3.4	49	2.5
6	Hong Kong (China)	58	2.9	24	1.2
7	India	58	2.9	27	1.4
8	France	57	2.9	63	3.2
9	Germany	54	2.7	65	3.3
10	Canada	51	2.6	56	2.8
11	Taiwan	47	2.4	35	1.8
12	Switzerland	41	2.1	34	1.7
13	Australia	39	2	37	1.9
14	Sweden	27	1.4	26	1.3
15	Italy	26	1.3	41	2.1
16	Russia	25	1.3	12	0.6
17	Spain	25	1.3	29	1.5
18	Netherlands	22	1.1	28	1.4
	Top 18 share		85.3		88.2
	Top 18 without U.S.		57.3		50.6

**Source:**Transnational Corporations, Investment and development, Volume 25, 2018 , Number 2, pp. 43-44

The fact that US multinationals, despite the recent strengthening of Chinese firms, often fall into prestigious rankings, which contributes to the achievement of US global competitiveness across the board (See **Table 1.2**) (Luca Ventura, World's Largest Companies 2019).

**Table 1.2** Top 10 Largest Companies by Market Capitalization, 2019

Rank	Company	Country	Sector	(\$ Bil.)
1	Microsoft	U.S.	Technology	1,058
2	Apple	U.S.	Technology	959
3	Amazon	U.S.	Consumer Services	959
4	Alphabet	U.S.	Technology	839
5	Facebook	U.S.	Technology	550
6	Berkshire Hathaway	U.S.	Financial	496
7	Tencent	China	Technology	436
8	Alibaba	China	Consumer Services	431
9	Visa	U.S.	Financial	389
10	JPMorgan Chase	U.S.	Financial	366
*As of August 1, 2019.				

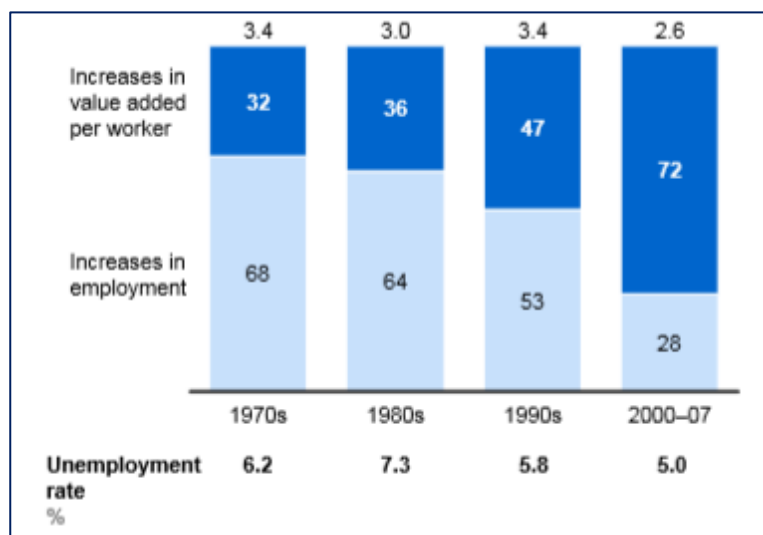
**Source:** Luca Ventura, World's Largest Companies 2019, Global Finance, August. 2019,  
<https://www.gfmag.com/global-data/economic-data/largest-companies>

For example, nowadays the Apple-made smartphone (iPhone) is gaining popularity worldwide and selling music products, Apple retains second place after supermarket 'Wal-Mart' In the US (Nizharadze, 2014, p. 174). Part of the multinational companies in America are so rich and have so many employees that they are even larger than some small countries. For example, Exxon and Walmart sales are larger than some developing countries' GDP's. Multinational companies are mainly engaged in international trade and, of course, in such business operations take into account political or cultural differences between countries (Introduction to Business).

It turns out that US multinationals are actively involved in private sector real GDP growth and labor productivity. (See **Figure 1.2**). Thus substantiating their active, positive impact on the country's economy. (Growth and competitiveness in the United States: The role of its multinational companies, 2010, p.1). However, the importance of parent companies in comparison with subsidiaries should be noted, because the U.S. affiliates of foreign companies, however, had one-quarter higher average value of gross output than did the foreign affiliates of U.S. firms operating on international market. The foreign affiliates of U.S. firms, however, had total sales that were

about 70% higher than those of the U.S. affiliates of foreign firms (See **Table 1.3**) (Jackson, 2017, p.11).

**Figure 1.2** Labor productivity has become the dominant driver of US GDP growth (Growth in real GDP, Average annual change (%) – 1970's-2007)



**Source:** Growth and competitiveness in the United States: The role of its multinational companies, McKinsey Global Institute, June, 2010, p. 1 <https://www.mckinsey.com>

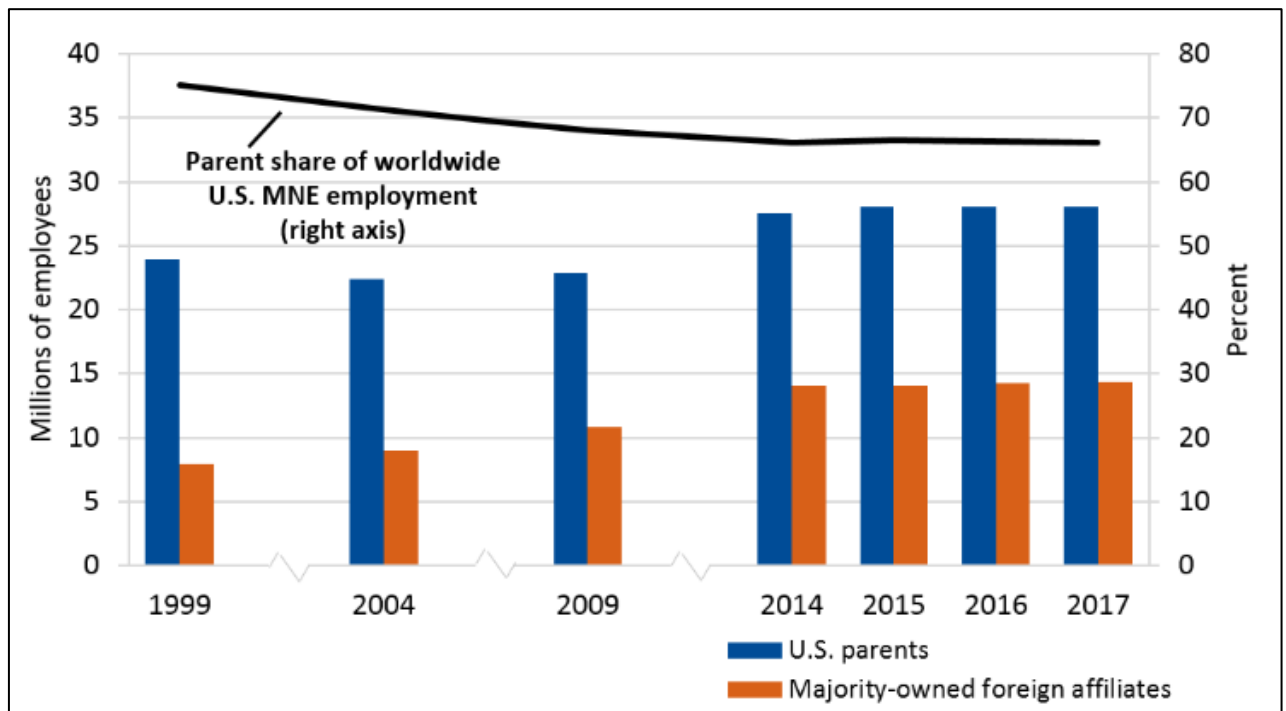
**Table 1.3** Data on U.S. Multinational Companies and on Foreign Firms Operating in the United States, 2017, (millions of dollars)

	U.S. Multinational Companies		U.S. Affiliates of Foreign Firms
	Parent Companies	Foreign Affiliates	
Number of firms	3,790	32,763	5,837
Employment (thousands)	26,560	13,802	6,649
Employee compensation	\$2,047,871	\$621,681	\$547,370
Gross product	\$3,810,265	\$1,487,038	\$869,069
Total assets	\$37,901,568	\$25,002,281	\$14,699,556

**Source:** James K. Jackson, U.S. Direct Investment Abroad: Trends and Current Issues, Congressional Research Service, June 29, 2017, p. 11, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RS21118.pdf>

According to statistics published by the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the United States and foreign subsidiaries, the number of international multinationals by US multinationals for 2017 is 42.5 million people, up to 0.4% more than the previous year. (See **Figure 1.3**) (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2017).

**Figure 1.3 - Employment in US multinational companies (1999-2017)**



**Source:** Bureau of Economic Analysis, Activities of U.S. Multinational Enterprises, 2017, <https://www.bea.gov/news/2019/activities-us-multinational-enterprises-2017>.

## Conclusion

American multinationals may be considered as a natural consequence of the global economic environment and one of the determinants of US economic strength. The main advantage of multinational corporations is the ability to produce products or services around the world at less cost.

In addition to their growth trends, the impact of US multinational firms on improving the US economy (employment, production volume, income, etc.) is significant and still holds a special place.

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## American Poverty: A Far Cry from a Dream

ABIGAIL REID\*

While teaching a university English class, I asked a handful of students what they would do with their money if they suddenly became rich. I anticipated the answers: travel, study abroad, or buy a mansion. Yet one student's response took me by surprise. He matter-of-factly told me that would start a charitable organization to help feed starving children in Africa. I was pleasantly taken aback. One reason his response startled me is that I am working in the Republic of Georgia, a developing country facing huge challenges of wages, infrastructure and employment. Yet the way he described the pictures he had seen of children dying of hunger, it was clear that he considered himself better off than those he had seen.

Perhaps he is correct. Yet his response also reminded me of the instinct to respond to poverty that is further afield. British-American economist and Nobel Prize Laureate Angus Deaton wrote, "In my own giving, I have prioritized the faraway poor over the poor at home" (Deaton, 2018). Premilla Nadasen, a reporter for the *Washington Post*, likewise commented, "What economists call 'extreme poverty,' most Americans think is a distant problem, a hallmark of the less developed world" (Nadasen, 2017). Deaton went on to argue that it is "time to stop thinking that only non-Americans are truly poor" (Deaton, 2018).

It is outside the scope of this paper to explore why U.S. citizens tend to think of the poor as outside their borders, or even why a Georgian student is drawn to helping children in Africa. Nor does this paper advocate discontinuing international aid. Rather, I wrote it for myself. I am an American, and I wanted to better understand the poverty in my own country. Thus, this paper seeks to provide an overview of the problem of poverty in the United States based on some of the latest research. Specifically, it explores how poverty manifests itself in the United States and what portions of the population are most vulnerable, as well as looks at how the destitution in the United States compares to other countries.

### Defining Poverty

The first problem with researching poverty is simply defining it. This paper will consider three approaches, the first of which measures income. Ever since 1963, when President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a War on Poverty, the government has tracked pre-tax incomes against an official poverty measure or poverty threshold. This amount is calculated based on three times the amount

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\* Invited Lecturer, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

of a minimum food diet, established in 1963, that is adjusted for family size and inflation. Using this approach, in 2018 there were 38.1 million Americans living in poverty (Semega, Kollar, Creamer, Mohanty, 2018).

A second more narrow approach seeks to compare U.S. poverty with other countries. The World Bank defines absolute poverty as living off less than \$1.90 per person per day. According to this definition, 736 million people were living in poverty in 2015 (World Bank, 2018). Of those, 3.3 million were in the United States and 3.3 million were in other high-income countries (Deaton, 2018). Yet Oxford economist Robert C. Allen finds this overly simplistic. He argues that a poverty measure ought to consider the complexities of purchasing power, housing costs, prices of goods, and specific goods used by specific countries, among other factors (Allen, 2017). Relying on Allen's calculations, Deaton finds that a better measure of poverty in the U.S. is not the World Bank's \$1.90 per day, but rather around \$4 a day. Given this measure, 5.3 million Americans are "absolutely poor" (Deaton, 2018).

A third (very broad) approach, put forth by Richard Rodems and H. Luke Shaefer, does not measure incomes at all, but rather considers material hardship (Rodems, Shaefer, 2019). They define deprivation using four categories: food hardship, fiscal hardship, medical hardship and housing hardship. They considered households as having food hardship if they indicated at least two of the following five problems: "1) Food just did not last and they did not have money to get more, 2) Could not afford balanced meals, 3) Cut the size of meals or skipped meals because there was not enough money for food, 4) Ate less than they thought they should because they could not afford food, or 5) Did not eat for a whole day because there was not enough money for food" (Rodems, Shaefer, 2019, p. 1–2). They defined fiscal hardship as households not being able pay for essential expenses, the rent or mortgage payment, utilities or a phone bill. Medical hardship was understood as when a household member could not see a dentist or doctor because of cost. And housing hardship was defined as when a household reported that they have at least three issues with housing such as problems with rats, mice, or roaches, a leaky roof, windows with broken glass, exposed electrical wires, plumbing problems, holes or cracks in walls or ceiling, or holes in flooring (Rodems, Shaefer, 2019).

Rodems and Shaefer found that 38.4 percent of children in the United States in 2011 experienced at least one kind of material hardship. The leading category of hardship was fiscal hardship (28%), followed by food (15.4%), medical (14.76%) and housing (7.48%). Black and Hispanic children overwhelmingly face the brunt of these hardships, with half of households reporting at least one kind of material hardship.

Depending on the definition a person uses, calculations about poverty differ widely. That said, the images and stories they reflect reveal an America that is a far cry from a dream.

### **What American Poverty Looks Like and Who Suffers the Most**

In fact, Philip Alston, U.N. Special Rapporteur, commented that the “United States is a land of stark contrasts” (Alston, 2018, p.3). He compared American wealth, technological progress and prosperous multinational corporations with the fact that the United States has the highest youth poverty rate in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Among other problems, he drew attention to its high infant mortality rates (5.8 deaths per 1,000 births, while the OECD average is 3.9) and incarceration rate.

### **Minorities**

Sadly, both the infant mortality and incarceration rates are particularly troubling to the African-American community. When scholars Shaefer, Wu and Edin calculated the infant mortality among African-Americans, they found that the rate is 11.5 deaths per 1,000 live births (Shaefer, Wu, Edin, 2016). They also reported that this is higher than the rate in Grenada, a third-world Caribbean nation, which reports 10.3 deaths out of 1,000 live births. Furthermore, Amy Roeder, associate editor of *Harvard Public Health*, reports that black women are three to four times more likely to die maternal-related deaths than white women (Roeder, 2019). And it is not just women and children. In 2008, life-expectancy for low-educated African-American males was akin to rates found in Pakistan, Bhutan and Mongolia (Shaefer et al, 2016). Another group hurt by poverty is Hispanics. However, statistics are more difficult to gather and analyze since many are undocumented immigrants (Alston, 2018). Still, the Census Bureau reports that 10.5 million Hispanics are in poverty (Semega et al, 2018).

### **Whites**

That said, poverty is not merely a minority problem in the United States. While overall percentages are lower, in 2018 there were 6.8 million more poor Whites than Blacks as well as 5.2 million more poor Whites than Hispanics (Semega et al, 2018). And with the income gap growing ever wider, Alston writes that the “American dream is rapidly becoming the American illusion” (Alston, 2018, p.5). This is true for many “middle-class White workers” just as it is especially true for minorities and women (Alston, 2018, p.5). In fact, a journalist with the *Washington Post*

remarks that the top .1% in the United States own more than the bottom 80%, inequality that resembles China and Russia (Ingraham, 2019).

### **Single Mothers**

Overwhelmingly, however, poverty strikes the homes of single mothers. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that almost half (47.7 percent) of children younger than 6 who were living with a female householder were in poverty (Semega et al, 2018). And from 1995 to 2012, there was a 748 percent increase in the number of children from single-mother families experiencing \$2-a-day poverty for an entire year (Shaefer, Edin, 2018). What happened? In 1996, a government program entitled Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was replaced by a program entitled Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). The new program introduced work requirements and lifetime caps (five years) for assistance. The “cuts in cash assistance” led to more and more single mothers becoming disconnected: not on welfare, not able to work (Shaefer, Edin, p.23). It has been argued that this has led to more children being placed in foster care since poverty can be treated as “child neglect” and lead to a mother having her children taken away from her (Shaefer, Edin, p.23). Even more chilling is the fact that some states do not provide legal aid for child welfare proceedings (Alston, 2018).

### **Appalachia and the Deep South**

Many single mothers suffering from poverty are found where other clusters of the poor are found: in Appalachia and the Deep South. As *Guardian* journalist Ed Pilkington travelled along with the U.N. Special Rapporteur to West Virginia, he reported on Health Right, a mobile dental clinic that serves 21,000 low-income working people free of charge. Medicaid, a government health program, does not cover adult dentistry, which leaves people in pain or with rotting teeth. “One woman seen by the center’s mobile dentistry was found to have nothing but 30 roots in her mouth, all of which needed surgery” (Pilkington, 2017). reports.

In the Deep South, Alston recounts communities in Alabama and West Virginia that are completely without public sewer or water supply services (Alston, 2018). The *Guardian* reported how, in one community, ill-disposal of human waste led to an epidemic of hookworm (Pilkington, 2017). Pilkington reports that it is “a disease of the developing world thriving in the world’s richest country” (Pilkington, 2017). Deaton comments that life expectancy in the Mississippi Delta and Appalachia is lower than in Bangladesh or Vietnam (Deaton, 2018).

## **Urban areas**

That said, poverty is not just a rural problem. While there are higher rates in rural areas — 14.7 percent compared to 11.3 percent in metropolitan areas, there are overall more poor people in cities — 31.9 million people in cities compared to 6.2 million in rural areas (Semega et al, 2018). Alston documented how 1,800 homeless people living on Skid Row in Los Angeles, California, share just nine public toilets (Alston, 2018). He points out that the city failed to meet the minimum standards that the United Nations set for refugee camps in Syria.

## **Uneducated and Unable to Work**

Poverty in the United States also disproportionately affects the uneducated and those unable to work. Often, those two are tied. In 2018, of those without a high school diploma, 25.9 percent reported income less than the poverty threshold. For those not working at all, 29.7 percent were in poverty (Semega et al, 2018). And yet, those who are working full-time year-round are not immune to destitution with 5.2 million in poverty in 2008 (Semega et al, 2018). As an example of the working poor, Alston mentions some fulltime Walmart employees who collect food stamps to make ends meet (Alston, 2018).

## **Indigenous people**

Indigenous peoples are also hugely affected by poverty, at 26.2 percent in 2018. There is 12 percent unemployment (in 2018, the national rate was 3.9 percent). And one in four young persons between the ages of 16 and 24 are not in school or working. Suicide the second leading cause of death between the ages of 10 and 34 (Alston, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

It is overwhelming to consider the plight of the poor. The problems seem so big and the resources so scarce. Yet, it is vital that we open our eyes to the impoverished within our midst. As an American, this paper has been revealing. The needs of my own country are immense. It has caused me to re-think my attitude toward the poor, particularly how poverty plays out in the lives of minorities, single mothers and their children, indigenous peoples, the uneducated, and many others. American novelist Pearl S. Buck wrote that “the test of a civilization is the way that it cares for its helpless members” (Buck, 1954, p.337). If that is true, the United States has a lot of work to do. At the same time, as a university instructor in the Republic of Georgia, I understand that I am playing a part in training those who will take this country into its future. As you do just that, I

ask you to consider the poor. Specifically, consider those who may be at-risk for poverty in your own country. What about minorities? Single mothers? Those in rural areas? What about the homeless? The poor are among us. Let us not be hardhearted toward them.

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## Overview of George H.W. Bush's Foreign Policy Team

GIGI TSIKLARI\*

### Introduction

When researchers characterize the spirit and mechanics of the George H.W. Bush Administration internal structure, this description is invariably in superlative terms. The words they use will include “cohesion”, “camaraderie”, and “friendship.” Very rarely one can find an analogue in any U.S. Administration when there were so few leaks and key members did not have to stand their ground facing competitive fellow colleague-opponents, the conflicts originating from either personal mismatch or turf battles. The origins of this harmony should be sought not only in the long history of personal relationship, interaction and even friendship of President Bush's associates in the previous Republican Administrations – the notorious Shultz and Weinberger feud was not quelled by the shared past of leading the Office of Management and Budget in the 1970s – but rather in the attitudes encouraged and expected by President Bush himself.

President George H.W. Bush showed his personal commitment to the value of constructing this trust by demonstrating his personal loyalty to his friend and mentor Republican Senator John Tower who he energetically tried to appoint as the Secretary of Defense. Even being warned of a high degree of failure and being advised to suspend Tower's candidacy, President Bush acted as a true friend and strongly supported Tower's candidacy being aware that a majority of Senators would be resolved to vote against. By failing to secure Tower's appointment and exposing his political reputation early in his Presidency, George H.W. Bush gained at the same time an unintended reward - he unequivocally demonstrated that for him loyalty was reciprocal and the Administration members could have been assured that their back was covered by a strong leader prepared to defend them even when political interests were endangered. It is not incidental that James Baker singled out loyalty as the defining strength of President Bush (Greene, 2000, p. 144). President Bush demonstrated another example of loyalty later in 1991 after nominating Clarence Thomas as a Supreme Court Justice and getting his successful appointment despite troubling circumstances. Justice Thomas faced accusations of sexual misbehavior and his nomination could be thwarted by Senate, but President Bush firmly stood by his nominee: invited him to the White House and posed for photos. By doing so, President Bush showed the public and Senate that he

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\* Ph.D., Graduate of American Studies PhD Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

fully trusted Clarence Thomas. President's spouse Barbara Bush commented that for her husband "loyalty was not only up but down" (Popadiuk, 2009, p. Kindle Edition).

James Baker and Brent Scowcroft were the two closest and most reliable friends of President Bush whom he offered highest posts in his Administration. Baker admits that George Bush not only got him interested in politics but also got him his first government job and the Secretary of State deemed accurate President Bush's characterization of their connection "as a big brother-little brother relationship" (Baker, 1995, p. 19). Another person whom George Bush treated as "a beloved brother" was Brent Scowcroft.

President Bush announced about the appointment of Baker and Scowcroft to serve respectively as a Secretary of State and President's National Security Adviser immediately after his victory in November 1988 elections. Both of them assisted the President Elect with other appointments selecting candidates for their competence but also for their ability to work with each in a frictionless manner. Scowcroft appointed Robert Gates as his deputy with the functions of a right-hand man who had direct access to the President and selected Condoleezza Rice to handle the Soviet affairs at the NSC. Brent Scowcroft notified Reagan's appointees in the White House and NSC that they would not be needed in the new administration, shocking news to some.

Replacement or downgrading of the "Reagan's people" was not limited to the White House only – it was in fact a nationwide phenomenon. Senator Laxalt, Reagan's political ally and friend, noted with sorrow, "the Bush people, when George was elected, did not treat the Reagan people well. They were so rude. They just literally put them out in the street. And there was a lot of hard feeling in the Reagan camp across the country, which was a huge problem for George. They were just brutal" (UVA Miller Center Presidential Oral Histories, 2001).

Brent Scowcroft was on friendly terms with President Bush's White House Chief of Staff John Sununu who was involved in all matters except foreign policy, which he ceded to Scowcroft. Robert Gates, who held high positions in at least four U.S. Administrations of both Republican and Democratic Presidents, notes an unprecedented level of cooperation between the Chief of Staff and National Security Adviser, under John Sununu and Brent Scowcroft. Gates further observes, "I don't think that the system ever worked better that it did under these two and the sharing of information" (Popadiuk, 2009, p. Kindle edition). In fact, Sununu, Scowcroft, and Baker had unlimited access to President Bush's office.

Secretary of State James Baker had three advisers whose advice he valued most: Dennis Ross, Director of the Policy Planning Staff, Robert Zoellick, Counselor of the Department, and Margaret D. Tutwiler, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and Department Spokesperson. Having a good example of their boss, "Baker's key aides built a valuable working partnership with their counterparts at the NSC, forging an alliance that oversaw German reunification and provided

critical support for democratic change in the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe” (Office of the Historian, Department of State). Deputy Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger was tasked to handle Department’s daily operations, coordinate its operations with the White House and NSC and replace the Secretary in his absence.

Later in March 1989, after Tower’s candidacy was eventually failed by Senate, Dick Cheney joined the Administration as Secretary of Defense and in September 1989 Collin Powell was appointed as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Their entry into the Administration structure was also smooth to the extent that Cheney commented that there “was an element of trust that made it a delight to go to work every day. There was the concept that it was a team” (Nelson & Perry, 2014, p. 87).

George H.W. Bush is sometimes referred to as *the last foreign policy* President of the United States. Before elections George Bush had a resume - any candidate could envy - full of highest-level foreign policy positions: Member of the House of Representatives from Texas, Head of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Head of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing before official diplomatic relations were established with the People’s Republic of China, Director of Central Intelligence, Vice President of the United States. President Bush “enjoyed diplomacy and personally knew many foreign officials and most heads of state and government as a result of his experiences. ... He also liked keeping up with national security affairs and reading intelligence briefings. A practical man, Bush thought that smart people should be able to reach reasonable agreements. And his top White House appointees and other personnel choices in the government reflected his personality and tone” (Nelson & Perry, 2014). Having his favorite people and structure in place, President Bush presided over the foreign policy team which included himself, James Baker and Brent Scowcroft and as an extended version also Dick Cheney, Collin Powell and Robert Gates.

Scowcroft incorporated a number of new formal and informal mechanisms into the existing national security management system to make the Administration’s bureaucracy work productively. He created the Principals Committee, which consisted of Administration’s officials with authority in foreign policy issues except the President. The Committee’s work was coordinated and headed by Scowcroft and included the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of Central Intelligence, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the White House Chief of Staff and President’s National Security Adviser. Scowcroft’s idea was to spare the President from attending the discussions below his level – something, Scowcroft believed, was often taking place in the Reagan’s Administration.

More informal opportunity for the President to discuss pressing issues with his core group of closest associates (Baker, Cheney, Scowcroft, Powell) provided regular weekly working 7:00

am breakfasts. For all these structural novelties a clear objective was set by President Bush – the system needed to be effective, ensure flexibility to meet the requirement of the changing times the Bush Administration operated in and to a high degree brought about (Nelson & Perry, 2014).

As for President Bush's style of decision-making and working with the team, then Secretary of Defense Cheney recalls that "formal meetings of the National Security Council were fairly rare. In the Gulf War, it was much more likely to be the gang of eight or even smaller group. He would be there, he would preside. He was much more comfortable in that kind of situation and I think we were too. The meeting might be in the Cabinet Room, might be around the fireplace in the Oval Office, might be upstairs in the residence, in his office up there. He was comfortable in that kind of setting. It was not a formal sort of arrangement. It would involve Baker and myself and Powell and Scowcroft, [Vice President] Quayle, Sununu usually, sometimes [Director of Central Intelligence] Bill Webster, Bob Gates. That's where a lot of the management of a crisis would actually take place" (UVA Miller Center Presidential Oral Histories, 2000).

Bush's selection of Dan Quayle as his Vice-Presidential running mate was based on a pragmatic calculation. A 41-year-old Senator from Indiana, who represented a post-WWII generation with ties to the Conservative flank of the Republican Party, provided for George Bush a good opportunity to connect with the Conservative groups. President Bush had weekly lunches with Vice President Quayle, privately accepted his advice and kept him present at all key Administration meetings.

George Bush was never "a media darling" but criticism in the media outlets particularly intensified in the run-up to the 1988 Presidential election season. In January 1986, George Will, the Washington Post columnist, published an article implying that Bush, still Vice President that time, was Reagan's lapdog (Will, 1986). The article characterized George Bush negatively by claiming that he was making dishonest statements against his opponents. One year later, in 1987, the Newsweek printed an article entitled *Bush Battles the Wimp Factor*. The article reflected an extensive study by reporter Margaret Warner into George Bush's childhood and youth years, described specific peculiarities of Bush's parents relationships with their children including uneasiness of expressing openly their emotions and preferring a writing form. After comparison to Ronald Reagan "whom television made larger than life," the author stated that Bush had problems in communication and was "a politician without a political identity" (Warner, 1987). Even Bush's close associates, including Ron Kaufman, who served as President Bush's adviser noted that "it was not a matter of no vision but a matter of not articulating the vision he had" (Popadiuk, 2009, p. Kindle Edition). Judging Bush through the Reagan "standard" was unavoidable – after all, George Bush served as President Reagan's Vice President and Reagan was leaving Washington being very popular despite the infamous Iran Contras scandal. On the day of

George Bush's inauguration the Washington Post ran Lou Canon's article with a telling title *Hard Shoes to Fill*.

Bush assessed himself more as an organizer of the White House, as a leader who was involved but did not micromanage and saw himself on the leadership continuum between President Carter and President Reagan. Carter was known to be involved in all minor details, while Reagan was perceived more as a visionary leader who dealt with larger policy matters delegating the rest to his staff (Popadiuk, 2009, p. Kindle Edition). James Adams, author of the Presidential Character in which he classified American Presidents by their worldview, placed George H.W. Bush in the active positive category mostly for his energy and optimism together with FDR and Harry Truman (Barber J. D., *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 2017). Other researchers and Bush's associates have often categorized him more as a pragmatist than an ideology man.

Although George Bush was raised in a conservative environment, most of his political life he has been a pragmatist who would seek compromise and ways of solution. President Dan Quayle observed some distance George Bush maintained with the core Conservative movement, according to him, George Bush "was never a movement conservative, somebody who was active in the conservative movement, like Reagan" (UVA Miller Center Presidential Oral Histories, 2002).

Although President Bush's Administration is widely perceived as one of the most efficient and cohesive teams, critics have claimed that George Bush and his Administration members lacked vision, creativity and did not communicate policies properly to the public. According to the critically minded observers, the formal mechanisms that seemed so efficient during routine operations or even offered apparently efficient instruments for response at the time of crisis, produced insularity and offered few alternative sets of policy options.

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# The Geopolitical Rationales of Regionalism in the 21st Century Latin America

BESIK GOGINAVA\*

## Abstract

The concept of Regionalism has gained a significant popularity in present-day international relations and political science.

Besides attracting impressive attention as a form of economic, political and social organization since the World War II, in the 21st century Regionalism has evolved into a popular field of study too.

Today Regionalism is multidimensionally defined. It is an ideology and political movement that focuses on the development of a particular region.

In international relations Regionalism is transnational cooperation to achieve a common goal or resolve a mutual problem within a specific geographical region. It also refers to a group of countries that are linked by geography, history or economic characteristics, such as Latin America. Therefore, Regionalism seeks to strengthen the ties between these nations, like the European Union.

Regionalism in Latin America has a history going back to the revolutionary and post-colonial period. The leaders of the wars of independence envisioned the idea of creating united Latin American regional state or confederation, in order to protect their fragile independence out of European powers.

Importantly, regionalism in Latin America has historically oscillated between the United States of America led and exclusively Latin American and integration projects.

**Keywords:** Regionalism, the Americas, Latin America, Regional Studies, Regional Politics, International Relations, Geopolitics

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\* Ph.D. Candidate, Department of American Studies, Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## Introduction

Regions and Regionalism have become integral constituents of present-day global politics. Some people even believe that today's world order is a regional world order. For example, Peter Katzenstein rejects the “purportedly stubborn persistence of the nation-state or the inevitable march of globalization”, arguing instead that we are approaching a “world of regions” (Katzenstein, 2005). Similarly, Amitav Acharya highlights the “emerging regional architecture of world politics” and the construction of “regional worlds” (Acharya, 2007, 2014).

In recent years, the creation of regional organizations and arrangements has been endorsed all over the world, in order to deal with regional problems and seek economic and social development through cooperation among different nations.

On October 30, 1947 the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was signed by 23 nations in Geneva. Its overall purpose was to boost international trade by reducing or eliminating trade barriers to promote countries' economic recovery after World War II.

As an international trade treaty GATT also maintained meaningful regulations. Its most important trade principle was non-discrimination embodied in the most-favored-nation clause, which requires a contracting party to offer the same trade terms to all other signatory countries (Arenas García, 2012).

In contrast, Regional Trade Agreements (RTA) involve discriminatory preferences for imports coming from distinct countries. Paragraph 4 of Article XXIV of GATT defines the purpose of RTAs and states that, “the contracting parties recognize the desirability of increasing freedom of trade by the development, through voluntary agreements, of closer integration between the economies of the countries parties to such agreements. The purpose of a customs union or of a free trade area should be to facilitate trade between the constituent territories and not to raise barriers to the trade of other contracting parties with such territories” (The Text of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1986).

Regional Trade Agreements are reciprocal preferential trade agreements between two or more countries with the objective of reducing barriers to trade between signatory parties. They include Free Trade Agreements, Customs Unions, Preferential Trade Agreements, Common Markets and Economic Unions. These groupings may be concluded between countries not necessarily belonging to the same geographical region. Examples of regional trade agreements include Southern Common Market (Mercosur), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Commonwealth of Independent States Free Trade Area (CISFTA), Georgia and China Free Trade Agreement, the European Union (EU) and Georgia Free Trade Agreement (Regional

Trade Agreements, 2018).

Several distinct phases of development of Regionalism can be distinguished after formation of the GATT. However, this phenomenon has a long history going back in several centuries. Between 1947 and 1957 RTAs were created among bordering countries. After the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 a wave of integration projects spread throughout other parts of the world. By the early 1970s process of regionalism had slowed down. The new regionalism began in the mid-1980s (Campos Filho, 1999).

### **Latin American Regionalism in the 1990s**

Contrary to Europe, where a single process of regional integration has undergone various stages of expansion, Latin America experienced different waves of Regionalism expressed in signing of several regional or sub-regional agreements launching or reactivating numerous integration projects.

Establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in 1948 gave birth to uniquely Latin American regional organizations. Since then various attempts have been made to form free trade areas at the sub-regional level.

With the rise of globalization and interdependence since the mid-1980s, the so-called „new regionalism“ emerged all around the world (Matiuzzi de Souza, 2016).

Integration spirit, therefore, renewed in Latin America as well. After the process of democratization, countries in the region were seeking cooperation. In 1986 a bilateral agreement was signed between Brazil and Argentina with the objective of promoting bilateral trade and jointly defending democracy. It ultimately led to the creation of the “Mercado Común del Sur” (MERCOSUR) by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991, one of the most important initiatives to form a free trade area (FTA) among the four countries (Estevadeordal, Goto, & Saez, 2000).

Since the beginning of the 1990s with a new trade-centered market-friendly conception of integration several factors affected on Regionalism, like changes in the global economy, policy swings in the United States and Europe. Furthermore, under the hegemony of the United States, neo- liberalism became the dominant ideology from the beginning of the 1990s. The GATT registered a record number of preferential trading agreements in that period of time. However, the neo-liberal era ended abruptly with the economic crisis at the end of the 1990s. Social actors and leftist political parties throughout Latin America fiercely criticized the Washington consensus and elaborated an alternative. Washington Consensus, a set of economic policy recommendations worked out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and U.S. Department of the

Treasury for developing countries, and Latin America shared the neoliberal view, that the operation of the free market and the reduction of state involvement were crucial for development of the global South.

By the late 1990s increasing criticism to the results of the Washington Consensus led to a change in approach that focused on poverty reduction and the need for participation by both developing country governments and civil society.

Frustration towards the Washington Consensus led to an eventual paradigm shift in the Latin American regional integration. Regionalism was re-politicized, whereby economic integration reclaimed to be an instrument to propel development.

Paradigm shift in Regionalism in Latin America coincided with “Pink Tide” – the political trend of turning towards left-wing governments that rejected neoliberalism. Leftist Brazil and Venezuela were the ones that took the leadership in regional integration initiatives.

During much of the 1990s, the Latin American left was seeking for divergent policy from neoliberalism on a collective basis. The primary platform to work on it became the Sao Paulo Forum.

The Sao Paulo Forum (SPF) was created in 1990, when political parties from Latin America and the Caribbean assembled by the proposal of the Brazilian Workers Party to discuss the new, post-fall of the Berlin Wall international setting and the consequences of the neoliberal policies that had been adopted by the region's right-wing governments. The main objective was to debate a people-led and democratic alternative to neoliberalism. The initiative of Fidel Castro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva brought together 48 leftist and anti-imperialist parties and organization, as they called themselves, from all over Latin America and the Caribbean.

After the first SPF, the group has been meeting on a regular, almost yearly basis being called Foro de São Paulo in reference to the location of the first meeting. The SPF turned to be a productive stage for transnational consultations that eventually prepared the left parties to gain victories in elections and take control over governments at the end of the 1990s.

The first SPF took place a few weeks after President Bush Senior unveiled his Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), a hemispheric program that he projected would establish a free-trade zone stretching from "Anchorage to Tierra del Fuego," expand investment and provide a measure of debt relief for countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (Hufbauer, Jeffrey & Lambsdorff, 1991). The forum rejected Bush administration's Free Trade Area of the Americas as anti-imperialist and demanded a “new concept of unity and continental integration”. This new concept was defined in the following way: “it entails the reaffirmation of sovereignty and self-determination of Latin America and our nations, the full recuperation of our cultural and historical identity and the spur of international solidarity of our peoples” (Dabène, 2012).

The next SPF's encouraged the conceptualization of regional integration as an instrument to defend sovereignty against all imperialist dangers, political consolidation, deepening of democracy, and building a consensus around core values.

The Second SPF held in Mexico City in 1991 highlighted the necessity of emancipation in a context of worldwide capitalist restructuring. The third SPF in Managua called for an "alternative integration", "people's integration", "from below", and creating "networks of exchange, coordination and complementarity of productive, financial and social policies". Beyond trade, the integration processes were to build on the "dynamic articulation of cultures". In Cuba in 1993, the fourth SPF argued that only an economically and politically integrated Latin American and Caribbean community would have the strength to assert itself independently in a world controlled by big economic blocks and their policies totally adverse to the interests of peoples of the region. Although Regionalism has been mostly associated with capitalist and imperialist threat at that time, SPF still acknowledged that the economic and political integration was a precondition to pursue the goals of the region (Dabène, 2012).

In 1994 the SPF did not convene, nevertheless the First Summit of the Americas, organized by the Organization of the American States was held in Miami. In the summit Bush Senior's Free Trade Area of the Americas was agreed to be created. As a response, the fifth SPF in 1995 in Montevideo described it as first stage of a process that aimed at implementing a new purpose of collective security and at reinforcing an integration model even more subordinated and dependent on the United States of America.

Oddly though, regional integration disappeared from the final declarations of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> SPF's. However, the sixth SPF summit in El Salvador in 1996 again pointed out that the integration did not exclude national interest and that only through sub-regional and regional integration schemes it was possible to gain the specific weight for negotiating successfully with economic blocs that consolidate the world, again insisting that a transfer of sovereignty is not foreseen despite of the goal of a Latin American union (Dabène, 2012).

### **Sequence of Integration Projects in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Latin America**

Six years later in 2001, the tenth SPF in Cuba again proclaimed a deep integration of "Latin- American community of nations and peoples" opposing the FTAA and proposed an "active role of the State, supplemented by civil society participation and granting the regional institutions with redistributive capacities" (Dabène, 2012).

In 2002, Lula da Silva became President of Brazil. His victory was celebrated by his comrades and during the eleventh SPF, urging to take this historical opportunity for deep regional integration with supranational institution building.

The “Pink tide” climaxed during the presidency of Hugo Chavez, who tried to build an alliance of leftist leaders across the hemisphere. Roughly a decade after Chavez came to power in 1999, leftist politicians had captured the presidency in Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru. Three-quarters of Latin America’s population were already under the left-wing rule (Encarnación, 2018; Stephens, 2018).

Soon new regional organization, called Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) was founded by Venezuela and Cuba in 2004. The SPF publicly supported ALBA and disapproved the United States’ bilateral FTAs with Latin American countries. Additionally, it considered the Mercosur-Andean Community FTA, as essential platform for a deeper integration. The SPF added finance, defense, infrastructure, education, science, culture, labor rights or social security to the agenda of regional integration. It is paradoxical, that on the one hand the forum supported ALBA as separate integration scheme defending the Latin American identity and solidarity. On the other hand, the Community of South American Nations which eventually became the main regional integration project as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) by 2008. Though, the concepts of cooperation, coordination, integration and unity were rarely defined into specific strategies as the SPFs can still be considered as intergovernmentalist fora.

In Latin America, several regionalist projects with differences in scope, size and relevance were put in motion since the beginning of the 21st century. The left undeniably introduced a paradigm shift regarding regional integration. It has been claiming that integration must protect Latin America from imperialist danger through a deeper institutionalized Regionalism. However, it appeared more than populist rhetoric than real deep integration.

Some Latin American countries even featured their commitments to the regional integration in their constitutions. 153rd article of the Venezuelan constitution sets the objective of creating a “community of nations” and “granting supranational organizations, by means of treaties, with the exercise of necessary competencies to achieve regional integration”. The preamble of the Ecuadorian constitution pledges to the Latin American integration as dreamed by of Simón Bolívar (The Constitution of Ecuador, 2008; The Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2009).

Attitude towards Regionalism in Latin America has always been tentative and ambiguous, thereby frequently misinterpreted. While, there has always been an obvious interest in deep supranational integration, it requires ceding or pooling sovereignty in order to create a supranational structure capable of developing regional integration. This is one of the main internal obstacles that hinder the process of integration. Due to the excessive nationalism Latin American countries are not willing to give up any amount of sovereignty for the construction of

supranational institutions, which makes it impossible that regional or sub-regional integration processes can be advanced or consolidated there.

Controversy over sovereignty led some countries to develop their own integration plans. In 2000s, Brazil and Venezuela emerged as major political actors that began promoting regional integration on their own. Initiatives of these two countries shaped the peculiarities of regional integration movement in the 21st century Latin America.

After the election of President Itamar Franco, Brazil began trying to take the lead in regional integration projects. In 1993 Franco proposed the creation of a South American Free Trade Area (SAFTA), as the southern alternative to NAFTA and a result of the convergence of the Andean Community, Mercosur and Chile. Why did the topic of regional integration eventually become so important for Brazil? By the end of 20th century Brazil was disappointed with the results of Mercosur and was seeking coalition in order to balance the U.S. influence in the region and contend for regional leadership with an ultimate goal to become a global player. However, the Brazilian political ambition for leadership in the region was less consensual and actively challenged by Argentina.

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso took more concrete steps and called for the first South American Summit in Brasilia in 2000. The summit's purpose was to create a zone of "democracy, peace, solidarity-based cooperation, integration and shared economic and social development" (Carciofi, 2008). In essence, it formed the foundation for what would become Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA), an ambitious plan with the guiding vision to facilitate South American integration.

The newly elected President Lula continued and amplified Cardoso's policy orientation regarding regional integration (Spektor, 2010). On the third South American Summit held in Cusco, Peru in 2004 the Brazilian idea of a South American community was accepted. The Community of South American Nations (CASA) aimed at becoming a loose alliance fostering the convergence between CAN and MERCOSUR and promoting specific policy coordination, rather than becoming an institutional supranational entity (Dabène, 2012). Working on the project continued on the next summits in Ayacucho, Peru and Brasilia, Brazil which was followed by the adoption of a Strategic plan for deepening South American integration in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2006. The agenda included a wide scope of areas, incorporating economic, political, social, cultural or environmental issues. During a special summit in Margarita, Venezuela in 2007 the South American Energy Council was created and the Community of South American Nations was renamed as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR). The UNASUR treaty was signed in 2008 in Brasilia.

The first decade of the 21st century was not particularly stable in Latin America. The

region remained politically polarized, however the economic growth was better as per capita GDP grew by an average of 1.9 percent annually as compared with 0.3 percent for 1980 to 2000 (Weisbrot, 2011).

Geopolitical condition in the Andean region was notable tense. Confrontation among Venezuela and Colombia escalated since the beginning of 2000s and was further aggravated over ideological differences between two governments. In 2008 situation was even intensified over the Andean diplomatic crisis between Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela.

Being concerned by the strained climate that was destabilizing regional relations, Brazil decided to get involved in the conflict resolution and elaborate a consensual agenda for UNASUR based on common ground. However, support for a continental initiative was not the only agenda Brazil had. Brasilia aimed on creating an alternative to the U.S.-dominated Organization of American States (OAS), keep Mexico away from Brazil's zone of influence, and eventually benefit from the audacious foreign policy of Hugo Chávez.

In December 2008, Brazil took the initiative to call up the first Summit of Latin America and the Caribbean Heads of States and Government for Development and Integration (CALC), held in Costa do Sauipe, Brazil. The objective was to establish a cooperation process comprising of all the Latin American and Caribbean region. It was the first time, all 33 Latin American and Caribbean countries were brought together, which had not jointly met in other mechanisms without the presence of countries from outside the region.

In February 2010, Mexico jointly held the 2nd Summit in Cancun. At that event, the participants approved the idea of creating a new regional organization entitled Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). In the Summit of Caracas, in December 2011, CELAC was officially launched as a successor of two similar regional blocs: the Latin American and Caribbean Summit on Integration and Development (CALC) and the Rio Group that was formed in 1986 as an alternative to the OAS.

Brazilian-led sequence of integration projects IIRSA, UNASUR, CELAC was clearly driven by a Brazilian pursuit to assert its leadership in the region. At the same time Brazil tried to promote a state of "South-Americaness" and to get away with the concept of Latin America, which was fading away in the post-Cold War international scenario (Freias Couto).

Venezuela's initiative towards regional integration was closely related to its president Hugo Chavez. Inspired by Simon Bolivar, he steadily supported the idea of regional unity in opposition to the US "imperialism". He made Latin American integration the foundation of his foreign policy. After the 1997 Summit of the Americas Venezuela began actively working with its neighbors with the goal of regional unity.

Following the Chavez's proposal to create an alternative to the Free Trade Area of the

Americas, Venezuela and Cuba signed an agreement of cooperation that eventually was enlarged to the Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of our America (ALBA). Hugo Chavez and Fidel Castro made it explicit that the agreement was open to other countries to sign in. Since its launch Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Honduras and several Caribbean islands also joined the alliance.

ALBA for Chavez was the umbrella initiative, accompanied by parallel initiatives such as Banco del Sur (Bank of the South) - a part of his crusade against the institutions of international capital he called “tools of Washington”, an alternative to International Monetary Fund and World Bank dominance. Supplement initiatives included integration projects like, Television del Sur (Telesur) - a media conglomerate broadcasting throughout the ALBA bloc which was supported by the leftist governments and promoted as a “Latin socialist answer to CNN” and Petro-America - a resistance instrument to multinational oil corporations. The purpose of these initiatives was reinforcing the integration of the Latin American nations.

ALBA was also accompanied by a Trade Agreement for the Peoples (TCP), establishing a free trade area between members, the creation of multinational state-controlled firms and creating a common regional currency.

Chavez became an inspiration for the left-wing leaders to win power across Latin America. He often mentioned that his ambition was to create a confederation of republics in Latin America. Although, he managed to organize an union of leftist governments, he could not convince key political actors as Brazil and Argentina to join the alliance.

Ultimately, ALBA turned out to be just a tool of Chavez for giving voice to his own controversial foreign policy, rather than a real integration project. Meanwhile, with ALBA’s launch it became obvious that Brazil and its driven regional integration projects were incapable to establish a clear leadership in the region.

Chavez also was one of the biggest supporters of CELAC. He viewed it as an effort to challenge the “interference” of the United States.

The founding declaration of Community of Latin American and Caribbean States aims “to advance social welfare, the quality of life, economic growth, and to promote independent and sustainable development” by ways of promoting political, economic, social and cultural integration, but due to Venezuela-Cuban leadership roles in the bloc some described it just as an attempt to reject U.S. influence. “Time” described CELAC as “a badge of Latin America’s increasing independence from U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere” (O’Boyle, 2015).

Chavez and other leftist leaders hoped that the bloc would deepen Latin American integration, stop U.S. hegemony and consolidate control over regional affairs.

An editorial published in Brazilian “Estado” newspaper on 25 February, 2010 said that “CELAC reflects the disorientation of the region's governments in relation to its problematic environment and its lack of foreign policy direction, locked as it is into the illusion that snubbing the United States will do for Latin American integration what 200 years of history failed to do” (Latin America Economic Integration, Cooperation Investment and Business Guide: Strategic Information and Opportunities, 2018).

CELAC's members include every country in the Americas, with the exception of Canada, the United States, and the territories of European countries in the Western Hemisphere. Altogether, the organization encompasses 33 countries exceeds 650 million people. Despite the huge potential, CELAC remains uncertain and fragile project that lacks unity, regional influence and international significance.

Latin American 21st century regionalism is undoubtedly different from the previous trade-centered waves, though none of them could attain proper supranational institutional structures or intergovernmental decision-making. In most regional integration projects in Latin America political leaders such as Presidents have always remained key figures that shaped the way of Regionalism there.

Since Donald Trump became president, much has been said about the “Latin Americanization” of U.S. politics (Encarnación, 2018). The election of Trump was accompanied by the Conservative wave or the “Blue Tide” in Latin America to the response of “Pink Tide”. It has surged since 2015 with the election of center-right president in Argentina followed by Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Chile. For the first time since the 1980s, the continent witnessed the major shift to the right.

New right and right-center governments have responded to the regionalism of the left by deepening their commercial links with the United States and the European Union (EU) and by organizing the Alianza del Pacífico (Pacific Alliance), a traditional arrangement for free-trade and freedom-of- movement.

Pursuing commercial, economic, and political integration, the Pacific Alliance was formed by Peru, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico when they signed the Lima Declaration in April, 2011. The Pacific Alliance is distinct from UNASUR, ALBA, and CELAC. If these three-view regionalism as a means against the U.S. influence and globalization, the Pacific Alliance seeks to expand it through cooperation among members with the specific goal of strengthening ties with the Asia-Pacific region. The Alliance's goal was to increase competitiveness by integrating economies and allow for the free flow of capital, goods, people, and services among members.

Besides trade liberalization, openness to foreign investment and the integration of a common market, the Pacific Alliance implemented several other integration projects such as visa-

free tourist travel, a common stock exchange, and joint embassies in several countries.

## **Conclusion**

Regionalism in Latin America has a history going back to the revolutionary and post-colonial periods. Some local political leaders favored the idea of creating united Latin American regional state or confederation, as a way of protecting their fragile independence from the European powers.

The first efforts for Latin American political integration which began in the early 1810s ended in the mid of 1860s. After a hiatus of almost a century, integrationist attempts re-emerged since World War II, either on regional (Latin American Free Trade Association (LATFA), Latin American Integration Association (ALADI)), or sub-regional level (Organization of Central American States, The Andean Community) with the primary focus on economic regionalism.

Despite the widespread disappointment caused by the unsatisfactory results of trade liberalization and industrialization in the 1970s and early 1980s, economic integration remained at the heart of the new-regionalism approach during the 1990s. However, 21st century regionalism in Latin America shifted to regional socio-political convergence as a way of promoting a more autonomous and socially sensitive development model.

Worth mentioning that regionalism in Latin America has always been vacillating between Pan- American integration projects led by the United States of America and exclusively Latin American movements. The Union of South American Nations, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States were all founded as part of the drive for regional integration. Despite numerous attempts, Latin America integration has never been fulfilled.

Taking into consideration the substantial rise of Regionalism in global politics in recent years, there is a huge potential in the integrated Latin America. The combined markets would give the region more weight on the global economic stage. Furthermore, united Latin America would have greater political influence to easily garner the attention of the United States and other world powers. It would also enable the Latin American nations to better promote their interests in multilateral discussions and negotiations. In general, this could improve the opportunities and wellbeing of more than half a billion Latin American people.

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## Brand Tracking Study of American Brands in Tbilisi – Ford Mustang

KAKHABER DJAKELI \*

LIA OTARASHVILI \*\*

GERMAN BUKHALTSEV \*\*\*

### Abstract

Influence of American Mass Culture is well known in Europe, especially in Georgia, but it is still wonder why Georgians preferably buy some other COO Car Brands than Americans. As a research object we choose iconic American Car Brand – Ford Motors Company. This American giant has car dealership in the capital of Georgia – Tbilisi. As a Brand model we selected the most iconic Ford Car – Mustang. This brand has very attractive archetypes, it speaks about wild nature of America, American lifestyle and American car manufacturing history, but it is interesting how the Ford Mustang was received by Georgian Customers. General purpose of this study was to track the brand health of Ford Mustang in Tbilisi, Capital of Georgia.

For marketing survey researchers decided to use either voluntary sampling and convenience sampling methods. These both Non – probability sampling methods are appropriate to reach people, who either self-select themselves for the survey, or they are easy to reach.

The questionnaire was distributed via e-mails and social media platforms like Facebook. Finally focus group approaches have been undertaken to find emotional links of Georgian customers to American Car Brands, attitude towards the Ford Mustang as an icon and how they would accept the very new full electric Ford Mustang Mach E.

The recommendations of researchers to American Brands in Georgia can be practical and rational to use into the Brand Management's strategy and programs.

**Keywords:** Marketing, brand tracking survey, Ford Mustang

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\* Affiliated Assoc. Prof. Dr., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\* Master Student, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

\*\*\* Master Student, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## Introduction

Brand tracking studies help us to understand the health of some brands. To elaborate key metrics and study of how brand recognition or brand recall awareness is working towards brands like Ford is vital for success of this company and its models in Georgian market. To make brand tracking survey some steps, considering consumers' awareness study, familiarity, consideration set, purchase intent and brand perception are necessary (Aaker, 2012). The Brand Awareness study towards Ford Mustang must consider how many consumers recognize or recall name of this model. We can measure them as a top, spontaneous and aided awareness's. If customers respond through category, their awareness is recall. What category does Ford Mustang belong to? Ford Motor Company with the help of Mr. Iacocca changed the American automotive industry, by creating the Ford Mustang. This iconic car has made it place into history by creating the "Pony Car" culture and changing the American customers' perception towards the fast and affordable cars, since 1964. During its first year of production Mustang achieved great success, by selling 263 434 units. Through the years of fierce competition with other brands like Chevrolet and Dodge, we can still enjoy the legendary Mustang, as it hasn't lost a single aspect of a classic Mustang, but became more powerful, more reliable, more safe and technologically advanced. And today a new member of Ford Mustang family arrives, the fully electric Ford Mustang Mach-E.

*Run Wild and Free – motto of this American Legend. It is interesting what people think about new Ford Mustang in the capital of Georgia Tbilisi and what are their attitude to this great and iconic legend.*

## Literature Analysis

The purpose of Brand Tracking is to know the health of the Brand in different regions of the world (Ahmed, 2013). According to some authors, value of the brand manifests the value of firm in the market (De Mortanges, et al, 2003). "Measuring sources of customer-based brand equity requires us to measure various aspects of brand awareness and brand image that can lead to the differential customer response making up brand equity" (Keller, 2014). As we know customers spend days thinking about their dreamed cars in Georgia and this is very interesting for brand tracking. Very important moment is the Consideration Set of Brands described by David J. Aaker (Aaker, 2003). In Consideration Set, consumers have to consider few car brands even if more of the exist on the market. Salience of brands help customers to go up to AIDA process and have some plans about purchase.

What was secret of Mustang's success? As Mr. Iacocca dreamed, Americans had found in Ford Mustang something sporty and glamorous, trendy and fashionable. It also had some other

advantages: car for youth and wild emotions (Glastonbury, 2005). Mustang has become the symbol of American lifestyle not only in the USA, but also abroad.

What differs 21<sup>st</sup> century Ford Mustang from its competitors? It is the best Content marketing example. All other American cars are more or less the same, while trying to be unique, and in this moment only Ford Mustang offers some uniqueness what is long supported by Brand Story, making mustang Legendary and Iconic (Market Scale 2016).

### **Research Methodology and a Survey**

“Qualitative research techniques often identify possible brand associations and sources of brand equity” (Keller, 2014). Online interview what was undertaken by the researchers was full of broad questions, directed to COO problems, during the purchase of the car. In voluntary sampling people represent their own wish to participate because of the interest and some knowledge. The car brands theme is so popular that we decided to use this method with convenience sampling approach where only those people would have participated who are easy to reach. There are some car clubs in Georgia, one of which unite all of the Ford Mustang owners in Georgia. From that community we are going to understand, how well does the Ford perform as a brand. Another aim would be to understand the perception towards the new Mustang Mach-E.

### **Qualitative Research**

Our research went to qualitative way and some great lovers of car brands were found in Georgia, using social site Facebook and also personal interviews. People once owned and owning cars or having wish to own car were found and some them invited to open Qualitative Marketing Study session. By the experienced facilitator the following questions were asked to some respondents:

1. Do you have any car model, if So which?
2. How and from which subject you bought it?
3. What motivated you to this purchasing decision?
4. Which auto producer do you like?
5. For everyday life what car would you buy?
6. Which brands you recall from USA automakers?
7. What you heard about ford mustang?
8. What features you like from Ford Mustang?
9. What can be your main reason to buy ford mustang?
10. What you think about Electro cars?
11. Which car you buy from those models: Ford Mustang Mach - E, Jaguar I –pace, Tesla Model Y

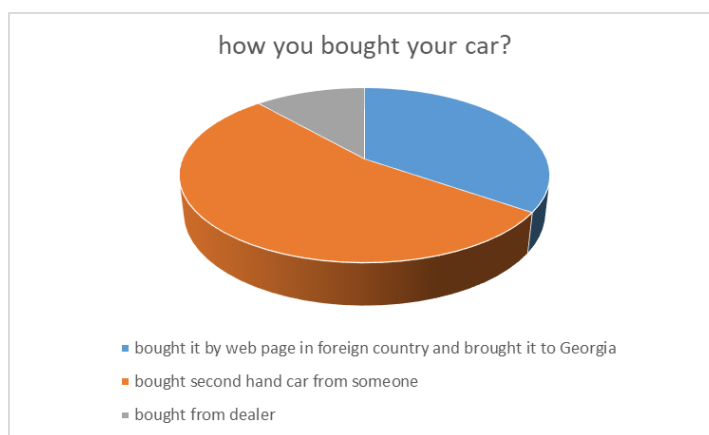
## The Sample

The convenient sample was used to understand what people think about Ford Mustang. The sample was established mostly from men, who can be reached by researchers and who can be found in different situation with some wish to answer questions about cars brands. Answers were open mind and honest. All sample members represented their attitude to car brands, showing their emotional linkage to American Car brands and to Ford Mustang.

## The Analyze of Answers

Analyzing answers research team found that only some 12% of customers afford themselves to buy cars from dealers in Tbilisi. More than 52% of respondents represented that they buy secondary cars. 33% of customers buy cars from web page in foreign markets and import them to Georgia.

Figure 1: How and from which subject you bought it?



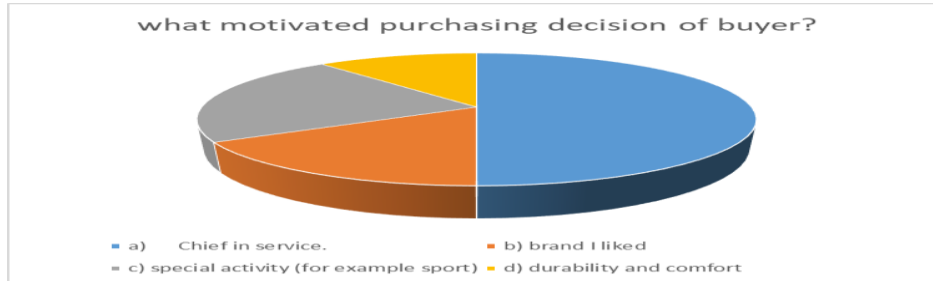
The question about what motivated purchasing decision of buyer? Was answered by these possible answers:

- I had the older model of this company/brand and was satisfied.
- It is appropriate for the task: either drive long distance or drive in city.
- Comfort and durability.
- Market price and choice deficit.
- I watched this car in movie "Transformers".
- Chief in service.
- To participate in auto sport and in chief way.
- Sport.
- Design.

j) I like a brand Porsche.

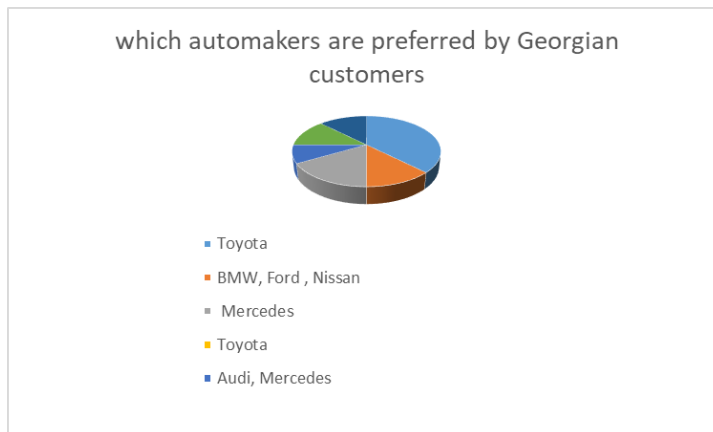
All these answers were grouped in following purchasing motives: a) Brand b) price c) activity (like a sport) d) durability and comfort. So we have the figure showing peoples motivations.

Figure 2: what motivated purchasing decision of buyer? (Source: the research )



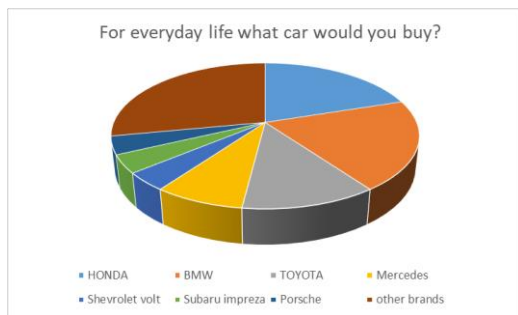
The next question was about car brands respondents preferred. The Figure 3 shows which automakers and their brands are preferred by Georgian customers. To know relevant set of brands positioned in the mind of respondents we asked them to retail car brands they love/respect. The result is that Georgian customers like very much Toyota and other great brands follow this Japan Car Brand. About Ford Company people speak as well in their interviews. Toyota was all times in the list of favorite cars.

Figure 3: which automakers do you prefer? (source: the research)



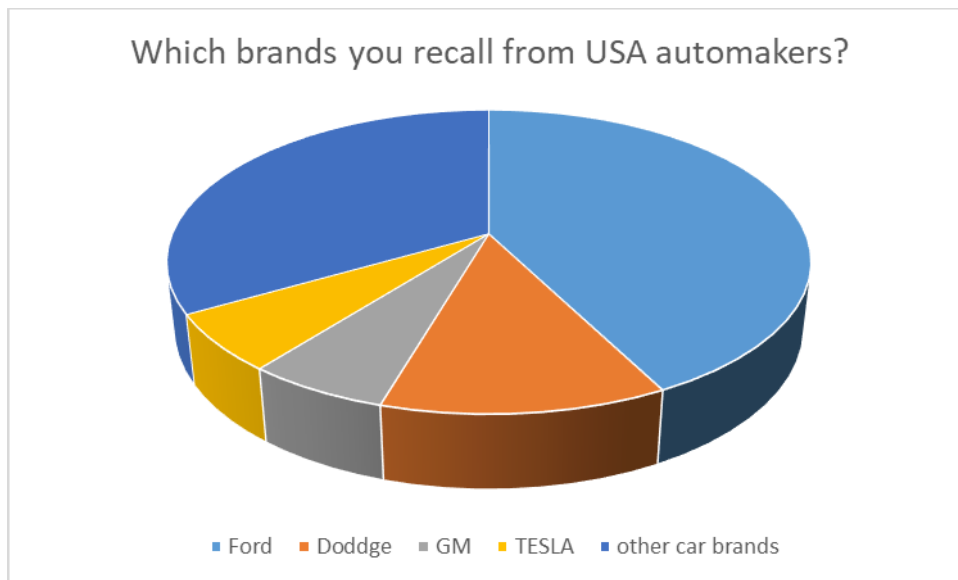
It sees that for everyday life people don't consider much American Brands and mostly speak about Japan Car Models.

Figure 4: cars for everyday life (source: the research)



From the answers of the research respondents It is obvious that Georgians know and respect much Japan Car manufacturers, their models and their brands. Now we directly ask questions about American Car Brands. The question is too direct: what brands you recall from USA automakers?

Figure 5: Which brands you recall from USA automakers? (Source: the research)

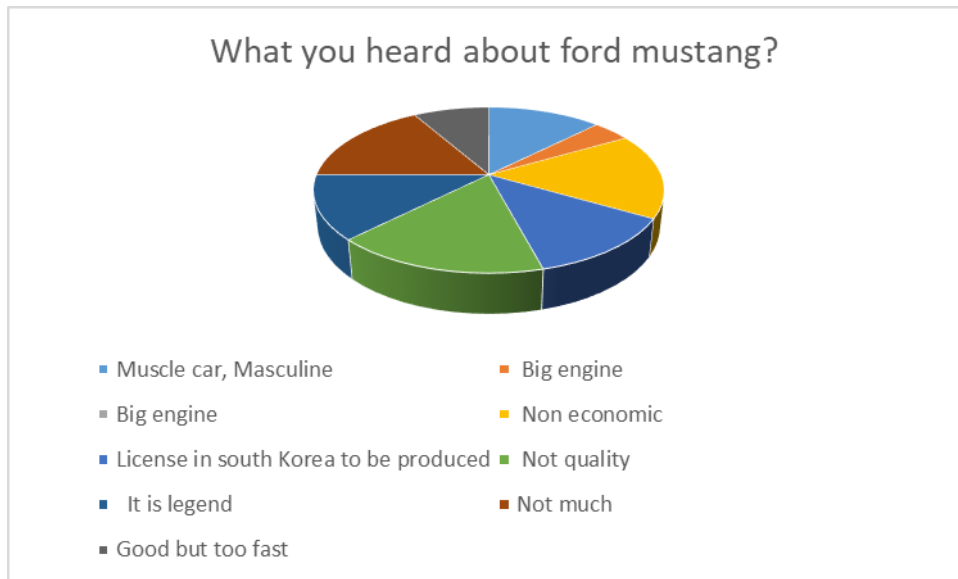


The answer is very encouraging. More respondents speak about Ford Motors Company and its brand. Most innovative car brand Tesla is liked but people know less about it. The next stage of the research was to know much about Brand Knowledge of Ford Mustang by Georgian customers and that's why researchers ask directly what people have knowns about this iconic car. When the researchers asked people about what they heard about ford mustang? The answers have shown the associations about customers brand knowledge.

- Muscle car, Masculine – many customers used this descriptor.
- Big engine – was also popular descriptor word used by respondents.
- Non-economic – this idea had also some place
- License in south Korea to be produced – only one person was speaking about it.
- Not quality – yes, the researchers found some respondents thinking about less quality of Ford Mustang.
- It is legend – yes of course people know it well.

- Not much – less knowledge was one of pivotal problems of the Ford Mustang positioning research.
- Good but too fast – was one of interesting ideas about.

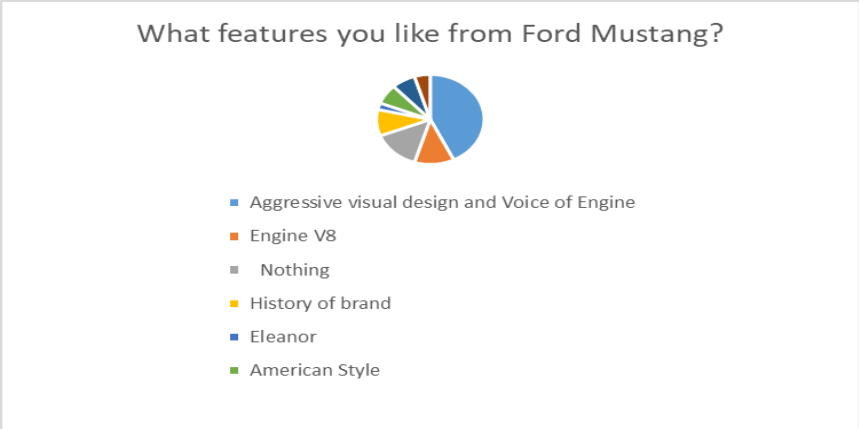
Figure 6: what you heard about Ford Mustang? (source: the research)



Very relevant for our brand tracking survey was to know - what features people liked from Ford Mustang? These questions had many possible answers what could be grouped in following main answers:

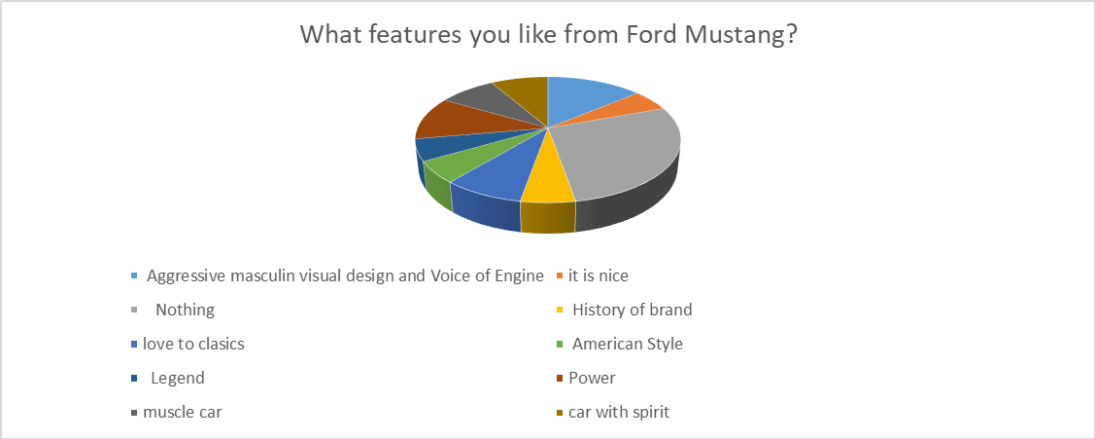
- Aggressive visual design
- Engine V8
- Nothing
- History of brand
- Eleanor
- American Style
- Legend
- Power

Figure 7: features of the Ford Mustang (source: the research)



It seems that the Aggressive visual design and Engine V8 with unusual engine voice is one of inspiratory Rocket of success of this brand around the world and in Georgia as well.

Figure 8: What can be your main reason to buy ford mustang? (source: the research)



This figure shows that the same aggressive masculine visual and voice could be prolongation of success of this car in Tbilisi.

In next questions we touch the existence of electro cars. What people think about it in Tbilisi. In next questions about electro auto most respondents are positive to have electro cars, but some 6% of customers think that it is not durable and respondents represent their ideas that by electro car they can be left on the road. Semi Foolishness of this idea notes to less knowledge of the people in Georgia about sustainability of electro cars. But in answers of respondents it is obvious that people love tesla Model Y. On second place by respondents the researchers see Ford Mustang Mach – E what some customers in Georgia like for innovativeness. Models: Ford mustang Mach - e, mustang gt500 have their followers in Georgia. Even some customers think that Mach – E is the new word in Car industry. All these shows about the healthiness of Ford Mustang brand and its Models in Georgian society. It also notes to the need of informative

campaigns in Georgia by Ford Company to explain to mass customers the preferences of electro models in our time.

## **Findings and Recommendations**

We have conducted the qualitative research through a comprehensive literature review and questionnaire survey with the car owners and decision makers plus the drivers that may influence the perception of car's brands. These explorations had pointed us in the right direction for further research. The questionnaire helped us to understand the brand perception of Ford Mustang in Tbilisi. Our research encompasses both primary and secondary research, whereas the focus is mainly on primary research. The primary research focuses on Georgian customers' car buying behavior and the Mustang's brand recall and recognition. Our approach to the primary research was through personal interviews in focus group and via surveys, sent via social media platforms, like Facebook.

As an outcome from our preliminary research we found out that the most active Ford Mustang Car buyers are people aged from 25 up to 30 (43.8%). Speaking of the buying behavior and habits, we could estimate that more than 54% of the respondents tend to buy American used cars via Web Pages and only 6% purchase vehicles from the local dealership. Reason for that is limited buying power of the Georgian population.

When being asked about the respondents' most favorable car manufacturers, the most commons were Japan Cars like Toyota and after that some German cars, like BMW and Mercedes, then on third place come American brands: Ford in the first place, then came Chevrolet, followed by Tesla.

As we already mentioned Ford is trying to stress out his uniqueness through his best Content marketing examples. But for that, Ford has become the very first car manufacturer and car brand in Georgians' minds to be recalled and remembered.

From our research we also found out, that Georgian people love Ford Mustangs because of two key factors: Masculine, Muscle oriented Design and History (Heritage). People watch very interesting, new model, a fully electric Mustang Mach-E, what has arrived and received a lot of skepticism from car enthusiasts and Ford Mustang owners. In Georgia though, if not the limited buying power, Ford Motor Company could easily attract new customers towards its new Mustang Mach-E. But it's not that easy as you might think, because there is competition in fully electric car segment and having such competitors such as Tesla is quite an obstacle. According to our research's preliminary results, even Georgian customers would prefer Tesla's models (Model Y and Model X) over Ford Mustang, because of the much longer existence and experience in the market.

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## Certain Specified Organizational Role of Public Relations (American Experience)

NICKOLAS MAKHARASHVILI\*

### Abstract

Some peculiarities you always wanted to know about PR but afraid to ask.

The Problem of PR communicational role in the organizational structure as part of the management team is still very important in Georgia. In USA *Public* Relations value to an organization has grown with technology because of the increased value of communication skills and an ability to predict and handle crises. A field that used to be considered discretionary in organizational management is still essential. PR is valued for its contributions. One is developing problem-solving strategies for the entire organization and helping to implement them through the PR department's own efforts to integrate and coordinate its work with other organizational units.

**Keywords:** publicity, facilitate, crystallize, trouble shooting, buzz, monitoring, corporate, nitty-gritty, participatory, strategy, reporting, freshen up, hazards, scrutiny, profitable

### Role and Character of PR in Organization

To simplify the discussion, consider organizations falling into one of three categories: government, profit and nonprofit. Of course, there are many variations in each of these. Dramatic differences are found in the level and branch of government, the profit-making organization that deals directly with consumers versus one that doesn't, the nonprofit organization that is strictly charitable such as a foundation versus one that provides services.

There are some unifying characteristics. Government at any level is always involved with the public agenda because it serves a constituency. In democracies especially, it serves at the will of the people., which means power and politics are a part of all decisions. For profit-making companies, the key word is *profit*. The "bottom line" is always important because making money is the reason the company is there, and investors depend on getting some return. If the company is publicly held, there is a big difference, though, because of laws affecting the public obligations of these companies. If a company is a nonprofit. It is subjected to much scrutiny than either or the other two types because people have contributed out of trust alone, without any

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\* Affiliated Prof. Dr., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

expectation of services or products in return. Violation of public trust always damages an organization, but especially nonprofits.

The communication climate within each of these organizations is significant too. The communication climate is tied to top management style, rather than to the type of organization. Some top managers operate on a “need to know” basis and are reluctant to have open communication within the organization. They know information is power and want a tight hold on it. Other top managements want information shared throughout the organization so informed decisions can be made individually and collectively. Communication at the first extreme is very top-down, with little communication coming from employees back up. Policies are likely to be strictly enforced. In the open communication environment, information comes from internal dialogue facilitated in many ways by management. Employees are empowered to make individual decisions, and although they are expected to report these decisions, management supports them in taking the initiative.

The communication climate is affected by the organization’s core values, usually set forward in its mission statement. The corporate culture comes from this, again traceable to top management. The corporate culture affects everyone in the organization. Even the lowest-level employees are likely told, “This is the way we do things.” What that may mean in a rigid communication system is “Don’t dare deviate.” In a looser one, it might mean “Go for it.”

Internal public relations people, as employees, are most affected by the “tone” of management, but outside public relations practitioners working under contract are too. Even when a public relations firm has been hired at great cost, they may find it nearly impossible to get the information they need in a closed communication system. If they are going to do the job, they have to depend almost entirely on outside information. In a more open communication climate, they can bring outside information inside for verification, and they find employees in all areas accessible and willing to say what they think. Needless to say, booth planning and troubleshooting are much easier in that situation. The advantage the outside firm has, though, comes from having more independence. Although no firm wants to lose a valued client, an outside firm can “Walk away” from a bad situation more easily than an employee can.

Any public relations department’s development of an annual plan either for the organization or for the PR department, has to start with the organization’s mission statement or organizational purpose. The way it develops from there often depends on the nature of the organization, but the elements of the public relations plan remain the same.

One role of the public relations department is to assist with the evaluation of an organization’s mission. The PR department is responsible for organizing and planning the review.

Mission statements set tone for the organization, establish its character and define the parameters of its activities. In addition to the mission statement, organizations write vision statements-descriptions about themselves indicating their self-image. These vision statements are the way the organization wants its various

publics to see them. Additionally, some organizations have core value statements that suggest its ethics. Another statement you'll find is an identifying statement that is objective in substance and just tells what the organization is and does.

All these public statements guide what the organization sets forward as what it wants to accomplish.

## **Publics and Organizational Relationships**

Although the public relations department is not responsible for all of an organization's projects, programs and activities, PR is source and resource for these, and has a concern because each involves relationships with different publics, an area that is PR's responsibility. The relationships with different publics are what gives an organization its reputation. The consistency of good long-term relationships with publics is crucial.

Six components of a relationship are the major factors determining satisfaction, according to the work of PR researchers Linda C. Hon and James E. Gruing. These are:

- Control mutuality;
- Trust;
- Satisfaction;
- Commitment;
- Exchange relationship;
- Communal relationship

While all are important, two deserve more explanation. Trust is founded in beliefs about the organization: in its *integrity* – that it will behave in a fair and just manner; in its *dependability* – that it will do what it says; and in its *competence* – that it has the ability to do what it says it will do. The notion of a communal relationship is more important in public relations than the idea of an exchange relationship. These aspects are measurable using agree/disagree statements, thus making it possible for management to get a more quantitative analysis of relationships with its various publics.

**Monitoring, Measuring and Reporting.** Even when many activities and countless forms of communication occur within an organization, the public relations department usually occupies the best position for monitoring what is or isn't happening and for evaluating how different publics are responding to various actions, messages and representatives of the organization.

Dr. Grunig and the research team found 10 principles indicative of good management:

- The PR management is strategic;
- PR reports directly to senior management or is empowered by management;
- The PR function is an integrated one with all PR function either in a single department or
- Mechanism exists to coordinate them;
- The PR function is a separate management function;
- The PR unit is headed by a manager, not a technician;
- The two-way symmetrical model for PR is used;
- A symmetrical system of internal communication is used;
- The staff is comprised of Pr professionals who are educated is a body of knowledge, keep up with the literature and belong to professional associations;
- There is diversity of gender, race and ethnicity in the PR staff;
- An organizational context for excellence exists that means participatory, rather than authoritarian
- Management cultures.

**Reengineering.** Reengineering became a popular management innovation PR strategy last 10 years. It also emphasizes the importance of “thinking big” and the need to sustain the drive for dramatic improvement through strong executive leadership. Reengineering is not Total Quality Management it is high-cost and high-risk innovation pr strategy.

***Planning and Managing PR Work.*** Watching the global horizons for issue that seem to be developing is one of the most important functions of strategic public relations management. What a practitioner is looking for is something

That could affect its products, one of its publics or its way of doing business. The PR person needs to notice first before the nugget of information becomes an issue around which public opinion has formed.

A public relations practitioner can't depend on catching each warning regardless of how sensitive that person's antenna. So, PR people work with others in the organization to see the organization from their perspectives. Obviously, the risk management division is helpful because they evaluate situations in terms of financial risks and insurance hazards. Marketing is always sensitive to competitive threats and new product challenges. Depending on the organization, research may be yet another place where issue can be identified.

Finding the issue is just the beginning. After identification comes monitoring. Each of this issue has to be watched as its potential threat to the organization increases or decreases. The best management can hope for is some honest brokering with the different publics so even though one public is not willing to concede a position, at least it understands management's position and is sympathetic enough not to actively oppose it.

The best PR keep top management aware of issues. If PR managers are not judicious in their notice to top management, when they see a really serious issue that could precipitate a crisis, management may consider their warning just another alert with no substance.

***Planning and Managing PR Work.*** Public relations' role in developing an organization's formal planning is significant. PR advisers help develop a mission statement for the organization – counseling on public and on strategies to reach objectives, as well as on environmental monitoring – as part of determining the organization's one-year, five-year and 10-year goals and objectives. In addition, the public relations department must develop its own communication goals and objectives.

Two additional roles fall to the PR department's own responsibilities. One is hiring good public relations talent – full-time, part-time, interns and outside firms. Mentoring and nurturing is another role for internal people so they can be promoted. For outside PR assistance, the key is facilitating so the company is seen as a good one to work with. The other major PR department role is budgeting.

In between this is the real job of developing and implementing PR work, planning strategies, solving problems and maintaining the department's reputation in the organization as a strong communication source and resource.

The PR practitioner's role is different from the inside as opposed to coming in as an outside resource. Outside resources might be an advertising agency that that works with public relations and marketing, and maybe merchandising and sales too if these are part of the organizational structure.

The PR unit also calls on designers, artists and photographers and production people such as printers and audio and video companies. Although many of these capabilities are in-house, often there is a need to go outside. This is particularly true of audio and video, whether these are for employees or external audience.

Another important outside resource is research firms. The reason is that research is very time-consuming, and most internal public relations staffs don't have and can't dedicate the time to do that well. PR departments now allocate at last 6 percent of their budgets to research, and some go as high as 10 percent. Sometimes the research firm offers additional services such as media planning ad message distribution. If so, that is usually a part of the contract because of the synergies involved.

The outside contractor may be a public relations firm that is expected, as an agency is, to offer research, planning, execution and evolution. Usually the firm has a specialty for which is the hired: crisis

management, health communication, public affairs, investor relations or such. The firm reports to the public relations manager, but also has access to top management. The ability of the outside firm to work comfortably with the internal PR department is the key to success. The PR firm is usually willing to be flexible because this is a client relationship. However, the internal PR department has to be flexible enough to listen for challenging ideas and creative solutions to problems.

An internal public relations department needs to have a clear view of its own mission and what it wants to accomplish. The internal staff has to set a timetable for activities, including deadlines and responsibilities, so its own activities can be monitored and kept on schedule. This is especially critical in an organization that has a complex approval process because delays can be destructive.

PR is difficult to plan and manage because of high expectations, uneven levels of demand and the creative element. It calls for flexibility and entrepreneurship, often in environments that don't reward either. Many public relations problems arise from the failure of public relations practitioners to manage an internal situation, and this often turns on lacking approval to do whatever is necessary to accomplish the job.

Public relations people are involved in problem solving situations almost constantly, and a good many of the eventual solutions to these problems are arrived at by groups. Occasionally, these groups include some people from outside and some from inside the organization; but most are arrived at internally, with much of the effort being exerted by the public relations department or outside PR counsel to the organization.

***PR Departments as Source and Resource.*** Resources available in the public relations department are often needed by other divisions of the organization. PR can supply information on the organization's publics, on the socioeconomic and political climates in which the organization functions and on media.

Top management is not only level that counts on public relations for counsel. Many other units call on PR for some evolution of an event or issue, just as they count on them for technical support.

PR is often the source for publications and presentations, it provides information for the organization's Web site and its intranet. It sets policies for all communications, including use of the logo or corporate name to keep consistency in and control over the corporate image and to be sure the organization "speaks with one voice."

Externally PR provides news for all media, print and electronic, mass and specialized. The VNR's (video news releases) may be done in-house too, although these are usually out sourced.

Since an internal PR department has to handle its own budget and be accountable for how the money is spent, it has to cost out each of these PR activities, including some allocation of employee time.

**Knowing how to Manage Strategically.** The expertise to play the manage role is closely tied to expertise in engaging in two-way practices.

Department expertise or knowledge to play communication manager role:

- Manage the organization's response to issues
- Use research to segment publics
- Develop goals and objectives for department
- Conduct evaluation research
- Prepare department budget
- 

***Managing and Working with PR People*** Internally, a PR department head is responsible for sound management. To manage PR people affectively, you must first recognize that they are creative people who work under continuous pressure and face criticism from all fronts for whatever they do. Next you must realize that they are individuals with professional attitudes that tend to make them more committed to their field than to the particular place where they may be working.

Cultivating personal growth and keeping PR employees from getting bored with routine chores are challenges for PR managers. PR managers must also see to it that their employees learn the organization's business thoroughly. In addition, they must see that their employees keep up with developments in their own field.

Internal PR management also is responsible for hiring outside PR firms. Bids from the firms are based on their accounting structures. The cost of staff time spent on a project is measured in staff salaries, usually prorated to the nearest hour of time spent.

A PR business incurs chargeable and no chargeable expenses can be charged to a client:

- Meetings with clients to prepare account material;
- Interviews, surveys and placement of materials;
- Supervision of mailing and distribution of releases, photograph assignments and other visual material prepared for the client;
- Travel time, including going to and from client's office, as well as time spent in off-hours with client personnel on client matters.

No chargeable expenses include the following;

- Keeping up contacts with media representatives;
- Meeting with office Keeping and staff and other group conference related to PR business;
- New business solicitation and preparation of materials for potential clients;
- Professional activities such as seminars meetings and time spent on organizational/firm matters;
- Leisure time spent away from home in hotels.

Externally, the PR firm itself another management issue, both for the PR department hiring it and the PR firm taking on the task of working for and with an internal PR department. For the internal PR people, hiring a firm means finding one the right size to do the job and with the right talent and experience to handle the project or problem.

For the PR firm, looking at the client, the options are a small firm, a medium-size one or large one. Some small firms are really the offices of counselors who do strategic planning but little or no implementation. The small firm often does a lot of networking to accomplish a task because it doesn't have a large staff. If a client essentially a planner and contractor, hiring out work to freelancers and other contractor workers. If a client represents too large a share of the small firm's business, there is the real economic danger of losing the client. This sometimes affects judgment. There is more of a tendency to just please the client instead of doing what the head of the PR firm knows need to be done. The result is bad for both the firm and the client. Small firms have to be sure they are not taking on a task too big for them, and that they don't become too dependent on a single client.

A medium – size firm usually charges more than the smaller firm because it sets aside part of the profits to solicit new business. Sometimes a new businessperson is hired to just generate new accounts. In that case the person often works for a commission and does not do much else for the firm except make pitches and write proposals.

Large firms are generally organized into groups composed of people who have the special expertise needed to handle a particular client's requirements. Larger firms normally have departments, such as media relations, that serves all groups. Groups usually make their own presentations, so the firm's principals are less in demand by the client than they are in the smaller and medium-size firms.

In all cases, what is important is a good fit between the firm and the client and most especially between the person servicing the account and the client contact.

***The Postmortem:*** Nitty –gritty of Public relations is valued for its strategic contributions. One is developing problem-solving strategies for the entire organization and helping in implement them through the PR department's own efforts to integrate and coordinate its work with other organizational units. Next is-being

attentive to issues as they emerge, monitoring them before they crystallize into public opinion and advising management how to handle the issues for a positive outcome to the organization.

***Bottom line:*** PR is the great equalizer when competing against larger companies with deep pockets.