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Forward

Escalation of the Tension in the South Caucasus and Use of the Potential of the Georgian-Armenian Relations.

The South Caucasus sub region, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, is constantly in tension. The problems of Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia, wars, that occurred as a consequences of the escalation of situations related to these issues, the failure of almost all proposals and projects aimed at the creation of any systems and structures stem from a completely opposite interests and goals of the world powers and regional players. From the other side, these tensions could potentially stabilize the situation in the South Caucasus.

The presence of frozen and latent ethnic and religious conflicts, tensions of the Armenian-Turkish and Russian-Georgian relations, the proximity of the Middle East which has fallen into chaos, as well as the penetration of the sub region of different kind of jihadist groups further complicate the situation in the South Caucasus sub region.

Against this background, Armenian-Georgian relations are one of the few stabilizing factors, being based on the centuries-old tradition of good neighborhood, the ability to solve the problems, which is also the result of the same centuries of good neighborhood and similar civilization norms and cultural codes.

However, at present Armenia is a member of the CSTO and the Eurasian Economic Union, being the only ally of Russia in the sub-region and Armenia has a powerful Russian military base in its territory. Meanwhile, Armenia is actively cooperating with NATO and the EU (though refused to sign the Association Agreement), and its relations with

the United States and with many European countries are at a very high level.

At the same time, Georgia has signed the European Union Association Agreement and holds such a rapprochement policy towards NATO, the result of which should become a full-fledged membership in this organization. Its relations with Russia remain strained and at the same time, Georgia has constantly developed its cooperation with Turkey. All the mentioned problems were complemented by quite a foreseeable aggravation of Russian-Turkish relations, which further fuels the growing escalation of tension in our sub-region.

Right because of the above mentioned reasons and the prevailing circumstances the initiators of the project, most of the results of which are being published in this collection of articles, set before themselves a gaol to consider the possibility of revealing the positive potential of the Armenian-Georgian relations in order to use them in helping each other in the field of politics and economy, continuing the long tradition of scientific and cultural cooperation.

This collection of articles presents most of the researches conducted within the project. The articles are written by graduate and senior undergraduate students of Georgian and Armenian universities under the guidance of the leading experts in both countries. From the Georgian side the project was implemented by the Institutes of Ethnology and Cultural Studies and the Association of Anthropologists of Georgia. From the Armenian side the project was conducted by the Center for Civilizations and Cultural Studies at Yerevan State University and "Hazarashen" Armenian Center for Ethnological Studies.

The initiators of the project pursued another important goal. The old generation of Georgia and Armenia which grew up in the Soviet Union know each other well, understands and respects the cultural and traditional differences between two nations while the young generation has quite a vague idea about it. The project was formed in such a way so that our students had an opportunity to communicate with each other, conduct researches jointly and write papers in collaboration with each other.

The project was realized with the support of Heinrich Boell Foundation, thoughtful and motivated work of the employees of which significantly contributed to its success.

I would consider it my pleasure to express deep gratitude to all the Armenian and Georgian scholars, who took part in its realization, Dr. Hranush Kharatyan, Dr. Nino Chikovani, Dr. Hayk Kocharyan, Dr. Kornely Kakachia, Dr. Ketevan Khutsishvili and Dr. Satenik Mkrtchyan.

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Professor, Ambassador Extraordinary
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Предисловие

Эскалация напряженности на ЮК и использование потенциала –грузино-армянских отношений

Южнокавказский субрегион, начиная с развала Советского Союза, постоянно находится в напряжении. Проблемы Нагорного Карабаха, Абхазии и Южной Осетии, войны, возникавшие в следствие эскалации ситуаций, связанных с этими проблемами, провал практически всех предложений и проектов, нацеленных на создание каких-либо систем и структур, которые потенциально могли бы стабилизировать положение здесь, проистекают из совершенно противоположных интересов и целей мировых держав и региональных игроков.

Наличие замороженных и латентных этнических и конфессиональных конфликтов, напряженные армяно-турецкие и российско-грузинские отношения, близость впавшего в хаос Ближнего Востока, проникновение в субрегион различного рода джихадистских группировок еще более усложняют ситуацию в субрегионе ЮК.

На этом фоне армяно-грузинские отношения остаются одним из немногих стабилизирующих факторов, в основе которого лежит многовековая традиция добрососедства, умение разрешать возникающие проблемы, пришедшее именно в результате этого многовекового доброспседства, схожие цивилизационные нормы и культурные коды.

Однако в настоящее время Армения является членом ОДКБ и Евразийского экономического союза, единственным союзником России в субрегионе, на ее территории находится мощная российская

военная база. Однако, наряду с этим, Армения активно сотрудничает с НАТО и ЕС (отказавшись подписать договор об ассоциации), ее отношения с США и многими европейскими странами находятся на очень высоком уровне.

В то же время Грузия подписала с Европейским Союзом договор об ассоциации и проводит такую политику сближения с НАТО, результатом которой должно стать ее полноправное членство в этой организации. Ее отношения с Россией продолжают оставаться напряженными, но в то же время развивается сотрудничество с Турцией.

Ко всем этим проблемам добавилось предсказуемое обострение российско-турецких отношений, что еще более подхлестывает рост эскалации напряженности в нашем субрегионе.

Именно вследствие всех вышеупомянутых причин и с учетом существующих обстоятельств авторы проекта, результаты которого публикуются в данном сборнике статей, поставили пред собой цель рассмотреть возможности раскрытия положительного потенциала армяно-грузинских взаимоотношений для их использования с тем, чтобы эти отношения помогали нашим двум странам и общества дополнять друг друга и помогать друг другу в сфере политики и экономики, продолжать многовековые традиции научного и культурного сотрудничества.

Статьи сборника написаны студентами магистратуры и старших курсов бакалавриата грузинских и армянских университетов под руководством ведущих специалистов обеих стран. Проект реализовывался, с грузинской стороны, Институтами Исследования культуры и Этнологии Тбилисского государственного университета им. Иване Джавахишвили и Ассоциацией антропологов Грузии, с армянской стороны – Центром исследования проблем культуры и цивилизации Ереванского государственного университета и неправительственной организацией Армянский центр этнологических исследований «Азарашен».

Авторы проекта преследовали еще одну важнейшую цель. Старшее поколение граждан Грузии и Армении, выросшее в

Советском Союзе, хорошо знает друг друга, понимает и уважает особенности культур и традиций наших двух народов в то время, как молодое поколение имеет обо всем этом довольно смутное представление. Проект был сформирован таким образом, чтобы наши студенты имели возможность общаться друг с другом, проводить совместные исследования, писать статьи в соавторстве друг с другом.

Проект был реализован при поддержке фонда Генриха Белля, вдумчивая и заинтересованная работа сотрудников которого в значительной степени способствовала его успеху.

Считают своим приятным долгом выразить глубокую благодарность всем грузинским и армянским ученым – Гранушу Харатяну, Нино Чиковани, Айку Кочаряну, Корнелиу Какачия, Кетевану Хуцишвили и Сатенику Мкртчяну, которые приняли участие в реализации данного проекта

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The Armenian-Georgian Window of Cooperation from the Economic and Geopolitical Viewpoint

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Keywords: Armenia, Georgia, EEC, EU, economic cooperation, geopolitical barriers

Abstract:

After the formation of the EEC, the trends in regional development started to change and the previous setup of cooperation between Georgia and Armenia shifted. The environment of uncertainty that was created and short-term expectations led to a recession in the economic cooperation between the two countries.

The current trends in the political context indicate the intention of both countries to foster cooperation. Meanwhile the "geopolitical barriers" require commitment and investments from Armenia and Georgia to keep this mutually beneficiary cooperation at the level of 2013. However, Armenia and Georgia are still in the same boat given the geopolitical location of both countries. Even if the two countries chose to move in different directions, a need for mutual cooperation will make them look for opportunities.

Introduction

The drastic change in the regionalization[1] tendencies in the South Caucasus started back in 1991 after the decline of the Soviet Union. Since then, on various occasions, the newly-independent states have faced the

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[1] *Regionalization* here is defined as a "process of forming regions as geopolitical units, as organized political cooperation within a particular group of states, and/or as regional communities such as pluralistic security communities"

dilemma of choosing between closer cooperation with the Western or Eastern power blocs.[2] Some post-Soviet states still make considerable efforts trying to balance relations between the East and the West: yet the balance seems unrealistic and the consequences of a choice between the EU and Russia can be quite traumatic, especially for the Eastern Partnership countries[3].

With time, the choice became more straightforward: either fostering relations with the EU or with Russia. Wars in Georgia and Ukraine are part of the "ENP story"[4] that had a vital role for other countries in the same boat to the weigh the possible alternatives of their foreign policies. A new milestone for ENP countries was the Vilnius Summit,[5] where the countries restated their priorities and defined the continuation of the pathway with the EU.

This article focuses on some major tendencies in the economic and political environment in Armenia and Georgia after the 2013 Vilnius Summit. More specifically, it looks at the development of economic relations of Armenia and Georgia and the expectations for the near future.

As claimed by some researchers, Georgia's choice of moving towards economic integration with the EU and the fact that Armenia is a member of the EEU creates a wall in the economic relations of both countries. As part of the present paper, we would like to see whether there is a window of

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[2] Here *Eastern power blocs* refers to Russia-led unions - the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Eurasian Customs Union (ECU) and Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). Mesropyan H. (2014). European Union or Eurasian Union, Eastern Partnership Countries Dilemma: Comparative Case Studies of Armenia and Moldova regarding the Initialisation of the Association Agreement. unpublished

[3] The Eastern Partnership (EaP) is a joint initiative of the EU and its Eastern European partners: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, launched in 2009 at the EU Prague Summit. (source: www.eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm)

[4] *ENP - European Neighborhood Policy* is defined as a platform through which "[…] the EU works with its southern and eastern neighbors to achieve the closest possible political association and the greatest possible degree of economic integration." More at: www.eeas.europa.eu/enp/

[5] *2013 Vilnius Summit* refers to the Eastern Partnership Summit, Vilnius, 28-29 November 2013. More at: www.eu2013.lt/en/news/-joint-declaration-of-the-eastern-partnership-summit-vilnius-28-29-november-2013

opportunity to develop and strengthen the economic relations and what the key leveraging factors and challenges are for cooperation[6].

We start with the description of the current situation of regional development from the Armenian and Georgian perspectives. Afterwards, we analyze the role and the approach of the EU in fostering Armenia-Georgia relations. The last heading of this article is dedicated to an analysis of the short-term challenges and opportunities in bilateral relations.

1: The Current Cross-Border Cooperation Trends for Georgia and Armenia

Armenian and Georgia share a common history, which lays the basis for the current relations between the two nations. While analyzing their bilateral relations, there is little to say about the economic or political relations; instead we can start mostly with historical developments. Their common "Soviet" past and the economic relations that were set up afterwards are still issues that remain to be considered[7].

A shift in Armenia-Georgia relations was caused by the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union. The EEU was formed on the foundation of the previously formed Eurasian Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, which is sometimes given the name "Soviet Union 2.0." On its path of becoming a member of the EEC, Armenia gave up the nearly completed negotiations with the EU over the signing of the AA and DCFTA.[8] Thus, Armenia ended up refusing closer relations with the EU.[9]

In order to analyze the possible benefits of the DCFTA for Armenia, we can refer to the opinions of a number of researchers[10]: the key argument

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[6] Minasyan, S. *Armenia and Georgia: A New Pivotal Relationship in the South Caucasus?* // PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 292, September, 2013.

[7] Policy Forum Armenia. Armenia and the West: A New Vision for the Caucasus. Washington, DC, 2014 (www.pf-armenia.org)

[8] *DCFTA* (Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area) is part of the *AA* (Association Agreement). More at: www.euractiv.com/topics/dcfta

[9] Mesropyan H. European Union or Eurasian Union, Eastern Partnership Countries Dilemma: Comparative Case Studies of Armenia and Moldova regarding the Initialisation of the Association Agreement, 2014, unpublished.

[10] Dinan, D., Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, 2010; Archick, K., European Union Enlargement (Vols. 7-5700). USA: Congressional

is that if a country has no real chances for EU membership, in the long run it will hardly reap significant economic benefits, or get the positive effects of access to EU infrastructure or build a democracy based on European values. In fact the South Caucasian countries, i.e. namely Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are in the club of the counties that can gradually forge closer and closer economic and political relations with the EU without actually becoming a member[11].

Let us consider two aspects of Armenia–Georgia relations: geopolitical and economic. The geopolitical dimension mostly refers to the roles of the EU and Russia in this region, while economic cooperation is mostly determined by the trade between the two countries given the fact that the flows of capital and workforce are not considerable[12]. Meanwhile, the geopolitical context is a determinant for economic relations. That is why we briefly discuss the developments in a geopolitical context and link the trends with economic indicators.

Armenia

Armenia is a landlocked country with quite a specific economic structure; a number of experts have stated that the country does not have many options but to foster economic and political relations with Russia. But these "relations" can be objectively replaced with "economic and political dependency" which becomes more dangerous with every year[13].

Armenia had a balanced political strategy, cooperating with Russia in security-related spheres and with the European Union in the economic

Research Service, 2013; Zahorka, Sargsyan, The Eurasian Customs Union, an Alternative to the EU's Association Agreements?, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, 2014.

[11] Dinan, D., Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, 2010.

[12] Mesropyan H. European Union or Eurasian Union, Eastern Partnership Countries Dilemma: Comparative Case Studies of Armenia and Moldova regarding the Initialisation of the Association Agreement, 2014, unpublished.

[13] Delcour L., Wolczuk K., Armenia is becoming an important test-case for relations between the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union, May 15, 2015. Retrieved July 4, 2015, from LSE EUROPP: European Politics and Policy: http://bit.ly/1cwsgEO

sphere[14]. But these political priorities were redefined following the abandonment of the Association Agreement with the EU in 2013[15].

After its long journey to a deeper economic integration with the EU, almost at the end of the road, Armenia changed its direction, deciding to join the Russian-led Eurasian Customs Union (ECU). The impact of joining the Customs Union from the point of view of the economic dimension is ambiguous[16]. Without going through the reasons and the roots of this issue, we consider it reasonable not to compare with other countries in the South Caucasus. Rather, it is more constructive to find channels and incentives for regional cooperation given the current challenges created by the regionalization.

According to current trends[17] we can assess the immediate impact of membership in the EEU. Statistical analyses indicate declines for major economic indicators: the growth of the economic activity by 1.3% since last year is explained by an increase in services (3.8%), construction (2.2%) and agriculture (1.8%). But these results are impeded by the decline in industry (6.7) and energy generation (19.7%). Determined by economic activity, private consumption has also been affected by the entailing negative expectation[18].

In turn, export has also suffered and the economic predictions show negative trends, as illustrated in Figure 1.

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[14] Kambeck M., Between the Big Blocs: Armenian Foreign Policy Untangled, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, June, 2014.

[15] Giragosian R., Armenia and the Eurasian Economic Union: The view from Yerevan, Yerevan: European Council on Foreign Relations, January 8, 2015.

[16] Mesropyan H. European Union or Eurasian Union, Eastern Partnership Countries Dilemma: Comparative Case Studies of Armenia and Moldova regarding the Initialisation of the Association Agreement, 2014, unpublished.

[17] Here, the *current trends* refer to officially published economic indicators as for 30/06/2015

[18] Armenia Monthly Economic Update. WorldBank, March 2015. http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/eca/armenia/armenia-economic-update.pdf.

Figure 1 Merchandise exports in Armenia (US$ million)
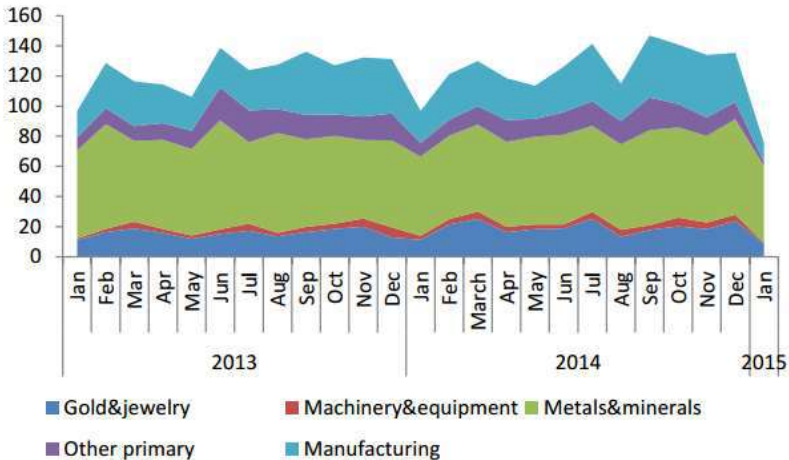
Source: NSS, WB – March 17, 2015

This statistical brief aims at demonstrating that, in the short run, EEU accession has not brought any significant economic improvement and the economic expectations do not have any promise for amelioration. Thus, for the country, it is vital to foster relations with its neighbors[19].

Georgia

The analyses of the Georgian foreign policy currently indicate that the Bidzina Ivanishvili government is trying to balance relations with different power blocs: i.e. Russia, the EU and NATO. In recent years, Georgia was making firm steps towards the EU with a notably worsening relationship with Russia. Ivanishvili's policy made some significant steps towards better relations with Russia[20].

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[19] Giragosian, R. Armenia's Role of Balancing Interests. Richard Giragosian on Armenia's Role of Balancing Interests. (© C. University, Interviewer), 2 June, 2015). www.ceu.edu/article/2015-06-02/richard-giragosian-armenias-role-balancing-interests#sthash.YlqZKIFs.3Fd5Rbau.dpufv.

[20] Minasyan, S. *Armenia and Georgia: A New Pivotal Relationship in the South Caucasus?* // PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 292, September, 2013.

"We Georgians want to have good relations with Russia but without detriment to our own sovereignty and independence, for which we have fought so hard [...]" said Georgian Prime Minister Irakli Garibashvili during a meeting with the RA Prime Minister[21]. That is to say, there is no way to neglect the determinant role of Russia in Armenia-Georgia relations.

The projections of Georgia's foreign policy can be found in the developments of EU-Georgia relations. For the near future (2014-2020), the key goal has been bilaterally defined as "to bring Georgia closer to the EU"[22].

Once economic indicators are evaluated, we should highlight the growth of GDP by 4.7% in 2014 and 3.3% in 2013. Along with this, the overall economic activity level has improved. Meanwhile, the predictions indicate slowdowns in 2015 given the economic trends in the European Union and neighboring Azerbaijan as well as the projected recession in the Russian Federation[23]. Thus, the Georgian economy is linked with the regional and Russian economic trends: and this is the major similarity that Armenian and Georgian economies have in common.

2: The Challenges of Cooperation

Geopolitical dimension

The EU is a considerable power bloc for this region as the support of the Union has a considerable role in promoting peace, stability and growth in the region along with the fact that it promotes democracy, human rights and freedom of speech. Thus, it is important to evaluate the possible

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[21] ITAR-TASS: Russian News Agency, September 28, 2014. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from www.tass.ru/en/world/751695

[22] Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in Armenia : Progress in 2014 and recommendations for actions . High Representative of The European Union For Foreign Affairs And Security Policy. Brussels: SWD, 2015, 63 final.

[23] Asian Development Outlook: Georgia 2015 //Asian Development Bank and Georgia: Fact Sheet Publication. April 2015.

contribution of the EU in the development of Armenian-Georgian cooperation[24].

The Eastern Partnership countries have become separate study cases, where the "one solution fits all" approach cannot be applied. Though Armenia and Georgia are still in this same group called "Eastern Partnership," experts and researchers refer to these countries as "test-cases"[25]. Cooperation with the EU was among the priorities for Armenia and for Georgia. Political will and economic cooperation interests determine a number of efforts including legislative approximations and changes in government practices[26].

Georgia will now pull more efforts to increase the pace towards better and closer relations with the EU. In turn, the EU, in accordance with its "more for more" approach, will give more privilege and resources than before in comparison with the countries which did not opt for EU integration[27]. In light of this, Georgia's attitude towards EU integration is rated "overly optimistic" as estimated by the public opinion polls[28]. There are still a number of efforts to be made in order to attain the "visa-free regime with the EU," which is yet not an end result, but rather a step forward to "Europeanization"[29].

[24] Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in Armenia : Progress in 2014 and recommendations for actions . High Representative of The European Union For Foreign Affairs And Security Policy. Brussels: SWD, 2015, 63 final.

[25] Delcour L., Wolczuk K., Armenia is becoming an important test-case for relations between the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union, May 15, 2015. Retrieved July 4, 2015, from LSE EUROPP: European Politics and Policy: http://bit.ly/1cwsgEO.

[26] Zahorka, Sargsyan, The Eurasian Customs Union, an Alternative to the EU's Association Agreements?, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, 2014.

[27] Press release "Eastern Partnership: progress in deep democracy and human rights rewarded with additional funding". European Commission, Brussels, December 12, 2013.

[28] Morari C., *European Integration of Georgia and The Republic Of Moldova: Evolution And Prospects* // People. International Research Staff Exchange Scheme, Seventh Framework Programme, Marie Curie Actions. 2013

[29] Puiu et al, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine: EU-Dreaming despite the Difficulties, May 27, 2015. Retrieved June 5, 2015, from Eurasianet: http://www.eurasianet.org/node/73611

When it comes to the EU perspective of cooperation with Armenia, here we see that the key interest point is civil society empowerment followed by public administration reforms[30]. However, Armenia is making efforts and demonstrating political will for further engagement with the EU, even after the "U-turn" and its accession to the EEU[31].

Economic dimension

Georgia-Armenia economic cooperation mainly refers to trade and energy transit through Georgia. Some experts identify a "small but growing" tendency, which is determined by the transit trade from Georgia and the flow of Armenian capital to the more business-friendly market in Georgia (Minasyan 2013). This situation seems to be more or less the same since the 90s, mainly because of the fact that bilateral relations have always depended on different power blocs to which each of the countries had chosen to be affiliated. Thus, there have always been a number of challenges, such that the countries were not strategic partners for each other.

Though it is hard to definitely identify all the challenges, on general terms, we name them "geopolitical barriers" that result in a so called "bilateral agenda" of both countries aiming to maintain good relations within the created constraints[32].

As it was previously stated, there is limited economic cooperation. An almost negligible amount of export of electricity from Armenia to Georgia does not serve as an indicator of considerable economic relations. The

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[30] Hristea T., Armenia-EU Relations: Charting a New Course. The EU has been encouraging Armenian Government to undertake and implement more ambitious reforms... and I believe that the focus of our financial and technical support will be further placed on those values, Yerevan: EU Delegation to Armenia, 2015.

[31] Delcour L., Wolczuk K., Armenia is becoming an important test-case for relations between the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union, May 15, 2015. Retrieved July 4, 2015, from LSE EUROPP: European Politics and Policy: http://bit.ly/1cwsgEO.

[32] Menabde G., *Georgia and Armenia Try to Maintain Friendship Across Geopolitical Barriers* // Eurasia Daily Monitor, vol., 11 Issue: 225, 2014, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4321 2&cHash=6fa05adae027a8d6809001fc8a7dab23#.VajD-KSqqko:

transit of Armenian cargo through the Georgian Black Sea ports is the key interest of both countries[33].

Some experts have suggested considerable cooperation potential in the energy sphere, as well as in transportation and tourism, but there is always a need to consider the political and economic framework of the EEU that limits Armenia in negotiating the terms of cooperation. In addition to what has been said, an important aspect is the incentive of Armenia to keep strong ties with Georgia – as only through Georgia can Armenia access the EEU and reap the benefits of its membership[34]. Meanwhile there does not seem to be an equivalent incentive for Georgia to foster relations with Armenia. The Georgian business sector is more oriented towards EU and the EEU market is not among its strategic priorities[35].

The analysis shows that an important factor to consider is the business expansion trends and the export destinations for Armenian companies including SMEs. In fact, Georgia is the only near-shore export for a number of Armenian companies, when they set up to expand their businesses. Given the economic zones and business-friendly environment of Georgia, some businesses either migrate or open a branch in Georgia. These flows of capital and labor have great potential in terms of investments in the Georgian economy[36].

One can estimate the short term impact of the EEC on Armenian-Georgian relations by simply looking at the dynamics of export from Georgia to Armenia. Although, there can be a number of factors that might

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[33] Policy Forum Armenia. Armenia and the West: A New Vision for the Caucasus. Washington, DC, 2014 (www.pf-armenia.org).

[34] Kalandarishvili, Iskandaryan et al, The Economic Dimension of Cooperation between Armenia and Georgia: Facing New Challenges and Opportunities, Yerevan – Tbilisi: Yerevan, Collage, 2015.

[35] Barker A., *EU Offers Stronger Ties to Eastern Nations — but Cautiously* // Financial Times, May 2015

[36] Iskandaryan A., Barkhudaryan L. et al. *The South Caucasus 2018: Facts, Trends, Future Scenarios //* Regional Program South Caucasus for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), 2015

have entailed this change, the accession of Armenia to the EEC has been considered as the key determinant factor[37].

Figure 2 illustrates the development of export from Georgia to Armenia. It is vital to observe only this economic indicator, as it is of key interest to both countries, since we are considering the mutually beneficiary aspects of Armenia–Georgia relations.

Figure 2 Export from Georgia to Armenia from 2000-2014

Source: National Statistics office of Georgia[38]

Export from Georgia to Armenia has drastically grown since 2009 and the most fruitful period was the end of the 2013[39]. In 2014, and later in 2015 the growth rate of the economic activity of Armenia declined[40]. This is one of the reasons why there was a decline in 2014, though some experts claim that this is the result of the economic instability in the region as result of the

[37] Kalandarishvili, Iskandaryan et al, The Economic Dimension of Cooperation between Armenia and Georgia: Facing New Challenges and Opportunities, Yerevan – Tbilisi: Yerevan, Collage, 2015

[38] National Statistics office of Georgia: GEOSTAT http://geostat.ge/ index.php?action=page&p_id=137&lang=eng (downloaded 01.08.2015)

[39] Armenian National Statistical Service: www.armstat.am (downloaded on 4.06.2015)

[40] Ibid

formation of EEC (i.e. unformatted institutions, unclear rules and undetermined, economic expectations etc.)[41].

Figure 3 shows that the mentioned effects of the uncertainties are continuous for the beginning of 2015 and thus, the export volumes are estimated to be less or equal to the ones for 2014[42].

Figure 3. Export from Georgia to Armenia as for June 2015
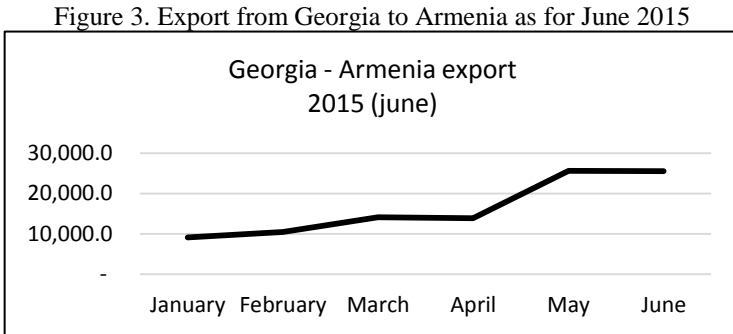
Source: National Statistics office of Georgia[43]

The EEC causes Armenia to increase trade and non-trade barriers with non-member states, and these changes will have negative results on the economic activity level of Armenia, as well as on economic cooperation between Armenia and Georgia[44].

Conclusion

Since 2015, Armenia is a fully-fledged member of the EEC, which costed the country its refusal to sign the DCFTA with the EU. This move will have its consequences not only in terms of Armenia EU-relations but

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[41] Kalandarishvili, Iskandaryan et al, The Economic Dimension of Cooperation between Armenia and Georgia: Facing New Challenges and Opportunities, Yerevan – Tbilisi: Yerevan, Collage, 2015

[42] National Statistics office of Georgia: GEOSTAT http://geostat.ge /index.php?action=page&p_id=137&lang=eng (downloaded 01.08.2015)

[43] Ibid.

[44] Kalandarishvili, Iskandaryan et al, The Economic Dimension of Cooperation between Armenia and Georgia: Facing New Challenges and Opportunities, Yerevan – Tbilisi: Yerevan, Collage, 2015

also in Armenia–Georgia relations. Along with this, Georgia seeks stronger ties with the EU, which results in even more uncertainties for the future of Armenia–Georgia cooperation[45].

The key influential power blocs in the region are Russia and EU. Given that Russia has prevented Armenia's European integration and "forced" the country to declare its intention to join the EEC[46], Armenian-Georgian cooperation to a great extent will depend on the quality of Russia–Georgia relations.

In turn, Georgia will continue its approximation to the EU, even though this entails a number of legislative changes and trade barriers that will affect Armenia–Georgia trade. The first short term effects already evaluated indicate a decline in Georgia–Armenia export.

The current trends in the political context indicate the intention of both countries to foster cooperation. Meanwhile, the "geopolitical barriers" require commitment and investments from Armenia and Georgia to keep this mutually beneficiary cooperation at the level of 2013. However, Armenia and Georgia are still in the same boat given the geopolitical location of both countries. Even if the two countries chose to move in different directions, a need for mutual cooperation will make them to look for opportunities.

[45] Iskandaryan A., Barkhudaryan L. et al. *The South Caucasus 2018: Facts, Trends, Future Scenarios //* Regional Program South Caucasus for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), 2015; Barker A., *EU Offers Stronger Ties to Eastern Nations — but Cautiously //* Financial Times, May 2015

[46] Minasyan, S. *Armenia and Georgia: A New Pivotal Relationship in the South Caucasus? //* PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 292, September, 2013.

Հայ-վրացական համագործակցության պատուհանը (հնարավորությունները) տնտեսական և աշխարհաքաղաքական տեսանկյունից

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Հայաստանի՝ Եվրասիական Տնտեսական Միությանը անդամակցությունից հետո, տարածաշրջանային զարգացման միտումները սկսեցին փոխվել՝ ազդելով հայ-վրացական համագործակցության նախապայմանների վրա: Ստեղծված անորոշության միջավայրը բացասաբար անդրադարձավ հատկապես երկու երկրների տնտեսական կապերի վրա:

Սույն հոդվածը հակիրճ անդրադարձ է կարճաժամկետում Հայաստանի և Վրաստանի միջև տնտեսական և քաղաքական հարաբերությունների փոփոխություններին և հնարավոր հետագա զարգացումներին: Փորձ է արվել վերլուծել հայ-վրացական կապերի զարգացման խոչընդոտներն ու հնարավորությունները, որ ձևավորվել են 2013թ-ի Վիլնյուսի Գագաթաժողովից հետո:

Understanding Europeanization in Georgia and Armenia - Discourses, Perceptions and the Impact on Bilateral Relations

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Introduction

Post-Soviet Georgia and Armenia have a long history of cooperation with the European Union (EU). With the aim of deepening bilateral ties with the EU, both countries were included in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) program. Since 2009, the European Union began negotiating the Association Agreement, including a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) with Georgia and Armenia. Several reforms have been conducted to converge their policy to that of the European Union. But the geopolitical climate has changed significantly.

On 3 September 2013, when the Agreement was finalized in Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan, President of the Republic of Armenia, made an unexpected announcement about the decision to join the Russian-led Eurasian Customs Union instead of signing an Association Agreement with the EU. Armenian membership in the EurAsEC Customs Union would be incompatible with the agreements negotiated with the EU[1]. Thus, the Armenia–EU

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[1] Rettman. A., *Armenia to join Russia trade bloc, surprises EU*, EUObserver, September 3, 2013, https://euobserver.com/foreign/121304 (accessed on 04.08.2015)

Association Agreement was called off by Armenia in early September 2013, though a revised agreement is still under consideration. Unlike Armenia, EU membership still stays the top priority in the Georgian political agenda and Georgia signed the EU association agreement in 2014.

Despite these geopolitical changes, both Armenia and Georgia are continuing their Europeanization and European integration.

This paper investigates how Europeanization is perceived in Armenia and Georgia, and the different impetuses of Europeanization in the two countries. The research aims to analyze the extent to which the understanding of Europeanization affects Georgia-Armenia bilateral relations. The study shows that Europeanization seems to be an effective tool for the convergence of Georgian and Armenian policies despite the fact that the essence of Europeanization is substantially different in both countries. The research also aims to show how some fields in Armenia "have suffered" as a result of the decision not to sign the Association Agreement. However, the analysis does not reflect the complete picture as it is too early to give a precise assessment, since Armenia and the EU are in an ongoing negotiation over a modified association agreement.

What is Europeanization?

Europeanization consists of the polities and/or public policy contents of EU member states or candidate countries, which converge towards a ''European norm'' usually manifested by existing European Union (EU) rules, legislation, and institutional frameworks. Helen Wallace, Thomas Risse, and others utilize the term "Europeanization" to signal the development of a European political culture or identity—a "We in Europe" feeling as well as the emergence of a new political entity. Furthermore, Europeanization does not end at the external borders of the European Union. It consists of the export beyond European territory of forms of political organization and governance that are typical and distinct for Europe. Europeanization in this sense concerns relations with non-European actors and

institutions. Europeanization signifies a more positive export/import balance as non-European countries import more from Europe than vice versa[2].

According to Ladrech 'Europeanization is an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making.'[3]

Since the 1990s, however, EU scholars have begun to look beyond the formal borders of the EU and study the impact of European governance on external actors. This broadening of the horizon was a result of major developments in European integration. As a consequence of its Single Market Program and a series of enlargement rounds, the EU deepened and expanded its internal market. The size and attractiveness of this market accorded the EU considerable power to shape the economic and public policy rules of global governance and its trading partners. Also, Eastern enlargement was bigger and considerably more intrusive and transformative than previous enlargement rounds.[4] So, Europeanization has had a considerable impact on the EU's neighborhood. The EaP has facilitated cooperation and integration in a number of policy areas such as trade, energy, transport and the environment. The prospect of visa-free travel, though conditioned upon partner countries' application of Freedom, Justice and Security (FJS) reform and cooperation, is a particularly strong incentive.[5]

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[2] Ugur M., *Europeanization, EU conditionality and governance quality: Empirical evidence on Central and Eastern European countries* // International Studies Quarterly.2012, p. 41 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256023612 _Europeanization_EU_Conditionality_and_Governance_Quality_Empirical_Eviden ce_on_Central_and_Eastern_European_Countries (accessed 04.08.2015)
[3] Ladrech R., *Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France* // JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 32:, 1994, p70
[4] Schimmelfennig F., *"Europeanization beyond Europe"* // Living Reviews in European Governance 2:1, 2007, p 3. http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2007-1 (accessed 04.08.2015)
[5] Solonenko I., Shapovalova N., *Is the EU's Eastern Partnership promoting Europeanisation?*. policy brief. *FRIDE, September no 97*, 2011, p. 2. http://fride.org/download/PB_97_EaP.pdf (accessed 04.08.2015)

This research aims to contribute to the analysis of Europeanization in 2 ways: firstly, it demonstrates the understanding of Europeanization through the lens of non-EU states; and secondly, the paper investigates the effect of Europeanization on the bilateral relations of non-EU states (Georgian and Armenian).

The issue raised in this paper is not what Europeanization "really" is, but whether and how the term can be useful for understanding the dynamics of the political processes in Georgia and Armenia. According to many authors, the EU generates external effects through conditionality, socialization, externalization, and imitation[6]. So, Europeanization is linked with institutional changes. But, the impetus of change is substantially different in Georgia and Armenia.

Theoretical Framework

The paper represents the constructivist approach of Europeanization. Europeanization is what states make of it. In constructivist accounts, social norms have 'communicative, rather than merely referential functions,' ones that 'guide, inspire, rationalize, justify, express mutual expectations'.[7] Through discursive interactions, agents are constructing social reality (the Europeanization concept). In turn, the structural context contributes to re-shaping agents' preferences and identities. [8] Interpretative constructivism emphasizes the intersubjective process which underpins common norms and defines social structure. So, Europeanization in Georgia, as well as in Armenia, should be considered in the context of "subjective opinions" about the concept. Europeanization includes "processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU

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[6] Schimmelfennig F., *"Europeanization beyond Europe"* // Living Reviews in European Governance 2:1, 2007, p 3. http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2007-1 (accessed 04.08.2015)

[7] Kratochwil F., Ruggie J. G., *International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State* // International Organization, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Autumn, 1986), p 767-769.

[8] Ibid p.755

decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies".[9] Thus, in this article, the importance and meaning of Europeanization in Georgia and Armenia are considered in accordance with internal political discourses, identity, as well as subjective perceptions of norms and rules.

Methodology

This paper analyzes EU-Armenia and EU-Georgia relations as well as the European integration and Europeanization of these countries. The research investigates "Europeanization" in Georgia and Armenia using discourse analysis. In relation to European integration, discourse analytical approaches have been used to map out the features and form of the European project.[10] In this paper, studying Europeanization implies a discourse analysis of the statements of Georgian and Armenian officials, as well as politician interviews. Here, the focus is on how the integration project is conceptualized as such and what kind of identity it promotes, as well as how it defines the principal goals of Georgian and Armenian European integration by analyzing the spheres (for example: security, economy, conflict resolution) to which it is related, mostly in the public discourse. In this case, public polls can be used as a source of information. Also, with the aim of gaining a thorough picture of the perception of "Europeanization," the paper uses personal interviews with experts on European Studies and Integration, political analysts and representatives of civil society. The authors have recorded 8 formal interviews in Armenia and Georgia. In addition, the study investigates official documents and statistics through content analysis.

The study tries to explain the meaning of Europeanization in Georgia and Armenia using case study methods. The authors have conducted single case studies in both countries. Furthermore, to investigate the impact of Europeanization on Georgia-Armenia bilateral relations, the research uses

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[9] Bulmer S., Radaelli C., *The Europeanization of National Policy?* // Queen's Papers on Europeanisation, No 1, 2004, p.4.

[10] Kratochwil F., Ruggie J. G., *International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State* // International Organization, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Autumn, 1986), p. 760-761.

comparison of the results of two single case studies. Therefore, the last part of the paper represents a comparative case study.

Armenia's Path to Europeanization. The Perception of Europeanization in Armenia.

Armenia and the EU: Historical Background, Ongoing Cooperation.

The Armenia-EU relationship has a long history dating back to 1996, when the EU-Armenia Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was signed. When this Agreement came into force in 1999, the two sides began collaboration in the areas of political dialogue, trade, investment, economy, law-making and culture.

In 2004, together with the other South Caucasus countries, Armenia was included in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Later on, in 2005, an ENP Action Plan for Armenia was published. "*Armenia is invited to enter into intensified political, security, economic and cultural relations with the EU, enhanced regional and cross border co-operation and shared responsibility in conflict prevention and conflict resolution*" reads the Action Plan.[11]

Armenia's inclusion in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) initiative in 2009 was another move towards deepening EU-Armenia cooperation. Thus, Armenia and the EU began negotiating an Association Agreement, including a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA). The negotiations were finalized in July 2013 and expected to be signed at the summit in Vilnius, Lithuania in November 2013. The newly-opened (31 January 2013) EU Center in Yerevan, Armenia, was "set to become the European Union communication hub"[12].

However, after a meeting with the Russian President Vladimir Putin in his Novo-Ogaryovo presidential residence outside Moscow, on September 3, 2013, Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan announced that Armenia would join the Russian-led Customs Union instead of signing the

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[11] EU-Armenia Action plan 2015, 1: http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/armenia_enp_ap_final_en.pdf, (accessed 10.08.2015)

[12] EU in Armenia: *"EU Centre Opens Door"* http://eucentre.am/eu-centre-opens-door/, (accessed 10.08.2015)

Association Agreement with the EU[13] . Joining the Customs Union would mean engaging in the Eurasian integration process as well.

Reasons behind the Withdrawal of the Association Agreement. The Armenian Public's Reaction to the Sudden U-Turn.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, some post-Soviet countries chose to join any Western initiative which would contribute not only to the prosperity of the 'newborn' countries but also to the disintegration of the Russian Empire. Unlike those countries, Armenia maintained its good relations with the Russian Federation. This is connected with several factors: obviously Russia has great leverages over Armenia which have been used in influencing Armenia's Foreign Policy. These levers are namely the territorial dispute, the Armenian large diaspora in Russia, and Russian capital in Armenia.

Thus, the main reason of why Armenia preferred the Moscow-led Customs Union to the Association Agreement with the EU was the country's foremost concern - security. Armenia is blockaded by two of its neighboring countries—Turkey and Azerbaijan, due to existing conflicts with these two neighbors, especially the confrontation involving large-scale military operations alongside the Armenia-Azerbaijan border. Armenia and Russia are both members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) military alliance along with four other ex-Soviet countries. Thus, Armenia perceives Russia as its main guarantor of security. In this respect, Armenia is 'dependent' on Russia. Unlike the Russian Federation, the European Union Association Agreement provided no security guarantees. Consequently, having Ukraine as an example, Armenia feared making a new enemy in the Russian Federation. Perhaps Russia gave a slight hint of the possible consequences by selling military equipment worth up to $1bn to Azerbaijan.

Russia also 'reminded Armenia of its importance' by deporting a number of Armenian citizens working in Russia. Further deportations could have had serious consequences as remittances from Armenian migrant

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[13] *Armenia Chooses Russian Trade Deal over the EU,* September 2013, http://www.rt.com/business/russia-armenia-customs-eu-391/ (accessed 01.08.2015).

workers in Russia make up 9.1% of Armenia's GDP.[14] In this respect, Armenia is economically dependent on Russia in a way.

Also, Armenia depends on Russia for its energy supply: in May 2013, during debates in the parliament, Armenia's Public Regulatory Commission Chairman Robert Nazaryan said the electricity price would rise from 30 to 38 drams per kilowatt-hour in Armenia. (Electrical Networks of Armenia Closed Joint Stock Company was then a 100% subsidiary of the Russian INTER RAO EES. The company had exclusive rights for the transmission and distribution of electricity to around 950,000 consumers, including the population across Armenia)[15]. However, On June 19, 2015 the company announced a 16 percent increase in the electricity tariff starting in August. This decision caused a mass turnout, which earned the name "Electric Yerevan," protesting the hike in electricity rates.

Serzh Sargsyan, the President of Armenia, had said that the country would affiliate itself with the Eurasian Economic Union for trade purposes. "Armenian cognac can't really be sold in Paris," Sargsyan, speaking through a translator, said. "But it does well in the Russian Federation." One-third of Armenia's exports go to Russia and its partners, including agricultural products on which thousands of jobs depend. In addition, Russia sells natural gas to landlocked, energy-poor Armenia "at quite a good price"[16]. According to the Observatory of Economic Complexity, the first export destination of Armenia is Russia (19% of exported goods) and it is the top import origin of the country (15%) (atlas.media.mit.edu). When one compares this to EU trade with Armenia, where there was a 24.2% export growth rate in 2004, the growth in 2013 and 2014 was consequently 5.0% and -0.4%. The growth of imports in 2005 was 107.7% and dropped

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[14] World Bank, Migration & Remittances Data, http://econ.worldbank.org /WBSITE/EXTERNAL/ EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~pi PK:64165026~theSite PK:476883,00.html#Remittances (accessed 10.08.2015).

[15] ARKA News Agency, *"Electricity price to rise from 30 to 38 drams per kilowatt-hour in Armenia",* 24.05.2013, http://arka.am/en/news/economy/electricity_price_ to_rise_from_30_to_38_dramsperkilowatt_hour_in_armenia/ (accessed 10.08.2015).

[16] The Washington Post, *"Why Armenia turned to Russia instead of the West",* 07.05.2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2015/05/07/ why-armenia-turned-to-russia-instead-of-the-west/, (accessed 10.08.2015)

to -5.2% and 5.7% respectively in 2013 and 2014 (European Union, Trade in Goods with Armenia, 2014). Nevertheless, the fear of a possible war in Nagorno-Karabagh and of further deportations of the Armenians working in Russia were the most influential reasons behind RA President Serzh Sargisyan's decision to join the Moscow-led Customs Union.

The Armenian public was divided into several groups after the sudden announcement of the President. Most of the young people expressed their disappointment concerning this decision as the majority of the Armenian youth strived for the establishment of core European values - equal rights and opportunities, democratic governance, rule of law, and transparency. And many young people demonstrated their objections to this decision by protesting in front of the presidential residence in Yerevan. However, there were no mass protests in Armenia like the ones in Ukraine. This perhaps confirmed the survey results by Gallup International's local representative Armenian Marketing Association from April 2013. 67 percent of the surveyed had said yes to the question "Should Armenia join the Customs Union with Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus?"[17]. However, another survey held in October 2013 by the same Association, showed a result of 64 percent. Aram Navasardyan, Chairman of the Association, told the press on November 27, 2013 that the survey was carried out among 1,067 people in Yerevan and the provinces. According to him, they used a direct method of inquiry, i.e. face-to-face interviews. Yet, according to the EU Neighborhood Barometer survey, conducted in Eastern Partnership Countries in November-December 2012, "85% of respondents wanted a greater EU role in economic development, 87% in trade, 84% in human rights, 74% in democracy, and 78% in regional cooperation" [18].

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[17] *Gauging opinion: New survey in Armenia shows 64-percent approval for Customs Union accession*, ArmeniaNow.com, 27.11.2013, http://www.armenianow.com/news/50405/armenia_russia_customs_union_gallup_p ublic_opinion_survey (accessed 30.08.2015)

[18] *ENPI Barometer: Taking the EU Pulse in the Eastern Neighborhood*, EastBook.eu. 03.05.2013, http://www.eastbook.eu/en/2013/05/country-en/poland-en/enpi-barometer-taking-the-eu-pulse-in-the-eastern-neighbourhood/. (accessed 30.08.2015)

Meanwhile, there were people, mainly from the older generation, who considered the decision of joining the Customs Union to be the right one. They explained this decision using the existing conflict with Azerbaijan. "I have always said that we should maintain a balanced and good relationship with both Russia and the West. However, we are currently in a hot conflict and the time and circumstances have proven that the decision to join the Customs Union was the right one." [19]

"If Azerbaijan decides to restore jurisdiction over Nagorno-Karabakh by force, the [Russian] military base may join in the armed conflict in accordance with the Russian Federation's obligations within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)[20]." This was the announcement of Russia's 102nd military base commander, Colonel Andrey Ruzinsky, who, according to euraasianet.org, "made the comments in an interview with the Russian military newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda"* in November 2013. This announcement was said to be the first publicly made statement by a Russian commander. Thus, if the decision to join the Customs Union was said to be a security strategy, then this choice may be considered satisfactory.

In any case, as barometer.am reports, according to the Eurasian Development Bank Integration Barometer, Armenia had the lowest integration rates in 2015 among other Eurasian Economic Union Countries. As EDB's survey states, 56% of surveyed Armenians are positive about Armenia joining EurAsEC.

EU-Armenia Current Relations. Opportunities for Future Cooperation

The EU was quite cold towards Armenia after Serzh Sargsyan had announced his unexpected decision, which seemed to put an end to EU-Armenia cooperation. Nevertheless, both sides later expressed a

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[19] Personal Interview with Arman Navasardyan, RA former Foreign Deputy Minister, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, interviewed by the author. June 2015, Yerevan.

[20] Eurasianet.org: *"Russian Officer: We Would Intervene In Karabakh Against Azerbaijan",* 1.11.2013, http://www.eurasianet.org/node/67712, (accessed 10.08.2015)

commitment to continue collaboration. Subsequently, a modified association agreement was signed on January 20, 2015 by the EU Commissioner for European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Johannes Hahn and Armenian Foreign Minister Eduard Nalbandian. Johannes Hahn's visit to Armenia this March restated the willingness for cooperation and a perspective for closer relations. The EU commissioner once again highlighted that the focus appeared to be on issues of democracy, human rights and judicial cooperation.

At the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius in 2013, the EU and Armenia (with its 30-member delegation) agreed on the need to update the EU-Armenia Action Plan and build upon the existing framework for cooperation. The EU and Armenia reconfirmed their commitment to further developing and strengthening their comprehensive cooperation aiming at the continuous improvement of democratic institutions and the judiciary, the promotion of human rights and rule of law, good governance, the fight against corruption, strengthening civil society, further improving the framework for enhanced trade and investments, continued implementation of the mobility partnership and increasing sectoral cooperation. The joint statement of High Representative Catherine Ashton and Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian reaffirmed the commitment for cooperation:

"*The EU and Armenia enjoy close links and reconfirm their commitment to further develop and strengthen comprehensive cooperation in all areas of mutual interest within the Eastern Partnership framework. Based on common values, both sides are committed to further cooperation aimed at the continuous improvement of democratic institutions and the judiciary, the promotion of human rights and rule of law, good governance, the fight against corruption, the strengthening of civil society, the further improvement of the framework for enhanced trade and investments, the continued implementation of the mobility partnership and increased sectoral cooperation*"[21].

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[21] Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit, Vilnius, 28-29 November 2013.
http://www.euronest.europarl.europa.eu/euronest/webdav/site/mySite/shared/general _documents/eap_summit/2013-11-28-joint-declaration.pdf (accessed 01. 08.2015)

The 'negotiations' between Armenia and the European Union were just talks until October 13. On this day, the EU Foreign Affairs Council granted the European Commission with a mandate for an 'Enhanced Partnership Agreement.' Over 2 month later, on December 7, 2015 the EU and Armenia "*opened negotiations on a new overarching framework for the deepening of their bilateral relations. Negotiations were launched by High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice-President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, Edward Nalbandian*"[22]. As the official website of the EU Delegation in Armenia informs:

The future Agreement will replace the current Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (1999) and reset EU-Armenia relations within the wider framework of the recently-reviewed European Neighbourhood Policy and of the Eastern Partnership. It also serves as an opportunity to definitively turn the page following uncertainties created in 2013 when the negotiated EU-Armenia AA/DCFTA could not be completed following Armenia's decision to join the Eurasian Economic Union".[23]

However, even prior to getting the mandate, Armenia and the EU continued the implementation of joint projects, namely in the areas of agriculture, education (more specifically, the Bologna System), energy sector, nature protection and climate change mitigation, entrepreneurship, civil society organizations, and anti-corruption strategy, including e-governance, which is currently working in most structures of the Armenian Government together with an electronic tax return system. More importantly, the talks on the Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements between the European Union and the Republic of Armenia are still in progress.

Regardless of the maintenance of cooperation in the above mentioned fields, the youth sector drastically suffered due to recent events, even

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[22] European Union External Action: Press Release: "*EU and Armenia launch negotiations for a new agreement*", 07.12.2015, http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/151207_04_en.htm, (accessed 07.12.2015)

[23] Ibid.

though the European Union claims to value the importance of civil society organizations, NGOs and other youth initiatives. Artur Najaryan, the president of "Youth Initiative Center" NGO, states that funding from the European Union to Armenian civil society organizations has significantly decreased. "The national agencies for the Youth in Action Project say the funds have decreased for all Eastern Partnership countries. We're in the second half of the year now but the national agencies have no money left for new projects. If 2 years ago, our NGO could implement 5-6 projects yearly, the funding currently is enough for only 5-6 in the whole region," says Artur Najaryan. He adds that since the EU claims to value the importance of civil society, he expects better opportunities to appear in 2016[24].

Despite the fact that political decisions are hard or impossible to forecast as they are often unprecedented, both sides, Armenia and the European Union, anticipate a tighter relationship and closer cooperation. As the mission of Traian Hristea, Ambassador and Head of the EU Delegation in Armenia, is coming to an end soon, he published a speech highlighting 4 years of joint work by the EU and Armenia. "*The EU believes its partnership with Armenia is extremely important, and we are keen to continue deepening relations to promote our common values of democracy, rule of law, human rights and market economy by means of implementing our bilateral agreements*. […] *Armenia can rest reassured that the EU will continue to be there to deliver results*,"[25] he declared.

Perception of Europeaniztion in Armenia

Armenian people interpret Europeanization in different ways. Mikayel Hovhannisyan, expert in European Studies, European Integration and the EU Eastern Partnership project, says Europeanization simply "includes the

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[24] Personal Interview with Artur Najaryan, President of Youth Initiative Center NGO, interviewed by the author, June 2015, Yerevan.

[25] Mediamax: "*Traian Hristea: Relations with the EU: what do they mean for Armenians?*", 04.08.2015, http://www.mediamax.am/en/news/foreignpolicy/15014/, (accessed 10.08.2015)

set of all the principles which served as the basis for the establishment of the European Union"[26].

However, the way Europeanization is defined by the experts varies from the way it is perceived by ordinary people. Interestingly, most often ordinary citizens do not think about the term *"Europeanization"* when they strive towards European values. They simply vote for sustainable livelihood, social security, and better working conditions. In this regard, Armenia began its Europeanization process long ago and still continues on that path. Heghine Manasyan, Executive Director of CRRC-Armenia, shares this idea and adds that "Europeanization is also a culture, a set of values"[27].

Artur Najaryan, the president of Youth Initiative Center (YIC) NGO who has been involved in youth work for around 10 years, and has met a variety of young people from the different regions of Armenia, also realized that the majority of young people identify Europeanization with European integration, freedom of expression, liberty and a secure environment in a secure country. "But the elderly identify it [Europeanisation] with perversion," he says [28]. To be more specific, the older generation is reluctant to accept non-standard sexual orientations and absolute gender equality. This is the main reason behind the negative attitude toward the European Union.

Despite this controversial attitude, Armenia continues its Europeanization mainly through European integration. From this perspective, Armenia began its Europeanization in 1996 when it signed a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (in force since 1999)[29] with the EU. But it is a matter of time and circumstance how long and deep this

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[26] Personal Interview with Mikayel Hovhannisyan, Expert in European studies, European Integration and EU Eastern Partnership project, interviewed by the author. May 2015, Yerevan.

[27] Personal Interview with Heghine Manasyan, Executive Director of "CRRC-Armenia", interviewed by the author, June 2015, Yerevan.

[28] Personal Interview with Artur Najaryan, President of Youth Initiative Center NGO, interviewed by the author, June 2015, Yerevan.

[29] Delegation of the European Union to Armenai: Political and Economic Relations, http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/armenia/eu_armenia/political_relations/index_en.htm, (accessed 10.08.2015)

process can go. At some point, Russia may not tolerate ties between the EU and Armenia that are too close in nature. For the time being, Armenia seems to have real opportunities for continuing and deepening its Europeanization process as Russia has not yet responded to Armenia's "both/and" political choice. The European Union, in turn, emphasizes the importance of bilateral relations and at every official visit and highlights the areas of cooperation.

Understanding Europeanization in Georgia: Discourse and Perceptions

EU integration is very closely related to the main goals of Georgian statehood. The discourse of EU aspiration is very complex and diverse. It includes different spheres and objectives for Georgia. This section investigates the main narratives related to the EU integration process in Georgia, which help us to analyze the Georgian perspective of European integration.

The EU integration process is an inevitable part of Georgian political discourse and it has been highly represented in Georgian political debates since the 2000s. The aspiration to EU membership is considered as unquestionable foreign policy direction in Georgia. Georgia's leaders - from Shevardnadze to Saakashvili to Ivanishvili have been consistent in saying that Georgia's choice was Europe, and that this was not open for speculation[30] . Also, Georgia's political opposition, at least those like the Free Democrats and United National Movement that seek to move Georgia towards the West, have said they would do better than the Georgian Dream at moving Georgia in this direction. That is a position that might help them with an already wary electorate[31].

The EU has both substantive and intangible attractions for Georgia. The substantive attractions include national security, increased economic opportunities and links to one of the world's biggest and most vibrant economies. The intangible appeal is harder to define but also very

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[30] *Opinion: Georgia's European quest: a question of stamina,* Commonspace.eu, May 2015, http://commonspace.eu/eng/news/6/id3271 last seen 04.08.2015 (accessed 04.08.2015)
[31] *Georgia beyond EU and Russia*, lincolnmitchell.com, July 2015. http://lincolnmitchell.com/georgia-analysis/2015/7/8/georgia-beyond-europe-and-russia (accessed 04.08.2015)

significant. This might be described as a sense of belonging to an elite international group and full membership in a family of prosperous and democratic nations. The intangible draw of these Western institutions is very powerful in Georgia, particularly among Georgia's Western-learning political elite [32].

The EU and Georgian Identity: Georgian "Europeanness"

First of all, the impetus of Georgia's aspiration towards the EU is its national identity, more specifically its self-perception as a European nation striving to return to the European family. Georgian "Europeanness" is not a recent phenomenon for the country. Identification with the West (Europe) has roots even before the nineteenth century, and intensified after gaining independence in 1991. From then onwards, Georgia declared its commitment to Western values as a priority and aspired to membership of Western institutions[33].

According to Ghia Nodia, historically the bottom line of Georgia's quest for a patron in the West had been its perception of itself as a Western nation. Georgia considered itself to be unlucky, being surrounded by Muslim neighbors and identified itself with the "center of goodness" (Europe)[34]. Immediately after gaining independence, Georgia declared Western principles as the basis for the country's development[35]. In this process of self-establishment as a sovereign state, this westward conviction was based on the assumptions that the West should care about Georgia because "the latter intrinsically belongs to the former" and as "the West was

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[32] *Opinion: Georgia's European quest: a question of stamina*, Commonspace.eu, May 2015, http://commonspace.eu/eng/news/6/id3271 last seen 04.08.2015 (accessed 04.08.2015)

[33] Minesashvili S., *How European Are We? Explaining Georgia's Westward Aspiration* // Center for Social Science working paper, 2012, p. 6. http://css.ge/files/documents/Papers/Research_paper_Salome_Minesashvili_(1).pdf (accessed 04.08.2015).

[34] Nodia G., *The Georgian Perception of the West* // Coppieters B., Zverev A. and Trenin D. (eds.), Commonwealth and Independence in post-Soviet Eurasia. London-Portland, 1998, p.13.

[35] Jones S., *The Role of Cultural Paradigms in Georgian Foreign Policy* // Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 19(3) 2003, pp.91-93.

seen as an embodiment of fairness, by definition it was obliged to support just cases and Georgia's claim to independence was clearly just" [36].

The idea of Georgia's European identity was always floating around in Georgian political discourse, and from 2000 onwards it was directly reflected in the country's foreign policy. This policy was starkly defined as pro-Western.

In October 2000, a document was prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia entitled 'Georgia and the World: a Vision and Strategy for the Future'. It declared that 'the highest priority of Georgian foreign policy is to achieve full integration in European political, economic and security structures, thus fulfilling the historical aspiration of the Georgian nation to participate fully in the European Community' and that 'deepening cooperation with the [European Union] represents a paramount aim of Georgian foreign policy'. The following statement in the document stresses Georgia's pro-Western orientation: 'Georgia considers cooperation with the United States of America and European countries as the main segment of the strategy of integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures'[37].

More drastic change occurred after the Rose Revolution. Throughout the two terms of President Mikheil Saakashvili, Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration was set as a top priority. Drawing from the narrative of Georgia's belonging to the West, these aspirations were based on the country's traditional quest for its place in the European family. In the document of "Foreign Policy Strategy" (2006-2009), the priority of Euro-Atlantic integration was justified by Georgia's belonging to Europe in terms of "geography, and a political, cultural and value system." In official documents, Georgia's belonging to the European family is constantly underlined: "historically, culturally, politically and geographically Georgia is a part of Europe, we fully share European values"[38]. During his inaugural

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[36] Nodia G., *The Georgian Perception of the West* // Coppieters B., Zverev A. and Trenin D. (eds.), Commonwealth and Independence in post-Soviet Eurasia. London-Portland, 1998, p. 20.

[37] Rondeli A., *The Choice of Independent Georgia* // Chuffrin Genady (eds)The Security of The Caspian Sea Region, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2002, p 196-197.

[38] Foreign Policy Strategy of Georgia, 2003, p 21

address in 2004, Mikheil Saakashvili, with the banner of the European Union along with the Georgian flag in the background, declared: "[The European] flag is Georgia's flag as well, since it embodies our civilization, our culture, the essence of our history and perspective, and our vision for the future of Georgia... Georgia is not just a European country, but one of the most ancient European countries... our steady course is towards European integration. It is time Europe finally saw and valued Georgia and took steps toward us[39].

The importance of belonging to Europe is still relevant to the Georgian foreign policy and identity. In 2015, in his annual report, President Margvelashvili emphasized EU integration as a top objective of Georgia: "From a Post-Soviet country to a European State- that is how I defined the goal of my annual report a year ago, and now we have to take a firm step for strengthening the European State.

We are Europe historically as well as culturally, not only a part but also as an active participants in its development and creation through centuries; nevertheless, we could have contributed much more. Due to the geographical distance and separation to a certain extent, we had to defend the values frequently that are significantly important for European civilization, but we had to do so by ourselves, without allies.

This is our current challenge - to firmly establish these values in everyday life, to build a modern, European Georgia based on a rich inheritance; Georgia, centered on an individual - the modern Georgian as the heir of a great culture, and therefore a European citizen"[40].

The EU in the Concept of Georgian Security and the Anti-Russian Foreign Political Choice

The EU is also related to the security of Georgia. Usually, it is considered as part of a wider geopolitical narrative. For example, in 2012, Saakashvili said the following when he addressed the public: "We almost

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[39] Minesashvili S., *How European Are We? Explaining Georgia's Westward Aspiration* // Center for Social Science working paper, 2012, p. 8-9. http://css.ge/files/documents/Papers/Research_paper_Salome_Minesashvili_(1).pdf (accessed 04.08.2015).
[40] Annual Report of the President of Georgia, 2015

have what has always lacking throughout history… a powerful family of free nations ready to welcome Georgia, to support and protect its statehood, its freedom, its existence. This family is called NATO and this family is called the EU. This family is called Europe and the Trans-Atlantic Alliance of Democratic Nations. To put it in another way: the West, the horizon we were always looking at without ever fully reaching it"[41].

The EU and the European market form the core element of the Georgian energy security strategy. Georgia perceives itself as a transit country, thus defining its importance as a linking point from East to West. The transit of energy resources from the Caspian Sea to the European market is the strategic goal for Georgia. Future development and economical projects have existential meaning for Georgia and they are usually related to Georgian security, sovereignty and even survival. So the EU is a crucial element for the Georgian energy security discourse and is highly represented in Georgian political debates related to energy issues.

Furthermore, the EU should be considered as an anti-Russian choice. For ordinary Georgians, this may present the issue of whether continued hostility towards Russia is a wise economic and security position given that the economic and security benefits of joining the EU and NATO appear to still be a long way in the future. This frames Georgia's choice as a binary one - either the primal satisfaction of full integration into the West or succumbing to the shadowy influence of Moscow.

If the question is framed in this way, the easiest answers are that either Georgia should continue doing what it is doing to get into NATO and the EU, as strengthening institutions and building a more democratic and functional state are worthwhile goals on their own, or that, without imminent membership in these organizations, Russian influence will inevitably grow[42].

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[41] Bolkvadze K., Naylor R., *Popular and Elite Perceptions of the EU in Georgia //* Bachmann V., Muller M.,(eds.) Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa: looking in from the outside. New Yourk: Pagvilan Macmillan Press, 2015, p. 112.

[42] *Georgia beyond EU and Russia*, lincolnmitchell.com, July 2015. http://lincolnmitchell.com/georgia-analysis/2015/7/8/georgia-beyond-europe-and-russia (accessed 04.08.2015)

But, as Tamar Pataraia has mentioned, the perception of the EU as an anti-Russian alternative is a very simple view. In reality, the EU is more than only a balance to Russian power. Furthermore, only EU mediation can facilitate a Georgian-Russian dialogue. It can also play a positive role in conflict resolution in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali Region (South Ossetia)[43].

On the other hand, Georgia finds it easier to influence Russia using international levers under the Geneva format, but from the Kremlin's point of view, any external involvement (specifically by EU member states and the U.S.) in Russia's sphere of influence is not welcome and may hamper bilateral relations between Russia and Georgia[44].

The EU as a Normative Power: Reforms, Economy and Building of Political Institutions

Establishing a sustainable, law-based system of governance has become central to Georgia's aspirations of becoming a fully-fledged member of the democratic family of nations, and this goal is repeatedly upheld by politicians of all stripes as essential to the country's development.

The Georgian political elite understands that this path implies consolidating its democratic institutions, the irreproachable state of fundamental rights, and maintaining the successes obtained in the fight against corruption and in the quality of public service, which have been recognized and praised by the international community[45].

The outspokenly pro-European rhetoric of the Saakashvili government led Elgstrom and Bendgsston to conclude that the Georgian ruling elite largely recognized and shared a positive perception of the EU: the EU is readily acknowledged as a normative leader and performs the role of a

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[43] Personal interview with Pataraia Tamar, Head of the European and Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Program at the Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development, interviewed by the author, July 24, 2015, Tbilisi.

[44] Gogolashvili K., *The South Caucasus: The European Future* // The South Caucasus 2018 Facts, Trends, Future Scenarios, Konrrd Adenauer Stiftung e.V, 2013, p. 362.

[45] Kakachia K., *Georgian Politics in Transition: Trends and Obstacles For Potential Transformation* // The South Caucasus 2018 Facts, Trends, Future Scenarios, Konrrd Adenauer Stiftung e.V, 2013, p 44-45.

normative great power as Georgia arranges its transition towards democracy and a market economy along the lines stipulated by the EU[46].

Economic and trade incentives represent significant drivers of EU-Georgia relations. The ENP Action Plan agreed between Brussels and Tbilisi in 2006 offered Georgia, among other "carrots," a stake in the EU's internal market and the opening of their economies to each other. The post-revolutionary government, from its early days, made a very vocal commitment to the idea of a "European" Georgia, and already in 2004, established the ministry of Euro-Atlantic integration in charge of coordinating the country's rapprochement with the EU and NATO. The ruling elite pushed through a series of radical reforms to curb corruption, strengthen state capacity, promote economic growth and modernize the infrastructure, which were often presented as Georgia's attempts to align with EU standards and principles. It even inspired some scholars to assume that these reforms exemplified the soft normative power of the EU, which had been able to induce it norms beyond its border[47].

Public Perception of the EU and New Challenges

Georgian society shares this official aspiration towards the West. 81% agree that Georgia should be in the EU and only 3% disagree. Likewise 79% would vote in favor of membership if a referendum were held tomorrow. In the EU Survey 2011, 55% of Georgians name the EU as important for the country, 64% believe that Georgia should have the closest political cooperation with the EU[48]. One out of every two Georgians agrees with former Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania's statement "I am Georgian and therefore I am European," with 59% agreement with the statement and one

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[46] Bengtsson R., Elgström O., *Conflicting Role Conceptions? The European Union in Global Politics* // Foreign Policy Analysis, Vol 8 (1), January 2012, p 105

[47] Bolkvadze K., Naylor R., *Popular and Elite Perceptions of the EU in Georgia* // Bachmann V., Muller M.,(eds.) Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa: looking in from the outside. New Yourk: Pagvilan Macmillan Press, 2015, pp. 113-114.

[48] *Knowledge and Attitudes toward the EU in Georgia,* Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC). 2011, p 26-27 http://www.crrc.ge/uploads/files/research_projects/EU_Report_FINAL_Jan25.2012_ENG.pdf . (accessed 04.08.2015)

third disagreement[49]. The majority of Georgians tend to feel as if they belong to Europe. A survey conducted by NDI in 2014 revealed that 79 percent of Georgians support the government's stated goal to join EU[50].

The Georgian government attempts to improve public awareness about the EU. Since March of 2013, the Information Center on NATO transformed into the Information Center on NATO and the EU. It is functioning under the control of the office of the State Minister of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration. In particular, a center of this kind is a unique phenomenon in the Eastern Partnership countries. Elene Gotsadze, Director of the Information Center on NATO and the EU, mentioned that the main goal of the center is to improve public awareness about the EU. In particular, after the signing of the Association Agreement between the EU and Georgia, the center has attempted to provide useful information to ordinary Georgian citizens. Elene Gotsadze emphasized that EU integration is first of all about democracy and development, but the current Georgian government is trying to reflect the benefits on the lives of ordinary Georgian citizens of the achievements in EU-Georgian relations. She emphasized that economic issues have become more relevant after the Association Agreement. For example, the center is currently attempting to make information accessible to Georgian farmers about the European Neighborhood Program for Agriculture and Rural Development (ENPARD)[51].

The EU integration process enjoys real support in Georgian society. However, one-third of the population (29%) believes that the EU threatens Georgian traditions[52]. Elene Gotsadze underlined that the shifts and instabilities in the geopolitical climate in the Eastern Partnership and the Crimea crisis have led to new challenges for the EU integration process of

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[49] Ibid
[50] National Democratic Institute (NDI) Poll, Georgia. August 2014. https://www.ndi.org/Georgia_poll_2014. (accessed 04.08.2015)
[51] Personal interview with Gotsadze Elene, Director of Information Center on NATO and EU, interviewed by the author, July 29, 2015, Tbilisi.
[52] *Knowledge and Attitudes toward the EU in Georgia,* Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC). 2011, p 33. http://www.crrc.ge/uploads/files/research_projects /EU_Report_FINAL_Jan25.2012_ENG.pdf . (accessed 04.08.2015)

Georgia. She mentioned that Russian soft power is becoming more active in Georgia. Anti-Western propaganda and negative myths are damaging the image of EU. Identity issues are the most sensitive ones. Some groups consider EU integration as the end of a distinct Georgian identity and a danger for Georgian culture and traditional values. Misunderstandings about the Association Agreement and a lack of information about the reality in the EU have provoked a fear in highly religious groups about the legalization of LGBT weddings. She underscored that Russian soft power tries to rouse nihilism and hopelessness about the future membership of Georgia in the EU. But a positive public perception of the EU should be maintained by the tangible results of the EU integration process, for example visa liberalization could really play such a positive role[53].

To conclude, the Georgian perspectives of EU integration are related to many issues. First of all, the impetus of the EU integration process is the Georgian national identity. Secondly, the EU is considered in Georgian political discourse as a means towards and a role model for the development and prosperity of country and is represented as a normative power. Also, the EU is usually perceived as a guarantee of Georgian security and a mediator in Georgian-Russian relations. But, the dynamics of Georgian-EU relations and the Association Agreement have led to new challenges. Currently, public awareness of the EU is more detailed and pragmatic. The economic benefits and tangible results of EU-Georgian relations has reshaped the perception of EU integration in the Georgian political discourse. It is becoming more realistic and result-oriented.

Conclusion

As a result of the two case studies conducted in Georgia and Armenia, the paper reveals the main perceptions and political discourses of Europeanization in both countries. From the Georgian perspective, Europeanization is a foreign political choice. It is closely related to very existential aspects of Georgian statehood – security, identity, foreign policy… Europeanization is considered as an alternative to a pro-Russian

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[53] Personal interview with Gotsadze Elene, Director of Information Center on NATO and EU, interviewed by the author, July 29, 2015, Tbilisi.

policy. Usually, it is seen as the best way to be free of the Russian sphere of influence. Armenia has also pursued its way into deep European Integration/Europeanization, however currently Armenia does not perceive Europeanization as the only political choice. Though the Armenian government has preferred the Russian-led Customs Union over the Association Agreement, Armenia maintains a good relationship with the EU, stressing the importance of Armenia-EU relations. In case of Armenia, the focus appears to be on issues of democracy, human rights and judicial cooperation. To sum up, the impetus of Georgian Europeanization is conditionality. Conditionality is a direct mechanism of Europeanization, which is based on the EU's manipulation of other actors' cost-benefit calculations. The EU seeks to disseminate its governance rules by setting them as conditions for external actors. The Armenian perspective of Europeanization is different. Unlike Georgia, in Armenia Europeanization is not regarded as incompatible with pro-Russian policy. Though Armenia has preferred the Eurasian Economic Union over the Association Agreement, Europeanization remains of great importance for the country. It is viewed as a way towards progress, modernization, and democratization. And due to the bilateral commitment and the will constantly voiced and highlighted by the European Union officials and Armenia, both sides are actively continuing negotiations and efforts for a new agreement.

To conclude, the Europeanization of Armenia is essentially different from the Georgian case. Therefore, in Georgia, the "Europeanization" of Armenia is not perceived as being very genuine and decisive. Due to the character of Georgian "Europeanization", Georgians have found this concept incompatible with friendship with Russia, as it exists in the Armenian case.

In spite of the different approaches to "Europeanization" in Georgia and Armenia, the Euro-integration process has had positive effects on the bilateral relations of these countries. Until 2013 (when Armenia declared its decision to join the Russian-led Eurasian Customs Union instead of signing an Association Agreement with the EU), in the context of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) project Georgia and Armenia had the same political agenda and challenges. The geopolitical changes in the region provoked some misunderstandings Armenia and Georgia about each other in, but the

Euro-integration process remained as a means to focus on the same interests, rather than differences. Thus, the Euro-integration might have great potential for improving the bilateral relations of these neighboring Caucasian countries.

Though the diverging foreign policy paths of Armenia and Georgia (one joining the Eurasian Economic Union, the other signing an association agreement with the EU respectively) could seriously risk the bilateral relationship between the neighbors, both countries have voiced their will to continue their good relations. During his visit to Tbilisi in June 2014, the Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan "reaffirmed a sincere desire and commitment to working […] in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding" (President.am, 2014). President Sargsyan stressed the importance of bilateral official visits in the process of cooperation development. A number of official visits from both sides have followed this statement.

Հասկանալով եվրոպականացումը Հայաստանում և Վրաստանում. դիսկուրսներ, ընկալումներ և ազդեցությունը երկկողմանի հարաբերությունների վրա

Անա Չիտալաձե
Իվանե Ջավախիշվիլու անվան
Թբիլիսիի պետական համալսարան

Տաթևիկ Գրիգորյան
Վալերի Բրյուսովի անվան Երևանի պետական
լեզվահասարակագիտական համալսարան

Հոդվածը վերլուծում է Հայաստանի և Վրաստանի հարաբերությունները Եվրամիության հետ՝ համեմատելով երկու երկրներում եվրաինտեգրման գործընթացը: Հետազոտությունը նպատակ ուներ ուսումնասիրելու երկու երկրներում եվրոպականացման հասարակական ընկալումը: Այս ընկալման մասին պատկերացում կազմելու համար օգտագործվել է դիսկուրս-վերլուծության մեթոդը, մասնավորապես՝ հոդվածում տեղ են գտել երկու երկրների պաշտոնատար անձանց կողմից արված հայտարարությունների, հաղորդագրությունների և ցեկույցների, քաղաքական գործիչների, վերլուծաբանների և մասնագետների հետ հարցազրույցների վերլուծությունները: Քննարկվում են նաև եվրաինտեգրման գործընթացում Հայաստանի և Վրաստանի հիմնական դրդապատճառները, համագործակցության հիմնական ուղղությունները: Ի լրումն, հոդվածը վերլուծում է Հայաստանի և Վրաստանի վարած տարբեր արտաքին քաղաքականության ազդեցությունը երկու հարևան երկրների հարաբերությունների վրա:

The Impact of Sunni Projects on Georgia:
The Case of ISIS

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The Islamic State is an example of one of the fiercest and most brutal project for Sunni globalization. Currently the Islamic State has managed to become the number one threat almost all over the world. Residents of various countries have shown the willingness to join the Islamic State and those people who manage to survive after joining will end up bringing back home not only an extensive experience of fighting but new political and social ideas as well. All of these factors threaten the security of other countries, endangering peace and civic order.

The end of the Cold War and the bipolar global order led to a reactivation of missionary activities and the emergence of various globalization projects. The Islamic State is one among these projects. The establishment of a Caliphate by this certain group of jihadists, who are obviously not known for their high intellectual and educational level, can have certain repercussions. There is an objection whether Quran or the religion of Islam itself presupposes the establishment of Caliphate, however, the activities of Islamic State may reduce the number of Sunni globalization projects. In addition to this, the caliphate may aim at destabilizing the countries of the region. The supporters of Islamic State may stimulate similar actions in other countries. The instability caused by Islamic State may result in reshaping the map of the region[1].

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[1] Hovhannisyan D., *Sunni Radicalism: the "Present" and the "Future"* // Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies, Yerevan, 2015, v. 7, pp. 8-29.

The territory of the South Caucasus, located not far from the Islamic State's de-facto capital Al-Raqqah is also endangered. Although it takes only eighteen hours to reach Tbilisi from Al-Raqqah by car, the internet has served as the main medium for recruiters. Georgia and Azerbaijan have turned out to be the two countries most targeted by Islamic State recruiters[2]. The activities of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq endanger the security of all the South Caucasian states. In Russia, the North Caucasus is the most vulnerable region in this regard. In turn, the vulnerability of the North Caucasus threatens the security of the Pankisi Gorge in Georgia. Only two years ago, the security forces of Georgia fought against armed militants in Lapankuri around the Pankisi Gorge. Azerbaijan has also voiced fear of the infiltration of the Islamic State into the region. Armenia, in this case, has to deal with the influx of Armenian refugees from Syria and Iraq, as they flee to escape the fighting and the rule of the Islamic State[3]

The Muslim Community of Georgia

Since 2004, Georgia's state policy regarding the Muslim community has undergone changes. Before then, the Muslim community of Georgia did not face any obstacles for the procurement and management of its resources. Additionally, the Muslim community of Georgia did not have the status of a legal entity, and gained its influence through the authority of its leaders. In 2004, the Muslim community of Georgia gained legal status. From then on, the laws of Georgia have regulated the activities undertaken by this community. The 2004 law has given minorities the right to register their communities as legal entities[4].

The level of integration of the Muslim community of Georgia remains poor. Underrepresentation in the Georgian state system, and a low

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[2] Ge.boell.org/en.ge, Web-dossier: a glance at the islamic state from afar: Islam and politics in the South Caucasus, http://ge.boell.org/en/web-dossier-glance-islamic-state-afar-islam-and-politics-south-caucasus (accessed on June 17, 2015).

[3] Palonkorpi M., The South Caucasus beyond Borders, Boundaries and Division Lines Conflicts, Cooperation and Development, 2015.

[4] Baramidze R., Islamic State and Georgia's Muslim community, http://ge.boell.org/en/2015/06/17/islamic-state-and-georgias-muslim-community (accessed on June 17, 2015).

degree of socialization constitute the core problems hindering the integration processes of Muslims into Georgia's social and political life. In addition, the lack of any specific measures promoting integration results in their further alienation from Georgian society.

There are no specific schools for Muslims in Georgia to receive higher religious education within the country. The only way to receive a theological education in the country is through the *madrassas* in the mosques, which serve as parochial schools covering the basics of religious education[5]. However, the *madrassas* functioning in Georgia do not have legal status and the documents provided by them cannot serve as legal documents certifying any theological education attained. Therefore, the Muslims of Georgia have to travel to Muslim countries to receive religious education, and the choice of country varies depending on religious considerations. The Muslim population of Ajaria travels mainly to Turkey for their theological education. The Muslims of the Pankisi Gorge travel to Saudi Arabia. The Azerbaijani population of Georgia leaves for Iran or Azerbaijan when pursuing a religious education[6].

The shortcomings in the reforms and policies addressing the issues of Muslim minorities impede their integration into the social and political life of Georgia**.** Georgia's religious policy has mainly been concentrating on resolving the issues of immediate concern and has often lacked farsightedness. This type of approach is visible through the analysis of the activities of the Muslim Board, the State Agency for Religious Issues and other organizations. Moreover, the officials involved in the decision-making process lack knowledge regarding the concerns of the Muslim community. The agencies involved in the settlement of issues have failed to present all

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[5] Menagarishvili I., Lobjanidze G., Sakhokia N. and Gvimradze G., Political Aspects of Islam in Georgia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013

[6] Menagarishvili I., Lobjanidze G., Sakhokia N. and Gvimradze G., Political Aspects of Islam in Georgia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013; Liles T.*, Islam and Religious Transformation in Adjara* // ECMI Working Paper, February, 2012.

the problems faced by the community and find appropriate ways for the resolution of those issues[7].

The so called followers of "pure Islam" and the adherents of Salafi Islam have conflicts among each other in the Pankisi Gorge region. Generally, the elderly Muslim population constitutes the adherents of traditional Islam while the younger generation consists of the followers of Salafi Islam. Although there is currently not much confrontation, some steps must be taken in order to avoid further clashes and hostility. According to Menagarishvili, the number of adherents of Salafi Islam is increasing. However, the author does not provide any information on specific numbers. Nevertheless, Menagarishvili states that it is of the utmost importance for the Georgian government to pay attention to the fact that "national, traditional, and blood ties, and, most importantly, civic duties and responsibilities are rejected by Salafi Islam, hindering the prospects of its followers' civil integration into a broader Georgian social polity"[8].

There are a number of scholars who argue that graduates of religious schools in Muslim countries willingly or unwillingly tend to be influenced by one of the branches of Islam, depending on the type of confession prevalent in the given country (Sunni, Shia). Therefore, some scholars argue that the complete depoliticization of Islam is not possible[9]. The graduates of religious schools are frequently guided by the values construed in accordance with the national interests of the respective countries- where they received their religious education. Consequently, it is necessary to take into consideration that those who received a religious education abroad may

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[7] Baramidze R., Islamic State and Georgia's Muslim community, http://ge.boell.org/en/2015/06/17/islamic-state-and-georgias-muslim-community (accessed on June 17, 2015).

[8] Menagarishvili I., Lobjanidze G., Sakhokia N. and Gvimradze G., Political Aspects of Islam in Georgia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013, p 79.

[9] Sanikidze G., Walker E., *Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia* // Berkeley Program in Eurasian and East European Studies http://escholarship.org /uc/item/7149d486, 2012; Menagarishvili I., Lobjanidze G., Sakhokia N. and Gvimradze G., Political Aspects of Islam in Georgia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013.

possibly work with other countries' interests at heart, rather than considering Georgia's interests[10].

A piece of evidence in this regard might be seen in the obligation put by the Turkish State on the graduates of religious education attained in Arab countries. Turkey obliges them to take retraining courses lasting lasting from one to two years in the theological schools of Turkey, in order to ensure their adaptation to particular features typical for Turkey. Thus, this example serves to disclose the view on Islam from the perspective of the peculiar national interests of the country. However, the Georgian State does not implement any policies of this kind. Consequently, it is difficult to assess whether the graduates of religious schools abroad are able to serve the national interests of Georgia[11].

The absence of any control systems over the activities of religious and educational organizations makes it difficult to understand the primary goals of those organizations. Various Muslim organizations' involvement is visible through the increase in number of mosques, *madrassas*, Islamic educational organizations, the main objectives of which lie in boosting the interest towards Islam- and religious literature. The issue of concern is that there is no official data regarding the number of mosques, Islamic educational organizations, and *madrassas*. The majority of them do not have any legal basis and their activities are not controlled and regulated. In his study conducted during 2003-2008, Ruslan Baramidze found that there were over 150 buildings adapted for religious purposes functioning in Georgia. Among these 150 buildings, 95 were mosque-schools, 41 were mosques, 18 were Islamic educational organizations and 2 consisted of other buildings[12].

Year by year, the number of students travelling from Georgia to Muslim countries to receive higher religious education is increasing due to the absence of institutions providing higher religious educations for the

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[10] Ibid

[11] Ibid

[12] Ivanov V., *Religious Dimension of Turkey's Policy in Ajaria and the Georgian Orthodox Church* // Central Asia and the Caucasus, 2011, 12 (3), pp. 79-90.

Muslims of Georgia. Upon completion of their studies, the majority of them return to Georgia to work in local mosques and/or *madrassas*. More and more Muslims of Georgia are making the pilgrimage to Mecca and visiting various places of worship in Muslim countries with the assistance of Muslim organizations functioning in Georgia. All of these facts suggest an increase in the level of religiosity in the Muslim communities of Georgia.

Islamic State Supporters Recruited from Georgia

The residents of the Pankisi Gorge region of Georgia have become the targets of Islamic State recruiters. Ramzan Alkhanashvili was 18 years-old when he disappeared from Dumasturi, a small village in the Pankisi Gorge on April 2. According to an investigation by the Georgian Police, Ramzan and his schoolmate Muslim Kushtanashvili, who was only 16 years-old, went to the airport in Tbilisi and left for Turkey. The next day, the boys sent their families a short audio message via Whats-App telling them that everything is all right with them and that they were in Turkey. They did not explain their sudden decision to leave, but, they said that they plan to leave for Syria and that the decision had been their own. Afterwards, the families of the two boys no longer received any information directly from them. However, a few days later, the Islamic State published a photo of these two boys. They were dressed in field uniforms with rifles on their knees and the flag of the Islamic State was behind them. They were not wearing masks,- they were looking into the camera, and pointing fingers towards the sky[13].

One of the well-known commanders of the Islamic State, Tarkhan Batirashvili aka Abu Omar al Shishani, is also from a village in the Pankisi Gorge region. It is noteworthy that Batirashvili used to be Christian, his father is Georgian and mother is Kist. He served in the Georgian Armed Forces as a non-commissioned officer and even took part in the clashes with Russian forces in the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. However, in 2010, Batirashvili was discharged from the army, after he was diagnosed with

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[13] Mamon M., The Mujahedeen's Valley A Remote Region of Georgia Loses Its Children to ISIS, https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/07/09/mujahedeensvalley/ (accessed on July 9, 2015).

tuberculosis. Later, he was imprisoned for illegal gun possession charges. After leaving jail, he headed to Syria. Currently, Tarkhan Batirashvili serves as a senior commander of the Islamic State with jurisdiction over the Aleppo, Latakia, Raqqa and Northern provinces of Idlib in Syria. In the interview to the BBC Russian Service, the father of Tarkhan Batirashvili said that his son told him during a phone call in 2012: "Papa, it seems nobody in this country needs me."[14].

Dumasturi, the homeland of Ramzan and his friend Muslim, is an impoverished village on the left bank of the Alazani river. In general, Muslims comprise the majority of the village population, primarily Kists who left Chechnya five generations ago.

There is not much to do for young people in this region, except going to school and then coming back home. The only available entertainment is the Internet, where the youth can connect to others communities and people, like, for instance the Islamic State. On several occasions, the residents of the Pankisi Gorge have told the police that their villages have become targets for recruiters of the Islamic State. Local journalist,- Gela Mitivlishvili has stated that he possesses information on who organizes and recruits young people from the Pankisi Gorge to leave for Syria. Mtivlishivili claimed that the group was operating in the village of Jokola. He has presented his evidence to the Counterterrorism Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Tbilisi[15].

The numbers regarding the people fighting from the Pankisi Gorge in Syria varies according to different sources. According to the officials in Tbilisi, approximately fifty people have left for Syria from the Pankisi Gorge. However, back in November 2013, a representative of the NGO Integration Foundation of Caucasus People stated that around 200 people

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[14] Coffey L., Recruiting Georgia in the fight against ISIL, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/05/recruiting-georgia-fight-isil-150509063258263.html (accessed on May 14, 2015).

[15] According to Gela Mtivlishvili, Interior Ministry Had Information Minors Going to Syria http://rustavi2.com/en/news/20925 (accessed on July 9, 2015).

from the Pankisi Gorge region are fighting in Syria[16]. A representative of Chechen Diaspora, Мека Khangoshvili claims that there are people recruiting fighters for Syria in the Pankisi Gorge region.

Although residents of the Pankisi Gorge claim that people recruiting Pankisi youth for fighting in Syria reside in the Pankisi, Levan Izoria, the Deputy Head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) of Georgia denies this information. According to the Deputy Minister, there are no representatives of the Islamic State on the territory of Georgia[17]. However, following Mtivlishivili's claims, on June 14 the Ministry of Internal Affairs launched an operation, during the course of which a former imam, Ayub Borchashvili, was detained and accused of assisting Ramzan Alkhanashvili and Muslim Kushtanashvili to leave for Syria to join the fighting. The investigation revealed that Ayub Borchishvili had been a representative of the Islamic State in Georgia. Along with Ayub the Police arrested three more people suspected of being involved in the recruitment of young people from Georgia to join fighting in Syria. Among the arrested people was the cousin of Tarkhan Batirashvili aka Omar al Shishani. However, all three suspects were released, leaving only Ayub Borchashvili[18]. According to the Kakheti Information Center, ten residents of Georgia have been killed during the fighting in Syria. All of them were from the Pankisi Gorge[19].

As we can see, the claims of the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Georgia are disputable and not sufficiently convincing. Although eighteen year-old Ramzan Alkhanshvili had a passport and was able to leave the country, sixteen year-old Muslim Kushtanashvili could not leave Georgia without his parents' consent. The mother of Muslim claims that she could not afford to send his son on a plane trip and someone else had organized everything.

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[16] Mamon M., The Mujahedeen's Valley A Remote Region of Georgia Loses Its Children to ISIS, https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/07/09/mujahedeensvalley/ (accessed on July 9, 2015).

[17] Ibid

[18] According to Gela Mtivlishvili, Interior Ministry Had Information Minors Going to Syria http://rustavi2.com/en/news/20925 (accessed on July 9, 2015).

[19] Кавказский Узел, Выходцы с Кавказа в Рядах ИГ (ИГИЛ) http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/251513 (accessed on June 23, 2015).

On April 16, the Parliament of Georgia adopted a law, according to which the creation of and participation in an illegal armed group is punishable as is the aiding and abetting of terrorism within the territory of the country and abroad. Although,- the law can be considered a step forward in the fight against the Islamic State, it nevertheless is reactive in nature rather than preventive. When modern communications and social networks create virtually unlimited possibilities for recruiting people who want to fight and die for ideas, it is very difficult to find specific individuals, or decision-making centers involved in the distribution of information[20]. The government of Georgia should increase cyber security and combat cybercrime in order to prevent an increase in the number of supporters of the Islamic State.

It is likely that the current situation in the region will inevitably affect Armenia as well. According to Seyran Ohanyan's speech during the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's Rose-Roth Seminar in Yerevan: "There are confirmed data that a large number of Azerbaijanis and some quantity of guerrillas from Caucasian countries and other nationalities are also fighting in the Islamic State group". The return of the militants will endanger the security of those countries and then Armenia[21].

According to one of the members of the Islamic State, a resident of Pankisi Gorge, who recently returned to Georgia, the Islamic State aims to liberate Ingushetia, Chechnya, Dagestan and other Muslim countries in the region. Moreover, he added that Georgia is also included together with the aforementioned countries, since it used to be a part of ancient caliphate territory. The Islamic State called Georgia "Vilayat Gurjistan"- inferring that Georgia is a part of the caliphate and that it is their duty to spread Islam

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[20] Гамцемлидзе Д., Как Грузия Оказалась Одним из Крупнейших Поставщиков Боевиков в ИГИЛ, http://carnegie.ru/2015/06/17/ru-60430/iar6 (accessed on June 17, 2015).

[21] National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia, NATO PA 89th Rose-Roth Seminar Begins the Work in Yerevan, http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat_id=2&NewsID=7641&year=2015&month=06&day=18&lang=eng_(accessed on June 18, 2015).

in Georgia. As for Armenia, he stated that Islam will eventually spread in Armenia as well[22].

Such steps taken by the Islamic State can lead to certain consequences. A reshaping of the map of the region will take place if the Islamic State strengthens its activities around the South Caucasus. The presence of national borders is a very relative concept for an extremist organization, like the Islamic State. The spread of its influence in different territories is its source for recruiting new volunteer groups to fight in the main battlefield- in the Middle East.

Consequences

In summary, it is obvious that the infiltration of the Islamic State into the South Caucasus region is possible and may lead to certain negative repercussions. Although Georgia is taking steps to reduce the risk, the measures are more reactive than preventive. Consequently, if the decisions do not have long-term strategies, it will be difficult to control the situation further. Their low level of integrity into social and political life of the country is alienating the population of the Pankisi Gorge and helping the extremists recruit as many people as possible. The youth from the Pankisi Gorge can easily be tempted to leave the region since they have nothing to lose. Moreover, the situation in Georgia can have negative consequences for the whole South Caucasus region. The announcements on the establishment of a Vilayat may lead to certain consequences, like reshaping the map of the region.

Taking into consideration all of these factors, Georgia should first of all strengthen its border control capacity,- in cooperation with its neighbors, including Russia. Second, Georgia should pay more attention to reforms preventing radicalization, improving education and integration of Muslim youth into the social and political life of the country.

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[22] Eadaily.com, Со Временем Ислам Распространится и на Армению: Интервью с Членом т.н. «Исламского государства», https://eadaily.com/news/2015/07/27/so-vremenem-islam-rasprostranitsya-i-na-armeniyu-intervyu-s-chlenom-tn-islamskogo-gosudarstva (accessed on July 27, 2015).

The situation with the residents of Georgia fighting in Syria can lead to certain implications and have great risks. What are the possible consequences and risks? One of them is the issue of reputation. Due to people,- like Tarkhan Batirashvili from the Pankisi Gorge region, Georgia may be viewed as a country giving rise to religiously driven terrorists.

Another matter of concern is geopolitical. For many years Russia has been accusing Georgia of lodging terrorists in the Pankisi Gorge. A large number of Muslims from the Pankisi Gorge fighting in Syria may give credibility to Russia's claims, even among Georgia's allies, and can be used as a casus belli for military actions.

Having become a target for Islamic State recruiters, Georgia allied with NATO and participated in NATO deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. Georgia has never been a target for Western terrorist groups, but, with the growing numbers of Georgians entering the Islamic State, the situation may change.

Besides all of the aforementioned facts, there is still one more significant issue to be considered. What will Georgia do with those people who survive the battle and try to come back home after some time? It is a very important question for several reasons. First of all, unlike all of the above-mentioned issues, this question is probably one Georgia can directly address. Secondly, the steps taken regarding this issue will have long-term results. The options can vary,- for instance one can consider the option of confiscating their passports or refusing their rights to return. Another option may be their imprisonment for taking part in war crimes on foreign soil.

In summary, the threat of the Islamic State may end up being disastrous for the South Caucasus region. A number of issues need to be taken into consideration while fighting against the Islamic State. The measures undertaken should have long-term strategies in order to prevent greater risks.

Սուննիական նախագծերի ազդեցությունը Վրաստանի վրա. «Իսլամական պետության» օրինակը

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Սույն հոդվածը քննարկում է ԻՊ-ի Հարավային Կովկաս տարածաշրջան ներթափանցելու խնդիրը՝ մասնավորապես կենտրոնանալով Վրաստանի վրա: Հոդվածում ներկայացվում է Վրաստանի մուսուլմանական համայնքը՝ նկարագրելով վերջինիս ինտեգրման ցածր մակարդակն ու հասարակայնացման ցածր աստիճանը: Հոդվածը քննարկում է այն բարդությունները, որոնց առնչվել է Վրաստանի մուսուլմանական համայնքը կրոնական կրթության ոլորտում, ինչպես նաև Վրաստանում գործող մուսուլմանական կազմակերպությունների գործունեությունը կարգավորող վերահսկողական համակարգերի բացակայությունը: Այնուհետև, հոդվածում ներկայացվում են ԻՊ-ի աջակիցները՝ հավաքագրված Վրաստանում: Ի հավելումն, հոդվածում քննարկվում է նաև ԻՊ-ի Հարավային Կովկաս տարածաշրջան ներթափանցումն ու դրանից բխող հավանական հետևանքներն ու բացասական արձագանքները: Հոդվածի վերջում առաջ են քաշվում խորհուրդներ, ինչպես նաև հնարավոր քայլեր, որոնք կարող են նվազեցնել ԻՊ-ի Վրաստան ներթափանցման ռիսկերն ու դրանցից բխող բացասական հետևանքները:

Constructing a Nation:
Identity Markers of Armenians
(According to the Mshak Periodical Published during 1872-1892)

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Wherever the Armenian lives, he becomes a cosmopolite, but at the same time remains an Armenian. [1]

The controversy about national identity in contemporary Armenian society is getting more and more intense. Diverse perspectives and opinions exist on this topic. Some are confident that Armenian national identity coincides with religious identity; some have a strong belief that religion is not an important component of national identity. The recent interview of Archbishop Pargev Martirosyan, the current Primate of the Diocese of Artsakh of the Armenian Apostolic Church (AAC), during which he asserted that a *real* Armenian is only an adherent of the AAC, sparked a major debate on the place of religion in the Armenian understanding of national identity. Some parts of Armenian society criticized this religious interpretation of national identity, asking how this relates to Muslim Armenians - the Hamshen people.

The formation of national identity is a complex process, and in order to have a good understanding of processes relating to debates about the content of national identity in contemporary Armenian society, an analysis of early stage Armenian national identity formation is very important. Paradoxically, no studies have explored how the XIX-century Armenian print media shaped the discourse on the Armenian identity. This article

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[1] Artsruni G., Armenian and Georgian press // Mshak, issue 44, 1877

makes a contribution to the research in the field and attempts to fill the existing gap.

The purpose of this article is to provide an analysis of the early stage of Armenian national identity formation, namely the analysis of identity markers of Armenians as formulated by the liberal Armenian *Mshak*[2] (Cultivator) periodical published in Tbilisi during 1872-1892.

A complex set of the following questions is discussed in the article: Which are the identity markers of Armenians according to the *Mshak* periodical? How do these identity markers correlate? How has *Mshak* defined the function of religion in the formation of Armenian national identity?

Considering the three questions listed above, I will proceed with discussing *Mshak's* understanding of their periodical's role in Armenian society. I will then turn to analyzing the *Mshak* concepts of language and homeland, which were claimed by them to be the main identity markers of Armenians. Finally, I will try to show how *Mshak* perceived the function of religion, particularly the Armenian Apostolic Church, in the nation-building process.

Theoretical framework and methodology

For the purpose of my analysis in this article, I will draw upon the definitions of nation proposed by B. Anderson and A. Smith. Anderson defined a nation as an "imagined" community. He argued that a nation is "imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[3] In his classic work Anderson highlighted the role of "print-capitalism" asserting that "these fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally

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[2] Liberal "Mshak" periodical was established in 1872 by Grigor Artsruni in Tbilisi and was printed until 1920, albeit with interruptions.

[3] Anderson B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2006, p. 6

imagined community."[4] According to Smith's definition, a nation is a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.[5] Smith distinguishes between the Western or 'civic' and non-Western notions of national identity. The Western model of national identity involves a weak sense of political community, historical territory, legal political community, and legal political equality of the members, a common civic culture and ideology.[6] The non-Western model is an ethnic concept of the national identity which involves genealogy and presumed descent ties, popular mobilization, vernacular language, customs and traditions.[7]

In my research it is relevant to apply M. Hroch's concept of "patriots." According to Hroch, patriots are individuals "who formed the vanguard of the national movement" and "who consciously, of their own volition, and over a long period of time, devoted their activities to the support of the national movement, endeavoring in particular to diffuse patriotic attitudes."[8] He classified "patriots" in three strata: a. the elite sections of the intelligentsia, directly associated with the ruling classes, b. professional groups which, while still outside the wage-labor relationship, did not directly share in political power or engage in economic enterprises (lawyers and doctors, artists, journalists and scientists), c. those who stood in a relationship of wage-labor (private, state, communal officials and clerics, teachers).[9]

Although the periodical was published until 1921, the time span for the study was chosen between 1872 and 1892. The main reason for this choice was the fact that after the death of the periodical's first editor, Grigor Artsruni in 1892, the periodical published very little information related to

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[4] Ibid, p. 44
[5] Smith A.D., *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991, p. 24
[6] Ibid, p. 11
[7] Ibid, p. 12
[8] Hroch M., *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 14
[9] Ibid, p. 16

the issue of national identity due to the lack of a permanent editor in first years after Artsruni's death and imperial politics of censorship.

The articles published during 1872-1892 addressed themes of family and religion, education and religion, women and religion, language and religion, as well as homeland and emigration. I concentrated only on those articles which have a direct connection with nation-building and national identity issues. An analysis of these articles gave me the opportunity to study the perspectives of *Mshak* liberalism concerning their understanding of national identity.

Historical framework

In order to understand the environment in which the liberalism of *Mshak* created its concept of Armenian national identity, we should take history into account.

In the first half of the 19th century, Armenia and Georgia were incorporated into the Russian Empire. This played an important role for the further social and economic transformation of Transcaucasia. The development of capitalism and the peasant reform in Russia and road construction, developing the communication between the different regions of Transcaucasia played an important role in abolishing serfdom and in the economic development of the region.

The rapid economic transformations caused the formation of an Armenian bourgeoisie which included traders, factory and land owners. As R. Suny stated, the state was favoring the nobility of Transcaucasia, but the growing economic power of the Armenian bourgeoisie was soon reflected in their control of Tiflis municipal politics.[10] The ethnic and social mosaic of Tiflis was the main reason for "defining and redefining the boundaries between ethnicities."[11] Paradoxically, the Russian colonial dominance and the policy of the Russian empire to eliminate the cultural peculiarities of Georgians and Armenians had a positive impact on the formation of national consciousness among these nations. However, as Suny rightly noted, "the nationalism among the Caucasian Armenians was not a

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[10] Suny R., *Looking towards Ararat: Armenian in Modern History*, 1993, p.41
[11] Suny R., *The Making of the Georgian nation*, 1988, p.115

'bourgeois' creation, but rather an ideology that evolved and was spread by a Russian-educated intelligentsia.[12]

Abandoning the Century-long immovability: Adopting the Elements of European Enlightenment

Mshak's liberal ideology considered journalism, literature, theater and public lectures as the main tools for *diffusion of education*[13] and *national progress.*[14] Hence, the periodical had aimed at having an *impact*[15] on the Armenian community and contributing to the development of the nation. Interestingly, *Mshak* had chosen *merciless self-criticism* as a tool for influencing the Armenian community since they were sure that self-criticism is the only *sign of a nation's ability to change, abandon national flaws and develop.*[16]

According to the *Mshak* periodical, the Armenian community was *impermeable to external influences, as a consequence of being encircled by the Chinese wall of prejudice and ancient traditions.*[17] Abandoning this *century-long immovability*[18] was the only way for developing and making progress. In simpler words, *Mshak* was suggesting that the Armenian community become more flexible and open to change. There were two main ways for Armenians to abandon the *century-long immovability*: either to accept European education by leaving the past and established traditions behind, or to adapt the *"individual peculiarities"* of Armenians, their *"national language and spirit"* to the requirements of European education.

The abandoning of *century-long immovability* and adopting of the elements of European education and enlightenment, namely the openness to the new civilizational flow, ability to perceive, comprehend and put into practice the elements of this new civilization is a sign of a nation's vitality.

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[12] Suny R., *Looking towards Ararat: Armenian in Modern History*, Indiana University Press, 1993, p.70

[13] Artsruni G., *The issue of Armenians' education* // Mshak, issue 82, 1877

[14] Artsruni G., *Word or action* // Mshak, issue 6, 1877

[15] *You and we* // Mshak, issue 2, 1872

[16] *Our biggest enemy* // Mshak, issue 40, 1872

[17] *It is required a sacrifice from us* // Mshak, issue 45, 1873

[18] *Whose fault is it?* // Mshak, issue 14, 1872

If the nation is not able to withstand the *new flow,* and to adopt its peculiarities to the requirements of that new civilization, then it will fade away. It will be a sign that the nation was already *"a dead body"* whose existence was *"ostensible."*[19] *Mshak* publishers were confident that Armenians will not yield their characteristics when they face the *"light and civilization."*[20] One of the goals of *Mshak* was preparing Armenians for dealing with the abovementioned "new civilizational flow." To achieve this goal, the Armenian community was required to have at least a minimum level of literacy, otherwise the activities undertaken by the *Mshak* periodical would be unsuccessful or, as they stated, *a voice in the wilderness.*[21] This is the main reason why the *Mshak* periodical was constantly and insistently propagating for equal educational opportunities, emphasizing the unacceptability of gender discrimination.

The analysis of articles published in *Mshak* show that the Armenian society of that time had a dualistic attitude towards education and European education in particular. On the one hand, individuals representing different strata of Armenian society were striving for education for their children, and on the other hand, the same society was unwilling to give the educated young people a chance to implement their knowledge.

As it was already stated, the *Mshak* periodical had aimed at preparing the Armenian community for adopting elements of European enlightenment and simultaneously preserving essential national features. The initial phase of this process was finding an answer to the question "Who is an Armenian?" Only after answering this question could *Mshak* have the opportunity to develop mechanisms for the correlation of the Armenian nation and the outside world.

According to *Mshak*, the nation rests upon the relationships by tribe or kinship, language and homeland.[22] Paradoxically, the issue of kinship is almost not discussed except for being listed among the identity markers, in

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[19] Artsruni G., *How a nation can be kept?* // Mshak, issue 5, 1878
[20] Ibid
[21] *Why don't we understand each other* // Mshak, issue 6, 1872
[22] Artsruni G., *Elementary thoughts* // Mshak, issue 106, 1880

contrast to which, the function of language and homeland have been emphasized.

Language

A great number of articles published in *Mshak* were devoted to answering the question: "Which elements constitute the identity of the Armenian?" Although Anthony D. Smith states that national identity is fundamentally multi-dimensional and it can never be reduced to a single element,[23] we can deduce from the analysis of the articles published before the mid-1880s that language was the most important and in depth discussed element of Armenian identity during that period. Only after the mid-1880s could we can see an evident discussion on the issue of interrelation of language and other identity markers.

In order to understand the driving forces behind the ideas of *Mshak* liberalism concerning national identity, we will discuss the attitude towards the Armenian language among Armenian society, in particular among the Armenians of Tbilisi. A detailed analysis of the articles published in the *Mshak* periodical demonstrates that the majority of Armenians of that time were not paying attention to the issue of preserving their native language. Both the representatives of the upper class as well as ordinary people had a scornful attitude towards their native language. We can draw the conclusion that the vast majority of individuals representing the upper class of Armenian society did not know their native language properly; they were avoiding using the Armenian language in their everyday life. The ordinary people were characterized by *ignorance and bigotry,* to a great extent they did not know the Armenian language (in this case, the ancient Armenian language of church liturgy)*, but were fervently praying in the church.[24]* Moreover, in the article published in 1877 under the title *"Everything for money"* the author declared that Armenians look at their native language *"from the viewpoint of the trader,"* that is to say they perceived their native language as an obsolete language, they levelled it to *"a broken plate or a*

[23] Smith A.D., *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991, p. 14
[24] *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* // Mshak, issue 1, 1872

well-worn dress."[25] We need to limit the degree of generalization while referring to the negative attitude of Armenians towards their language, but in all likelihood this attitude was one of the main reasons, if not the main one, that forced *Mshak* to discuss the function of language as an identity marker.

Mshak's understanding of the notion of nation and the function of the language for a given nation was not primitive, but straightforward. They were comparing nations with individuals and stating that *"as society is comprised of different individuals, humanity consists of nations"*[26] and *"language is one of the main characteristics and peculiarities of a nation."*[27] Moreover, in the article published in 1880 under the title *"Armenians and Georgians"* the author stated that *"language is the only certain and lifelong foundation of the nation."*[28]

Unsurprisingly, *Mshak's* liberalism considered language to not only be an essential part of the Armenian identity, without which an Armenian would never be *"complete, perfect,"* but they also declared that a nation which did not retain its native language yields to the *power of natural evolution.*[29] *Mshak* regarded language as a *"tool for the diffusion of education,"*[30] a *civilizing tool* that would *develop the moral and intellectual peculiarities of national life.*[31] This *tool* should be used for adopting *"European thoughts."*[32] They were considering national education in Armenian language the only *tool* for progress and adopting the elements of European enlightenment.

It should be noted that when referring to the importance of the language, *Mshak* was talking about the modern Eastern Armenian. They

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[25] Artsruni G., *Everything for money* // Mshak, issue 7, 1877

[26] *What is individuality?* // Mshak, issue 25, 1872

[27] Artsruni G., *Language and nation* // Mshak, issue 28, 1877

[28] Artsruni G., *Armenians and Georgians* // Mshak, issue 1, 1880

[29] *Language and Life* // Mshak, issue 11, 1872

[30] *Why we don't understand each other?* // Mshak, issue 6, 1872

[31] Artsruni G., *Language and nation* // Mshak, issue 28, 1877

[32] *Who should we blame?* // Mshak, issue 14, 1872

were advocating for abandoning the ancient Armenian language as *it was unable to become a civilizing tool.*[33]

Language versus Religion?

Let us now turn to the question of relation/relevance of language to religion as an identity marker. *Mshak* widely discussed the question of religion and language as elements constituting national identity. Can Armenians consider religion as a part of Armenian national identity, can it be the fundament based on which Armenians can identify who belongs to their national community and who does not? Does language oppose religion? Which one of them has superiority when identifying members of the Armenian nation? Does language or religion have the function to unify different strata of Armenian society? These questions were deeply and profoundly discussed and analyzed by the authors of the *Mshak* periodical.

While discussing the unifying functions of religion and language for Armenians, *Mshak's* liberal ideology was considering the function of religion inferior to the function of language. According to the *Mshak* periodical, in the Armenian society of the time there were "*almost no social ties between the different social classes of the Armenian nation and each class was developing separately.*"[34] The only *tool* that was connecting them was religion. *Mshak* was harshly criticizing this approach and actively advocating for education in Armenian language to be the main link between the different strata of the Armenian nation.

Hence, *Mshak* was criticizing the approach of Armenians of equalizing the notions of nation and religion. According to *Mshak,* the Armenians of the time were not considering the nation as *an organic historical entity*, for them a nation was equivalent to religion or the church. Moreover, in one of the articles, *Mshak's* author argued that there was a stereotypical presentation of Armenian history, that Armenians were *convinced to believe that all the battles that they had fought, all that bloodshed had been devoted not to the idea of protecting the national sovereignty and trampled rights, but because of religion, that is to say to protect the idea of God, to be a*

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[33] Artsruni G., *Language and nation* // Mshak, issue 28, 1877
[34] *Why we don't understand each other?* // Mshak, issue 6, 1872

soldier of the Bible.[35] There was a widespread illusion among Armenians that the nation rests only upon the religion. In contrast to the established approach, *Mshak* was asserting that *nationality rests upon language.*[36] Obviously, *Mshak'*s approach of seeing a unifying function in language, which can be defined as a comprehensive approach, could have given enormous advantages to the Armenian nation, rather than the perspectives emphasizing the role of the religion.

For *Mshak*'s liberal ideology, the glaring flaw of the Armenians of the time was the fact that Armenians did not recognize their compatriots who were the adherents of other religions (i.e. Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Muslim Armenians) as the members of their national community. The Armenian of the time considered himself Armenian *only because he/she belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church.*[37] *Mshak* had a negative attitude towards this omitting perspective. *Mshak* argued: *"Armenians were not a nation, but a mere sect, because they would consider someone as a member of their nation based on religion, even though he did not speak Armenian and disdained it."*[38] According to *Mshak*, in the contemporary world *religion is considered to have a secondary position with regard to national matters;*[39] religion and beliefs are purely personal matters which cannot be the characteristics of belonging to a particular nation.[40]

The function of organized religion

As we have already seen, *Mshak*'s liberal ideology did not consider religion as an identity marker of the Armenian nation. Simultaneously, it did not deny the positive impact that organized religion could have on the nation with the proviso that the church stops making adherence to a particular religion the only basis for including or excluding members of the Armenian nation.

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[35] *Religion and Nation* // Mshak, issue 24, 1873
[36] Artsruni G., *Armenians and Georgians* // Mshak, issue 1, 1880
[37] *Religion and Nation* // Mshak, issue 24, 1873/24
[38] Artsruni G., *Armenians and Georgians* // Mshak, issue 1, 1880
[39] Artsruni G., *What is the consequence?* // Mshak, issue 68, 1877
[40] Artsruni G., *Elementary thoughts* // Mshak, issue 106, 1880

Mshak considered itself the enemy of ignorance; therefore – the enemy of the ignorant clergy as well. They were sure that through organized religion, the clergy could have a *civilizing impact on ignorant masses,*[41] which is why *Mshak* emphasized the issue of the clergy's education while referring to a positive impact that organized religion could have on a nation. According to *Mshak's* viewpoint, people without an upbringing of organized religion would consist only of *educated scoundrels and thieves, enlightened exploiters*.[42]

Homeland
Anthony D. Smith lists a historic territory or homeland among other fundamental features of a national identity.[43] In case of nations, the link with the homeland is real and physical.[44] The homeland has a unique significance for a given nation in view of the fact that it is not a mere fragment of a land but "a repository of historic memories and associations, the place where 'our' sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought."[45]

The *Mshak* liberal ideology outlines a "homeland" among the other identity markers of Armenians. In the articles published before the mid-1880s, the notion of "homeland" appears in the context of the discussion of issues related to emigration, and only after the mid-1880s do we see a complete body of facts indicating the "homeland" as one of the main pillars of the nation. Indeed, these articles provide tangible ground for considering the "homeland" as one of the bases of the nation, but they leave room for ambiguity as well.

Therefore, there is a contradiction concerning the correlation of the notions of "homeland" and "language" as identity markers of Armenians. We can rightly assert that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say which one of these identity markers *Mshak* considered at the apex of the

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[41] *The past glory of Armenia* // Mshak, issue 98, 1881
[42] Artsruni G., *What do we lack* // Mshak, issue 18, 1878
[43] Smith A. D., *National Identity*, p. 14
[44] Ibid, p.40
[45] Ibid, p. 9

hierarchy of identity markers. The main reason for this confusion was the inconsistency of the authors writing on national identity issues. In this regard, I would like to concentrate on three articles entitled "Elementary thoughts", "Native language" and "There is no end." The three above-mentioned articles were published on June 25, October 11, and September 19 1880 respectively. All three articles were written by the same author whose initials were G.A.

In the article "Elementary thoughts," the author stated that if *"the nation has retained the language, but lost the homeland, it should found a new homeland, otherwise the language will be lost as well. If the nation has a homeland, but has lost a language, the nation can still exist though it will transform into a new nation."*[46] Further in the article *"*Native language*"* the author declares that *"the nation retains its nationality by keeping in practice the native language even if it changes the religion and homeland."*[47] In the third article entitled "There is no end" he declares that "*if a nation loses its homeland and spreads all over the world, it is not a nation anymore."*[48] These three quotes are the clear illustrations of the ambiguous system of identity markers that *Mshak*'s liberalism had constructed.

Mshak was unable or unwilling to tolerate emigration from the "homeland." The authors were frequently disapproving and criticizing "*the illusions of the people who believe that they can retain their nation by keeping their church and language without a homeland.*"[49] Notably, they were criticizing the widespread idea that Armenians can establish a new *national center* in any country where they live. Suffice it to say that *Mshak* liberals were declaring that the *people* who justify and tolerate escape from the homeland cannot exist as a *nation*[50]:

Concluding remarks

The study of *Mshak*'s liberal ideology of the nation building process and identity markers of Armenians that was disclosed in the articles

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[46] Artsruni G., *Elementary thoughts* // Mshak, issue 107, 1880
[47] Artsruni G., *Native language* // Mshak, issue 165, 1880
[48] Artsruni G., *There is no end* // Mshak, issue 181, 1880
[49] *History: They and we* // Mshak, issue 29, 1876
[50] Artsruni G., *We are Jews as well* // Mshak, issue 37, 1876

published in the Tbilisi-based liberal Armenian periodical during 1872-1892 revealed an interesting trend of the vigorous attempts undertaken by *Mshak* to redefine Armenian national identity. The study also revealed that *Mshak* was advocating for abandoning the rigorous and uncompromised adherence to obsolete prejudices and ancient traditions. In contrast, they were suggesting to adapt elements of European enlightenment while simultaneously preserving "essential" national peculiarities.

From a theoretical point of view, we can apply M. Hroch's concept of "patriots" to the empirical example of *Mshak*'s liberalism. Obviously, *Mshak*'s authors were the ones, as Hroch has defined, "who consciously devoted their activities to the support of the national movement, endeavouring in particular to diffuse patriotic attitudes".

Mshak periodical has emphasized the function of language and homeland as the main identity markers of Armenians. Interestingly, *Mshak* was considering the language not only *the certain and lifelong foundation of the nation* but also the *tool* for adopting the elements of European enlightenment.

Mshak had listed *actual and physical* homeland as defined by Anthony D. Smith as one of the main components of Armenian nationality. There is a contradiction concerning the correlation of the notions of "homeland" and "language" as identity markers of Armenians. Since the analysis of the published articles revealed the inconsistency of the authors writing about national identity issue, it is practically impossible to define which one of two main identity markers, that is to say language and homeland, *Mshak* considered to reside at the apex of the identity markers' hierarchy.

Additionally, *Mshak* had deeply and profoundly discussed the popular perception that being Christian, adherent of Armenian Apostolic Church in particular, is one of the core elements of Armenian identity. *Mshak* liberalism was criticizing the approach of Armenians to equalize the notions of nation and religion. Moreover, they did not perceive religion as main unifying force for Armenians; rather they were emphasizing the unifying functions of language.

Հայերի ինքնության ցուցիչները ըստ «Մշակ» պարբերականի (1872-1892թթ.)

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Ազգային ինքնության կազմավորումը բարդ և բազմաբաղադրիչ գործընթաց է: Ժամանակակից հասարակությունում արկա ինքնության բաղադրիչների վերաբերյալ քննարկումները խորապես ընկալելու համար անհրաժեշտ է հայերի ազգային ինքնության կազմավորման վաղ շրջանի վերլուծություն: Այս հոդվածի նպատակն է վերլուծել Թիֆլիսում տպագրված «Մշակ» պարբերականում (1872-1892թթ.) հայերի ինքնության ցուցիչների մասին քննարկումները: Հոդվածում ներկայացվում է «Մշակ» պարբերականի հոդվածագիրների և ընթերցողների ընկալումը հայ հասարակությունում պարբերականի դերի վերաբերյալ: Այնուհետև ներկայացվում են հայրենիքի և լեզվի հայեցակարգերը, որոնք, ըստ «Մշակ» պարբերականի, հայերի ինքնության հիմնական ցուցիչներն էին: Հոդվածում նաև քննարկվում է ազգային ինքնության ձևավորման գործընթացում կրոնի գործառույթի վերաբերյալ «Մշակ» պարբերականի ընկալումը:

Religion as a Marker of Identity for Georgians
(1860-1918)

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Introduction

In European countries, the process of self-determination of nations and formation of the main markers of identity began in the 19th century. The quest for answers to either of the questions "Who are 'we'?" and "Who are 'they'?" has not lost its relevance in the 21st century. Today's answers to these questions are closely related to 19th century developments and to the beliefs and thoughts of the intellectuals of that time. Furthermore, the issues discussed by Georgian intellectuals in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of 20th century remain controversial and still cause some public disputes. Therefore, it is important to track the identity formation process, which the current study is trying to do for the Georgian case.

The paper aims to study the role of religion in the process of identity formation in Georgia from the 1860s to 1918. This is a period when the narrative of Georgian identity was shaped, so the ideas widely discussed among the intellectuals of that period determined the main identity markers and the main borders of the "we" group. Moreover, the identity markers formed in the 19th century still shape current discussions on national issues. Georgia is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. Therefore, it is important to know exactly how other religious groups were placed within the scope of the "we" group, and whether or not religion represented an identity marker that drew a strict line between the "we" group and the "others". What thoughts were common among the thinkers of that period?

Were there different opinions on this issue? Regarding religion and identity, what kind of ideas were transmitted to people and in what form?

The main research question is the following: What role did religion play in the process of defining "we" and "others" in Georgia (1860-1918)? A preliminary hypothesis is that religion was an important marker of identity, which determined the boundaries of the "we" group in Georgia from 1860 to 1918. Moreover, even today, in the 21st century, Georgianness is largely associated with the Georgian Orthodox Church and therefore there are certain expectations that a century ago the situation was quite similar and religion represented an important marker of identity. The current analysis is an attempt to check whether or not this is true.

Sources and background literature

The study investigated the following newspapers published in Tbilisi (Tiflis) between 1860 and 1918: *Samshoblo* ("Homeland"), *Iveria*, *Sakhalkho Purthseli* ("Public Sheet"), *Droeba* ("Times"), *Tanamedrove Azri* ("Modern Opinion") and the Armenian newspaper *Mshak* ("The Cultivator").[1] Georgian intellectuals were trying to spread their ideas through these newspapers. The paper studies their views on identity and their attitudes towards religion as a marker of the "we" group.

The research owes much to the works of Stephen Jones[2] and Grigor Suny[3] about the Georgian political situation and Russian imperial context in 1860-1918. In his book, Jones reviews the stages of formation of Georgian nationalism, the opinions of different generations of Georgian intellectuals, as well as the confrontation and similarities among them. Jones' book made it possible to understand the context in which this paper tries to analyze the intellectuals' rethoric and statements published in newspapers. Grigor Suny examines the stages of formation of the Georgian nation, discusses the

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[1] These newspapers are easily accessible in the appendix of the book Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918). Tbilisi, 2014.

[2] Jones S. F., Socialism in Georgian Colors, Harvard University Press, 2005.

[3] Suny R. G., The Making of the Georgian Nation, Indiana University Press, Hoover Institution Press, 1988.

interaction between Marxism and the national project *Tergdaleulebi*, the founding fathers of Georgian nationalism. His book shows the impact of the imperial context on Georgian intellectuals.

While discussing the theoretical framework, the paper uses some works by Benedict Anderson[4], Ernest Gellner[5], Miroslav Hroch[6] and Anthony Smith[7]. The main theoretical framework is based on Miroslav Hroch's three phases, which characterize every national movement. The paper also uses a book by Michael Kennedy and Grigor Suny – "Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation"[8], specifically the introductory part of the book, where the authors analyze the role of intellectuals in the process of the formation of a nation.

Methodology

The study is mainly based on the framework of the modern theory of nationalism, according to which nations and nationalism are modern phenomena[9] that emerged along with the spread of print capitalism. The current study uses the thesis of Suny and Kennedy that nationalism is formed from the top down by intellectuals. The role of intellectuals is also widely discussed in the mentioned works of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Miroslav Hroch and Anthony Smith. Smith insists that "one factor **does** appear to be a necessary condition of all nationalist movements... the role of the intelligentsia"[10].

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[4] Anderson B., Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London; New York: VERSO, 2006.

[5] Gellner E., Nations and Nationalism: New Perspective on the Past, Cornell University Press, 1983.

[6] Hroch M., Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations, Cambridge University Press. 1985.

[7] Smith A. D., National Identity, London: Penguin Books, 1991.

[8] Kennedy M. D., Suny R. G., Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation, The University of Michigan Press, 1999.

[9] Gellner E., Nations and Nationalism: New Perspective on the Past, Cornell University Press, 1983, p.7.

[10] Kennedy M. D., Suny R. G., Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation, The University of Michigan Press, 1999, p. 17.

The current study is placed in the three phases model by Miroslav Hroch, where the works of intellectuals are closely related to national movements: during Phase A, intellectuals study cultural elements, the history of the nation, language and traditions[11]; then in Phase B, the intellectuals bring their knowledge to the masses, spread their ideas about the nation, mobilize people around their ideas and "imagine"- in reality, create - the nation[12]; in Phase C, national movement and the nation become obvious. The Georgian case that is the subject of this paper's examination involves all the three phases – Phase A when the intellectuals studied the history, culture and the origins of the Georgian nations, then Phase B - the epoch of agitation and spreading ideas. Newspapers were everywhere, people were taught how to read, they were also taught what to believe and what to fight for. It is interesting that the *Tergdaleulebi* played the main role during both phases. The last, third phase – the rise of a mass movement, which succeeded in forming an independent state. (It lasted only a few years, but still, the project for which the *Tergdaleulebi* had laid the foundation reached its main goal – independence).

The research uses qualitative and case study methods. The paper analyzes the role of religion in the identity formation process from 1860 to 1918 in Georgia. During this period, newspapers represented the only means of spreading ideas among the masses. Intellectuals used this tool successfully and shaped public opinion through articles published in the newspapers. Therefore, to understand the role of religion in the identity formation process and find the main markers of identity, it is crucial to analyze local newspapers and conduct a discourse and content analysis of the published articles. The paper also uses the method of rhetoric analysis, which aims to identify the main signals and find the message the author is trying to transmit.

Definition of terms and concepts

The work uses a modern understanding of the concepts of *nation* and *nationalism*, according to which nation and nationalism are modern

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[11] Hroch M., Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations, Cambridge University Press. 1985, pp .22-23.
[12] Ibid

phenomena, dating from the period of the French Revolution, and were formed in parallel with the modernization process. Benedict Anderson defines nations as imagined communities. "Even in the smallest city, it is difficult to know all your fellow residents personally," Anderson says[13]. So you "imagine the group which you think you belong to." This process is a modern phenomenon, because only with modernization did it become possible to communicate through newspapers. Anderson points out that "print languages laid the basis for national consciousness"[14], and the intelligentsia was central to this process[15]. As for Nationalism, it is "a political principle that holds that the political and the national units should be congruent"[16].

The Russian Imperial Context and Georgian Intellectuals

Georgia was a part of the Russian Empire between 1801 and 1918, so the Russian Imperial policy had its impact on the Georgian identity formation process. After the peasant reform, economic and administrative reforms and communication development, the economic contacts between different regions of Georgia became more intense[17]. The migration of the impoverished nobility and peasants to big cities and back to their countries made more interaction possible between different parts of Georgia and people became more interconnected. Communication reforms, road building and railway development brought an end to isolation.

Suny points out that, paradoxically, the Russian assimilatory policy in the South Caucasus resulted not in assimilation but in the remaking of

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[13] Anderson B., Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London; New York: VERSO, 2006, p.6

[14] Ibid, p. 44.

[15] Ibid, p. 116.

[16] Gellner E., Nations and Nationalism: New Perspective on the Past, Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 1.

[17] Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 284.

nations, with their underlining differences[18]. On the one hand, Russia sustained regional identities through the administrative division of the territory into East and West and by official recognition of subnational groups[19]. On the other hand, Georgia was reunited under Russian rule; Russia annexed all medieval Georgian territories and the Tsarist policy improved communications (the first railway was built in 1872) and created a common market[20]. Wars against traditional enemies - Ottoman Turkey and Iran - renewed a national solidarity among Georgia's intelligentisia[21]. Even if these were the Empire's wars, the Georgians felt that they fought for the unification of their country.

The Tsarist administration played an important role in maintaining tension between ethnic groups. However, their policy of Russification was not always consistent. As Jones says, sometimes their management pattern was more centralizing, sometimes decentralizing, inclusive, exclusive, flexible or inflexible[22]. Together with other factors, it depended on a chief administrator, the so-called *glavnoupravliaiushchii*. Some of them were "militarily inclined autocrats" like Ermolov and Paskevich, while some were more democratic rulers like Vorontsov. As Jones calls it, the difference was between ruling "by the European or the Asian method"[23]. But the goal was common – Russia wanted all of its territory integrated into "the cultural domain of the Russian Empire," but it was up to debate how fast this process should take place and which methods should be used[24].

The Georgians were not a nation in the modern sense of the word at the beginning of the 19th century. As Grigor Suny points out, people from Georgia were divided[25]. Perhaps they shared some cultural features, but the

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[18] Suny R. G., The Making of the Georgian Nation, Indiana University Press, Hoover Institution Press, 1988, p. 114.

[19] Jones S. F., Socialism in Georgian Colors, Harvard University Press, 2005, p. 14.

[20] Ibid, p. 12.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, p. 3.

[23] Ibid, p. 4.

[24] Ibid, p. 5.

[25] Suny R. G., The Making of the Georgian Nation, Indiana University Press, Hoover Institution Press, 1988, p. 114.

fact that they were part of the whole was often missed by the majority and the discourse lacked a sense of unity. For example, a man from the Eastern part of Georgia who died in the battle in the Western part of Georgia was buried with an interesting inscription on his tombstone – "Died abroad." That means that the people from different parts of the same country did not consider themselves as part of the same homeland. Everything began to change when young energetic intellectuals took the stage.

The *Tergdaleulni* (in Georgian this literally translates to "people who have drunk from the river Terek") graduated mainly from Universities in Russia. These were the youngsters with new ideas, who gathered around a common goal – creating a Georgian nation in the European sense. They were fascinated with new ideas about nationalism, equal rights and scientific progress[26]. They attacked the entire social structure dominated by the aristocracy and imperial rule. The *Tergdaleulni* transformed the Georgian language and made it more comprehensible for ordinary people[27]. They had a clear plan of how to make a nation and they pursued their goals till the end. Their efforts were directed to the creation of unity and overcoming tribal rivalries and fragmentation.

The *Tergdaleulni* never openly demanded political independence from the Empire, instead they tried to use all the benefits of Russian Imperial rule – from political reforms to educational possibilities in Russian universities. Tbilisi was transformed into a European city, where the nobles could read European newspapers, and walk with their wives in the latest French fashions[28]. The activities of Georgian Intellectuals turned Georgians into an active political unity – a nation. Some scholars may argue that they saw the future of Georgia as part of the Russian Empire, but they tried to do their best with the tools they had. They were wise enough to foresee the consequences of the irresponsible, irrational statements about political freedom from the Empire at a time when the Georgians even had no sense

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[26] Jones S. F., Socialism in Georgian Colors, Harvard University Press, 2005, p. 35
[27] Ibid, p. 36.
[28] Ibd, p. 6.

of unity. So they decided to go through cultural nationalism in order to make possible the achievement of their main goal – political freedom[29].

Religion as an Identity Marker and the Georgian Intellectuals

The Georgian intellectuals devoted a significant amount of time and space to identity issues in newspapers. The second half of the 19th century was a time when the Georgian nation was formed and intellectuals were establishing their own ideas about the nation. The current study examines the role of religion in the nation formation process.

In 1915, Tedo Ghlonti[30] published his article "The Integrity of Georgianness" in the local newspaper called *Sakhalkho Purtseli* (People's Leaflet), where he proved the importance of self-governance by showing that Georgians are the ethnic majority, so "national order is a desperate need"[31]. Tedo Ghlonti insisted through statistical data that the Georgian nation was treated as a narrow religious and ethnic group, while the Muslim, Jewish, Catholic and Gregorian Georgians were removed from the "we" group. In reality, Tedo Ghlonti thought that the Georgians' "ethnic body was united, firm and ready for national self-governance"[32].

According to Tedo Ghlonti, focusing on religion was an intentional attempt for the disintegration and fragmentation of the Georgians. The scholar insisted that because of historical accidents or various political reasons, some Georgians had changed their religious affiliation - they had become Catholic, Muslim or Gregorian. And it would be unfair to remove them from the "we" group just because they had left the confession pursued by the majority of Georgians. Furthermore, Tedo Ghlonti insisted that even

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[29] Ibid, pp. 32-35.

[30] Tevdore (Tedo) Ghlonti (1888-1937) – political and public figure, publicist, economist. In 1918-1921 he was the founder of the Georgian National Council and the Georgian Republic.

[31] Ghlonti T.,*The Unity of Georgianness* // Sakhalkho Purtseli, #279,#315, 1915, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 306

[32] Ibid, p. 307.

such evidence as forgetting the language and altering surnames were not enough to prove that these people did not belong to the Georgian nation[33].

If not religion then what defines identity? According to Tedo Ghlonti this is an "expression of a natural will" and "the issue of affiliation to a particular nation could not be resolved in any other way but by hearing the announcement of an individual about his or her identity in front of the competent institution"[34].

Therefore, self-perception and choice are more important than religious affiliation – this is the modern concept of civic nationalism, and not the ethnic one, according to which you belong to a certain nation at birth and can never change your nationality. Tedo Ghlonti insisted that a Jew's desire to be a part of the "we" group and his claim of being culturally akin to the Georgians is more than sufficient to consider him as a real Georgian regardless of religion: "An expression of individual's will determines one's nationality. There is no doubt that neither religious affiliation of Gregorian, Jew and Muslim, nor religious skepticism and even atheism are able to prevent people from being Georgians, or followers of other nationality"[35].

One can encounter the same thesis in the article[36] published in *Tanamedrove Azri* ("Modern Opinion") in 1916 under the title "Nationalistic Hysteria." The article claims that "instead of historical, territorial or religious principles" what should be promoted is a "personal principle."[37]. Religion is not a decisive factor in national identity issues, but rather "each citizen should decide for himself or herself what nationality he or she belongs to"[38].

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[33] Ibid, pp. 308-309.

[34] Ibid, p. 310.

[35] Ibid.

[36] The author's identity is not specified

[37] *Georgian Muslim's day* // Modern Opinion, # 60, 1915 in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 316

[38] Ibid.

According to Grigol Volski,[39] not just religion, but even shared origins cannot determine a "we" group and Georgianization is possible[40]. A discriminatory approach, through which people are divided by religion is severely inadmissible for him. In all religious groups, there are bad people and good people, and this does not depend on the religion to which they belong: "It is a bad action which triggers hatred, not origins or faith"[41]. Faith is a matter of conscience, religious affiliation is a very personal space, not a public one. "A man is measured only by his actions... by how good a citizen he is"[42]. Grigol Volski argues that after accepting the language and cultural features or traditions as their own, one can assume that the Georgianization process is complete.

However, not all intellectuals shared the idea that religion has no importance in the nation formation process. Some of them placed religion as the main marker of defining the "we" group and the "others". There was a big debate in Georgian intellectual circles about a Georgian Jews and whether or not they should be perceived as part of the Georgian "we" group and how their otherness was determined by religion itself. This paper does not aim to provide a detailed picture of this debate, but we can review some related processes later in the essay.[43]

The Georgian intellectuals' works were dedicated to identity issues – how was the concept of the Georgian nation or Georgianness related to religion? Were Muslims, Gregorians and Jews placed within the "we" group, or not? The following sections provide the intellectuals' attitudes toward each group.

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[39] Grigol Volski (pen name Gr. Umtsipharidze) (1860-1909) – Georgian publicist, poet, physician, public figure, with Polish origins.

[40] Volski G., *Jews case in Georgia* // Droeba, #186, 1883, pp. 1-3, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, pp. 357-358.

[41] Ibid, p. 356.

[42] Ibid.

[43] You can see more about this debate in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, pp. 178-245.

Georgian Muslims

In the attitude towards Georgian Muslims, one can notice an attempt to slide the religious factor back focusing on shared history and ethnic origins. In this regard, the contribution of the *Tergdaleulebi* is quite remarkable. They were trying as much as possible to include the Georgian Muslims within the "we" group. This issue became especially relevant when the Muslim part of Georgia, Adjara, was reunited with the rest of Georgia. The intellectuals were facing a problem – the Georgian speaking people living in Adjara and practicing a different religion should be incorporated into a common cultural space. Thus, there were no differences in attitudes towards this issue: Adjarian means Georgian, regardless of religious affiliation.

The Georgians' founding father Ilia Chavchavadze[44] paid special attention to the incorporation of Georgians with different religious affiliation into the "we" group. In 1877, he published an article under the title "Muslims' Georgia" (or "Ottoman's Georgia"), which can be regarded as an ideological platform for the *Tergdaleulebi*. Ilia Chavchavadze highlights the nation's bonding factors and says that religion is not one of them. Moreover, he said that little attention should be paid even to language and ethnicity: "Neither the unity of language, nor the unity of faith or ethnicity can bind people together more than the unity of history"[45]. His whole article aims to spread the idea that, historically, Georgian Muslims together with the rest of Georgians, often risking their lives, fought for the freedom and prosperity of the country, that they always were patriots of Georgia, that they were patriots today and would continue to be in future too. This may sound contradictory to Ilia's previous quote, where he insists that Georgians inherited three gifts from their ancestors – their homeland, language and faith. But we should take into account that this quote was said in a different context by a much younger Ilia Chavchavadze. After the

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[44] Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907) – Writer, publicist, political and public figure, the leader of the *Tergdaleulebi*, one of the founders of the Georgian National Project, the leader of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement.

[45] Chavchavadze I., Muslim's Georgia, 1877, in Chemi Rcheuli, Tbilisi: Palitra L, 2012, Vol. 45, p. 3.

historical moment when Adjara joined Georgia, Ilia had to redefine his triad. According to Ilia Chavchavadze's new approach, religious differences were insignificant: "We are not scared of religious diversity"[46]. One should consider the time when this letter was written. In 1877-1878, there was a war between the Russian and Ottoman Empires, and the Georgian intellectuals hoped for the accession of the Muslim part of Georgia – Adjara. That is why Ilia Chavchavadze concludes his letter with a call to battle: "... And if there is need to shed our blood, does a Georgian feel the fear and does not sacrifice his life to the Homeland, for which our great ancestors were fighting more than two thousand years?"[47]. Indeed, the Caucasian front of the Russian-Turkish war soon became the national war for Adjara. Later, when this part of Georgia was joined to the country, the problems of integration of different religious and cultural groups became even more evident.

In this regard, there is a significant article published in *Tanamedrove Azri* ("Modern Opinion") under the title "A Georgian Muslim's Day" where the author[48] described the difficult living conditions in Adjara. The author calls to the rest of the Georgian population for help [49]. In this article, Adjarians are considered Georgian Muslims, which on the one hand emphasizes the religious affiliation of the local population, and on the other hand insists that, despite this affiliation, the locals are considered to be members of the "we" group.

In the process of defining Georgian identity, religion is given less importance – this idea is expressed in the speech of the representative of the Georgian Muslim community Memed Abashidze.[50] He gave this speech at the meeting of Christian and Muslim Georgians in 1905: "We are Muslims by faith but we are Georgians by nationality... We are connected to Tatars

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[46] Ibid, p. 7.

[47] Ibid, p. 8.

[48] The author's identity is not specified

[49] *Georgian Muslim's day* // Modern Opinion, # 60, 1915 in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 314.

[50] Memed Abashidze (1873-1937) - Georgian public figure, writer, publicist.

only by faith and to Georgians – by nationality"[51]. Abashidze also warns about several attempts imposed from outside forces which aim to incite Christian and Muslim Georgians against each other. However, these attempts failed, Abashidze insists, because national conflicts cannot arise between Georgians. Religion is not as important when we have to deal with one nation. For Memed Abashidze, Muslims and Christians were equal members of the Georgian community. He expressed the fear of religious controversy, but assumed that after they talked to people from both groups and "opened their eyes," all danger would pass.

Grigol Volski tried to reduce the role of religion too and gave the example of Georgians from Batumi (Adjara): "No one can say they are not Georgians just because they practice Islam and not Christianity"[52].

In the case of Muslim Adjarians, there is one approach in all sources examined here – religion should not be considered a marker of national identity, because in this case, the Adjarians will be left out of the group. This is categorically unacceptable for the intellectuals reviewed in the current study. The situation is quite different when it comes to other ethnic groups. In this case, for some intellectuals religion still regains the function of an identity marker.

Gregorians and their place in the "we" group

The Georgians perceived themselves with regard to the Armenians and their relationship well defined as the "we" and "others" groups. For Georgians, there were "our" Armenians who lived in Georgia and "other" Armenians who lived outside of Georgia and the Georgian public discourse lacked any particular interest towards them. As for "our" Armenians, the Georgian attitude towards them has sometimes been confrontational and, on

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[51] *Georgians and Muslims Congregation* // Iveria, #98, 1905.. In Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 342.

[52] Volski G., *Jews case in Georgia* // Droeba, #186, 1883, pp. 1-3, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 357.

other occasions, the Georgian intellectuals perceived Armenians as the role models for Georgian society.[53] Another issue was how much religion, in particular Gregorianity, the main factor in the identity formation process, in defining who was Georgian and who was Armenian.

While discussing the attitute towards Gregorians, the paper uses some critical articles published by Tedo Ghlonti. He had received these letters as a remark from his readers regarding his publication. These letters seem really useful for analyzing religion as a marker of identity. One of them refers to Gregorians. Ghlonti did not name the author, but the fact of the publication express his ideological support towards him. The unknown author while talking about Gregorians highlights: "Gregorians are ethnic Georgians (the Georgian and Armenian Churches separated only in in the 7th century and some Georgians found themselves within the Armenian Church) and Armenians, who became Georgians through culture in the course of time"[54].

In this critical letter, one can identify two main notions: first, the author does not consider religious affiliation as a defining criterion for being a part of the Georgian nation – "ethnic Georgians" can be those who retained the Gregorian faith after the split of Georgian and Armenian Churches; and second, it is possible to become Georgian "in the course of time" and through adopting the local culture. This is a modern concept of civic nationalism, according to which nationhood is defined by common citizenship regardless of ethnicity, race or religion. So, you are not destined to belong to some nation by birth, but your national consciousness can change. Tedo Ghlonti fully agrees with the pathos of the letter mentioned above. Paying less attention to religious differences in the nation defining process and assuming that the affiliation to the Orthodox Church does not determine the "we" group "will make the concept of Integrity of

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[53] More information can be found in the appendix of Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, pp. 115-159.

[54] Ghlonti T.,*The Unity of Georgianness* // Sakhalkho Purtseli, #279,#315, 1915, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 309.

Georgianness more meaningful and the Georgian nation more interesting and diverse"[55].

The Armenian newspaper *Mshak* published in 1880 in Tbilisi analyzed identity markers: "Armenian Catholics living in Tbilisi, Akhaltsikhe and Kars region call themselves Georgians. Ethnically they are Armenians, according to religion they are Catholics, but Georgians can assimilate them and convince that they are true Georgians just because their spoken language is the Georgian one. So this is how strong national self-consciousness is in Georgians, that they can integrate different ethnic and religious groups through their language"[56].

The author claims that religious homogeneity is not crucial in the process of the "we" group formation – people with different faiths are accepted as true members of Georgian society. "The main protector of national principles is neither religion nor origins, but mainly the language and the homeland"[57]. According to the article the main marker of identity is language – "It is language and only language through which a man can become a member of a concrete nation"[58]. The Armenian newspaper *Mshak* notes regretfully that "Georgians can convince Armenian Catholics that religion and even ethnic belonging are not crucial from the national perspective, in the process of defining their 'we' group. You can belong to another religious or ethnic group; you can have another faith, but you can still be a true Georgian"[59].

This article is very interesting in the sense that it showed how Armenians perceived Georgians' identity markers. However, Tedo Ghlonti's letter the analyzed above and highlighted that there were lots of problems related to identity issues; that everything was not as perfect as *Mshak* perceived, that the integration process through language and culture

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[55] Ibid.

[56] *Georgians and Armenians* // Mshak, #167, 1880, pp. 1-2 In Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 324.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid, p. 325.

was not a smooth process at all. It should also be noted that all intellectuals reviewed in the current study consider Gregorians as an integral part of the Georgian "we" group (of course assuming that the Gregorians considered themselves a part of Georgian society).

Georgian Jews

The situation of the Jews was relatively complicated. If, with respect to other religions, the intellectuals more or less agreed to consider them as Georgians, Georgian Jews were not always accepted as members of the "we" group. Not only did Georgian intellectuals have some fundamental divergences of attitudes, but the Jews' opinions about their place in society were also varied. Some of them considered themselves real Georgians, others insisted that religion is the main marker of their nation.

In one of the letters received by Tedo Ghlonti, its Jewish author tries to identify the major factors that determine nationality and opposes the statement that religion is a main marker of identity: "Which nation, which people do Georgian Jews belong to? Do they constitute an integral part of the Georgian nation or not? - in terms of nationality and not faith, of course. I remember the words of the late Archil Jorjadze: we can explain nationality by three factors: language, territory and customs. As for religion, it is a matter of conscience, anyone should believe in whatever they want to believe, it's their own business, not ours."[60]

The author highlights these identity markers in his letter to Ghlonti: language, territory and customs, that is to say, culture. As for religion, its function as an identity marker is diminished – "religion is a matter of conscience, anyone is free to believe in what they prefer." However, this letter also shows the common trend of that time – it seems that religion was often used as a marker of identity. The author complains to Tedo Ghlonti, "…If you protest against the trend of not considering Georgian Catholics as Georgian, why don't you resist the unfair expressions about Georgian

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[60] Ghlonti T.,*The Unity of Georgianness* // Sakhalkho Purtseli, #279,#315, 1915, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 309.

Jews?" This reproach shows that not only the Jews had suffered, even Georgian Catholics had not been considered members of the "we" group. Otherwise there would be no need for criticism. In addition, Tedo Ghlonti noted that the "Georgian nation, which in reality represents a culturally and nationally whole unity, was artificially divided into several parts according to dialect, regions, religion and other insignificant factors"[61].

According to the above mentioned, we can conclude that some Georgian intellectuals oppose to the common trend of using religion as an identity marker. Besides presenting the views of Tedo Ghlonti, we can cite the words of Archil Jorjadze,[62] another bright representative of the Georgian intelligentsia, who assumed that religion is a private and personal affair. Tedo Ghlonti considered the author of the letter as a real Georgian despite his religious affiliation: "According to religion he is a follower of Moses' faith, but he is a real Georgian to me... he is inspired by deep and sacred Georgian patriotic feelings"[63].

According to Ilia Bakhtadze,[64] there is only one thing in which Georgian Jews differ from the rest of the Georgians – faith. In other respects, they were quite similar. However, there had recently been some alienation and fear among these people due to their faith[65]. This was mainly related to prejudices widespread in small villages, according to which a Jew needs a Christian child's blood for their sacrificial rituals. Ilia Bakhtadze

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Archil Jorjadze (1872-1913) – Georgian politician, one of the founders of the Social-Federalist Party and the main ideologist.

[63] Ghlonti T.,*The Unity of Georgianness* // Sakhalkho Purtseli, #279,#315, 1915, in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 309.

[64] Ilia Bakhtadze (pen name Ilia Khoneli) (1859-1900) – Georgian publicist, journalist, translator.

[65] Bakhtadze I., *Feuilleton* // Iveria, #198, 1886, pp. 1-3. In Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 358.

felt that the only way to eliminate these stereotypes and disintegration was through education[66].

Religion was not a factor, which is why Jews did not fall out of the scope of the "we" group. For example, for Niko Nikoladze,[67] the inclusion of ethnic minorities, and in particular Jews, was closely related to the national education system. He did not consider religion as the main identity factor. If a Jewish child was given the same education as a Georgian one, and had the same perspectives or rights, then "after one or two generations, Uriahs will be similar to the rest of the Georgians"[68]. Nikoladze highlighted the importance of the education system in spreading cultural elements and making a nation.

However, in contrast to the authors mentioned above, Niko Khizanashvili,[69] argued that religion was a crucial marker that determined the character of any relation: "If a Georgian hates a Jew, it is only religion which is the cause"[70]. Although he considered that, by accepting Georgian culture, the traditions and language of the Jews could be incorporated into Georgian society, he nevertheless insisted that "a Georgianized Jew is not wholeheartedly a Georgian. For this kind of Jew, Georgia is a temporary home, a charming and pleasant abode, but not a homeland"[71]. Rabbi David

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[66] Ibid, p. 359.

[67] Niko Nikoladze (pen name Skandeli) (1843-1928) – Georgian publicist, critic, revolutionary, democrat, political and public figure, a member of Ilia Chavchavadze's team.

[68] Nikoladze N., *Jews in Georgia* // Droeba, 1871, #32, pp. 2-3 in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 350.

[69] Niko Khizanashvili (1851-1906) – Georgian scientist, lawyer, historian, ethnographer, publicist, literary critic

[70] Khizanashvili N., *Our Jews" (Cveneburi Jews) (remarks)* // Iveria, #141, 1902, p.2 In Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 361.

[71] Ibid, p. 363.

Baazov[72] agreed with Khizanashvili in that religion was a marker of identity: "Religion defines our nationality and even our exclusive history"[73]. Both authors paid particular attention to the aspect of religion and considered it as the main marker of the "we" group. Khizanashvili even insisted that this marker is recognized by both groups – Georgians and Jews.

At the same time, the analysis of Georgian press materials published in 1860-1918 showed different positions too, spread among Georgian intellectuals and their Jewish colleagues. A good example of this was the Georgian Jew Joseph Khananashvili,[74] who argued against using the word Jew towards Georgian Jews, and introduced a new term - "Georgian Israeli". He explained that this term expressed only faith and not nationality, while the word Jew expressed ethnic belonging. According to him, Jews living in Georgia were ethnically not different from the rest of the Georgians. So they must be named in a different way. The term "Georgian Israeli" meant that these people were ethnically Georgians but with a different religious affiliation[75].

Joseph Khananashvili highlighted the Georgian Jews' belonging to the Georgian "we" group and claimed the Georgian language was their mother tongue, while he considered Hebrew as the language of religion. According to him, "Georgian Israelis" are very close to the Georgian people

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[72] David Baazov (1883-1946) – One of the leaders of the Jewish community in Georgia, public figure, a bright representative of the Zionist movement in Georgia, Rabbi of Oni (a town in Georgia's mountains)

[73] Baazov D., *Oni's Rabbi on Georgian Israeli's issue* // Samshoblo, # 429, 1916, p. 3 in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 391.

[74] Joseph Khananashvili – Georgian Jewish intellectual, public figure, publicist. In 1921, after Soviet occupation he emigrated to France with the Georgian government-in-exile.

[75] Khananashvili J., *Forced definition for the attention of the Georgian Israeli* // Samshoblo, 1916, (#392 pp. 2-3; #393 pp. 2-3); *The Georgian Israeli's response to "not Georgian" Rabbi* // Samshoblo (#410 pp. 2-3; #411 pp. 2-3) in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p.364.

and separated from the rest of Jews around the globe in spite of a shared religion. For "Georgian Israelis," Russian Jews would never be closer than Georgian Christians or Muslims. Moreover, Joseph Khananashvili referred to Russian Jews as aliens[76].

"We expect more consolation from Christian or Muslim Georgians, than from Russian Jews, because we have known each other for more than 20 centuries"[77]. He also emphasized that religious unity could not create a solid basis for solidarity and that the unity which formed for centuries based on a historical past and culture was stronger and more stable than a religious one. He insisted that, in a foreign country, a "Georgian Israeli" is more pleased and full of emotions when seeing a Georgian (it does not matter whether it was a Christian or Muslim) than a Russian, Italian or American Jew, even with the same religious affiliation[78].

Joseph Khananashvili also criticized the above-mentioned Rabbi Baazov, who reprimanded Georgian Jews for singing Georgian bedtime songs to their children and not Jewish ones. Joseph Khananashvili explained that Jewish lullabies were not close to the hearts of Georgian Jews' children, because "they have a Georgian spirit, not a Palestinian one"[79]. Moreover he criticized the Rabbi for highlighting religion as a main factor for nationality: "I said that religion is not a factor which determines nationality... religion and nationality are different and separate things... you, as it is expected from the cleric, want to make religion a cornerstone of everything in life... and do not even know which factors really determine nationality"[80]. The author considered the Rabbi's opinion far from reality and explained this backwardness through his religious affiliation. "We are Georgians by ethnicity and Jews by religion" – for Joseph Khananashvili this was the most accurate picture of the "Georgian Israeli."

For the current analysis, the most important part of the article is where religion and national affiliations are separated from each other. "Do

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[76] Ibid, p. 366.
[77] Ibid, p. 369.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, p. 371.
[80] Ibid, p. 373.

Polish, Italian, French, Georgian or German Catholics belong to one nation, just because all of them share one religion?"[81] – this rhetorical question underlined the author's belief that the religious factor was not a crucial one in determining one's nationality. And if French and German Catholics did not constitute one nation, why should a "Georgian Israeli" be a part of the big Jewish community and not the Georgian one? Joseph Khananashvili cited some European intellectuals and insisted that the basis of nationality was the "people's subjective conscience"[82]. Joseph Khananashvili argued that while, in the past, religious differences hindered people from creating one nation, nowadays the importance of religion had significantly diminished. For him, the determining factor of the nation was the language: "Language plays the most important role when you wonder the nation to which a man belongs"[83]. Compared with the linguistic, cultural and historical markers of identity, religion was quite an insignificant factor. In the nation and identity formation process, less importance should be given to religious affiliation: "I have already repeated and I will repeat it again that religion is one thing, nationality is another and this two affiliations are separated from each other... Do you really believe that Georgians are Georgians just because they recognize Christ? What does religion have to do with nationality?"[84]. Joseph Khananashvili insisted that the beliefs which linked religion to nationality indicated cultural[85]. He also rejected the threats of assimilation from the Georgian side: "Why should we, 'Georgian Israelis', be scared of Georgianization when we are already Georgians by nationality?"[86].

His theses were also shared by Mikheil (Mikhako) Khananashvili,[87] who noted that Georgian Jews differed from the rest of the Georgians only

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[81] Ibid, p. 374.
[82] Ibid, p. 373.
[83] Ibid, p. 374.
[84] Ibid, p. 375.
[85] Ibid, p. 377.
[86] Ibid, p. 368.
[87] Mikheil (Mikhako) Khananashvili (1888-1972) – Georgian Jew, Intellectual, after Soviet occupation he emigrated to France with the Georgian government-in-exile, but later he came back to Georgia.

by religion[88]. He linked the opposite opinion with the "Russian *chinovnik* (beaurocratic) spirit"[89]. "Despite religious differences, we – Georgian Jews and Christians, have one precious homeland, one mother tongue, a shared past and a bright future"[90].

The Georgianization of Jews was considered possible by Grigol Volski too (Volski 1883: 357-358). However, as we have already mentioned above, for some intellectuals being a Jew ruled out being a Georgian and despite the good relationship between Georgians and Jews, different religious affiliation means that they could not be placed in one group.

Conclusion

The present study examined articles about nationality and identity markers published in several newspapers. The research question was the following: What role did religion play in the process of defining "we" and "others" in Georgia (1860-1918)? The results of the study do not show a clear-cut answer to the research question and do not agree with the hypothesis put forward at the beginning of the paper, according to which religion was an important marker of the identity formation process. Some authors highlighted the importance of language, culture, customs and traditions or a "personal will" in the defining nationality. They insisted that religion should not have a crucial importance in detemining the "we" group. However, the paper analysed the opposite narrative too, according to which religion creates nationality and, therefore, represents the main marker of identity. Also, the paper found some differences among the attitudes towards different religions. Muslim Ajarians are considered as members of the "we" group by all the intellectuals analyzed above and in this case, all authors insisted that religion should not be a determinant marker of identity. The attitude dramatically changed when they began to talk about Georgian Jews. There, one could identify **two** conflicting positions: **some of them**

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[88] Khananashvili M., *Few things about the Georgian Jews* // Sakhalkho Purtseli, #607, 1916, pp. 2-3 in Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Matsaberidze D., Tsereteli I., Kakitelashvili K., Identity Narratives in Georgia: at the Origins of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, 2014, p. 387

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

argued that religion formed the nation and connected people, therefore it did not matter culturally how close Georgian Jews were with the rest of the Georgians, how native the Georgian language was for them or how much they considered Georgia their own country, being a Jew meant standing out of the Georgian "we" group; but **others** strongly contradicted this position and conidered Georgian Jews an integral part of Georgian society.

To conclude, the beliefs and opinions spread out among the period from 1860 to 1918 among Georgian intellectual circles were not homogeneous. But, in most cases, the intellectuals recognized the importance of language, culture and history, while religion was given a relatively small role in the nation-forming process. Another issue is how much these ideas were shared by ordinary people. The current study does not aim at being generalized on the entire Georgian society or on all Georgian intellectuals of that period. It can also be said that no one would have criticised religion as a marker of identity if no one had considered religion as a marker and there had not been several cases of manipulation by this.

Կրոնը որպես ինքնության ցուցիչ վրացիների համար (1860-1918)

Սալոմե Խվադագիանի
Իվանե Ջավախիշվիլու անվան
Թբիլիսիի պետական համալսարան

Այսօրվա «ո՞վ ենք մենք» և «ովքե՞ր են նրանք» հարցերի պատասխանները կապված են դեռևս տասնիններորդ դարում ձևավորված հանրային պատկերացումների հետ, որոնք ձևավորում էին ժամանակի մտավորականները պարբերական մամուլի էջերից: Սույն հոդվածը քննարկելու է ինքնության ձևավորման այս տեսանկյունը Վրաստանյան օրինակի վրա՝ ուսումնասիրելով կրոնի դերի ներկայացումը ինքնության ձևավորման մեջ Վրաստանում 1860-1918 թթ. ընթացքում: Հաշվի առնելով այն փաստը, որ Վրաստանը բազմէթնիկ և բազմադավան հանրություն ունի՝ կարևոր է ուսումնասիրել հիմնական ինքնության ցուցիչները և «մենք» խմբի սահմանները: Ուսումնասիրվել են 1860-1918 թվականների ընթացքում Թիֆլիսում լույս տեսած հետևյալ պարբերականները: *Սամշոբլո* *(«Հայրենիք»), Իվերիա, Սախալխո Թուրգելի («Հանրային թուղթ»), Դռոեբա («Ժամանակ»), Թանամեդրովե Ազրի («Արդի միտք»),* ինչպես նաև հայերեն պարբերական «*Մշակը*»:

"Maro the Fighter:" How Soviet Armenian Media Created Politically and Socially Active Women through Media Discourse

(A case study of the newspaper Avangard *(1923-1926))*

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This article analyzes the discourse[1] of the newspaper *Avangard* related to the new Soviet Armenian woman. The study tries to investigate the tools that *Avangard* used for the popularization of ideas of gender equality, women's empowerment and their political and social activity.

In my research, I focus on the newspaper *Avangard*, since it represented the discourse of the working class. This class found it particularly difficult to adopt the new gender roles pushed forward by new Soviet daily practices.

This article analyzes the issues from the first years of the newspaper's publication and singles out articles related in any way with women's issues, the specifics of their new roles, the proclamations on women's involvement in the social and political life of the country, and it also identifies obstacles and problems in the implementation of the new gender roles as described in the newspaper. Besides this, the article has paid particular attention to

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[1]It is obvious that the meaning of the word "discourse" is used with certain reservations here. In the Soviet media, discourse could only be within the framework of Bolshevik ideology and it could not discuss ideas but rather options for the implementation of proposed issues. The newspapers would simply not publish opinions other than 'accepted' ones.

certain aspects of the newspaper's language, the intended audience for its calls and messages, and the role of women in those messages.

Soviet ideology and women

After establishing the Soviet State, the ideologists of the Bolshevik party aspired to create the "New Soviet citizen."[2] The analysts of the Soviet state's social policy show that the Bolshevik Party dreamed about politically and socially active citizens free from religious prejudices. The new citizen would propagate socialism and spurn capitalism. This citizen would also actively build a society where social equality would dominate.

The Bolshevik engineers of the "new man" first marked the social phenomena that were unacceptable for them, then they labeled them as bourgeoisie, and finally, they created the opposite ones – phenomena and manners that were positive and socialist.[3]

"According to E.G. Panamaryov and L.N. Velichko: "The Establishment of the new society was accompanied by the creation of a new kind of man. This new man was free from foregoing moral structures and behavioral stereotypes. Previous traditional moral values based on Christian virtue were being replaced by other educational and pedagogical paradigms.""[4]

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[2]Коган, С. В., *Детство Как Этап Формирования «Нового Человека» В Довоенном Советском Обществе*// Известия РГПУ им. А.И. Герцена. 2012. №150, стр.165 [Kogan, S. V., *Childhood as a Stage in the Formation of a "New Person" in Pre-War Soviet Society,* News from the Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Hertsen, 2012, No. 150, page 165] *URL*: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/detstvo-kak-etap-formirovaniya-novogo-cheloveka-v-dovoennom-sovetskom-obschestve (date accessed: 30.07.2015)

[3]Новиков, С. Г., *Разработка модели «нового человека » советской властной элитой 1920-х гг* // Известия ВГПУ . 2012. №5. [Novikov, S. G., *The Development of a Model for the "New Person" by the Soviet Ruling Elite in the 1920s,* News from the Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Hertsen, 2012, No. 5] URL: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/razrabotka-modeli-novogo-cheloveka-sovetskoy-vlastnoy-elitoy-1920-h-gg (date accessed: 26.07.2015).

[4]Коган, С. В., *Детство Как Этап Формирования «Нового Человека» В Довоенном Советском Обществе* // Известия РГПУ им. А.И. Герцена . 2012. №150., [Kogan, Sofya Vadimovna, *Childhood as a Stage in the Formation of a*

New daily practices were created for the invention of the new man. But the USSR was a modernizing country, and the changes in the image of the citizen were revolutionary in their nature. These changes were implemented through revolutionary plans and at a rapid pace. This was not an easy task in general and especially with respect to women. Taking into consideration the fact that nations with mostly traditional and often patriarchal societies were living in the newly Sovietized republics, these difficulties were enormous.

Cultural and social anthropology assume that men can live only in an orderly world, that is, in a situation where a cultural order dominates over natural order. In the Soviet society, ideology assumed the role of that kind of regulator.[5] An affirmation of the new cultural order was taking place through the invention and popularization of new Soviet daily practices.

Soviet daily practices defined, for example, gender equality, equal responsibility and equal opportunities, also those practices granted the women the right to vote and promoted their political and civic activity.[6] Bypassing the important question that "political activity" in the Soviet Union meant active proclamation of allegiance towards the ideology and government of the Communist party, it is worth mentioning that these activities were expected both from men and women equally.

"New Person" in Pre-War Soviet Society, News from the Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Hertsen, 2012, No. 150, page 166] стр.166 URL: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/detstvo-kak-etap-formirovaniya-novogo-cheloveka-v-dovoennom-sovetskom-obschestve (date accessed: 30.07.2015).

[5] Волков, В.В., *Концепция культурности, 1935-1938 годы: советская цивилизация и повседневность сталинского времени // Социологический журнал. 1996. № 1-2., стр. 15* [V.V. Volkov, *The Concept of Being Cultured, 1935-1938: Soviet Civilization and Everyday Living in the Stalin Era* // Sociological Journal. 1996. No. 1-2, page 15]

[6] Коган, С. В., *Детство Как Этап Формирования «Нового Человека» В Довоенном Советском Обществе* // Известия РГПУ им. А.И. Герцена . 2012. №150. [Kogan, Sofya Vadimovna, *Childhood as a Stage in the Formation of a "New Person" in Pre-War Soviet Society,* News from the Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Hertsen, 2012, No. 150] URL: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/detstvo-kak-etap-formirovaniya-novogo-cheloveka-v-dovoennom-sovetskom-obschestve (дата обращения: 30.07.2015).

An important basis for the popularization of Soviet daily practices were served by political myths, such as the myth called "an end to backwardness."The truth about backwardness is not important; it's the contrast between the "in the past" and the "now" that is very important. What is more, in the slogans used, what we call the myths were rooted mainly in the idea of an expected good future presented as something occurring "now." And in those myths, the reality of the present was completely erased, especially when concerning the primitive replacement of the functional roles of "the past" with the similar roles "now." For example:

"In the past, the children of workers and peasants did not have the possibility to get an education, whereas now they can become engineers. In the past, the land owners would oppress the farmers, but now the farmers are united and themselves are the owners of the lands. In the past, the employers would tyrannize the workers, but now the employees are lords themselves. In the past, clerics would deceive the people and religious opium would befuddle them, but now science and enlightenment are opening people's eyes."[7]

For example, in the statement "*In the past, the land owners would oppress the farmers, but now the farmers are united and themselves are the owners of the lands,*" there is no emphasis on the fact that, despite the replacement of the forms of land ownership, farmers continued to be oppressed as they did in the past because now they had to give a large part of the results of their work to the state. Certainly, one of the "correct myths" was that "currently Soviet women have rights and duties equal to Soviet men," but it too was voiced in contrast with the past: in the past, women were oppressed within the bourgeois family, whereas now Soviet women have rights and responsibilities equal to those of Soviet men. Denying all things from the "bad past" and the practically forced introduction of "good

[7] Фицпатрик Ш., Повседневдный сталинизм. Социальная история Советской России в 30-е годы: город //Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН); Фонд Первого Президента России Б.Н.Ельцина, М., 2-е изд., 2008. [Fitzpatrick S., *Everyday Stalinism: The Social History of Soviet Russia in the 30s: City* // Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), Boris Yeltsin Collection, M., 2nd edition, 2008.] http://www.krotov.info/libr_min/21_f/iz/patrik_0.htm (accessed on 06.07.2015)

present" became one of the most important tools and methods for interrupting the cultural continuity of groups and nations, regardless of their "backwardness," and opened a wide scope for standardized values, introduced in the social relations of the whole population of the Soviet socio-cultural space with a rich ethnic and cultural diversity.

The Soviet governors considered their mission to be educating and civilizing the huge masses of the newly established empire, as they perceived those masses as backward and uneducated. In general, the women were identified as more degraded in those "backward masses."[8]

Bolshevik ideologists considered the institute of the family as one of the reasons for women's backwardness. That is why the defamilization of society and the need for transferring the relationships between women and men from the field of the family to the space of love became a key point of the "women's issue."[9]

As new Soviet citizens, the Bolsheviks were creating new Soviet women and new Soviet men, and new relationships between them.[10] These relationships underwent enormous changes both in the personal and social spheres.

In private life, those changes concerned the familial-marital, friendly and sexual areas, and in social life they encompassed the economic, ideological and cultural areas.[11]

The personnel policy of the state also influenced the differentiation of gender roles. In the 1920-1930s, one of the mainstream approaches of Soviet personnel policy was the assignment of the farmers and workers to state and party positions. Within the scope of that approach, the regional

[8] Ibid.

[9] Коллонтай, А. М., *Семья и коммунистическое государство //* Российская коммунистическая партия, 1918, стр. 4 [Kollontai, A.M., *The Family and the Communist State //* Russian Communist Party, 1918, p. 4]

[10] Здравомыслова, Е. А., Тёмкина А. А., *Государственное конструирование гендера в советском обществе //* Журнал исследований социальной политики, том 1 (3/4), стр. 299. [Zdravomyslova Y.A, Tyomkina A.A. *The State Construction of Gender in Soviet Society //* Journal of Social Political Studies, Vol. 1 (3/4), p. 299] http://ecsocman.hse.ru/data/072/627/1219/zdravomyslova_temkina_gosudarstvenno e_konstruirovanie.PDF, (accessed on 20.07.2015)

[11] Ibid, p. 301.

social anchorage of the state was expanding due to women's participation too.[12]

The Bolshevik ideologists used the party meetings, party agitators, work collectives, educational centers, particularly schools kids/youth institutes (pioneers, *komsomols*), NGO's, especially professional unions and of course print media for the popularization of the peculiarities of new Soviet daily practices.

The Bolshevik government considered the emancipation of women as one of the main goals of their activity. They perceived the bourgeois family as one of the obstacles on the way to that goal. That is why they strongly condemned the old fashioned institution of the family.[13] The perception of motherhood was changing too. In 1923, A.M. Kollontai, who was one of the leaders of Bolshevik's feminization ideology, proclaimed: "The Soviet government will take the burden of motherhood off the shoulders of women and will pass it to the state."[14]In her book, "The Family and the Communist State" she wrote:

"There is no need for the concealment of the truth: an average family, where the man was the boss and bread-winner and the woman was dependent on the husband and she had neither her own will nor her own time, is changing in front of our eyes."[15]

From Kollontai's point of view, the type of family that was common among the urban and rural proletarians was the remnant of the old bourgeois customs. She was certain that the Soviet citizen had to get rid of that

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[12] Земзюлина, Н. И., *Гендерный аспект кадровой политики в СССР в 1920-1930-х гг* // ИСОМ, 2013, №6. [Zemzyulina, Natalya Ivanovna, *The Gender Aspect of Personnel Policies in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s* // ISEM. 2013. No. 6] http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/gendernyy-aspekt-kadrovoy-politiki-v-sssr-v-1920-1930-h-gg (accessed on 26.07.2015).

[13] Шаповалова А. Я., *Политика большевиков в отношении семьи в первые годы советской власти* // Общество: Политика, экономика, право, 2010, № 1, стр. 105 [Shapovalova A.Y., *Bolshevik Policy in Relation to the Family in the Early Years of Soviet Rule* // Society: Politics, Economics, Rights, 2010, № 1, page 105].

[14] Коллонтай, А. М., *Семья и коммунистическое государство* // Российская коммунистическая партия, 1918, стр. 146. [Kollontai, A.M., *The Family and the Communist State* // Russian Communist Party, 1918, p.146]

[15] Ibid, p. 4.

remnant on the way to the creation of new daily practices.[16]According to Kollontai, there were no factors in favor of retaining the family and so there was no need or reason to maintain the old model of family. Her ideology influenced the Soviet government's policy, and during the first years of the state, the Bolsheviks adopted several decrees that were very important from the viewpoint of gender equality. Among those, there were decrees about "Bookkeeping of the acts of civil marriage, children and civil accommodation" and "The ending of marriage."[17]

It is possible that the ideologists of the Bolsheviks felt a possible counterweight to the state monopoly on the pressure of the will of the citizens in the family institution as a closed cell with a strong adhesion of its members, having diverse manifestations especially in the traditional patriarchal societies of the Soviet's peripheral East and South.. In any case, the state took in its strong arms the regulation of relations between men and women in the public sphere, as well as in the family not only through legal rights and laws, but also, and more importantly, through propaganda and the imposition of appropriate and glorified images and/or through administrative punishment(eg., a Brigadier, the chairman of the *kolkhoz*, could administratively punish a husband if he cited the need to care for children as a reason for prohibiting his wife from participating in the collective work in the field, meetings and so on). Similarly, the image of Soviet women and men were carefully crafted by certain ideological and party designers – how to dress, how and with whom to visit friends and relatives, whether or not to use jewelry, how to allocate family-related responsibilities and relationships, etc.

It is important to note also that the first years of Soviet policy on gender equality in addition to "the Soviet way of life" and/or within the "Soviet way of life" Soviet propaganda also tried to personalize women,

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[16] Ibid, p. 6.

[17] Собрание узаконений и распоряжений РСФСР, М., 1917. № 1, 10, цит. Пушкарева, Н. Л., *Гендерная система советской Росси и судьбы россиянок* // НЛО, 2012, № 117, [Collection of the Legalization and Regulation of the RFSSR, M., 1917 No. 1, 10, cited in Pushkareva N.L., *The Gender System of Soviet Russia and the Fate of Russian Women* // NLO, 2012, № 117, http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2012/117/p5.html, (accessed on 30.06.2015)

focusing on their human needs, health, opportunities for individual development, education, financial independence, and what was more important, tried to make women more aware of their legal and social rights.

According to Russian and Western modern sociologists, the period between the establishment of the Soviet state and the late 1920's was the first stage of the development of Soviet gender relations. This stage stands out due to the existence of "women's groups" and the fact that it was the period of Bolshevik experiments in the area of family issues.[18]

During this period of time, the redesign of the family institution and the political mobilization of women were considered as cornerstones of women's emancipation. The heads of the departments for the control of labor among women assured that "work must be done in places, the ideas must be strongly agitated and where agitation does not help achieve the goal, those members and candidates of the party that have not yet denied the old practices, must be chastised publicly."[19]

The Armenian Soviet State was not an exception and its Bolshevik leaders, too, used the print media as one of the tools for the popularizing the new Soviet practices. In this paper, as stated above, a very short period of time (three years) is considered in the early experiments of the development of a Soviet gender policy when both the state and society tried sometimes rather primitively to find the lines of Soviet gender equality.

"How shall we work with the girls"

The gender discourse of "*Avangard*" newspaper mostly targeted the male readership. This discourse used mostly masculine language and

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[18] Пушкарева, Н. Л., *Гендерная система советской Росси и судьбы россиянок* // НЛО, 2012, № 117, [Pushkareva N.L., *The Gender System of Soviet Russia and the Fate of Russian Women* // NLO, 2012, № 117] http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2012/117/p5.html, (accessed on 30.06.2015)

[19] ЦДНИ КБР. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 11. Л. 65—70, цит. Пушкарева, Н. Л., *Гендерная система советской Росси и судьбы россиянок* // НЛО, 2012, № 117, [Collection of the Legalization and Regulation of the RFSSR, M., 1917 No. 1, 10, cited in Pushkareva N.L., *The Gender System of Soviet Russia and the Fate of Russian Women* // NLO, 2012, № 117, http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2012/117/p5.html, (accessed on 30.06.2015)

referred to the men. Almost all issues of the newspaper contained articles about the inaction of women in the party and social works. The male authors of the articles called on their male colleagues to encourage their female comrades to actively participate in party work. They considered the low degree of women's participation to be the result of bad work by the party men. In particular, one of the authors wrote:

"We, komsomols of the village have not yet managed to have the necessary attitude towards our girls (the girls of the village) to make them interested in the work of our cell and gradually, to make them become one of us."[20]

Through this statement the author gave the women a passive role in their inaction. Instead, the article calls on the active participation of men for the emancipation of the women.

The Bolshevik ideologists of the newspaper asked their male readers to fight for women's emancipation on two fronts. First, male members of the party were supposed to create an atmosphere during party and cell meetings where women would be able to participate freely and without reservation. The articles that address this issue had titles such as: "About Women Correspondents"[21], "You Must Organize Women"[22], "An Issue about Women,"[23] "They do not Attract Girls,"[24] "A Friendly Attitude toward Girls,"[25] "Open their Eyes,"[26] "Who are the Ones who Hamper,"[27] and so on.

The addressees of these articles were male peasants and workers, male members of party cells - this much is obvious simply from their titles. The articles called on them to create a better environment for women's

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[20] *How to Approach Girls //* Avangard, issue 58(87), p.3, Yerevan, 1924

[21] *About Girl Authors //* Avangard, issue 15(43), p.6, Yerevan, 1924

[22] *You Must Organize Women //* Avangard, issue 58(87), p.5, Yerevan, 1924

[23] *One Issue for the Promotion of Girls //* Avangard, issue 26 (55), p.8, Yerevan, 1924

[24] *They do not Attract Girls //* Avangard, issue 14(173), p.4, Yerevan, 1926

[25] *A Friendly Attitude towards Girls //* Avangard, issue 98(254), p.2, Yerevan, 1926

[26] *Open their Eyes //* Avangard, issue 13(104), p.2, Yerevan, 1925

[27] *Who are the Ones who Hamper? //* Avangard, issue 27(185), p.2, Yerevan, 1926

participation in all activities of the party cells. The authors of these articles asked the new Soviet citizens to make party activities more understandable and accessible for their women counterparts. One of the barriers in the women's emancipation process is considered the patriarchal attitude of the men towards them and temerity. In order to overcome these barriers, anxious "comrades" wrote articles condemning those members of the party who demonstrated inappropriate behavior. The articles stressed that the misleading behavior of such comrades must be condemned and punished.

The authors emphasized that there were numerous barriers for women's involvement in the party's activities, and that careless actions by men were complicating the situation. One of the "worried authors" wrote:

"For farmers, it a new and unseen phenomenon that girls can attend party meetings…One careless comment in the presence of the girls is enough for the village to burst with gossip and stories about the immorality of the komsomols."[28]

Thus, the author draws the reader's attention upon the vulnerable plight of women's emancipation in the villages.

Besides mentioning the importance of men's benevolent and polite behavior towards their female counterparts, the newspaper called on his male readership to use more understandable language when explaining the importance of party work for women. In this framework, the articles gave special importance to personal qualities and the meaning of the implemented work of the instructors. The newspaper published the names and images of the best instructors as exemplary members of the party. In the distinguished instructors' activities, special attention was paid to their work for women's involvement in the party activities.

For example, one of the articles published in the column called "Farmers for the Village" was devoted to laborer H. Darbinyan, who was the instructor of the Kotayk region. Regarding his exemplary activities, the article said:

"The organization of the Kotayk region is growing daily…recently 15 girls became members of the union and this is a big victory for the village.

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[28] *The New Life style must not be Distorted* // Avangard, issue 30 (121), p. 4, Yerevan, 1926

And of course this is due to the ENOURMOUS EFFORTS OF THE INSTRUCTOR."[29]

The other key issue in the discourse of gender relations in the public sphere was the disrespectful attitude of men towards their politicized women counterparts. The author of the article entitled "Why do Girls Refuse to Attend Meetings" wrote about this problem. He was worried because, during the women's speeches in the meetings or when cell meetings were supervised by women, the men would make noises, behave disrespectfully and in a disorderly fashion. As a result of these negative actions, the work of girls would be rated with low scores and they would lose their positions.

The second battlefront in men's struggle for women's emancipation was the area of family. The main focus of the discourse about new daily practices and the new Soviet family was the equality of the women and men in the family and the importance of the change of men's superior roles in the families. There were numerous articles in *Avangard* about the disapproval of men's aggressive masculinity and their desire to rule over women in the family. These articles were entitled "A Sad Phenomenon,"[30]"We Must Abandon Old Customs,"[31]"Women are Men's Equals and Not their Slaves,"[32] "They do not Keep Them, nor do they Divorce them,"[33] "He Beat and Evicted her,"[34] "The Family and the Construction of Socialism,"[35] "Instead of Helping, they Prevent them"[36] and so on.

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[29] *The Workers for the Village* // Avangard, issue 55(84), p.4, Yerevan, 1924

[30] *A Sad Phenomenon* //Avangard, issue 26(55), p.6, Yerevan, 1924

[31] *We Must Abandon Old Customs* // Avangard, issue 34(191), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

[32] *Women are Men's Equalsand not their Slaves* // Avangard, issue 37 (194), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

[33] *They do not Keep Them,nor do they Divorce them* // Avangard, issue 61(218), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

[34] *He Beat her and Evicted her* // Avangard, issue 74(231), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

[35] *The Family and the Construction of Socialism* // Avangard, issue 30(121), p.3, Yerevan, 1925

[36] *Instead of Helping, they Prevent Them* //Avangard, issue 44(133), p.2, Yerevan, 1925

These articles deprecated those party members and workers who abuse their wives and/or prohibited them from participating in party meetings. Both negative phenomena were considered parts of "old practices" that had no place in the life of a Soviet citizen. In these articles, the features of the new family model could gradually be discerned. Contrary to the first gender ideologists of the Soviet state, the discourse of the newspaper did not regret the institution of the family at all, but it was against the old kind of family. In the new family, men and women were equals as they were in the social areas, and men had no rights over women. First of all, they were equal builders of socialism, and the family had no right to challenge their social activities.

In the article "Who Are the Ones who hamper?" the author wrote:

"In Taza village, Hrazdan region ,the farmer Yegiazar Avetisyan has married one of the female party members and now he does not allow her to participate in party meetings."Avetisyan has forced her to wear jewelry and keeps her at home."[37]

The author equalized things like beating one's wife and wearing jewelry, and considered them leftovers from a past life. An image accompanied the article in which a man in farmer's clothing and a sad woman with jewelry were depicted. Such images represented the old daily practices, the morals of the "backward villagers" and traditional clothes. The image had a quote: "You - woman! You'd better stay home like you should! Meetings are none of your business!."[38]

"Go away, luxuries"

Only some of the articles on gender discourse spoke to a female readership. The majority of the authors of these articles were nevertheless men who cared about women's issues and sometimes decided to address women on issues of their concern. The lion's share of these articles was

[37] *Who are the Ones who Hamper?* // Avangard, issue 27(185), p.2, Yerevan, 1926
[38] "You-woman! You'd better stay home like you should! Meetings are none of your business! // Avangard, isuue 37(194), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

about women's hygiene, health issues, and some of them spoke about topics concerning appropriate clothing and make-up for women.

The author of one of the articles published in a column called "Is it permissible to use perfume and powder?" spoke against the use of these old fashioned and bourgeois items of female hygiene. After this piece, a series of articles appeared as part of the same column. Each of the articles used different arguments when speaking about the need to refuse these items. The arguments of those ideas can be grouped as follows:

1) Perfume and powder are markers of a bourgeois lifestyle and they must be abandoned as should everything related to the former lifestyle.[39]

2) A Soviet woman must not be concerned with things such as perfume and powder. The main goal and the passion of her life must be the construction of socialism and not the use of make-up.[40]

3) Perfume and powder are dangerous to a women's health. They are poisons and women used to use them as a result of their illiteracy.[41]

The last argument also had the support of Soviet doctors whose ideas concerning the above-mentioned issues were published in the same column. According to the published medical opinion:

"Fragrances usually erase the sexual desire of men. Perfume and fragrances are for women who smell badly for some reason (for example because of smelly underarms, bad breath or smelly feet).[42]

When speaking about the peculiarities of powder, the article emphasized that it blocks sebaceous glands and therefore causes skin irritation.

The articles concerning the importance of physical activity and its influence on physical health mostly spoke to the male readership were complemented with images of men. Nevertheless, the newspaper included some articles that raised the issue that there is a misunderstanding regarding

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[39] *Is it Permissible to Use Perfume and Powder? //* Avangard, issue 91(247), p.4, Yerevan, 1926

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] *Powder and Perfume from a Medical Perspective //* Avangard, issue 97(253), p.4, Yerevan, 1926

the physical activities of women. The articles placed blame in general on those readers and *komsomols* who assumed that physical activity was not for women.

These articles were grouped in a column called "Physical Activity is Not Only for Boys." The articles stressed the special importance of physical activities for women's physical and mental health. They contained some instructions about the best approaches and times for workouts.[43]

Interestingly, there were almost no articles about motherhood and child care. When referring to the female readership the newspaper targeted young women and focused on their problems in the personal and public spheres, but bypassed issues of maternity. The articles referring to women's health were mostly about the importance of women's hygiene, issues of the reproductive system, peculiarities of sexual desire and ways to restrain that desire.[44]Pieces in this column were mostly translations of articles from Russian newspapers, and represented the thoughts of ideological speeches and publications.

The main message of these articles was the significance of the ability to restrain sexual desire and to use the energy born from that desire for the fulfillment of public and social activities, thus becoming active party members and refraining from sexually transmitted infections.

There were a number of articles related to the women who show inappropriate behavior, considering them morally corrupt or as someone still practicing old ideas. An article entitled "Komsomol, KIM and …the ring" said:

"The ring is a symbol of reluctance, a leftover of bourgeois life. The komsomol must fight against the leftovers of old practices and that must first start with a personal example. But you can see that our friend is doing just the opposite. It would be smart of her to throw the ring away, and she must do it or else she will become a laughing stock."[45]

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[43] *Physical Activity is Not Only for Boys* // Avangard, issue 23(114), p.4, Yerevan, 1925

[44] *The Issue of Sex and the Comsosmol* // Avangard, issue 30(121), p.3, Yerevan, 1925

[45] *The Komsomol, KIM and… the Ring* //Avangard, issue 33 (190)

Our friend Tarlan as a parliamentarian

Another topic of *Avangard*'s gender discourse concerns women who have attained party and political positions. This discourse was presented via stories of both Soviet women ideologists and ordinary women. The success stories of these women appeared in the newspaper's pages especially during state celebrations such as March 8 and May 1. In the newspaper issues printed on those days, one could read numerous articles on the achievements of women in social and political life, about their struggle against old values and their desire to emancipate all their sisters in the world.

The articles about women soviet ideologists and high level officials are mostly translations from the Russian newspapers. The ideas and worldviews of Clara Zetkin,[46]Rosa Luxemburg[47] and other women appeared often. The majority of these articles stressed that the Soviet Union is the best place for the emancipated women and that women suffered from the inequality, poverty and backwardness in all other countries.

Some articles told stories of worker or peasant women who had become politically active now because of Soviet ideology and the opportunities the Soviet State had given them. In the article about an annual party meeting, the image of a *komsomol* woman was printed with the following name: "Our friend Tarlan as a parliamentarian."[48]

The newspaper had a special column for literary works and they contained gender discourse too. The two main themes of these works were the need for women's emancipation and anti-religious activities. Usually these topics were correlated in literary works about women who struggled against religious prejudice and fought for their right to be active in public life.

[46] *The International Day of Women is the Day of New Struggle* (An article by Clara Zetkin) // Avangard, issue 18(177), p.1, Yerevan, 1926

[47] *Rosa Luxemburg* // Avangard, issue 4(163), p.3, Yerevan, 1926

[48] *Our Friend Tarlan as a Parliamentarian //* Avangard, issue 15(174), p.2, Yerevan, 1926

In an essay called "Maro the fighter," the author told the story of a young woman who was an active party member and encouraged her friends to follow her and emancipate themselves. Her advice included relentless struggle against all religious customs and rituals. She was depicted as a kind of advisor for young women and was the best example of a free and active woman. The essay "*Komsomol* Hury" told an almost similar story about another woman, Hury. All of them were presented as brave, clever and admirable citizens of a new reality.

The story "A Female Peasant" is about a brave woman who is an active cell member struggling against her family and her relatives for her rights to be politically active.

Thus, an analysis of *Avangard*'s articles related to women's issues shows that they reflect the state ideology of women's emancipation often using masculine language and patriarchal attitudes. The articles examined paid particular attention towards men's participation in the empowerment of women. Taking into consideration the patriarchal values of newly Sovietized republics, the authors called on their male counterparts to be more careful when dealing with female party and cell members.

Պայքարող Մարոն. ինչպես էր խորհրդային հայաստանյան մամուլը «նոր խորհրդային կնոջ» կերպար կերտում

(Ավանգարդ (1923-1926) թերթի օրինակով)

Աննա Գևորգյան,
Երևանի պետական համալսարան

Հոդվածը վերլուծում է «նոր խորհրդային կանանց» մասին «Ավանգարդ» թերթի դիսկուրսը: Հետազոտությունը փորձում է վեր հանել այն գործիքները, որոնց շնորհիվ «Ավանգարդ» թերթը հանրայնացնում է այնպիսի զաղափարներ, ինչպիսին են՝ գենդերային հավասարությունը, կանանց հնարավորությունների հզորացումը և նրանց քաղաքական ու հասարակական ակտիվության բարձրացումը:

Հետազոտության նպատակը նոր խորհրդային առօրեականության ու դրա համատեքստում կանանց նոր դերի ու տեղի ընդունումը ընկալելի ու հասկանալի դարձնող մեդիա գործիքների ուսումնասիրությունն է: Որպես հետազոտության առարկա ընտրվել է «Ավանգարդ» թերթը, քանի որ այն ներկայացնում է «բանվորա-գյուղացիական» դասակարգը, որի համար առավել բարդ պիտի որ լիներ «նոր կենցաղի» կանոնների ընդունումը:

The Reflection of Communist Ideology in the Street Renaming Policy in Soviet Yerevan (1921-1939)[1]

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Introduction

Toponyms *(place names)* are not simply abstract names in the spatial structure of urban areas, but also serve as a system of social and power relations, through which the identity of a city and society is being shaped.[2]

The latest works in toponymy focus on "the relation of place-name analysis with the study of power."[3] In his article "The power of commemorative street names," Maoz Azaryahu (1996) asserts that naming streets as an administrative and political procedure is a vivid expression of power.[4] According to him, the renaming process itself is an act of political propaganda with a great declarative value and public resonance.[5]

Since many political regimes legitimize and reinforce their authority through their use of history, commemorative street names have the effect of

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[1] This research would be impossible without the support of Mr. Amatuni Virabyan - the Director of the National Archive of Armenia, and Mr. Dorvard Abisoghomonyan - the Advisor to the Director of the National Archive of Armenia. We are also grateful to Mrs. Lusine Amirjanyan for multiple consultations

[2] Berg L., Vuolteenaho J., Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009:

[3] Myers, G., *Naming and placing the other: power and the urban landscape in Zanzibar //* Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografi e 87, 1996, 237-46.

[4] Azaryahu M., *The power of commemorative street name //* Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 14, 1996, pp. 311–30.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 138

canonizing and embodying a particular "official" historical narrative. Thus, it is not surprising that a change of political regime is often accompanied by the large-scale renaming of streets.

Many recent studies [6] underline the importance of place naming as a strategy of nation-building and state formation. They have demonstrated how governmental authorities construct new regimes of toponymic inscription to present specific ideas of history and national identity.

Aiming to reconstruct the symbolic infrastructure of society, the renamed places introduce the political change and ideology of the political order into the daily life of people. The renaming of places is a powerful message about the new regime's control over a community's symbolic infrastructure. This is most obvious in the case of totalitarian regimes where street names are frequently used in order to make statements of the regime's agenda, thereby demonstrating the ideology in more concrete terms.[7]

When the Bolsheviks took power in Armenia, they launched a massive street renaming process. In order to institutionalize the new regime, they used urban landscape as an arena to proclaim communist ideology and values to Soviet Armenian citizens. Changing the capital's street names was an easy way to introduce new principles, to declare the ideology and political orientation of the Armenian SSR.

In spite of the above-mentioned research, there has been little investigation made on the relation between power and toponymy in the Communist regime. The studies of the Socialist city were more inclined to focus on the formal and informative aspects of the Soviet toponymy (see for example the works of A.M. Selishchev,[8] V. P. Neroznak, M.V.

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[6] Cohen S., Kliot N., *Place names in Israel's ideological struggle over the administered territories //* Annals of the Assosiation of American Geographers, 82, 1992, pp. 653-80; Azaryahu M., *The power of commemorative street name //* Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 14, 1996, pp 311–30; Azaryahu M., Kook R., *Mapping the nation: street names and Arab-Palestinian identity: three case studies //* Nations and Nationalism, 8, 2002, pp. 195–213.

[7] Yeoh B. S., *Street-naming and nation-building: toponymic inscriptions of nationhood in Singapore //* Area*,* 28, 1996, pp. 298–307.

[8] Selish'ev A. M., *Iz staroy I novoy toponimii,* [From Old and New Toponyms] *//* Selish'ev A. M. Selected Works. M., 1968, pp. 45–96.

Gorbanevskiy,[9] E.M. Pospelov,[10] S.A. Nikitin[11]), and less attention was paid to street names as one of the major systems for implementing the Communist/Socialist ideology in the urban space.

This article examines the significance of street names as an expression of Communist power in Yerevan, Armenia during the early Soviet period from 1921-1939 (the era of a newly established government in Armenia, until World War II). The research depicts the picture of the Soviet authority's attitude towards the street renaming process. The analysis will answer the question of how, through the control of state government, the political elite promoted its ideology via the nomenclature of the street network.

Information on early Soviet Yerevan toponymy is rather scarce and incomplete. There is no systematized edition containing full information about the renamed streets. The basic picture on Yerevan's toponymic changes in the Soviet early period is given in documents saved in the Funds of the Council of People's Commissars of the Armenian SSR, the Executive Committee of Yerevan City Council, and the Central Executive Committee of the ArmSSR in the National Archive of Armenia (hereinafter, all references to the archives are cited as: NAA/Fund/List/Case/(Protocol)/Sheet).

This study is based on the comparative analysis of archival documents for street naming/ renaming cases in Armenia (legislative enactments, decrees as well as a selection of the press and clerical correspondence

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[9] Neroznak V.P., Gorbanevskiy M.V., Sovetskiy «novoyaz» na geograficheskoy karte (o shtampakh i stereotipakh rechevogo mishleniya). [Soviet "Newspeak" on the Geographical Map (about the Labels and Stereotypes of Speech Thinking] M.: Znanie, 1991.

[10] Pospelov E.M. Nazvaniya gorodov i sel. [The Names of Cities and Villages] M. :Nauka, 1996

[11] Nikitin S. A. *Produktivnie osnovi rossiyskoy toponimii: "Krasniy"* (1918-1930g) [The Productive Foundations of Russian Toponymy] // Yaroslavskie lingvisticheskie chteniya. Yaroslav: Izd-vo YaGPU im. K.D. Ushinskogo, 2001, pp.66–69; Nikitin S. A. *Koncepciya sovetskogo toponima (po arkhivnim materialam pervikh let sovetskoy vlasti — 1918–1926 gg.)* [The Concept of the Soviet Toponym: Based on Archive Material from the Early Years of SovietRule] // Toponimia i oronimia. KrakЧw: Wydawnictwo naukowe DWN, 2001, pp. 363–372.

between the provincial and central Party organizations responsible for street renaming) from the National Archive along with various maps and street plans of Yerevan and other documentary sources of this period.

In this study, we have used two basic methods of research. For the classification and systematization of the naming/renaming cases of streets and squares in Yerevan, we have applied a statistical method by which we quantified the data file (i.e. toponyms) and subsequently made an analysis based on theoretical considerations, while for the analysis of the renamed streets we used the interpretative method of decoding text.

The set of streets was classified into the following basic groups: the names of political figures, names of intellectuals, names that are symbols of Communism, social class names, important dates, USSR capitals, location names.

Toponyms of the Pre-Revolutionary Period

In her article "The Characteristics of District and Street Names in the City of Yerevan" ethnographer Lusine Amirjanyan (2006) stated that the first mention of Yerevan streets and districts known in the literature dated back to the XVI-XVII centuries.[12] During Persian rule, functional importance within the city was given to the districts, thus the uniqueness of medieval Yerevan urban toponyms lies in the fact that naming preference was given to the districts,[13] while the construction and naming of regular streets was of no importance. Another characteristic of this period was that the districts were mainly assigned names of important places of social or domestic life and there was almost no district of anthroponymic names, i.e. streets carrying the names of famous people.[14]

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[12] That was a Persian Empire timeline and at that time Yerevan was called Erivan Khanate (Persian: خانات ایروان *Khānāt-e Īravān*)

[13] The Persians divided Yerevan into large districts (Persian: محله *mahlas*)- the Old Town or Shahar (Persian: شهر *šahar*), Kond (Armenian: Կոնդ) or Tapabash (meaning from Turkish: *"top of the hill"*), Qarahanq (meaning from Armenian- *"rock quarry"*) or Damir-Bulag (meaning from Turkish - *"iron source"*).

[14] Amirjanyan L., *Erevan qakhaqi tagheri ev poghocneri anvanumneri arandznahatkutyunnery* // Hay azgabanutyan ev hnagitutyan khndirner, v. I, Erevan

The first official names of Yerevan streets became known much later, during the era of Tsarist Russia rule. According to Amirjanyan (2006), the streets in urban areas were given the name and surname of house or land owners, the names of public buildings, and were also based on geographical place names, or the occupation or social strata of the people. In 1853-1958, the Russian official Nazarev drew the plan of Erivan,[15] including the official names of 30 streets.[16] Among the names preserved from the Persian era (Cholmakchi, Shariati, Sultanakan, Mzkiti) there were streets already carrying the names of famous people in the Russian timeline (Astafevskaya, Tarkhanovskaya etc.).

A more detailed plan of Yerevan was drawn in 1906-1911 by municipal technician B. Mehrabyan,[17] who completed the naming process of Yerevan streets and districts, which had started in the previous century. Later, Alexander Tamanyan used this while designing the plan of Yerevan in 1924.[18] Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century within the Russian Empire, Erivan appeared as an administrative center with more or less constructed streets, and its Eastern and Armenian traits.

The Bolsheviks Took Power

On 29 November, 1920 the Revolutionary Committee (Revkom) of Armenia, headed by Sarkis Kasyan and accompanied by the Red Army, entered Armenia and proclaimed it the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. On 1 December 1920, Prime Minister Simon Vratsian ceded control of the country and the next day on December 2, the agreement

2006 ["The Characteristics of District and Street Names in the City of Yerevan", Issues of Armenian Ethnology and .Archeology].

[15] Erivan was the name of Yerevan within the Russian Empire.

[16] Amirjanyan L., *Erevani poghocneri anvanumnery rusakan tirapetutyan shrjanum* // [The Names of Yerevan Streets During Russian Rule], Hay joghovrdakan mshakuyt, v. XII, Erevan 2006, p. 17.

[17] *Map of Yerevan, by B. Mehrabov, 1906-1911* // Ashkharhagrakan atlas [Geographical Atlas], Geodeziayi ev qartezagrutyan kentron, Erevan, 2009.

[18] Hakobyan T., Erevani patmutyuny [The History of Yerevan], 1879-1917, E, 1963, p 295.

signed between the RSFSR and Armenian Republic announced the establishment of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The newly assembled government took the course of total fidelity to the RSFSR. The results of that policy loyal to Soviet Russia were a series of reforms which effected the economic, social and political transformation of the country. The Soviet government immediately launched a socialist "modernization" of the country, taking new steps in the political, financial, economic, cultural and especially ideological directions.

This process did not face serious obstacles as the people, exhausted by wars (World War I, the Turkish-Armenian war, the undeclared Dashnak-Musavat war, the little civil war in the South of Armenia – Zangezur) and also having a huge number of refugees after the Genocide in Turkish Armenia, were dreaming about peace and the withdrawal of Turkish troops from the territory of Soviet Armenia.[19]

This is probably one reason why the implementation of socialist transformation into urban toponyms, which had a direct impact on such a delicate phenomenon as *identity*, did not cause social discussions or major tension.

The Street Naming Policy in Yerevan from the First Years of Soviet Armenia's Declaration till the Beginning of the 1930s

In the first year following the declaration of the Armenian SSR, over 50 names of streets, parks and squares in Yerevan were renamed. The official documents preserved in the National Archives of Armenia assert that the decision regarding the first renaming of Soviet Yerevan streets was made in 1921 by the Council of People's Commissars of the Armenian SSR. In the first round, a list of 32 streets and parks was approved on

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[19] Later, when "planned" repressions were launched, people were frightened by the Red Terror of the first years of Soviet power and the establishment of the Communist Party. They had already known about the strict ideological principle of social relations and a single form of relationship with the Party and government- i.e by approving and welcoming the decisions of the Party. Basically the "toponymic policy" of the first 20 years of the Soviet regime took place precisely in such circumstances, and the population was thus not troubled about toponymy issues on the whole.

August 31, 1921 at the session of the Small Presidium of the Council of People's Commissars of the Armenian SSR (proposed by the People's Commissariat for Education of Armenian SSR).[20]

The first changes were publicized in the Armenian Communist Party newspaper *Khorhrdayin Hayastan*[21] ("Soviet Armenia") in September 1921. In 1922, additional reports of the departments of Workers' and Peasants' city militia in Yerevan announced the renaming of 19 streets. In these lists, there were about 28 names of the streets, districts which had not been renamed yet at that time.[22] All of these would receive their Soviet names later, during the period of observation (up to 1939). Almost all the streets changed in 1921-1922 preserved their names untill 1939, except 4 street names, which would get their more Soviet colors later.

The nature of street renaming in the first period (1921-1932) permit us to classify them into several groups. In the first group, there are names assigned to the streets in honor or in memory of famous political figures. This group involves the names of the founders of socialist ideology (theorists), the revolutionaries, leaders and activists of the Revolutionary movement, the founders of the Communist Party, Bolshevik leaders, French revolutionaries, etc.

Thus, in 1921, to worship the founders of Communist ideology, Gubernskaya Street was renamed after Lenin in honor of the Russian communist revolutionary, politician and political theorist Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), Bazarnaya Street was renamed after Marx to commemorate the theoretician of communism and philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883), and Arkhitektorskaya Street was renamed after Plekhanov (Russian revolutionary and Marxist theoretician Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918)). Similarly Aptechnaya Street was renamed after Engels to honor the philosopher and communist theoretician Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).

The international leaders of the Communist Party were glorified when the former Uchilishnaya Street was renamed after Liebknecht, in honor of the German politician and one of the founders of the Communist Party of

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[20] NAA / Fond 122 / List 1/ Case 56/ Sheet 56
[21] "Khorhrdayin Hayastan" newspaper, 1921 / N 177
[22] NAA / Fond 133/List 1/ Case 2357

Germany, Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919). The same occurred with Millionnaya Street which was renamed after Luxemburg, in honor of Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), the German Social-Democratic movement activist, and a co-founder of the Communist Party of Germany.

To memorialize prominent revolutionaries (both local and international) Sudebnaya Street was renamed after Marat – in honor of the French revolutionary and writer Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793*).* Tarkhanovskaya Street (named after academician Ivan Tarkhanov (1846–1908) in Russia) was renamed Knuni/Gnuni after a prominent figure of the Bolshevik party and professional revolutionary Bogdan Knunyants. For the same purpose Doctorskaya Street was renamed Alaverdyan to honor Stepan Alaverdyan (1888-1920), one of the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution in Armenia, shot after the suppression of the Bolshevik armed uprising in May 1920. Behbutovskaya Street (named after Vasily Bebutov (1791-1858), one of the noble military leaders in the Caucasus of an Armenian origin. The head of the civil administration and the chairman of the Main Directorate of the Transcaucasian region)[23] was renamed after A. Rubeni (an Armenian revolutionary, who fought for the establishment of the Soviet regime in Shushi. He was killed by Musavat rebels). Tsarskaya Street was renamed after Suren Spandaryan (1882-1916), an Armenian literature critic, publicist and Bolshevik (in January 1912, he was a member of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks). Tserkovnaya Street was renamed Zurabyan, in honor of Arshak Zurabyan (1873- 1920), a revolutionist.

Bekskaya Street was renamed after Ghazi Mamedi, an Islamic scholar and ascetic, who was the first Imam of the Caucasian Imamate (from 1828 to 1832). He facilitated a *jihad* against the invading Russians.[24] Duqanli Quchasi was renamed Sattari Street*,* in honor of Sattar Khan (1866-1914), a central figure in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, considered by many Iranians to be a national hero. Rustamkhan Quchasi (named after Rustam

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[23] Old Yerevan Project. More at http://www.iatp.am/old_yerevan/
[24] It was obviously a reverential gesture towards the Muslim part of the population of Yerevan, while at the same time a form of a denial of the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia, with a hint of the fact that the Soviet government of socialist Russia differed radically from Tsarist colonialists.

Khan (1588 – 1643), an Iranian Safavid military commander, prominent in the service of the Shahs Abbas I and Safi, loyal to Russian empire, was accused of treason and executed under Shah Abbas II) was renamed after Yeprem (1868–1912), an Iranian-Armenian revolutionary leader and a leading figure in the Constitutional Revolution of Iran, a national hero in Iran.

The "international principle" of Bolsheviks found its way to the toponymic nomenclature of Yerevan through the anthroponyms of the 26 Baku Commissars, awarding them special places in the first round of street renamings. In commemoration of the 26 Baku Commissars, Krepostnaya Street (it started from the Northern Gate of the Castle and its name translates to Castle street[25]) was renamed after Stepan Shahumyan (1878-1918), a Soviet revolutionary and a political leader of Armenian origin, Commissar Extraordinary for the Caucasus, and one of the 26 Baku Commissars,[26] the head of the Baku Commune. Similarly Pana Khan Square (named after a ruling khan of the Erivan Khanate) was renamed after Meshadi Azizbekov (1876-1918), a Soviet revolutionary of Azerbaijani origin, leader of the revolutionary movement in Azerbaijan, one of the first Azeri Marxists, Provincial Commissioner and Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, gubernial commissar for Baku, also one of the 26 Baku Commissars. There was also an Azizbekov Square constructed and named after him in 1932. Pana Khan Park was also renamed after Azizbekov. Ananun 4th Street was renamed after Fioletov, in honor of Ivan Fioletov (1884-1918), a Russian Communist activist, one of the Bolshevik Party leaders in Azerbaijan during the Russian Revolution, and one of the 26 Baku Commissars. Sargis Street gave way to the name of another commissar among the 26 Baku Commissars, Japaridze (1880-1918) - a Communist activist, and one of the Bolshevik Party leaders in Azerbaijan. Nazarovskaya Street (named after Ivan Nazarov, the general of the Russian Empire, and also a governor of the Erivan Governorate 1849-1859)[27] was

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[25] More at http://www.iatp.am/old_yerevan/TEXT/Street/krepostnaya.htm

[26] Shahumyan and the other 26 Baku Commissars were killed by British troops in 1918 on the Trans-Caspian railway.

[27] More at http://www.iatp.am/old_yerevan/

renamed after Arsen Amiryan, an Armenian and Russian revolutionist, and one of the 26 Baku Commissars. Pachtovaya Street was renamed 26, to commemorate the 26 Bolshevik and Left Socialist Revolutionary (SR) members of the Baku Soviet Commune who had been killed in 1918.

In the second group, we included the names of intellectuals - composers, poets, writers, actors, and artists. In the archival materials, we have repeatedly come across a cliche of "matching with the spirit of the time" i.e. place names should connote the exact political overtones of that period.[28] If the place-name does not speak to "the heart of the proletariat," if the value of its components is interpreted as "obsolete" or "not having logical roots," then "that place name needs to be replaced." With this and only this model of renaming, the Soviet authorities also chose the names of intellectuals.

Sadovaya street was renamed after Mesrop Mashtots, an early medieval Armenian linguist, theologian, statesman and hymnologist (362 - 440 A.D.), who invented the Armenian alphabet c. 405 AD. Kozerski Street was renamed after Frik,[29] an Armenian poet of the 13th century. In his works, Frik criticized the clergy for hypocrisy. Staro-Tserkovnaya Street was renamed after Nahapet Quchak, an Armenian medieval poet.

Tifliskaya Street was renamed after Sayat-Nova, the Armenian poet, musician and bard Harutyun Sayatyan (1712-1795), who had compositions in a number of languages, and Khorum Bulag was renamed Sayat–Nova *Rodnik.* Astafyan Street (named after Mikhail Astafiev - a general of the Russian Empire and also a governor of Erivan Governorate in 1860-1862) was renamed after Abovyan (1809) in honor of the famous poet and an advocate of modernization, the father of modern Armenian literature.[30]

The selection of names of Armenian intellectuals from the Early, High and Late Middle Ages (Mesrop Mashtots, Frik, Nahapet Quchak) was a

[28] NAA/Fond E1/List 2/Case 12

[29] Frik is considered a social poet, and of course his image corresponded to the principles of the anti-religious Bolsheviks.

[30] On April 14, 1848, Abovyan left his home for an early morning walk, and was never seen again; his mysterious disappearance remains unresolved. Abovyan's name became suitable for the Party as he was in disgrace with the Armenian Apostolic church and Tsarist officials.

gesture, a "tribute" to the ancientness of Armenian culture, the bare minimum effort which would somehow try to compensate for the pressure on "Armenian nationalism." Actually, the whole pre-revolutionary millennium of Armenian culture presented in this image of "Yerevan toponymy" confined itself to the names of these three persons. The honoring of "Pro-Russian" Abovyan and "Caucasian internationalist" Sayat Nova was a compliment to the constellation of "historical Armenian cultural" personalities. It was indeed a very circumspect choice, and besides, there were no other names from the abundant resources of the Armenian public and political figures.

Damirbulag[31] Ploshad (Square) was renamed Saadi, in honor of Saadi Shirazi, one of the major Persian poets and literary figures of the medieval period. Mirjafarskaya Street (in honor of Mir Jafar bin Mir Hasan Dasni, a Yezidi leader who in 838 launched an uprising against Abbasid Caliph al-Mutasim in the area north of Mosul) was renamed after Rumi, in honor of the 13th-century Persian poet, jurist, Islamic scholar, theologian, and Sufi mystic. Nakhichevanskaya Street was renamed after Hafez, in honor of the prominent Iranian medieval poet. Shariatskaya Street was renamed after Omar-Khayyam, in honor of the Persian medieval mathematician, astronomer, philosopher, and poet. Tapabashskaya Street was renamed after Rustaveli, to commemorate Shota Rustaveli, the 12th-13th-century Georgian poet. He is one of the greatest contributors to Georgian literature, and the author of the Georgian national epic poem).

Ananun 3rd street (Anonymous 3-rd street) was renamed after Vardges Surenyan, an Armenian painter, sculptor, illustrator, translator, art critic, and theater artist, the founder of Armenian historical painting (1860 –1921). Sultanski Pereulok was renamed after Yekmalyan. Makar Yekmalyan (1856-1905) was an Armenian composer, conductor, teacher and folklorist. Dagirman Qucha was renamed Paronyan Street, in honor of Hagop Baronian (1843-1891), an influential Ottoman Armenian writer, satirist, educator, and social figure in the 19th century.

Honoring an Armenian prominent writer and playwright, the founder of modern Armenian drama Gabriel Sundukyan (1825-1912), Armyanskaya

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[31] Turkish: "demir" - iron, "bulağ" - source, meaning "iron source."

Street was renamed Sundukyan. The plays of the truly talented writer Gabriel Sundukyan are rich in descriptions of oppression of the working class by the petty bourgeoisie, and the choice of his name in Yerevan toponyms matched the class ideology of the Bolsheviks.

The same considerations probably played a role in choosing the name of another writer - Ghazaros Aghayan (1840-1911) when renaming Ananun 1st street (Anonymous 1st street). Being an Armenian writer, educator, folklorist, historian, linguist and public figure, Ghazaros Aghayan wrote a lot about class relations and the class oppression of the peasantry. Ananun 2nd street was renamed after P. Adamyan – in honor of the outstanding Armenian actor, poet, writer, artist and public figure Petros Adamyan (1849-1891).

Qarvansarayskaya Street was renamed after Raffi (1835–1888), an Armenian author and an outstanding figure in Armenian literature. Perhaps in the ardor of the first years of the toponymical revolution, Raffi was still perceived as a "revolutionary" because of his historical novels praising the national liberation struggle. Less than ten years later, he would be perceived as a "nationalist" and a source of ideological fuel for the "enemies of the people."

Bannaya Street was renamed after Maxim Gorky, in honor of the proletarian writer Maxim Gorky (1868-1936). Ter-Ghukasovskaya Street (after the Russian general, a hero of the Russo-Turkish war, 1877-1878) was renamed after Mikael Nalbanyan (1829-1866), an Armenian writer, philosopher, and revolutionary democrat. Malyarskaya Street was renamed after Teryan (1885-1920), an Armenian poet, lyricist and public activist, a participant in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and Russian Civil War.[32]

In the second group of our classification, there are the names that are symbols of Communism. By rejecting the symbols of the old regime, toponymy requires the construction of a new model. As Selishev stated:

"After the Great October Revolution, the toponymy of the past should be updated and reflect the main features in the modern era of the

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[32] After the Revolution, Teryan became the representative of Armenians in the Ministry of Nations, personally working with Lenin and Stalin. Teryan was a member of The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

dictatorship of the working class, new techniques and the creation of socialism."[33]

The aim of the new toponymy should be the strengthening of the new ideology through abstract names. The main priority here was given to socio-political names.Various symbolic toponyms or names derived from abstract concepts represent an extremely important component of Soviet toponymy. One of the most important symbols of the new government became the color red. Red was not only a symbol of revolutionary struggle (dating back to the Canut revolts in the 19th century), but it also became the color of the flag of the new state; for instance the concept of the Red Army where "red" acted not only as a symbol but as a pointer of belonging (loyalty) to the new state power."[34]

Thus, Molokanskaya Street and its new name, Karmir Banaki (Red Army) and Kotanovsky Pereulok with is transformed name Karmir Pereulok, were based on Russian origin ethnically.[35] Another symbolic specification is seen in new name of Angliakan aygi (English park) to Communarneri (the Baku Communards i.e. the 26 Baku Commissars). Since the massacre of 26 Baku Commissars was associated with British military authorities in Baku, this case of renaming is the brightest example of de-commemorization of the "bad" past and the legalized proclamation of the "good" present by the Communist leaders. On the other hand, on February 18, 1921 in that exact same park, the Bolsheviks buried the prominent members of the former government and intellectuals of the first Republic of Armenia whom they had brutally axed the previous night,[36] and

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[33] Selishev, A.M., *Iz staroy i novoy topominii* // Izbrannie trudi, Moscow, Prosveshenie, 1968, p. 88.

[34] Nikitin S. A., "Produktivnie osnovi rossiyskoy toponimii: 'krasniy'" (1918-1930) // Yaroslavskie lingvistichiskie, Yaroslav, 2001, pp. 67–68.

[35] It is noteworthy that the given symbolism was based on ethnically Russian origin as if confirming that the Bolshevik revolution has in fact its "ethnic owners" – the Russians and that the continuity of these symbolic characters must take place in the ethnic environment.

[36] Markosyan R. A Senseless *Murder: Remembering the 21 Victims of February 18, 1921* // Hetq, February 18, 2014; http://hetq.am/arm/news/32605/i-hishatak-kacnaharvatsneri.html (accessed 30.09.2014)

thus the renaming of that park in honor of the Communards clearly demonstrated the power and victory of the Communards.

The renaming of Novotserkovnaya Street as Khorhurdneri (Soviets), the political organizations and governmental bodies, primarily associated with the Russian Revolutions and the history of the Soviet Union, was another striking case of showing an ideological orientation via urbanonyms. The same can be seen in case of the Kolebyakinski Square (in honor of Nikolai Kolyubakin, a governor of Erivan Governorate in 1862–1863) which was renamed after 3rd Internatsionali, in honor of the international revolutionary labor organization (1919-1943). Targovaya Ploshad was renamed as Ashxatanqi Hraparak (Labor Square). In this case we see a direct denial and the opposed conflict of the ideas "trade" and "trader" as the negative symbols of class society, and "work" and "worker" as the positive symbols of the power of the workers' dictatorship.

Another group consists of names declaring the important dates of great achievements. In honor of the 1st of May, the Day of International Workers, Dashli Qucha was renamed Mayisyan. In case of Armenia, the name of "May" also had an undeclared value, a reference to the uprising of the Bolsheviks in Alexandrapole in May, 1920, initially suppressed by the Armenian Dashnak government.

The third group also includes street names denoting a social class category. In 1921, Marukhovskaya Street was renamed Tpagrichneri Poghots (Publishers' Street).

Chart 1: Classification of renamed streets in Yerevan (1921-1932)
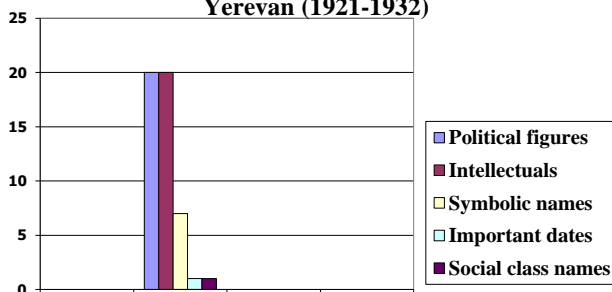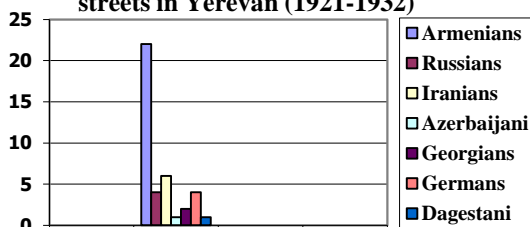
Chart 2: The nature of renamed streets in Yerevan (1921-1932)

From Chart 1 and Chart 2, it can be seen that according to the Yerevan street renaming proccess in 1921-1932, the street name changes in Yerevan presented the following picture: of 52 names, 39 were anthroponyms, consisting of 22 Armenians (8 professional revolutionary, 14 social-class intellectuals), 8 Muslims (6 Iranians/Persians - 2 revolutionary, 4 intellectuals, 1 Azerbaijani revolustionist and 1 Dagestani anti-Tsarist imam), 4 were Russians (3/1), 4 Germans (polit. figures), 2 Georgians (1/1).

Most of the new street names were anthroponyms, representing public/revolutionary activists either of the international level, or from the "Caucasian nomenclature" mainly - Armenian, as well as the representatives of culture and art having the distinct characteristics of socio-class protests and revolutionary tendencies. Another specific feature was the curtailing of the Armenian historical past, a consistent policy rather typical for the Bolsheviks of the pre-WW2 period, underling the thinking pretending that the entire history and culture of the nations and regions began with the Bolshevik Revolution.

It is seen that the first renaming cases for the period 1921-1932 aimed to eliminate the symbols of Tsarist Russia. "Topographical names carrying the imprints of the tsarist regime were discarded, church names were rejected" and finally, "the names having a relation with the pre-revolutionary policy of colonization in the national republics and non-Russian regions during the pre-revolutionary period were dropped."[37] Even such neutral names as Aptechnaya Street, Sadovaya Street, Pachtovaya, etc.

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[37] Selishev, A.M., Iz staroy i novoy toponimii // Izbrannie trudi, Moscow, Prosveshenie, 1968, p. 88.

(streets bearing the names Pharmacy, Garden, Post-Office) were removed and replaced by the names of leaders, international communists and revolutionaries, on the one hand, and the "national revolutionaries" of Armenian origin, on the other.

We must assume that, in the first round, the limited number of Yerevan streets made it impossible to deploy a new power and so almost all street names had been changed. The "revolutionary fervor" of renaming, by keeping "the revolutionary resource of anthroponyms" also included the names of representatives of other ethnic cultures, considering the ethno-religious composition of the city and trying to balance the number of Muslim-Christian names. And besides, this process maintained a certain historicity in Muslim place names - the choice was mostly from Iranian culture, as a tribute to "the Iranian past" of Yerevan and the local Shia Muslim population.

Almost all streets renamed during 1921-1922 preserved their new names until 1939, and only 4 streets got their "more Soviet names" later, in 1933.[38] Factually, in this period the major part of central Yerevan was recreated, with new Soviet names on its landmarks. The new center of the Armenian capital maintained its loyalty to the Soviet ideology through long period of socialist government (See the Table 1 below).

Table 1. Name transformation of the central streets, parks and squares in 1921-1922 (using English names)

Former name	New name allocated in 1921-1922
Astafyan street	*Abovyan street*
Nerkakarneri street	*Teryan street*
Tsarskaya street	*Spandaryan street*

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[38] In 1933, Ruben Street was renamed after Sverdlov (in honor of a Bolshevik party leader and chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Yakov Sverlov (1885- 1919)), Raffi Street was renamed after Tumanyan (an Armenian writer and public activist. He is considered to be the national poet of Armenia), and similary the street named after Hafiz changed into Kolkhoznikneri street, Yepremi street was renamed Metaghagortsneri (in honor of the metal industry workers).

Behbutovskaya street	*Sverdlov street * *
Nazarovskaya street	*Amiryan street*
Qarvansarayskaya	*Tumanyan street * *
Tarkhanovskaya street	*Gnun street*
Doctorskaya street	*Alaverdyan street*
Ter- Ghukasovskaya street	*Nalbanyan street*
Krepostnaya street	*Shahumyan street*
Gubernskaya street	*Lenin street*
Pana Khan square	*Azizbekov street*
Pana Khan's park	*Azizbekovi park*
English Park	*Komunarneri park (26 Comissars)*
Armyanskaya street	*Sundukyani street** *
Bazarnaya street	*Marxi street*

*These street names changed twice: in 1921 and 1933.

** Armyanskaya street was renamed to *Sundukyan* in 1921, then renamed after *Stalin* in 1939.

Thus, by the mid-20s, the central government not only subjugated the renaming process, but also became interested in toponymy as a new genre of propagandist practice.[39]

Street Name Changes in Yerevan during the Period 1933-1939

From the 1930s, the implementation of dictatorship by the Politburo and Stalin's personal power became quite obvious. This process was accompanied by the practice of diversifying the toponymic nomenclature with the anthroponyms of Politburo TsK KPSS members along with curent names of "Communism builders." Thus, the surnames of high-ranking

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[39] Nikitin S. A., *Revolutiya i geografiya, Stanovlenie sowetskoy toponimiki v 1918-1930 godakh* [Revolution and Geography, The Establishment of Soviet Toponymy]//Otechestvennie zapiski, 2003, №2, http://www.strana-oz.ru/2003/2/revolyuciya-i-geografiya

government officials such as Kalinin, Molotov, and Voroshilov[40] became actively involved in urban toponymy.

The popularization of lifetime denominations became "planned" and symbolized the direct subordination to the "person." For example, Armenia from 1922 until 1937 was a part (together with Georgia and Azerbaijan) of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR) and practically had two Politburos, namely the Politburo TsK KPSS and the one of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee CPSU/AUCP(b), a permanent governor of which was the infamous Laurenti Beria (from 1932-1937).

In 1953, as a response to the accusations[41] about spreading the cult of Beria in Armenia, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Armenian SSR (1937-1953) Grigory Arutyunov partially agreed that during his administration he had named one street in Yerevan and a suburban district after Beria. However he also pointed out that "the exaggeration of Beria's authority as a recognized leader of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks had received a wide audience in Armenia long before he had moved to Armenia. Many organizations and institutions, and a number of *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* had already been named after Beria."[42]

In fact, the practice of using the names of the "highs and mighties of socialism" had reached its ugliest forms. For instance, two months after the murder of Aghasi Khanjian, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia (1930-1936) by Laurenti Beria (in July 1936), the city park of Leninakan (nowadays, Gyumri) was renamed after the "beloved and wise leader" Beria.[43]

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[40] Nikitin S. A., *Koncepciya toponima v Italii i Rossii v XX veke* [The Concept of the Toponym in Italy and Russia in the XX Century] // Romaniya I antichnost. M.: MGU, 2001.

[41] "Postanovlenie prezidiuma TsK KPSS o bivshem 1-m sekretare TsK KP Armenii s prilojeniem predlojeniya KPK pri TsK KPSS i otdela partorganov i lichnogo obrasheniya Arutinova G.A. 12 sentyabrya 1954 g" in "Delo Beria. Prigovor objalovaniyu ne podlejit: dokumenti", M., MFD, 2012, 530; http://istmat.info/files/uploads/27101/delo_beriya.pdf

[42] Ibid. p. 532.

[43] "Khorhrdayin Hayastan" newspaper, 1936 / N 231 (4829), 1; http://armeniatotalitaris.am/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/1936-009.pdf

The harder the repressions of "the protagonists of socialism in the USSR" toward the nation, the more actively people glorified them publically. This example demonstrates the legitimacy of the Soviet concept of the "socio-ideological toponimization of the geographic and social landscape."According to archival materials we studied, the decisions for the Yerevan street naming or/and renaming cases of this period had been made in the Presidium sessions of the Executive Committee of the Yerevan City Council.[44] In 1933, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of Yerevan City Council[45] approved the list of the street names[46] which still bore the mark of Tsarist Russia and for some reasons had evaded the renaming process in 1921. Among 15 streets, only 4 had been changed in the first round, and some were still proposed to be changed in the second round.

By applying the same method of classification as the previous period we end up with the following result. In 1933, the names of revolutionaries, leaders and activists of the Socialist movement, as well as political figures were still "praised" in Yerevan streets. Thus in 1933, Ruben Street was renamed after Sverdlov (the Bolshevik party leader and chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Yakov Sverlov (1885- 1919)), similarly Gharibanots was renamed after Narimanov (in memory of Nariman Narimanov (1870 –1925) - the head of the government of Soviet Azerbaijan, a chairman of the Union Council of the Transcaucasian SFSR, Party Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union). The renaming of Naib Qucha to Mustafa Subkhi Street (to commemorate a

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[44] NAA/ Fond 1/List 2/Case 6/Protocol 649/26/sheet 131; Fond 1/List 2/Case 6/Protocol 61/23/sheet 206

[45] According to the archival data (1933) the Workers' and Peasants city/regional militia, real estate state industrial enterprises and also house owners were involved in the process of the street renaming decree implementations. A document preserved in the Fund of the Yerevan City Council in 1933 testifies that the action of street naming (numbering the houses and the placement of street signs) had been carried out by the real estate state industrial enterprise, and house owners were obliged to follow the same changes for their own places, and the regional militia was authorized to monitor the whole name-changing process and to punish anyone for disobedience to the law (More at: NAA/ Fond 1/List 2/Case 8/Protocol 26/5/sheets 46-47).

[46] NAA/ Fond 1/List 2/Case 7/Protocol 14/4/sheet 34.

founder of the Communist party of Turkey 1883-1921), was rather humiliating for the Armenians, since the Turkish-Armenian war in 1920 (in September-November) had started exactly under the guise of Bolshevism.

This period was known in history as the time of the Great Terror in the USSR, and in Soviet Armenia almost all the repressed (in addition to the charges of "anti-Soviet," "Trotskyism" and "Dashnakism") were accused *en masse* of nationalism.[47] And all governmental structures started demonstrating "anti-nationalism" and an ardent devotion to the Soviet authorities. "Armenian internationalism" had to reveal itself primarily in assigning place names of Turkish Bolshevik heroes.

In 1933, there was a definite change in the "approved list" of intellectuals "matching the spirit of the time". And Bolsheviks had certainly changed their attitude towards the "nationalist Raffi" and Raffi Street was renamed after Tumanyan (an Armenian writer and public activist. He is considered to be the national poet of Armenia). Maxim Gorky was commemorated in the former Davayatagh (camel district) which was renamed Gorku Shrjan (Gorky district).

The renamed streets of this period contained new "Soviet symbolism" such as the names of USSR capitals and Soviet heroes. Thus, in 1933, Mamur street was renamed to Moscow Street. The symbolic "Red" again appeared in the renaming of Khoja Meydan (Grand Square) into Karmir Partizanneri (Red Partisans). Another trace of this socio-political concept was seen in the change of St. Sargis 2nd street into Komeritmiutyan (named after the youth division of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Similarly, Salakhchar street was renamed into Sportinterni Poghots(named after the International Association of Red Sports and Gymnastics Associations), while Prospekt Yujni (South Avenue) was renamed Prospekt Komintern (in honor of the International Communist Organization).

The renaming of Shafirbekovski Street into March 8 Street (in honor of International Women's Day) may be classified into the group of "important dates" and similarly the group of the "location names" was

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[47] Manukyan A. Qaghaqakan brnatchnshumnery Hayastanum 1920-1953tt., [Political Repressions in Armenia, 1920-1953] "Areresum-Ani", Erevan, 1999, p. 39.

complemented by the former Gharadaghlu, which was renamed 4-rd Shrjan (4th district).

Above all, the 1930s was a time of industrialization of the country which was also reflected in the urban toponyms. The praising of the Soviet working class received particular attention. Thus, a street named for Hafiz changed into Kolkhoznikneri Street, Yeprem Street was renamed Metaghagortsneri (in honor of the metal industry workers). Similarly Mechidski Street was renamed into Karoghneri Poghots (Tailor Street), etc.

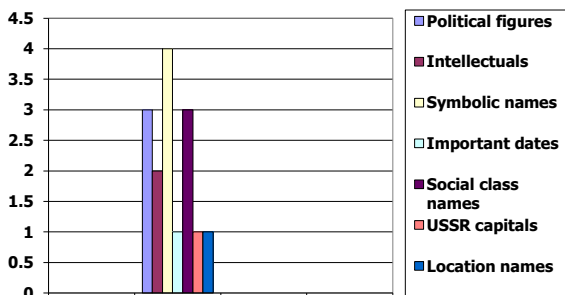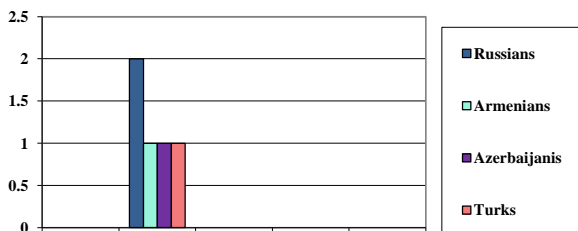**Chart 3: Classification of renamed streets in Yerevan (1933)**

Chart 2: The nature of renamed streets in Yerevan (1933)

In 1933, from the whole list of 15 street names only 5 were anthroponyms, the others reflected typical Soviet symbols. From the 5 anthroponymic names 1 was Armenian (an intellectual), 1 was Azerbaijani (a Communist leader), 2 were Russian (intellectuals), 1 was Turkish (a

political figure). Here we can see a strict internationalism with an obvious pressure on the ''Armenian nationalism.'' The latter is also demonstrated in the homogenization of the historic past of the USSR people and in the concentration of history on the Soviet epoch.

A specific characteristic of this process was the fact that along with the dropping of Tsarist Russian symbols from the streets of Yerevan, the government also removed all foreign (Persian) names from the city toponyms. All the streets carrying the mark of Iran were replaced by different names featuring Soviet symbolism. The dramatic result was that in this renamed list of the streets there was no public figure of Persian origin (while in 1921 the names of public figures of Persian origin comprised 11.5 % in the list of the renamed streets).[48]

In 1933-1934, the significantly extended borders of Yerevan made city management difficult. For this purpose, by the decree of the Central Executive Committee of the ArmSSR (13.10.35 No. 23/4), the Yerevan City Council divided the capital into two districts (*raions)*, forming 2 district councils (*raisovet*) for their management – the Industrial and Urban. Later, in 1936, due to industrialization and construction works, the Central Executive Committee of the ArmSSR (27.07.36) and the City Council published decrees (26.11.39) dividing Yerevan into 3 main *raions*. This territorial organization of the capital city led to the direct importation of the terminology of Soviet urban planning: Kirovi Raion (the district was named after a prominent Bolshevik and Politburo member between 1930-1934, the head of the party organization in Leningrad, Sergey Kirov who had been killed in 1934), Stalinyan Raion[49] (the district was named after Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union*)*, Spandaryan Raion (the district was named after Spandaryan, a prominent Bolshevik, revolutionist, and Stalin's comrade*)*

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[48] It is interesting that in January-February 1938 a deportation and arrest campaign against Iranian subjects was ongoing in the USSR (see. Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks about the Iranian citizens 19.01.1938 (http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/ issues-doc / 61271)

[49] By the Central Executive Committee's decree of 14 October 1935 it was called the Industrial District, then later the Lenin district, and in 1936 it was renamed in honor of Stalin. : NAA/ Fond 1/ List 2/ Case 24/ Sheet 39

were formed. Again, a clear indication of the regime's ideological orientation can be seen through the urbanonyms (see Table 2).

Table 2. The names allocated to Yerevan's *Raions* and their ideological significance

Name	Ideological significance
Iosif Visarionovich Stalin	Leader of Soviet Communism
Sergey Mironovich Kirov	First Secretary of the Leningrad City Committee of the Party of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
Suren Spandarovich Spandaryan	Prominent Bolshevik, revolutionary of Armenian origin

In 1934, the honoring of the prominent revolutionaries still continued.[50] The Bannaya Street was renamed after Ghorghanyan (in honor of a revolutionary, Bolshevik, and one of the leaders of the Baku Commune, Grigori Korganov), another street previously called Fahla Bazar took the name of Schmidt (to commemorate Pyotr Petrovich Schmidt (1867-1906) - one of the leaders of the Sevastopol Uprising during the Russian Revolution of 1905). "Armenian nationalism" was supressed by the destruction of the cultural markers of the early Middle Ages (the Soviet peoples were equal and some could not have any distinctive cultural layers) . This could be seen in the renaming of the Mashtots 2nd Street into Kamo Street (in honor of a revolutionary and a companion to Joseph Stalin). The leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thalmann, was lionized in the street formerly called Mashtots 1st. In the same way, Qatanyan Street was renamed after Mravyan, one of the Communist leaders of Soviet Armenia.

A newly constructed street was named after Armenian proletarian poet Hakob Hakobyan, and another new street was given the name of Valery Bryusov, a prominent Russian writer. In December 22, the upper

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[50] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/Case 11/ Protocol 35/6/ Sheets 90-91; NAA/Fond 1/List 2/Case 12/ Protocol 48/5,6/ Sheets 65-66; NAA/Fond 1/List 2/Case 12/ Protocol 49/ Sheet 86

part of Abovyan Street was named Pushkin Square in honor of the 100th Anniversary of the great Russian writer's birth.

Among the "symbolic names", it is worth mentioning the renaming of the street Fantazia into MOPR (the Russian acronym for an international social service organization that provided material and moral aid to radical "class war" political prisoners around the world). Names derived from other ideological stems - October/hoktember, November/noyember - were seen in the following cases: Gabristan Street turned into Hoktemberian Street (the Armenian word for October), and another one named after Gorky was renamed Noyemberyan Street, in memory of November 29 – the proclamation of Soviet Armenia.

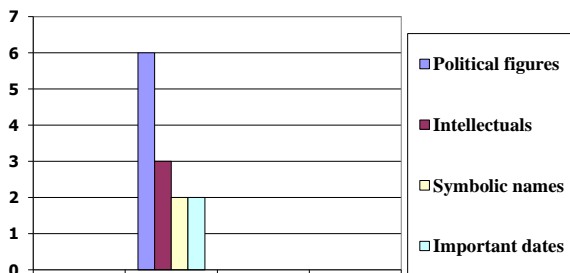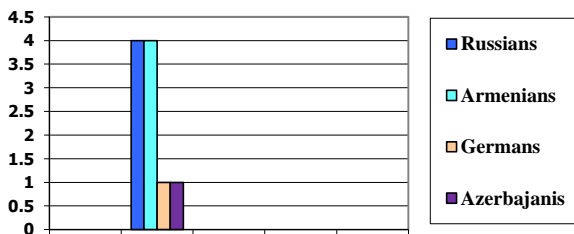**Chart 3: Classification of renamed streets in Yerevan (1934)**

Chart 2: The nature of renamed streets in Yerevan (1934)

In 1934, among the whole list of 14 streets 9 were anthroponyms, the others were names that were symbolic of Communism. Of 9 anthroponyms, 4 were Armenians (3 intellectuals), 4 were Russian (2/2), 1 was Azerbaijani (1 Communist leader) and 1 German.

"Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well. Hence the high rates of output. Hence the heroes and heroines of labor".

This famous speech by Iosif Stalin given at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites on November 17, 1935, seemed to be immediately mirrored in the urban toponyms after 1935. Showing an "elevated spirit and the enthusiasm of the era'' many streets were renamed in order to demonstrate the ideology of the Communist regime, the others aimed to show the fidelity and admiration of the Armenian SSR towards the achievements of the Soviet Union. The result was the representation of the First Heroes of the Soviet Union (1936) among the capital's streets.[51] This included the heroes who were recipients of the order of Lenin - pilots Vasily Molokov and Mikhail Vodopianov, who participated in the successful aerial search and rescue of the crew of the steamship *Cheliuskin*, which sank in Arctic waters, crushed by ice fields, on February 13, 1934.

Thus, in honor of this heroic Soviet event in 1934, Shilachi Street was renamed Cheliuskin, and in 1936 Azizbekov 3rd Street was renamed in honor of Vodopianov, while Azizbekov 2nd was renamed Molokov Street.

Other heroic Soviet pilots' names took their places in the streets too, declaring the great achievements of Soviet people. The street named after Ghazi Mamedi was renamed Chkalov Street *(*in honor of the Russian aircraft test pilot Valeri Chkalov (1904-1938)), and Paronyan 1st Street was renamed in honor of Belyakov (to glorify the Soviet flight navigator who, together with command pilot Valeri Chkalov and co-pilot Georgy Baydukov, set a record for the longest uninterrupted flight in 1936 and made the first non-stop flight across the North Pole, flying from Moscow to Vancouver, Washington). A new street in the outskirts of the city was

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[51] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/Case 24/ Protocol 23/25/ Sheets 146-149

named after Baydukov (a Soviet aircraft test pilot). These namings contained an educational function similar to the perception of literature and art in the Soviet Union as a whole, when even art would function for educational purposes.[52] Naturally, "the Caucasian heroes" gave way to the "Russian heroes," and "Soviet internationalism prioritized "Russian internationalism" over the "Caucasian."

Along with the celebration of Soviet heroes, the honoring of prominent revolutionaries and political figures continued. Thus, a new street was named after Mkhchyan, a famous Armenian revolutionist, who died in the February uprising and was buried in Komunnars Park (26 Baku Commissars). 3rd Shrjanayin (3rd District) was renamed after Kirov (in honor of Sergey Kirov the Bolshevik, a Politburo member between 1930-1934, who was the head of the party organization in Leningrad, and was killed in 1934).[53] 5th Ananun Street was renamed mfter Chapaev, in honor of Vasily Chapaev - a Red Army commander during the Russian Civil War. Tpagrichner Street was renamed after Alexander Miasnikyan (1886 –1925) - an Armenian Bolshevik, revolutionary, Party and state leader, and the head of the Communist Party in Belarus.

The theme of industrialization development was still relevant to the ArmSSR.[54] Many industrial factories were built and equipped with modern tools. The modernization of industry started in the first five-year plan (1928-1932) and successfully continued in the second five-year plan (1933-1937). In Armenia there were 18 industrial enterprises built and put into operation during the first five-year plan, and in the second five year plan, the number of industrial enterprises reached 26.

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[52] Nikitin S. A., *Revolutiya i geografiya, Stanovlenie sowetskoy toponimiki v 1918-1930 godakh* [Revolution and Geography, The Establishment of Soviet Toponymy]//Otechestvennie zapiski, 2003, №2, http://www.strana-oz.ru/2003/2/revolyuciya-i-geografiya.

[53] The murder of the first secretary of Regional and City Committee of the Communist Party, the secretary of Northwestern bureau of All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks, the secretary of All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks Sergey Kirov in 1934 gave rise to a range of renaming cases of naming and renaming in his honor throughout the whole Soviet territory.

[54] Putevoditel' po Armenii, 1939, Erevan, [Guide to Armenia, 1939] Armengiz, 6-12 pp.

The priority of the second five-year plan was given to the development of heavy industry. And an important role was allocated to Grigol Ordzhinikidze, who was the People's Commissar for Soviet Heavy Industry. With his support on May 11, 1933 and through Decree N 931 of the Armenian Government, the construction work commenced for a synthetic rubber factory. In general, in the 1930s, a prominent role in the industrial area was given to mechanical engineering and metalworking.

All these industrialization and modernization achievements and the State contributors were glorified in Armenian urbanonyms. In 1936, to pay a tribute to Grigol Ordzhinikidze, Gortsaranayin Street was renamed Ordzhonikidze Street.

From the functional perspective, an interesting trend emerged. In order to maximize the number of commemorations in a given area, main roads were divided into smaller units to accommodate multiple commemorative names. This happened in the case of Yerevan street renamings in 1936, when Azizbekov Street was divided into 3 streets – Molokov Street, Azizbekov Street, and Vodopianov Street. Another case saw two streets, named after Narimanov and Mirjafar, emerged from the previously undivided Mirjafari Street. Similarly Paronyan Street was separated into 2 units, one named after Belyakov and the second continuing to bear Paronyan's name.

It is obvious that the commemorative function in these cases was prioritized over the orientational one, weakening the utilitarian function of the toponym. These changes, however, caused many inconveniences[55] and confusion while navigating the city, and later in 1938, one sees a reverse process of street systematization, when many small streets were merged to constitute one main road.

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[55] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/ Case 32/ Protocol 13/8/ Sheet 213, 220-224; NAA/Fond 1/List 2/ Case 36/ Protocol 13/8/ Sheet 88-93

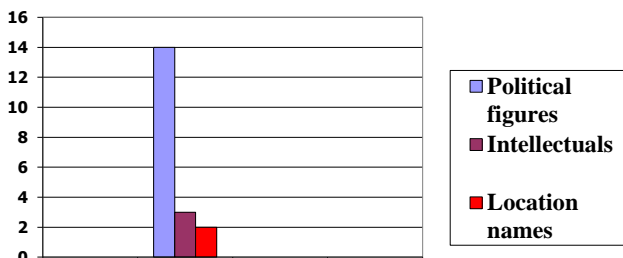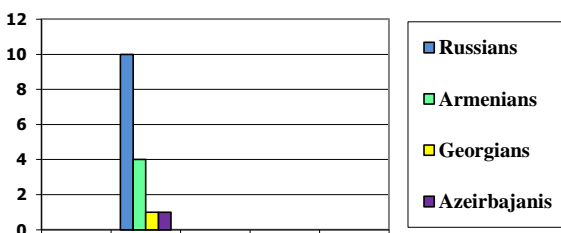**Chart 3: Classification of renamed streets in
Yerevan (1936)**

**Chart 2: The nature of renamed streets in
Yerevan (1936)**

In 1936, from the whole list of 19 streets, 18 were anthroponyms: 10 - Russians (4 political figures, 5 Soviet Union heroes), 4 - Armenians (2/2), 1- Azerbaijani (a Communist leader), 1- Georgian.

The charts demonstrate that in 1936, the renaming process still favored political figures.

In 1937, a newly built street was named after Perch Proshyan, in memory of the writer whose real name was Hovhannes Ter-Arakelian (1837-1907).[56]

The period from 1936 to 1938 is known as the climax of Stalin's repressions. As a campaign of political repression in the Soviet Union, it involved a large-scale purge of the Communist Party and government

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[56] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/ Case 28/ Protocol 76/59/ Sheet 160

officials, the oppression of peasants and the Red Army leadership, and widespread police surveillance, suspicion of "saboteurs," "anti-Soviet elements"," and "enemies of the people." All this was reflected in the policy of Yerevan street naming.

In 1938, there were two avenues in the Stalinyan Raion named after the leaders of the Great Purge. In 1938, the main road in Butania was named Voroshilov Avenue, after the prominent Soviet military officer People's Commissar for Defense of the Soviet Union from May, 1934, and one of the central figures of Stalin's Great Purge (one street in Yerevan had been already named in Voroshilov's honor in 1936). Another was Mikoyan Avenue, in honor of a Soviet statesman, Politburo member, and ethnic Armenian, who had exerted great efforts for the territorial reduction of Soviet Armenia in favor of Azerbaijan and the direct participant of political repressions in Soviet Armenia. This process climaxed with the renaming of Sundukyan Street after Stalin in 1939.

In 1938, the Presidium of the Yerevan City Council approved a list of 44 street renaming cases.[57] This process was involved in the approaching Population Census of 1939.[58] There was an official request to define the borders and the names of all the streets in Yerevan in a very short time. As we have already mentioned, the functional specification of this process was that in contrast with the actions of 1936, in 1938 two or more streets were merged to form one. Thus Marat and Sattar Streets, along with Furmanov Street, were merged to constitute a single street named in honor of Marat. Similarly Sayat-Nova 2nd Street was linked with Kuchak Street and was called Tapabash Street (a street with the same name was rejected in the renamings of 1921). Belyakov Street and Karoghneri Poghots formed a single Belyakov Street; Karmir Partizanner Street and Mustafa Subkhi Street merged with Paronyan Street; Vodopianov Street was joined with Molokov Street; Telman Street merged with Kamo Street.

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[57] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/ Case 32/ Protocol 13/8/ Sheet 213, 220-224; NAA/ Fond 1/ List 2/ Case 36/ Protocol 13/8/ Sheets 88-93;

[58] NAA/Fond E1/List 2/ Case 36/ Protocol 18/ Sheet 76; NAA/ Fond E1/ List 2/ Sheets 36, 47

In the meantime, the commemoration of other figures from Russian culture through street name changes was still in progress. Thus, in the Stalinyan Raion, a number of streets were renamed after Russian writers (Tolstoy, M. Sholokhov, Furmanov, Gorki, N. Ostrovski).

The streets in the peripheral areas in 1938 were renamed after Woodworking, Cotton, Soap, and Rubber factories or after Carpet Weavers, Bricklayers, Railroaders, Carriers, Workers, Brickmakers, Tobacco Growers, etc. indicating additionally the areas of residence of these laborers.[59]

In the group of streets named after USSR capitals, oe could consider Kiev Street (formerly called Gorki 2nd Street) and Baku Street (a street in the 3rd district). The following street names can be classified in the group of symbolic names: Pionerakan, Azatutyan (Liberty), Internatsionali, and Andrfederatsia Streets. Another ideological stem, sovetsk, emerged in the name of the street Sovetashen (former Nubarashen). In general, the stem sovetsk came into wide use only from the 1930s to the 1950s.[60]

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[59] Initially, in the city design by Alexander Tamanyan, working-class apartments were to be situated far from factories in the outskirts of the city. According to the chief architect of Yerevan, such a connection between workplace and home would affect the health of workers and their families. For this purpose, in his letter (12 January, 1929) written to S. Ter-Gabrielyan, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the ArmenianSSR, Tamanyan explained that "the idea of simply industrial communities was unacceptable for socialist reality,", and "by his construction plan he provided the whole city with its finest parts meant for the working class." (in Tamanyan A., Pastathgteri ev nyuteri joxovacu [Tamanyan A., Documents and Materials], Erevan, HH GAA «Gitutyun» hratarakchutyun, 2000, p. 429).

[60] Nikitin S. A., *Revolutiya i geografiya, Stanovlenie sowetskoy toponimiki v 1918-1930 godakh* [Revolution and Geography, The Establishment of Soviet Toponymy]//Otechestvennie zapiski, 2003, №2, http://www.strana-oz.ru/2003/2/revolyuciya-i-geografiya.

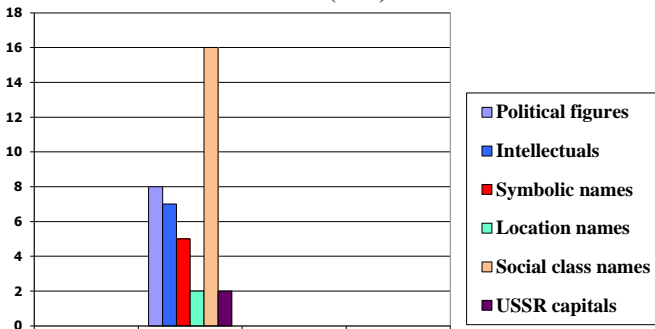**Chart 3: Classification of renamed streets in Yerevan (1938)**

Chart 2: The nature of renamed streets in Yerevan (1938)
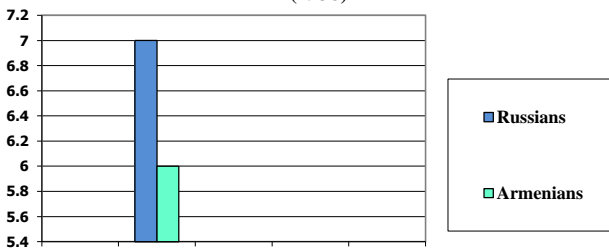
In 1938 from 43 renamed streets 16 was anthroponyms (6 Armenian, 7 Russian)

In 1939 there was only one renaming case [61] - the Sundukyan Street was renamed to Stalin Street.[62]

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[61] NAA/Fond 1/List 2/ Case 49/Protocol 10/6/ Sheet 22

[62] It was the smallest thing after an attempt to rename Moscow into Stalinodar in 1938 (Nikitin S. A., *Revolutiya i geografiya, Stanovlenie sowetskoy toponimiki v 1918-1930 godakh* [Revolution and Geography, The Establishment of Soviet Toponymy]//Otechestvennie zapiski, 2003, №2, http://www.strana-oz.ru/2003/2/revolyuciya-i-geografiya)

Chart 4: The scale and the classification of street renamings in Yerevan from 1921-1939
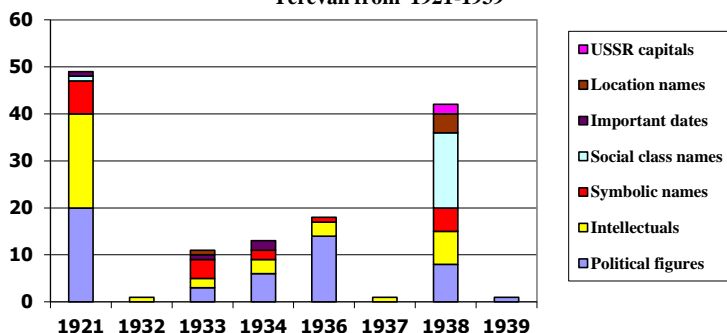
Chart 4: The nature of renamed street in Yerevan from 1921-1939
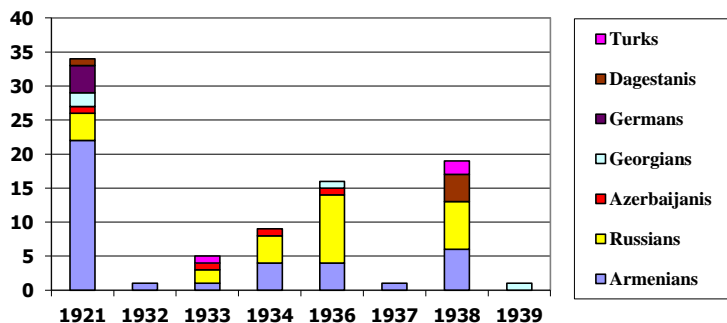
Conclusion

Street names offer highly revealing insights into the nature of ideology and national identity in the Soviet state. The efforts of the Soviet Armenian Government to bring about drastic changes in society led to ideological transformations in the capital's toponymy. Street names with political connotations soon became one form of propaganda for the Soviet regime.

By destroying the pre-revolutionary names associated in any way with the former regime, a wide range of symbols and characters were incorporated into the urban area aiming to erase the history of the "bad past" and to strengthen the ideology of the "good present" - the Communist Power. Thus, the Party used

strongly expressed "Soviet symbolic names" such as, for example, Soviet ideological names, social class names, the names of Soviet heroes, the dates of great Soviet achievements, as well as the names of the USSR capitals, etc. Along with the names of public figures - Communist leaders, revolutionaries, Soviet heroes and a list of carefully chosen Intellectuals "matching the spirit of the time" - the symbolic names became long-lasting stamps in Soviet urban toponymy.

The commemoration of important events or personalities of the Soviet era via urban toponyms played an essential role in the construction of a common national history, and - since history is an integral component of national identities - the urban toponyms were also a significant factor in the nation-building and state formation processes in Soviet Armenia.

By introducing the personalities and events of Soviet and Armenian communism into the everyday lives of the residents of Yerevan, propagandist street names represented one of the ways in which the Communist authorities institutionalized the new regime and embedded it into the everyday life of Armenian people. Thus, a Yerevan resident who found himself or herself living on, for example, Voroshilov Avenue in the Stalinyan Raion would have rather little opportunity to question the nature of the state in which he or she lived.

The analysis of archival documents allowed us to divide the street naming/renaming process from 1921-1939 into 2 conventional periods: 1921-1932 and 1933-1939. This division was accounted for the fact that, during the first period, the number of Armenian personalities among other nationalities in anthroponymic group was large, in the anthroponymic nomenclature of Yerevan streets.

Yet, starting from 1933, political transformations occurred inside the Party, culminating with Stalin's repressions, which were instantly reflected in Yerevan street names also. Thus, for instance, the Armenian Government demonstrated its "anti-nationalist" nature hiding behind the notion of "Soviet Brotherhood" and assigned place names of Turkish Bolshevik heroes and/or Azerbaijani political figures.

From 1933-1939, in the approved list of Yerevan streets, the Armenian and Russian anthroponymic names, however, were leveled off, indicating that "Armenian internationalism" revealed itself also in the urban toponyms of this particular time.

Կոմունիստական գաղափարախոսության արտացոլումը խորհրդային Երևանի փողոցների անվանափոխության քաղաքականության մեջ (1921-1939)

Նելլի Մանուչարյան
ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Հնագիտության և
Ազգագրության ինստիտուտ
(*manucharyann@hotmail.com*)

Փողոցների անվանումները մեծապես արտացոլում են Խորհրդային երկրի զաղափարախոսության և ազգային ինքնության էությունը: Տեղանվանաբանության վերջին հետազոտությունները, թերևս, սակավ են անդրադարձել այն միջոցներին, որոնցով Կոմունիստական իշխանությունը պետական կառավարման վերահսկողության պայմաններում խրախուսում էր իր գաղափարախոսությունը փողոցների անվանացանկի միջոցով:

Այս հոդվածը վերլուծում է փողոցների անվանումների կարևորությունը՝ որպես Կոմունիստական իշխանության արտահայտություն վաղ խորհրդային շրջանում՝ Երևանում՝ 1921-1939թթ.: Հայաստանում բոլշևիկյան իշխանության հաստատմամբ փողոցների անվանափոխության լայնամասշտաբ գործընթաց սկսվեց: Նոր ռեժիմը ինստիտուցիոնալացնելու նպատակով իշխանությունը քաղաքային լանդշաֆտն օգտագործեց որպես կոմունիստական գաղափարախոսությունն ու արժեքները Խորհրդային Հայաստանի քաղաքացուն ներկայացնող ասպարեզ: Քաղաքական ենթատեքստ պարունակող փողոցները շուտով խորհրդային վարչակարգի համար քարոզչության մի ձև դարձան: Փողոցների անվանափոխությունը դարձավ Խորհրդային Հայաստանում պետականաշինության և ինքնության կազմավորման գործընթացների հիմնական գործիքներից մեկը:

The Reflection of Communist Ideology in the Street Naming Policy in Soviet Tbilisi (1922-1939)

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The Soviet Union, as a single state created a system to unite peoples with different identities and historic pasts. To achieve this goal and create a new Soviet citizen, long-term and diverse reforms were implemented in the organization of political life and the structure of the government, which were directly related to daily life.

This article focuses on the example of Soviet Georgia--based on the materials related to the capital Tbilisi--and presents the policy of the Soviet Union on the changing of toponyms, or assigning new names to both existing and newly-built streets, and examining how this reflected the formation of the new Soviet identity in the citizens of Soviet Tbilisi in the early Soviet period (1922-1939).

The article considers in detail the history of toponyms of Tbilisi streets from the time of their creation, and covers the changes that occurred in various periods, in order to clarify the policy of the Soviet Government in Tbilisi. This helps show the principle that guided the leadership when assigning names to central streets. Also, it explains how the Soviet authorities tried to influence the local identity by using toponymy. The topic discusses micro-toponyms that, unlike macro-toponyms usually are more conservative and less subject to political and ideological influences. However, they are not a minor part of the reform process.

To achieve this aim, the article will analyze streets divided by a few groups and discuss them in several aspects. Old and historic streets as well as those built during the period of examination were considered. Due to the fact that the material was quite vast, a certain number of streets were selected according to their location, time of establishment and their significance in response to the question posed in the beginning of this article.

Using toponyms to influence the creation of a new identity of citizens in Soviet Tbilisi was important for a few reasons. First, the idea of assigning names of honored and distinguished figures, once unacceptable for a certain society, to settlements and streets would make them acceptable, after their roles were reevaluated, and they would become members of "our" group, or "our" group was associated with those figures. Second, due to the fact that they are actively used in everyday life (addresses, maps, street names hanging in the streets, inscriptions on stamps, envelopes, urban transport) it is relatively easier to impress upon people's minds and may influence the establishment of markers for a new identity or it may support the formation of a uniting identity. It may be said that toponyms "invisibly" exercise coercion for the formation of identity in a certain society. The article will analyze the period before the creation of the Soviet Union up to the start of the Second World War (1922-1939). These years are distinguished by extensive reforms carried out for the creation of a common Soviet Identity. After "the Great Terror," the major part of this reform had been accomplished.

To achieve this goal, the Soviet leadership was intentionally attempting to dismantle ethnic and mental borders, creating new markers for the identification of peoples with diverse cultural and historic backgrounds. This would transform it into a united single territory of member republics with their numerous citizens, where everyone would consider themselves Soviet citizens. Hence, diverse ethnic, religious and cultural identities would be substituted by a uniting Soviet identity. To achieve those goals, the totalitarian regime got involved in all aspects of human life and especially those that were actively linked with everyday life. Changing

names of streets may be considered as one of the factors influencing daily life[1].

After the revolution, the changing of toponyms actively started throughout Russia by honoring the heroes of the revolution. This process particularly intensified after the creation of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, though the process continued in the following years after that as well. Russia was exceptionally active[2] but the Soviet leadership implemented a similar policy simultaneously on a Union-wide scale. (An exception was the year 1923 in Russia, when due to various reasons, mainly economic considerations, changing names was temporarily prohibited). To this point, Tbilisi was not an exception either, and renaming streets took on a massive scale. This process may be divided into two parts. The first part was during 1922-1923 and the second occurred during 1930-1934. It was especially extensive in 1934. The renaming of streets continued even during the period of the "Great Terror." This time it concerned the persons who succeeded during the Russian Revolution or during the first years of the Soviet Union and thereafter were labeled as "enemies of the people" and became the victims of repressions. By changing the names of the streets, the leadership ensured that these people would be forgotten.

For clarity in analyzing the naming and renaming policy, the toponyms of Tbilisi streets will be grouped together. The classification of streets is as follows:

1. Streets named in honor of outstanding Bolsheviks, leaders and ideologists of the Soviet Union.

2. Streets that have the names of ordinary revolutionists and Bolsheviks, both ethnic Georgians and non-Georgians.

3. Streets named in honor of persons who had played an important role in the history of Georgia, writers and public figures whose contribution to the people is significant.

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[1] Selivanovskiy S.N., *On the Issue of Historical Toponyms in Udmurtia in Modern Times* // Indakar 1 (5) 2009.
[2] Nikitin S., *Revolution and Geography: The Establishment of Soviet Toponyms 1918-1930s*, // Fatherland Notes, 2003, No. 2.

4. Streets names displaying a certain function. They can be conventionally called functional streets.

5. Streets demonstrating the main ideology of the communist state as well as social and class belonging. They can be described as ideological streets.

6. Streets that bear women's names.

The article will take into consideration the above-mentioned groups in order to discuss the policy of street naming from the perspective of revealing the influence of communist ideology and showing it as an instrument for creating a new Soviet identity. The following criteria will be taken in account when discussing the street naming process:

- Time of the street establishment: is it a historical street or not?
- Year when the street was renamed;
- Who is the person in whose honor the street was named/renamed? What are the statuses of the persons in whose honor the specific streets were named and renamed? What was their merit?

Group N 1 Streets named in honor of the outstanding Bolsheviks, leaders and ideologists of the Soviet Union.

This group includes the most outstanding leaders of the Soviet Union and communist ideologists - Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lenin, Lunacharsky, Kalinin, Zinoviev, Makharadze, Orjonikidze, Tskhakaia, Dzerzhinsky, Plekhanov.

K. Marx street, which is currently renamed after Tsotne Dadiani and located in the Nadzaladevi district of Tbilisi, and was established in the XIX century, initially named Cherkezovi Street. Cherkezovi is a shorten version of Cherkezishvili[3], Vasili Cherkezishvili (1857-1910) was the mayor of Tbilisi in 1905 and then again from 1907 to 1910. During the period of his governance, the borders of the city were enlarged, and free compulsory education of the city population was introduced. He was considered very popular among the Georgians. Later, the street underwent other renaming[4].

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[3] Tbilisi: streets, avenues, squares. Tbilisi, 2008, p. 55.
[4] Ibid p. 343.

In 1922, it was renamed as *Sabcho* (Council) Street. In 1930, the street was named after K. Marx. In 1938, it got the name *Sabcho* Street again[5].

K. Marx Square, which is currently Zaarbriuken Square and located in Old Tbilisi, was created in the XIX century under the name of M. Vorontsov square. (M. Vorontsov (1782 - 1856) – he was a Russian statesman, Prince, Field Marshal, Vicar of the Caucasus and Commander of the Caucasian Special Corps in 1844-1854). In 1925, it was named after Marx[6]. Vorontsov aimed at establishing Russian and European rules in all aspects of life and strengthening Tsarist power in Georgia)[7].

Engels Street, which is currently L. Asatiani Street, is located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, and was built in XIX century as *Baghis* (garden) Street, after which it became Bebutovis Street - Bebutovi is a shortened version of V. Bebutishvili[8] (V. Bebutishvili, 1791-1858 - general infantry of the Russian army, participated in numerous battles with the serving Governor of Georgia. In 1812, he participated in The Great Patriotic War and served as the Governor of Imereti in 1825 and Akhaltsikhe in 1828. In 1847-1857, he served as the civil governance head of Transcaucasia. He was born and died in Tbilisi). In 1922, the street was renamed after F. Engels (F. Engels together with K. Marx, was the founder of Scientific Communism and author of the Communist Manifesto[9].

Lenin Street, which is currently M. Kostava Street, is located in Vere, Old Tbilisi. In the late middle ages, there was a road which was renamed the "Road to Russia" in the XIX century. In 1921, it was renamed in honor of Lenin, while he was still alive[10].

A. Lunacharsky Street, which is currently R. Lagidze Street in Old Tbilisi, was created in the XIX century as Theatre Street, thereafter renamed as G. Evangulov Street (the mayor of Tbilisi from 1897-1901). In 1923 it was named after A. Lunacharsky[11]. Lunacharsky (1875-1933) was a Soviet

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[5] Ibid p. 303.
[6] Ibid p. 79.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid p. 21.
[9] Ibid p. 281.
[10] Ibid p. 100.
[11] Ibid p. 104.

Statesman, publicist, and a Commissioner for Education in the Soviet Union)[12].

M Kalinin Street, which is currently I. Javakhishvili Street, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century as Nicholas Street (after Nicholas the First). In 1922, it was renamed after M. Kalinin[13]. M. Kalinin (1875-1946) was a member of the Communist party, and president of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union[14].

G. Zinoviev Street, which is currently Borbalo Street, Mtatsminda, was created in the XIX century as Ketevan Turn. In 1923, it was renamed after G. Zinoviev until 1934 then renamed as Borbalo Street (Ibid, 34). G. Zinoviev (1883-1936) was an active revolutionary, then he was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee (1921-1926) and later – an opposition figure. Eventually, he was prosecuted by the Soviet leadership[15].

The Stalin Embankment is currently the Gamsakhurdia Embankment, and there is no exact data of street creation and renaming[16].

P. Makharadze Street, which is currently G. Kikodze Street in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century as Institute Street. In 1923, it was renamed after P. Makharadze[17]. P. Makharadze (1868-1941) was a Soviet statesman and writer. He was actively engaged in the fight for the establishment of Soviet governance in Georgia. He was the main organizer of the occupation of Georgia. He was a member of the Revolutionary Committee and, since 1938, Chairman of the Supreme Council Presidium of Soviet Georgia)[18].

S. Orjonikidze Street, which is currently renamed after Tevdore Mgvdeli (a historical figure killed by the Ottomans in 1609) and located in the Didube district of Tbilisi, was created in the XIX century as Andria Street. In 1922, it was renamed after S. Orjonikidze and later as K. Marx

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[12] Ibid p. 301.
[13] Ibid p. 211.
[14] Ibid p. 293.
[15] Ibid p. 286.
[16] Ibid p. 42.
[17] Ibid p. 180.
[18] Ibid p. 306.

Street, before it was renamed S. Orjonikidze Street again[19] (S. Orjonikidze, 1886-1937, a Soviet Statesman and party figure, organizer of the occupation of Georgia. He held several state and political positions including First Secretary of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee)[20].

M. Tskhakaia Street, which is currently renamed after V. Beridze, is located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, and was established in the XIX century as Bebutovi Street. In 1923, it was renamed after M. Tskhakaia[21] (M. Tskhakaia, - 1865-1950 - was a member of the Communist Party and Soviet statesman. He was also one of the founders of "*Mesame Dasi*" (the Third Generation) and Chairman of the Central Committee Presidium of Soviet Georgia[22].

F. Dzerzhinsky Street, which is currently renamed after P. Ingorokva, and is located in Sololaki Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century as Peter Street (in honor of the 200th anniversary of the founding of St. Petersburg)[23]. In 1923, it was renamed after L. Trotsky (L. Trotsky, 1879-1940, was an active revolutionary and major participant of the 1917 revolution. He was Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, head of the revolutionary committee, a member of the Politburo from 1919-1926. In 1927, he was expelled from the Communist Party and in 1929, he was exiled from the Soviet Union, and killed in Mexico by Soviet special forces)[24]. In the 1930s, the street was renamed after F. Dzerzhinsky (F. Dzerzhinsky was a Polish revolutionist and Soviet state figure. He was Head and Organizer of the Soviet punitive agencies) [25].

G. Plekhanov Street, which is currently renamed after D. Agmashenebeli and located in Kukia, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century as Mikheil Street. In 1918, it was renamed after G. Plekhanov[26] (G. Plekhanov - 1856-1918 – was a Russian theorist and

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[19] Ibid p. 87.
[20] Ibid p. 313.
[21] Ibid p. 33.
[22] Ibid p. 347.
[23] Ibid p. 92.
[24] Ibid p. 328.
[25] Ibid p. 349.
[26] Ibid p. 55.

Marxism propagandist, a literary critic. He was an active participant of Russia and the international workers' and social movements[27].

An analysis of the street renaming cases mentioned above reveals that in most cases the street names of the political elite were assigned to the central streets of Old Tbilisi while these individuals were still alive.

Also, it is noteworthy to discuss whose names were replaced as street names. In most cases these were the names of Russian Emperors, Nobleman, Governors of Caucasia and Generals of the Russian Army. They were replaced with the names of Soviet Statesmen and authors of Communist ideology. As is evident from the above mentioned, not all of them had a connection with Georgia, though assigning the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin to streets, squares and avenues was a characteristic feature throughout the whole Soviet space. Especially in Russia, many settlements were attempting to find a way to rename streets or even settlements in honor of Lenin. Assigning K. Marx's name was also a widespread practice and even today hundreds of streets, avenues and squares still bear this name in Russia[28]). An additional topic for discussion is the time when the renaming occurred. Streets bearing the names of central figures were established at the time when the Soviet Union was being formed in 1922-1923. Taking into consideration that this process was conducted on a Union-wide scale, we may assume that this was one of the ways to influence local identity.

The streets bearing the names of Bolsheviks and revolutionists can be identified as a separate group. Particularly, this group includes such names as Otsdaekvsi Komisari, Kamo, Alaverdov, Ketskhoveli, Dumbadze, Dzneladze, Volodarsky, Kochetkov, Balmashev, Kaliaev, Babushkin, Bebel, Miasnikov, and Fioletov.

Otsdaekvsi Komisari Street (Twenty-Six Commissioners Street), which is currently renamed after H. Gonashvili, is located in Avlabari, Old Tbilisi, and was established in the XIX century as Khojavank Street (which is the name of church and cemetery located in this area)[29]. In 1934, it was

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[27] Ibid p. 316.
[28] See Federal address information system,
http://fias.nalog.ru/Public/SearchPage.aspx?SearchState=2, (accessed 5.8.2015)
[29] Tbilisi: streets, avenues, squares. Tbilisi, 2008, p. 47.

named Otsdaekvsi Komisari street (Twenty-Six Commissioners, or they also known as Baku Commissioners – they fought for the establishment of Soviet governance and were shot in 1918.)[30].

Kamo Street, which is currently renamed after D. Uznadze and is located in Kukia, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and at the end of the century named as Nicholas Street. In 1922, it was named after Kamo[31] (Kamo Ter-Petrosyan, 1882-1922, was a professional revolutionary. He participated in the workers' demonstrations and strikes organized by the Tbilisi committee. He carried out the expropriation of the State Treasury several times for the financial support of the Communist Party. He became Head of the Transcaucasian Council unit. [32]

S. Alaverdov Square, which is currently renamed after L. Gudiashvili. and is located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XVIII century and named Abasabad Square (Abasabad is historical name of Ganja the second-largest city in Azerbaijan). In 1923, it was named after S. Alaverdov[33] (S. Alaverdov -1888-1920 – was a member of the revolutionary movement in Georgia and Armenia. He was one of the leaders of the uprising in Armenia in May 1920. He was killed together with other revolutionists[34].

L. Ketskhoveli Street, which is currently renamed L. Gudiashvii Street and is located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Atamani[35] Street. In 1922, it was named after L. Ketskhoveli[36] (L. Ketskhoveli - 1876-1903 – was a professional revolutionist. He was the founder of one of the Leninist organizations of the RSDLP in the South Caucasus. He was killed in Metekhi prison.[37]

L. Dumbadze Street, which is currently renamed after S. Dadiani, and located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and

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[30] Ibid p. 263.

[31] Ibid p. 171.

[32] Ibid p. 294.

[33] Ibid p. 49.

[34] Ibid p. 256.

[35] Ataman - appointed or elected heads of villages or the Cossack army with military, police and administrative functions in pre-revolution Russia.

[36] Tbilisi: streets, avenues, squares. Tbilisi, 2008, p. 49.

[37] Ibid p. 295.

named as A. Veliaminov Street[38] (A. Veliaminov -1785-1838 - was a lieutenant general of the Russian army, head of the Caucasian army main division)[39]. In 1922, it was named as Dumbadze Street, (L. Dumbadze was a member of the Caucasian Regional Committee of RSDLP. He was the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Council. Later he became a victim of mass repression) and in 1932 as the Federation of Trans caucasia Street[40].

B. Dzneladze Street, which is currently renamed after Tabukashvili and located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Mesangreta Street (Sapper, entrenchment – some divisions were located on the street). In 1934, it was named after B. Dzneladze[41] (B. Dzneladze - 1901-1923 – was one of the founders of the *Komsomol* of Georgia. He was a chairman of "Spartak" (an organization he had founded himself). He was then appointed Secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League in 1920. The Republic Youth Palace was named in honor of Dzneladze.)[42].

V. Volodarsky Street, which is currently renamed H. Abashidze Street and is located in the Vake-Saburtalo district of Tbilisi, was established in the 1930s and named Lviv Street, and thereafter renamed after V. Volodarsky[43] (V. Volodarsky– 1891-1918 – real name M. Goldstein, was an active participant of the Russian revolutionary movement. He was a member of the Central Committee Presidium. He was killed during demonstrations[44].

I. Kochetkov Street, which is currently renamed after A. Benashvili, and located in Kukia, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century. In 1934, it was named after I. Kochetkov[45] (I. Kochetkov– 1877-1928 – was an active participant of the revolutionary movement. He participated in

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[38] Ibid p. 55.
[39] Ibid p. 280.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid p. 83.
[42] Ibid p. 349.
[43] Ibid p. 11.
[44] Ibid p. 284.
[45] Ibid p. 31.

workers' demonstrations and strikes in Baku. After the Sovietization of Georgia, he became a member of the Regional Control Commission and the Georgian Communist Party Central Control Commission[46].

S. Balmashev Street, which is currently renamed after V. Gabeskiria and is located in the Chughureti district of Tbilisi, was established in XIX century and named as a Trdato Street. In 1923, it was renamed after S. Balmashev[47] (S. Balmashev, 1882-1902, was a Russian revolutionary-terrorist. He was hanged for killing the Minister of Internal Affairs Sipiagin in Petersburg[48].

I. Kaliaev Street, which is currently renamed after Bishop Gabriel and located in Avlabari, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named after P. Tsitsianov (P. Tsitsianov /Tsitsishvili – 1754-1806 – was the Infantry General of the Russian Army, Head of the Government in the Transcaucasia and head of the army. He was killed in Baku and buried in the Sioni Cathedral, in Tbilisi[49]. In 1923, the street was named as I. Kaliaev (I. Kaliaev – 1877-1905 – a Russian revolutionary-terrorist, who was punished with the death penalty for killing the Governor of Moscow[50].

I. Babushkin Street, which is currently renamed after Peter Gruzinky, and located in the Gldani-Nadzaladevi district of Tbilisi, was established in the 1930s and named Imereti Street. In 1938, it was renamed after I. Babushkin[51] (I. Babushkin -1873-1906 – a Russian revolutionary-terrorist, Bolshevik, and member of RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) Lenin called him "the pride of the party"[52].

A. Bebel Street, which is currently renamed after Irakli II and located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century. The name of the street was changed several times. In the beginning, the street was named Governor's Square, thereafter as Exarch Street in 1885. In 1922, it was

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[46] Ibid p. 298.
[47] Ibid p. 41.
[48] Ibid p. 261.
[49] Ibid p. 347.
[50] Ibid p. 293.
[51] Ibid p. 49.
[52] Ibid p. 261.

renamed A. Bebel Street[53] (A. Bebel - 1840-1913 – was a member of the German and International Workers' Movement and founder of The Second International[54].

A. Myasnikov Street, which is currently renamed after Vakhtang Gorgasali and located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and given the names of Yerevan and Vorontsov Streets. In 1922, it was named as Komunaluri, thereafter as A. Myasnikov[55] (A. Miasnikov– 1886-1925 – was a Soviet Statesman and Party worker. He was the Editor of the newspaper "Zarya Vostok". He died in a plane crash in Tbilisi[56].

I. Fioletov Street, which is currently renamed after Nikiphore Iribakhi and located in Avlabari, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Petre-Pavle Street (it was near the Petre-Pavle Church)[57] (I. Fioletov – 1884-1918 – was a member of the Russian revolutionary movement and was shot as a Baku commissar[58].

As in the case of the previous group, there is the same tendency in this group - replacing the names of Russian Emperors, Nobleman, Governors of Transcaucasia and Generals of the Russian Army, also the name of persons connected to the history of Georgia, or to the religion with the names of ordinary revolutionists, Bolsheviks, and fighters for the establishment of Soviet power. In most cases, the names of the above-mentioned persons were assigned to streets located in the center of Tbilisi, however these were not main streets. There seems to be a link between centrality and the status of the persons whose names were assigned.

The next group includes the streets that are named in honor of historical figures that are recognized to have played an important role in the history of Georgia, like writers and public figures whose contribution to the people is considered as significant.

Z. Chichinadze Street, which is located in Mtatsminda, Old Tbilisi, was established in the 1830s and named as G. Rozen Street (1782-1841 – a

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[53] Ibid p. 66.
[54] Ibid p. 263.
[55] Ibid p. 76.
[56] Ibid p. 306.
[57] Ibid p. 130.
[58] Ibid p. 333.

Russian military figure, infantry-general, Governor of the Caucasus and Commander of the Caucasian Special Corps, who fought against Caucasian highlanders)[59]. In 1923, it was named after Z. Chichinadze (Z. Chichinadze - 1854-1931 – a public figure, researcher of Georgian literature and history, publisher. He contributed to the collection of Georgian manuscripts, books and in the publication of these materials. He was buried in the Mtatsminda Pantheon[60].

I. Machabeli Street, which is located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as *Baghi* (Garden) Street. In 1923, it was named after I. Machabeli[61] (I. Machabeli - 1854-1898 – was a writer, publicist, translator, public figure, and member of the "Samocianeli"[62] (Sixties), one of the founder of modern Georgian literary language. He is broadly known as the best translator of Shakespeare's works in Georgian. He left home and never returned in 1898[63].

Sulkhan-Saba Street which is located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Irakli Turn, thereafter as Freilin Street. In 1923, it was named after Sulkhan-Saba[64] (Sulkhan–Saba - 1658-1725 – was a writer, scientist, public figure, and played an important role in the history of Georgia)[65].

A. Tsereteli Street, which is currently G. Tabidze Street, and is located in Sololaki, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named Gani Street (Senator Gani had possibly lived on that street)[66]. In 1923, it was named after A. Tsereteli (1840 - 1915 – a public figure, one of the reformers of the Georgian literary language, member of the Tergdaleuli (the same as "Samotsianeli")"[67].

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[59] Ibid p. 321
[60] Ibid p. 208.
[61] Ibid p. 114.
[62] "Samocianeli" - People who crossed the river Tergi and were educated in the Russian Empire in the 1860s
[63] Tbilisi: streets, avenues, squares. Tbilisi, 2008, pp. 303-304.
[64] Ibid p. 165.
[65] Ibid p. 313.
[66] Ibid p. 169.
[67] Ibid p. 350.

Vakhushti Bagrationi Street (Didube) was established in the XIX century. It was first named Sheremetev Street in 1898 (S. Sheremetev S – 1837-1896 – was the general-adjutant of the Russian army, count, governor of the Caucasus and Commander in Chief of the army in 1890-1896[68] then named as Vakhushti Bagrationi in 1923 (Vakhushti Bagrationi – 1696-1757 – a historian, geographer, cartographer, who collected important data about the population of Georgia, their traditions, culture etc., and a founder of the Moscow State University[69].

K. Marjanishvili Street, which is located in Kukia, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Kirka Street. In 1921, it was named after Jean Jaurès (Jean Jaurès - 1859-1914 – a member of French and International Socialist Workers Movements and the author of the book "Socialist History")[70]. In 1938, it was named after K. Marjanishvili (K. Marjanishvili– 1872-1933 - Director, People's Artist, Georgian theater reformer. He worked in the cinema as well and educated a group of distinguished actors. He is buried at the Mtatsminda Pantheon[71].

P. Melikishvili Street which is located in Vere, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and initially named as Tskneti Road. In 1924, it was renamed after P. Melikishvili[72] (P. Melikishvili – 1850-1927 – was a chemist. He was one of the founders and the first Rector of Tbilisi State University in 1918, and the founder of Georgian Chemistry, he greatly contributed to the creation of Georgian terminology in Chemistry[73].

Shio Mghvimeli Street which is located in Vere, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XX century. It was initially named Ananuri Street. In 1923, it was renamed after Shio Mghvimeli[74] (Shio Mghvimeli - 1866-1933 – was one of the founders of Georgian children's literature, an honored writer [75].

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[68] Ibid p. 342.
[69] Ibid p. 283.
[70] Ibid p. 318.
[71] Ibid p. 303.
[72] Ibid p. 115.
[73] Ibid p. 306.
[74] Ibid p. 124.
[75] Ibid p. 309.

D. Kipiani Street, which is located in Mtatsminda, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century. From the beginning, it was named after Kipiani [76] (D. Kipiani 1814-1887 – was a public figure and the leader of the Tiflis Nobles. He w as the Mayor of Tbilisi from 1876-1879 and one of the initiators and the first chairman of the Literacy Society of Georgia from 1879-1882. He fought against Tsarist russification and the colonial policy, and was exiled to Stavropol and treacherously murdered[77].

G. Tsereteli Street which is located in Avlabari, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named after P. Kotlyarevsk (General P. Kotlyarevsk -1782-1852 – was an infantry-general of the Russian army, distinguished during the 1804-1813 Russian-Iranian war. He had lived on this particular street). In 1923, it was named after G. Tsereteli[78] (G. Tsereteli– 1842-1900 – was a writer, publicist and public figure. He was one of the leaders of the national-liberation movement of Georgia and greatly contributed to the Literacy Society[79].

The figures, whose names were originally on the streets chosen for renaming, were persons who played an important role in the history of Georgia, and all of them fought for strengthening national identity. So, if one takes into account that the Soviet Government aimed to clear ethnic and cultural lines between Soviet people to create "Homo Sovieticus," it looks logical that they would introduce such a policy in their street naming process – renaming these streets in honor of Communist leaders (such as Lenin, Marx, Ordzhonikidze etc.) and Georgian public figures simultaneously. At first, the Soviet Government was trying to mix local and Soviet identity. And then, step by step, replace it with the Soviet one. At the same time, it may be considered as an aim of the Soviet Government to overcome the Tsarist past as well.

A separate group we discussed contains the so called "functional streets" - streets showing a certain function (streets from this group were given certain names according to the specific activity taking place on that

[76] Ibid p. 183.
[77] Ibid p. 340.
[78] Ibid p. 202.
[79] Ibid p. 350.

particular street). Particularly, this group includes names such as Kramiti (tile), Mitingi (Demonstration), Saeklesio (Church), Turbina (Turbine), Ingineri (engineer), Metalurgia (metallurgy), Ortklmavali (Locomotive), Zeinkali (locksmith).

Streets with functional names are mostly located in the suburbs of Tbilisi (Gldani, Nadzaladevi) and most of them were established in the XX century.

Kramiti (tile) Street, which is currently renamed after D. Beriashvili and located in the Didube district of Tbilisi, was created in the XX century. In 1934, it was named in honor of the tile factory located on it[80].

Mitingi (demonstration) Street, which is located in the Gldani district of Tbilisi was created in the XX century. It was previously named Saeklesio (Church) Street, and later as Mitingi Street (demonstrations were regularly held on that street)[81].

Turbina (Turbine) Street, which is currently M. Khvingia Street and located in the Gldani district of Tbilisi, was established in the 1930s. The name was given for a mechanical workshop located there[82].

The Ingineri (engineer) Street, which is currently S. Virsaladze Street and located in Old Tbilisi, was created in the XIX century. The name was given in honor of an engineering division located there[83].

There are also some streets like Metalurgia (Metalurgy), Ortklmavali (Locomotive), Zeinkali (locksmith) etc.[84].

All the streets in this group were appeared in the 1930s and are located in the suburbs of Tbilisi. There is no exact information explaining why the street had such names, but it is possible that some divisions or factories had been located there or they were residential areas assigned to workers in a specific field. I think that the selection of such names for these streets is somehow related to the process of industrialization.

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[80] Ibid p. 33.
[81] Ibid p. 122.
[82] Ibid p. 209.
[83] Ibid p. 77.
[84] Tbilisi: streets, avenues, squares. Tbilisi, 2008

Another group for street renaming consists of streets established in the XX century and mainly located in the suburbs of the city - Gldani-Nadzaladevi, Isani-Samgori. The names of these streets mainly express the ideology of Communist, social and class-related belonging. For example: Industrialization, collectivization, komkavshiri (Komsomol), Aghmaskomi Streets (Executive Committee), Komunisturi Shromis Street (Communist Labor), Cooperation (Kooperatsia) Street, Proletari (proletarian) Street, Stakhanov street, Tsitelarmieli street (Red Army), etc.

The analysis of the idea behind the renaming practice related to the ideology, social and class-related belonging reveals that streets with names signifying industrialization and collectivization were created in the 1930s. Collectivization was the most important reform of the Soviet Government and faced many difficulties. Although the reform ended in around 1932, it took quite a long time before the results were visible. So, I think it is very symbolic that the name Collectivization was given in 1934. The name Industrialization was given in the same period. Together with these streets there was also the establishment of Khutsledi Street (the street of the Five-Year Plan - The first Five-Year Plan was implemented between 1928 and 1932). Such street names emphasized the importance of the reforms and showed how the Soviet Government tried to have an influence on their citizens, creating acceptable and unacceptable things. The street of Komkavshiri (Komsomol – the All-Union Leninist Young Communist league, which was the youth division of the Communist Party) was established in the XIX century and named Komsomol in 1923.

The street of Kolektivizacia (Collectivization) which is currently E. Bejanishvili Street and located in the Gldani district of Tbilisi, was established in the 1930s. In 1934, it was named as Kolektivizatsia (Collectivization) Street[85].

Proletari (proletarian) Street, which is currently E. Zakaraia Street and located in the Gldani district of Tbilisi, was established in the 1930s. In 1934, it was named Proletari Street[86].

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[85] Ibid p. 33.
[86] Ibid p. 79.

Tsitelarmieli (Red Army) Street, which is currently Z. Anjafaridze Street and located in the Isani-Samgori district of Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named Saldati Street (Russian soldier – the named was given because of some divisions of the Russian army located on the street). In 1930s, it was named Tsitelarmieli Street (Russian army divisions were changed to Red Army divisions)[87].

A. Stakhanov Street, which is currently S. Ksovreli and located in the Gldani district of Tbilisi, was established in the XX century and initially named Elmavali (Locomotives) Street. In 1938, it was named after A. Stakhanov [88] (A. Stakhanov– 1905-1977 – was a miner and a Hero of Socialist Labor,[89] he had mined 102 tons of coal in less than 6 hours. After that, the Stakhanovite movement began during the second Five-Year Plan in 1935 as a new stage of socialist competition).

A more interesting case in this group is presented by Otsdakhuti Tebervali Street (February Twenty Five Street, commemorating the day of the occupation of Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1921), which is currently G. Tovstonogov Street and located in Old Tbilisi. The street was established in the XIX century. In 1923, it was named Otsdakhuti Tebervali Street. It worth noting that later this street was renamed as May Twenty Six Street (the Independence Day of Georgia)[90].

Khuti Dekemberi Street (December Five) appeared in the XIX century and previously named Saldati (Soldier) Street, since retired soldiers lived here. Thereafter it was named as Reiteri Street (A. Reiter –was a Tbilisi commandant and Lieutenant-General). The name was changed again to Germaneli (German) Street in 1922 and thereafter to Khuti Dekemberi, in 1939 on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution of the Soviet Union on December 5, 1936[91].

The above mentioned group describes the main aspects of communist ideology and the long-term goals of the Government.

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[87] Ibid p. 20.
[88] Ibid p. 180.
[89] Ibid p. 325.
[90] Ibid p. 170.
[91] Ibid p. 194.

A separate group contains the streets named after women. The women in the honor of whom streets have been renamed are the following: Eristavi, Gabashvili, Clara Zetkin, and Gelfman.

Anastasia Eristavi Khoshtaria Street (which still bears this name) is located in Old Tbilisi and was established in the XIX century, initially named after G. Artsuni[92] Grigor Eremiayi Artsuni, 1845-92, was an Armenian publicist, writer, and critic living in Tbilisi. There was a theater named after him. He was a propagandist of Greater Armenia and demanded the establishment of a university in Tbilisi where the media of instruction would be Russian and Armenian[93]. In 1922, it was named after Anastasia (Taso) Abashidze (1881-1958, actress, People's Artist. She starred in the movie *Khanuma)* and from 1930 it was given the name Anastasia Eristavi-Khoshtaria Street (Anastasia Eristavi-Khoshtaria (1868-1951) was a writer and public figure. She wrote children's stories and her novels reflected the life of Georgian society. She was a defender of women's rights[94].

Ekaterine Gabashvili Street, which is located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century. Previously, the manor of the Gabashvilis was located there, so it retained the name to a certain extent. In 1923, it was named after Ekaterine Gabashvili[95]. Ekaterine Gabashvili – 1851-1938 – was a writer and public figure who had a big role in developing Georgian children's literature[96].

Clara Zetkin Street, which is currently Tsinamdzgvrishvili Street located in Kukia, Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Elisabed Street. In 1922, it was named after C. Zetkin[97]. Clara Zetkin, 1857–1933, was a German Marxist theorist, activist, and advocate for women's rights. In 1911, she organized the first International Women's Day[98].

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[92] Ibid p. 67.
[93] Ibid pp. 258-259.
[94] Ibid p. 281.
[95] Ibid p. 41.
[96] Ibid p. 268.
[97] Ibid p. 202.
[98] Ibid p. 347.

Gelfman Street, which is currently Gelati Street and located in Old Tbilisi, was established in the XIX century and named as Surb-Minasini Street, bearing the name of the local church. In 1923, it was named after Gelfman. In 1938, it was renamed Gelati Street[99]. Gesya Mirokhovna Gelfman (1855-1882) was a Russian Revolutionary terrorist (*Narodnik*) who participated in the assassination of the Emperor Alexander the II [100].

Like in the case of the streets named in honor of Georgian public figures, the streets named after women were a case of ethnic and Soviet elements mixed on purpose by the Soviet Government. Besides, the group presents the gender situation in Soviet Tbilisi.

The Main Square and Avenue of the city also need to be examined in terms of name changes.

Freedom Square, which is located in Mtatsminda, Old Tbilisi, is the main Square of the city. It carried the name Yerevan Square in 1828-1918. In 1918-21, during the time of the existence of the First Democratic Republic of Georgia, the place took the name "Freedom Square." In 1922, after becoming the capital of the Trancaucasian Federation, the Square was renamed to Transcaucasian Federation Square. In 1938, it was renamed after Lavrent Beria and in 1953 after Lenin. In 1990, it was reassigned the name Freedom Square[101].

Rustaveli Avenue, which is located in Old Tbilisi, was named as Golovin Avenue since around 1841. In 1918, it was renamed after Rustaveli. The name change was requested by the people demonstrating against Turkey in 1918. It was an initiative of the young writers and poets of that time. The city officials could not refuse the demand of the protesters and the name of this avenue has not changed since then[102].

It is symbolic that the main square of the city was named Freedom Square – it was always associated with the Georgian struggle for independence. So, in 1922, after Soviet power was established in Tbilisi, it

[99] Ibid pp. 42-43.
[100] Ibid p. 270.
[101] Ibid pp. 83-86.
[102] Ibid pp. 145-148.

was immediately renamed as the Transcaucasian Federation Square. The name totally excluded any connection to the local, national, cultural, or historical values. As for the main avenue, it may be considered like the above-mentioned streets as one named after a historical figure – Rustaveli, who belongs to the remote past of Georgia, and was a great intellectual of his time, but not a political figure.

Besides the groups discussed, other tendencies were revealed in the street-naming process. One of them is that the streets were given names indicating ethnicity, such as streets named German, Greek, Tatar, Russian, and Armenian. Streets used to be given the names of the capitals of Soviet Republics and socialist states. Particularly, streets were given such names as Kiev, Baku, Moscow, Yerevan, Riga, Ljubljana, Tashkent and Budapest. Another tendency was seen in streets with geographical terms, using the names of geographic places in Georgia. Some of the names did not change and a part of them were named in the 1920s. For example Batumi Street, named after city in the Western part of Georgia, did not change[103]. Borjomi Street, also named for a city in Georgia, did not change[104]. Other streets that remained the same were Algeti Street (a river in the Eastern part of Georgia), Shavnabada Street (a mountain in the Eastern part of Georgia), and Zugdidi Street (a city in the Western part of Georgia). The following names were given to streets in the 1920s– Ananuri Street, (a village in the Eastern part of Georgia), Afkhazeti (Abkhazia) Street (a historical-geographical part of Georgia) Gori Street (a city in the Eastern part of Georgia), Natakhtari Street (a village in Mtskheta) etc.

Thus, in case of each group, the symbolic changes are obvious in the street naming process. In most cases, the names of Russian Emperors, Nobleman, Caucasus Governors and Generals of the Russian army, were replaced by the names Soviet Statesmen and authors of Communist ideology, ex., Bebutov was replaced by Engels, Cherkezov by Marx, Vorontsov by Marx, Evangulov by Lunacharski etc. At the same time, there were several cases of naming streets after distinguished Georgian figures that fought against russification and for independence of Georgia.

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[103] Ibid p. 27.
[104] Ibid p. 34.

During the Soviet period, at least until the Second World War, it seemed that the concept of "toponymization" of the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, had several conceptual directions: There was a tendency to 1. Use anthroponyms – more than 90% of names of streets are anthroponyms; 2. Reduce the historical past of Georgia, Tbilisi, in particular (there was almost a complete absence of names with a historical reference, except, perhaps, Rustaveli, Vakhushti Bagrationi (1696-1757), Sulkhan-Saba (1658-1725), and D. Kipiani (1814 -1887), all of whom were intellectuals. There was a complete absence of names of political, military and government officials (the names of the Georgian kings, generals, real and mythical heroes of the early and classical Middle Ages), and an absence of even a hint of important historical dates, actions, events for Georgia and Tbilisi, except, perhaps, May 26 from the period of modern history. It can be said that such use of toponyms deprived Tbilisi of all of its historical past and began the study of history of Georgia from the Soviet period. 3. Replacing Tsarist values with Revolutionary, and Soviet ones. 4. Ideologizing of toponyms, primarily through the introduction of the names of revolutionary leaders, as well as symbols of Soviet life (Stakhanov, Komunisturi Shromis, Tsitelarmieli, industrialization, collectivization, etc., which later became a symbol of Soviet repression). This helped establish the new values of Soviet power, but not of Communist ideology. Since the new names of the places were actively used in everyday life (addresses, maps, street names hanging in the streets, inscriptions on stamps, envelopes, urban transport, was mentioned in the names of schools, etc.), naturally and without too much effort, it damped the Georgian historical past in the minds of the citizens of Tbilisi giving priority to Plekhanov, Marx, Lenin, 5 December etc. The process of street naming, being supported institutionally, played a role in strengthening the Soviet and international identity of the citizens of Soviet Tbilisi.

Կոմունիստական գաղափարախոսության արտացոլումը Խորհրդային Թբիլիսիի փողոցների տեղանվանաբանության մեջ (1922-1939)

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Փողոցների անվանումները մեծապես արտացոլում են Խորհրդային երկրի գաղափարախոսության և ազգային ինքնության էությունը: Կոմունիստական իշխանությունը պետական կառավարման վերահսկողության պայմաններում խրախուսում էր իր գաղափարախոսությունը փողոցների անվանացանկի միջոցով նաև: Հոդվածը Խորհրդային Վրաստանի օրինակով, ինչպես նաև հիմնվելով մայրաքաղաք Թբիլիսիի վերաբերյալ նյութերի վրա կներկայացնի 1922-39 թթ. տեղանվանափոխության առանձնահատկությունները. անվանափոխությունները, կամ նոր փողոցների հիմնումը:

Defining a Conceptual Framework for Identity Construction in Georgia in the 1900s

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Introduction

The final decades of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century were characterized by significant changes in the world: the formation of an International World Order, distribution of power between the Empires and emergence of nation-states. As Andrew Heywood states, "…by the end of the XIX century, nationalism had become a truly popular movement with the spread of flags, national anthems, patriotic poetry and literature, public ceremonies and national holidays. Nationalism became the language of mass politics, made possible by the growth of primary education, mass literacy and the spread of popular newspapers"[1]. Writers on nationalism have long appreciated the centrality of intellectuals to the emergence of national consciousness and political mobilization. As Suny and Kennedy argue, intellectuals were those enlighteners and liberators, who articulated the spirit of the nation[2].

The study aims to examine the role of Georgian intellectuals in defining a conceptual framework of identity construction in Georgia in 1900s. Hence, the research question of the paper is the following: what was the role of Georgian intellectuals in the formation of the Georgian national

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[1] Heywood A. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 170.
[2] Suny R., Kennedy M. (ed.). Intellectuals and Articulation of the Nation. The University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 3.

identity and how did they define a conceptual framework for identity construction in 1900-1921? The major argument of the paper is that the intellectual movement made a bridge from the past to the future of Georgia. The intellectuals of the 1900s received a cultural and intellectual heritage from the *Tergdaleulebi*[3] of the 1860s, who contributed greatly to determining Georgian identity markers.

The significance of the topic is stipulated by the following factors: First, the formation of a national identity is the central problem on the agenda of every sovereign state in the world; Second, the questions proposed by Georgian intellectuals at the beginning of the XX century remained significant for the next decades and have not lost their relevance to date.

This paper uses a qualitative approach for collecting and interpreting the data. Social discourse analysis examines the social and political reality at the beginning of the XX century. Content analysis scrutinizes the letters of the intellectuals of the 1900s. Using a case study, it explores the ideas of the intellectuals of the 1900s as a concrete example of identity formation in Georgia.

The article adopts the theoretical framework of Miroslav Hroch's three phases of national awakening. He describes the main characteristics of a national movement, the role of different actors in the formation of a national identity and key elements of mobilizing masses for the special goal. In order to show the role of Georgian intellectuals, the paper investigates the letters of Georgian intellectuals Archil Jorjadze, Noe Zhordania and Tedo Ghlonti.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the state of research and theoretical framework used while working on the paper. The second part touches upon the role of intellectuals in defining Georgian national identity. The third and final part presents the main findings of the study.

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[3] *Tergdaleulebi* are literally 'those, who have drunk the water from the river Terek.' They were Georgian intellectuals, attempting to modernize their fatherland, to lead it to 'national rebirth' and a 'new life'…. (More at: Reisner O., *Travelling between Two Worlds - The Tergdaleulebi, their Identity Conflict and National Life* // Identity Studies, Vol. 1., 2009.

Terms and Definitions

In accordance with the aims of the study, the following terms are central for the paper: nation, identity and intellectuals. The paper shares the interpretation of nation proposed by Miroslav Hroch. He identifies three characteristics that define a group of people as a nation: (1) a 'memory' of some common past treated as a 'destiny' of the group - or at least of its core constituents; (2) a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of social communication within the group than beyond it; (3) a conception of the equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society[4].

Considering identification as a process of forming the values of the group, Hall suggests the following definition of the identity: "identity emerges as a kind of unsettled space or an unresolved question in that space, between a number of intersecting discourses. ... [Until recently, we have incorrectly thought that identity is] a kind of fixed point of thought and being, a ground of action... the logic of something like a 'true self.' ... [But] Identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point. Identity is also the relationship of the other to oneself"[5].

Intellectuals, as Suny and Kennedy describe, are significant in the articulation of a nation. They struggle to set the nation in their ideology, reconciling the expectations of the nation with its current condition. Intellectuals are frequently treated as symbols of the nation's existence. With this definition, the authors showed the importance of intellectuals in setting and solving the issue of national identity[6].

Literature Review

The end of the XIX century and the beginning of XX century was a period of the formation of Georgian identity. Ronald Grigor Suny in his book "The Making of the Georgian Nation" (1988) reviews the historical context of nation-building in the XIX century, examines the main factors

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[4] Hroch M., Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. Cambridge University Press., 1968, p. 79.

[5] Hall S., *Ethnicity: Identity and Difference* // Radical America, 1989, p. 9.

[6] Suny R., Kennedy M. (ed.). Intellectuals and Articulation of the Nation. The University of Michigan Press, 2001, p. 349.

contributing to the emergence of a political nation, and determines the role of intellectuals in the construction of national identity. The cornerstone for creating a sense of nationhood is rewriting history, which plays a significant role in the formation of a nation. As Suny argues, under the impact of the Russian rule, Georgian intellectuals initiated their own search into the country's past, a search that immediately raised doubts about Georgia's present and future while at the same time it created a congenial view of the past and a source of national pride. Thus, historians, like poets, provided the small Georgian reading public with the images required to regard Georgia as a nation.

Writing about Georgian intellectuals in the XIX-XX centuries, Suny shows changes in the paradigm from *Tergdaleulebi* to the young Social Democrats. He emphasizes the role of the intellectuals of the 1860s in defining the vision of Social Democrats to form a political nation at the end of the XIX century. He also highlights that the young Marxists (Social Democrats) had got the spirit from Russian revolutionary thoughts. "In the view of the Marxists, Georgia could be returned to the Georgians only when revolution eliminated the dual domination of Russian bureaucracy and Armenian industrialists. This would require, first, a political revolution and, later, a socialist revolution"[7].

"Socialism in Georgian Colors" by Stephen Jones (2005) emphasizes the significance of socialism, the appearance of different generations of intellectuals and summarizes the most favorable factors for Georgia's path to socialism. According to Jones, at the beginning of the XX century Georgia was "ethnically, socially and economically divided, but increasingly educated, urbanized and national". In his words, Georgian social democracy was determined by the *Tergdaleulebi* of the 1860s and 1880s. Their answer to the challenge of colonialism, multi-ethnicity, regionalism, and social division was a combination of romanticism, nationalism and pragmatism. They advocated for education in the native

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[7] Suny R., The Making of the Georgian Nation, Indiana University Press, Hoover Institution Press, 1988, p. 145.

language and promoted history, art, and literature as weapons in the struggle for unity[8].

Jones shows the ties between the Georgian intellectuals of the 1860s to the young Marxists and highlights that they were both nationalists[9]. The *Tergdaleulebi* started with nation building by making Georgian society have a common understanding of its values. Jones states that the Georgian Social Democrats, like their nineteenth-century intellectual predecessors, were "nationalists", but in terms of cultural nationalism: "Georgian Social Democracy drew the ideas of the the *Tergdaleulebi* and was strongly influenced by their concern for national unity, economic development and political reform. Tsereteli's vision of the Georgian future was crucial to the Social Democratic principles of the Georgian Republic of 1918-1921: property-owning peasantry, private and public commerce, cooperatives, and government control of large-scale capital."[10]

The sources for this paper are the letters of Archil Jorjadze, Noe Zhordania and Tedo Glonti. The selection of the mentioned intellectuals was based on several factors. First, it is the common ideological affiliation – all of them were Social Democrats and shared the values of the young Georgian Marxists. Second, they were the ones who defined the concepts of nationalism and assessed the political and economic situation of Georgia.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the paper is based on Miroslav Hroch's three phases of national awakening in which phase A is the period of scholarly interest, phase B implies the period of patriotic agitation, and phase C is a mass national movement. The selected theory ties in with the research topic, because it presents the process of an emerging nation and emphasizes the meaning of intellectual activity.

According to Hroch, the emergence of a nation starts with a collection of information about the history, language, and customs of an ethnic group,

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[8] Jones S. F., Socialism in Georgian Colors. The European Road to Social Democracy. Harvard University Press., 2005, p. 29.

[9] Ibid, p. 2.

[10] Ibid, p. 44.

which later becomes a critical element in patriotic agitation. This intellectual activity and its subject-matter elements of symbolic culture and history are key instruments in the political process of nation building. Georgian intellectuals started spreading new words throughout nation via newspapers, meetings, and theatre plays to give a common understanding to the same new terms, to share ideas of a common past and present a vision of a common future.

Hroch discusses the role of intellectuals in accordance with the following criteria: (1) Social status (occupation), and the relevant alterations in this; (2) Social origins; (3) Territorial distribution, and location of patriotic activities; (4) Place or district of origin; (5) Educational background. The intellectuals who played a substantial role in national revival in Georgia were from different social origins, worked in different fields, lived in different areas of Georgia, had different educational backgrounds and spread the word in distinct parts of the country[11].

The Role of Georgian Intellectuals of the 1900s in the Formation of Georgian Identity

The final decades of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century marked a transitional phase for the formation of Georgian identity. Asking questions like "Who are we?" "Who are the others?" "What is the difference between us and the others?" was a key element of the process itself. The formation of identity became a precondition for the formation of the Georgian nation. Ronald Suny (1988) marks out different factors, which facilitated the process of emergence of political nation in Georgia. Economic development, improvement of urban life, advancing the ways of communication and industrialization were central factors in national mobilization. On the other hand, Georgian intellectuals showed their readiness to start social activism. Simultaneously, social activism was reflected in their contribution to the educational sphere via establishing different organizations, publishing newspapers and promoting cultural life among the people.

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[11] Hroch M., Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. Cambridge University Press., 1968, p. 15.

There were three generations of Georgian intellectuals who contributed to the formation of the conceptual framework of Georgian national identity. The first steps of fighting for independence were done in the beginning of the XIX century. Several mass uprisings in different regions of Georgia, the conspiracy of 1832 and Georgian Romanticism were followed by the *pirveli dasi (First Generation), meore dasi (Second Generation)* and *mesame dasi (Third Generation)* of Georgian intellectuals.

The intellectuals of the 1860s (*first generation*) defined the vision of the Social Democrats (*third generation)* to form a political nation at the end of the XIX century and lead it to independence. The *Tergdaleulebi* started building a nation via establishing common values in society. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats, following the path of their predecessors, made Georgia a cultural nation.

As mentioned, the study analyses the letters of Noe Zhordania,[12] Tedo (Tevdore) Ghlonti[13] and Archil Jorjadze.[14] They are significant for this

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[12] Noe Zhordania was the head of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (**1918-1921).** He was born in 1868, in Lantchkhuti, Georgia. In 1891, he became a student at the Veterinary Institute in Warsaw. He studied the European socialist and revolutionary theories and movements as well. Back in Tbilisi in 1893, he presided over the birth of the Georgian Social Democratic party, and then took part in a study tour to Switzerland, France, Germany, and England. From there, he sent articles to the Georgian press about Georgia's national past, the European workers' movement, rural organization, etc. When he returned to Georgia after four years, he was considered a highly talented journalist and writer. A year later, he became the editor of the newspaper *Kvali* (The Furrow), which turned into a rallying call for the young generation in the revolt against the Tsarist regime. He was arrested and imprisoned. In 1902, he launched the idea of a confederation of the peoples of the Caucasus. On May 26, 1918, Noe Zhordania, leader of the Social Democratic party, on behalf of the National Council, proclaimed the independence of Georgia. (Phaghava K. *Noe Zhordania. First Republic of Georgia Blog.* Retrieved in June, 2015)

[13] Tedo Glonti, a prominent public and political figure in ear ly 20th century Georgia, was born in Lanchkhuti in 1888. In addition to being a journalist, economist, and agricultural worker, he became a leading member of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist party in 1912 and leader of the left wing of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist party (1915-1916). He was an active participant in the establishment of Georgian independence by serving as a member of the National Council of Georgia and a member of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1918-1921). In 1919, he founded the newspaper *Zvirti* and in 1919-1921, he acted as the

research, because they present the meaning of identity in relation to the "others" (in this case, other ethnic groups), describe the scholarly interest of that period and express ideas about the Georgian nation. In the letters, the authors propose different understandings regarding the term nation and the main elements of national identity. Thus, topics such as the national question, national identity and "the others" occupy a larger part of the writings of intellectuals.

The National Question

Noe Zhordania posed the question of nationality. He considered the national question as a political question, because it is based on the relationships between the nation and the state: "It is clear that the national question, as one of the parts of a political problem, requires popular desire and actions… Posing the national question depends on the desire and actions of the nation itself…"[15]. Discussing the national question in Georgia at the beginning of the XX century, Zhordania (1922) carved out two main requests. One group of people called for establishing relationships between the nation and state to ensure the development of national culture, while the second group demanded the creation of a sovereign republic of Georgia. "The first [group] aims to have national culture and second strives for national governance… The first is the continuation of the work of the 1860s and the second takes us back to the first quarter of the XIX century, when

editor of the newspaper *Sakhalkho Purtseli*. Tedo Ghlonti became the 3rd Rector of Tbilisi State University in June 1926 and served until September 1928. In 1937, Tedo Ghlonti was shot as an "Enemy of the People and Traitor of Motherland."

[14] Archil Jorjadze was a political figure, publicist, philosopher, and sociologist. He was born in1872. He graduated from the Tbilisi Gymnasium in 1892 and continued his studies at universities in Russia, England, France and Switzerland. In 1900, he came back to Tbilisi and founded *Tsnobis Furceli* (Informational Paper). He was one of the leaders of Socialist-Federalist party. In 1904, he represented the Socialist-Federalist party at the Interparty Conference in Geneva. His works were dedicated to national issues, individualism etc. (Ramishvili L. *Archil Jorjadze – Biography. Matiane Blog.* Retrieved in June, 2015.)

[15] Zhordania N., *Collection of Works on the National Issues // Committee of Communist Party of Russia, 1922, p 167. (Translations for citations originally in Georgian are provided by the author)

autonomy was the slogan of our battles…"[16]. This paragraph illustrates the disintegration of the Georgian nation in terms of setting the questions of nationality and the author's attitude towards the problem itself.

While discussing the question of nationality, Zhordania emphasized the importance of self-determination, because he believed that all nations are equal no matter the extent of their territory and the size of their population: "A person, government or nation does not have the right to legally or illegally own other people, occupy their territory or use other means of force..." he wrote[17]. Speaking about self-determination, Zhordania marked out two actors in international society, the Proletariat and Bolsheviks. He thought that political and social difficulties were the results of clashes between imperialism and national self-determination. "Georgian national self-determination was outlined in this concrete framework, and it has experienced victory and defeats... It stands in the center of national knot and when it is opened, the Georgian nation will be free and restore its dignity..."[18]. This passage shows that not only is the idea of a common past mentioned as a key element of Georgian self-determination, but so are territory and geopolitical location.

Tedo Ghlonti started his letter "Integrity of the Georgian Nation" with a problematic issue of national integrity: "…Georgian social life is quite weak, the Georgian economy lacks integrity, there is no tradition of loving your nation, there is no national politics, the Georgian nation is scattered and there are no objective conditions in which to arrange national political life…"[19]. The author carves out several markers of Georgian national consolidation: economic integrity, patriotism, and national politics, which establish the "objective conditions" for creating a Georgian nation.

Tedo Ghlonti suggested the term "National Organism" (in Georgian: *erovnuli skheuli*) as a basis for national integrity. He presented the nation as a living organism that is united in its common actions. He also discussed the

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[16] Ibid, p. 170.
[17] Ibid, p. 64.
[18] Ibid, p. 68.
[19] Ghlonti T., *Integrity of Georgian Nation: Part One* // Sakhalko Furceli (People's Paper), #279, # 315, # 316, 1915.

different aspects of social life. In the words of Tedo Glonti, "The national-territorial governance of the Georgian nation is a cornerstone of ethnicity, national arrangement... framing the Georgian nation in social life." He views Georgian villages as the best model of territorial arrangement, despite the fact that they lack economic integrity, social relations and unity. "Due to social and natural circumstances he [Georgian man – I.G.] does not go far from his country, therefore the villages and towns maintain ethnical integrity."[20]

Similar to other intellectuals, Archil Jorjadze posed the question of nationality. He presented the problem of the uncertainty of the Georgian nation in terms of questions of nationality: "There is no other nation or society that has such an obscure and uncertain opinion about nationality than the Georgians"[21]. Jorjadze sought to find the key elements of nationality: "If we want to study nationality, we should pay attention to the particular environment where it was created and developed. The concrete precondition can be the state. We should clarify the extent to which the state is related to the process of the emergence of nationality, i.e. what is the link between the nationality and the state?"[22].

Jorjadze gave the definition of the state in order to show its link to nationality: "The state is a coercive organization, where the minority has authority on the majority, and this authority is powerful when the kingdom is bigger. Therefore, the essence of the state is to seek expansion and occupation"[23]. He considered that two main elements of Georgian self-identification were the Monarchy and periods of war. Loyalty to kings was the way to create a new political organism, which helped the nation deal with its enemies. Describing the psychological portrait of the nation under the conquest of another nation, he emphasized the strength of the nation-state itself. Simultaneously, he explained the logic of occupying other

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[20] Ibid

[21] Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Kakitelashvili K., Kvrivishvili M., Tsereteli I., Narratives of Identity in Georgia: At the Edge of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918), Tbilisi, Georgia, 2014, pp. 375-376.

[22] Jorjadze A., Homeland and Patriotism: The National Problem in Georgia, Tbilisi University Press, 1990, p. 43.

[23] Ibid, p. 42.

countries for the purpose of making the kingdom more influential. "After several attempts to fight against seizure, the nation gets used to proposed limits and borders and feels safer, while the process of consolidation can emerge in those people who have ethnographic and religious ties to other inhabitants of the state"[24].

Writing about the basis of Georgian national life, Jorjadze emphasized the significance of economic and cultural relationships: "Bonds between the peasant and his master, employee and employer are part of economic relations, which has its legal form… The essence of cultural relations is progress in literature, art and science, the proof of our existence…" [25].

According to Chkhaidze, Archil Jorjadze considered that economic resistance and clashes of different social classes weakened the unity of the nation[26]. Therefore, it is important to step forward and ensure national consolidation. "Unity and indivisibility of the nation is a guarantee of prosperity, rather than division and breaking up"[27]. In contrast with Noe Zhordania and Tedo Ghlonti, Archil Jorjadze put the emphasis on the unity of nation-state and considered ethnographic relations as one of the key elements of national identity.

National Identity

Noe Zhordania distinguished two different perceptions of a nation: cultural and territorial. From a territorial perspective, the nation could be considered an ethnographical entity. One of the main bases for territorial division and economic development was agriculture. Economic integrity, from this perspective, was based on social relations and industry. Noe Zhordania considered economic integrity as a key element in territorial unification. Therefore, the ethnic composition living on a proposed territory is less important than economic and social ties. Particularly, he mentions,

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[24] Ibid, p. 37.

[25] Ibid, p. 46.

[26] Chikovani N., Chkhaidze I., Kakitelashvili K., Kvrivishvili M., Tsereteli I., *Narratives of Identity in Georgia: At the Edge of Multiethnic Georgian Nation (1860-1918)*, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2014, p. 74

[27] Ghlonti T., *Integrity of Georgian Nation: Part One* // Sakhalko Furceli (People's Paper), #279, # 315, # 316, 1915.

"First of all, the state is an economic phenomenon… Territory cannot be surrounded by a nation, but by economic priorities…"[28].

From a cultural perspective, society could be considered as a producer of the culture, because "...it is based on modern industry which should... Therefore, nations take part in creating a common culture according to their historical past... This natural unification is a cornerstone for national and cultural consolidation"[29]. The main actors in the unification process should be those who are more interested in creating national culture – the proletariat, because proletarians apply their energy to ensure the economic prosperity of the nation.

Noe Zhordania considered economic inequality as the main factor of national development. In his words, "…a nation exists, lives and develops, and we are the witnesses of national events in the world. Some nations step forward, others have obstacles on their way. The obstacles cause disagreements and clashes in society and hinder social progress. The cornerstone of these clashes is economic inequality." Thus, in comparison with Tedo Ghlonti, Noe Zhordania emphasized the significance of not only economic but also cultural unification for raising awareness among the Georgian nation.

For a proposed definition of the term nation, Tedo Ghlonti cited Archil Jorjadze, who defined nationality with "three factors: language, territory and morals." Ghlonti also called for another definition of nation: "If different nationalities live on the same territory, they adopt the culture, manners, language of this land and resemble the locals of that territory." The author suggested the definition of Petrograd International Congress: "One can clear up the question of the nation in the following ways: 1) Ethnological features 2) "*Lingua Parlee*" and 3) Mother Tongue." Ghlonti himself distinguished two different notions: "ethnicity" and "nationality" and considered that "Ethnic group belongs to one ethnological group which is united by language, while nationality is a part of spiritual and cultural entity." Particularly, he wrote, "Neither Gregorian, nor Moses' nor

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[28] Zhordania N., *Collection of Works on the National Issues* // Committee of Communist Party of Russia, 1922, p. 172.
[29] Ibid, p. 177.

Muhammad's teaching, nor other religious skepticism hinders a person from being Georgian or belonging to another nation…" This passage indicates that Ghlonti did not consider religion as a marker of Georgian identity. A person can be a part of the nation regardless of his confession[30].

The above-cited paragraphs emphasized the importance of history, territory, language and social relations as elements in the formation of national identity. Talking about the ethnic composition of Georgia, and showing the statistical picture of different nationalities living in Georgia were the ways to illustrate the role of intellectuals and their importance in establishing a nation-state.

"Us" and the "Others"

Tedo Ghlonti's view of the "others" in Georgia becomes clear through his reference to the ethnic composition of Georgia and attention paid to the different ethnic groups. Identifying the "others" helps the author to mark out who are these groups, how integrated they are and how they communicate with other groups. "As a result of the existing situation, the vast majority of Georgians have changed their confession: some of them are Catholics, some of them are Muslims, some of them are Gregorians. They have also changed the surnames and forgotten their languages…", Tedo Glonti argued[31].

Here are two passages from the letter about Armenians and Jews in Georgia:

"Do not forget the essence of the Armenian nation, Gregorians are Georgians (clashes between Georgian and Armenian Churches occurred in the 7th century and Georgians kept the Gregorian confession) culturally and physically. They are the elements of Georgian villages, together with Ossetians and Jews"[32].

"I feel excited when I read our letters about nationality and I ask a big question: Which nationality or which ethnicity do Georgian Jews belong to? Are they part of Georgian society or not? I mean nationality and not

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[30] Ghlonti T., *Integrity of Georgian Nation: Part One* // Sakhalko Furceli (People's Paper), #279, # 315, # 316, 1915.
[31] Ibid
[32] Ibid

confession, of course…"[33]. The passage about Jews shows the author's attitude towards Georgian Jews and indicates Tedo Ghlonti's perception of Jews as being part of the Georgian society. Moreover, he uses the adjective "Georgian" to present this belonging. Simultaneously, it emphasizes the meaning of nationality and pays less attention to religion.

It is worthwhile to cite the story of the man from Akhalkalaki: "The man from Akhalkalaki admitted that the inhabitants of this city are Georgians, but they are Muslims. Fortunately, he also gave permission to me to examine the skull of him and other inhabitantss…"[34]. This observation made Tedo Ghlonti think that despite the diverse ethnic composition in the territory, the shape and type of the skulls of locals were not different from a Georgian one. In this passage, he emphasizes the problem of the disintegration of Georgian nation. Simultaneously, it is one of the best examples of the controversial thinking of the author. From the beginning, he spoke about the nation as a whole body, which included the "others" as well, but in the citation, he discusses biological differences as a part of detachment. This indicates that identity formation is a process that goes parallel to thoughts by the author about Georgian reality.

In the letters, Jorjadze expressed ideas about the nation-state, and preconditions for the consolidation of the nation and ideology. In his words, "…The state appeared on the basis of inequality, it strengthened clashes between different social groups... The Georgian state created a Georgian nationality and Georgian consciousness. It was strong during the prosperous time of Georgia. Moreover, our national consciousness, as well as our state, was created on a forced basis..."[35].

Talking about consolidation, nationalism and markers of national identity, Jorjadze emphasized the importance of the self-perception of each person as a member of a nation, and his/her connection with the group. "Nationality i.e. nationalism is the understanding of the idea that I, an individual, have a material and spiritual connection to my nation. Where do

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[33] Ibid

[34] Ibid

[35] Jorjadze A., Homeland and Patriotism: The National Problem in Georgia, Tbilisi University Press, 1990, p. 33

these connections come from? They come from the consciousness that this connection is the basis of living, freedom and happiness. This historical path should be passed by each member of society and create a group of people and these groups of people create the nation itself"[36]. In the words of A. Jorjadze "…Those people who have self-perception and self-consciousness can be considered a nation. The nation is a group of self-educated people, and nationality is the understanding of connections within the group for mobilization against a common enemy"[37].

Conclusion

The Georgian intellectuals of the beginning of the XX century - Tedo Ghlonti, Noe Zhordania and Archil Jorjadze, shared the ideas of the intellectuals of the 1860s. They analyzed the existing situation from a scholarly perspective and provided the very first academic definitions for the notions of nation, nationalism, and nation-state.

Their understanding of the nation was outlined in the modernist perspective. The letters of Archil Jorjadze, Noe Zhordania and Tedo Ghlonti marked out the importance of the unification and consolidation of the nation by carving out elements of national identity such as the history of the nation, territorial and cultural integrity, and language.

As the letters presented, the ethnic, religious and social groups in the country should be included in the forming of nation-state. Economic integrity and social ties are considered the cornerstones for individuals to feel more connected to their country and nation. The self-identification of a nation was understood as the acceptance of different social and ethnic groups in the society for establishing a strong nation-state.

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[36] Ibid, p. 43.
[37] Ibid, p. 42

Սահմանելով 1900-ականներին Վրաստանում ինքնության կառուցման կոնցեպտուալ շրջանակ

Իվետա Գոգավա
Իվանե Ջավախիշվիլու անվան
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19-րդ դարի վերջին և 20-րդ դարի սկզբի տասնամյակների համար բնորոշ էին աշխարհի կարգի նշանակալի փոփոխություններ. միջազգային աշխարհակարգի ձևավորումը, կայսրությունների միջև իշխանության բաշխումը և ազգային պետությունների առաջացումը:

Մտավորականները կարևոր դերակատարում են ունեցել ազգային ինքնությունների զարթոնքի և քաղաքական համախմբման հարցում` որպես «լուսավորիչներ» շրջանառելով ազգի ոգին:

Սույն հոդվածը նպատակ ունի ուսումնասիրել վրացի ինտելեկտուալների դերը 1900 –1921 թթ. Վրաստանում ինքնության կառուցման կոնցեպտուալ շրջանակը սահմանելու գործում: Մասնավորապես, քննվելու են վրացի ինտելեկտուալներ Արչիլ Ջորջաձեի, Նոյե Ժորդանիայի և Թեդո Ղլոնտու նամակները: Հոդվածում ընդգծվում է, որ ինտելեկտուալ շարժումը կամրջեց Վրաստանի անցյալն ու ապագան: 1900–ականների մտավորականները մշակութային և մտավոր ժառանգություն են ստացել Թերգդալեուլիներից (1860-ականներ), որոնք մեծապես մասնակցել են վրացական ինքնության ցուցիչների սահմանմանը:

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