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**PHENOMENON OF NATIONALISM IN A GLOBALIZED
WORLD: A VIEW ON GEORGIA**

Bachelor's Thesis

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“Here is your country. Cherish these natural wonders, cherish the natural resources, cherish the history and romance as a sacred heritage, for your children and your children’s children. Do not let selfish men or greedy interests skin your country of its beauty, its riches or its romance.”

“The man who loves other countries as much as his own stands on a level with the man who loves other women as much as he loves his own wife.”

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), an American political leader, author, explorer, soldier, naturalist, and 26th President of the United States.

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the connection between nationalism and globalization, contextualizing the enquiry with a range of factors that shape the Republic of Georgia's contemporary politics. While nationalism and globalization are intertwined and sometimes steer the development of a nation, the two factors may have adverse impacts on each other. Nationalism in the paper entails the main antipode of globalization. A brief process tracing-framed historical overview on Georgian nationalism – more specifically, in the post-2004 period – allows for detecting some high number interconnected developments, which made Georgia a more globalized society at the expense of the country's traditions and, to some extent, archaic identity. Evidently, the latter factor was one of the reasons for the Georgian citizens to vote against the then ruling Georgian National Movement in 2012. However, since the change occurred, the new government's policy-making process could be seen as a continuation of the predecessor's activities, pushing for the rise of intra-society nationalistic sentiments.

In the context of the topic, this research work reflects on the facts of several peaceful demonstrations where Georgians appealed to the government to protect the national language, change the immigration policy, and emulate other countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Czechia. In overall, the paper attempts to offer its interpretation of the globalization vs. nationalism issues in Georgia, contextualizing it with a broader framework of European integration.

Key words: Georgia, globalization, nationalism, Georgian immigration policy, historical background, salvation ways.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization and nationalism are critical factors in international relations in the contemporary, affecting all the countries globally, including, as argued by Sabanadze (2010), the Republic of Georgia (further – Georgia). These factors not only shape the global politics but are also important in observing, describing and recognizing the identity of the Georgian people. Globalization and nationalism have orchestrated changes in the global arena as witnessed in feudalism, period of *Renaissance*, classism, and age of enlightenment among others. As time went by, these events disappeared, and new ideologies and orientations came into play consuming much of the time up to the XXI century. Nonetheless, nationalism plays a critical role in suppressing and addressing the negative and adverse effects of globalization in many countries, and Georgia is not an exception in this respect.

Globalization is one of the most powerful driving forces of actuality. By now, it has become a new phenomenon that steers a quick re-development of our world. The rapid technological advancements witnessed in the contemporary society are instrumental in transforming the lifestyles of different people and cultures across the world. Thus, any globalization-related topic is destined to become relevant for the field of international relations by default.

Most elements in the world have their own competitive and deterrent factors; thus, the same can be applicable to ideologies (Conversi 2009, 12). For example, ideologies related to globalization seem to be under the control of nationalism-originated forces, exactly the way it works between anarchists and statistes when the two sides need each other in order to maintain equilibrium. Nations do have deep roots based on ethnic identities; pre-political, and cultural identities and moral, psychological, and social significance tend to endure their power and explain their persistence.

Because of the issue that the notion of ‘nation’ is portentous and its general explanation does not exist accordingly, it is also hard to find a specific explanation for all other concepts which are related to nation. If one tries to look for nationalism explanations one will definitely discover that this term has various definitions. For this particular paper nationalism is represented as a way of survival and at the same time emphasizes uniqueness of all nations. Nationalism that is mentioned here has nothing common with chauvinism since the pure

nationalism recognizes the universality of all nations and not only one particular group. When it comes to the globalization it also has different variations such as economics-related or cultural, but at the end those variations have the same nature – they are just globalized and mixed. This paper, therefore, argues that nationalism is antagonistically against the aforementioned mixing in order to maintain the uniqueness of diversity. In such a context, this research work aims at detecting and observing, firstly, a range of key driving forces of nationalism of the present time, exemplifying the observation with Georgia-related developments. In addition, as a logical continuation of the previous task, presuming that it is to be completed, this paper will analyze to see how this modern version of Georgian nationalism gets translated into the country's immigration policy-bound process (on both governmental and societal levels). Also, a segment of this paper will be dedicated to a discussion about Georgia-bound economic factors where globalization has perhaps the highest level of visibility, but, at the same time, where nationalism is not responding to globalization in the most antagonistic manner.

Globalization went deep into Georgia's every-day life, that it has already affected the country's intra-societal relations. However, the traces of ever-present Georgian nationalism still exist. Considering the above outlined framework as well as the argument, this research work will be making an effort to answer a research question on those destabilizing factors that can be directly associated with globalization, contextualizing it with Georgia's politics of the present. There are several types of research methods and data represented in the paper – it uses historiography and process-tracing methodological approaches to detect any possible causal linkages between different events, especially when the features of Georgian nationalism 'relate' to a number of national myths and historical developments. Additionally, methodology wise, this research takes into account different surveys conducted by Georgian media sources and NGOs. The results of recent public surveys and statistical analysis of data through questionnaires play a pivotal role in this paper, especially since the paper investigates why the globalization can be treated as a threat-containing factor within a society? Some of the interviews held by the official media with government representatives, NGOs, and street inquiries assist this research to be more precise.

Regarding the paper's sources, the process of credible information gathering was challenging due to a number of factual discrepancies between the official government-issued information and, for example, the data provided by ordinary citizens.

The research starts with a historic overview of the issue of Georgian nationalism and its development throughout the years, emphasizing the post-World War I period as well as the time of the Soviet Union collapse, and the period of the 2003 Rose Revolution. The main conclusion of the research is that in case of proper ruling hands some parts of globalization and nationalism can co-exist, but, in the Georgian case, nationalism is likely to remain a determinant factor for globalization in order to detain it when a historically experienced society decides to do so.

1. GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONALISM

Globalization is understood in this research as a phenomenon that influences nations and individuals globally, through creating a new interdependent environment in cultural, social, political, and economic perspectives (Tsitsishvili 2009, 7). Therefore, the process of freedom together with progress in innovation and interchanges prompts a more reterritorialized world and bound together. Globalization has actual results regarding the expanded development of technology, ideas, goods, borders, and services of which some are debilitating. For instance, the ascent and improvement of international associations (WTO) (Sabanadze 2010) and the unification of all part states in the European Union (EU) took a portion of the central leadership from countries.

Conceptually, nationalism is treated here as an economic, political, and social framework described by advancing the interests of a specific country, especially with the point of marinating and gaining full sovereignty and self-administration. (Ibid). It entails certain degree of loyalty and devotion to one's own county and a sense of patriotism and political independence. The political belief system accordingly holds that a nation ought to oversee itself, free from undesirable outside obstruction, and is connected to the idea of self-assurance. Therefore, nationalism is situated towards creating and keeping up a national personality because of shared qualities, (Ibid) for example, culture, dialect, race, religion, political objectives or confidence in a common ancestry. For that reason, nationalism in this way looks to safeguard Georgia's way of life. It includes a feeling of pride in Georgia's accomplishments and is firmly connected to the idea of patriotism. Sometimes, nationalism alluded to the conviction that a country ought to have the capacity to control the administration and all methods for creation.

Nationalism and globalization are seemingly two contradicting forces in the world and the role that they play and their impacts on countries differ (Closson 2009, 759). The significance of globalization and nationalism lies on the development of modern states and societies and their role in the world where mutual reliance has greatly increased. Globalization is the removal of

any obstacles to trade, communication, and cultural altercation. (Tsitsishvili 2009, 6). Nationalism entails the state of attachment between citizens of a country and the pride and love for their country (Slowey 2001, 260). It is the basis of the modern society and the social unity that is commonly used in promoting patriotism and national unity.

In the period of modernization, globalization and secularization, there has been the perception of development gaps among the global populace, particularly concerning nation building. (Sathyamurthy 1998, 2247). The above-stipulated issue implies that the nation and the church have played meager roles in influencing the national character. Instead, the political, financial, and social/scholarly elites determine to a great extent the future of a nation. Given this issue, globalization is expected to encase political and social characters since they are too unpredictable to be in any way contained in a national personality itself characterized by the fringes of the state (Melegh 2006, 47). Subsequently, nationalism advances globalization as long as the last is attractive for national power and security and does not challenge the arrangement of country states (Sabanadze 2010).

It is argued that a comprehensive process tracing-framed historical overview on Georgian nationalism, with an academic focus on the post-Rose Revolution period, helps in detecting a high number interconnected development, which made Georgia a more globalized society. However, many would claim that it happened at the expense of the country's traditional and, to some extent, archaic identity (Kaiser 2017, 49).

2. NATIONALISM IN GEORGIA

When talking about modern Georgian political parties, people frequently note that those parties do not have well-defined ideological polarization. However, if one recalls the history of Georgian political parties of the last two centuries, one will see that those political parties were always characterized by national temper. Nationalism – the way this phenomenon is understood in this paper – was always a vital component of Georgia, mostly because of its historical background.

2.1. Politics: 1918-1990-2003

Georgia is an ancient nation, and it has passed a long way until the present day. At first, the Kingdom of Colchis was where the myth of Jason and the Argonauts was born (Mittelman 1996, 18). Then there was the Kingdom of Iberia (Öniş & Yilmaz 2009, 7), the Kingdom of Lazica-Egrisi (Sabanadze 2010), Principality of Iberia, the Kingdom of Georgia which under the leadership of Queen Tamar provided creation of the Kingdom of Trebizond (Grdzeldze 2010, 165). The Russian Empire had annexed Georgia until 1917, then there was a brief period of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (Gawronski 2002, 363) followed by the Soviet annexation until 1991, and modern history from 1991 until today. Without the national feeling, identity, and belief, Georgia would not be able to come this far. Therefore, the historical background is one of the main driving forces of Georgian nationalism.

The development stages of Georgian nationalism include three of the following phases: First stage starts from the second half of XIX century; this is a period when nationalism was started to be formed in European countries (Asatiani 2007). Indicated period in Georgia relates to Tergdaleulebi (Javakhishvili 1973, 80-110), and this phase continues until the beginning of 1920s, before the political era of Stalinism. The Georgian nationalism's second level of development conditionally can also be considered as a Soviet version of Georgian nationalism.

It began from 1953, the year when Joseph Stalin died, and it was reinforced by the Nikita Khrushchev's speech that he delivered at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956 where the then new Soviet leader harshly criticized Stalin's dictatorship and personality cult (Zhou 2006, 51). It caused the famous events on 9 March 1956, when "demonstration against de-Stalinization quickly escalated into a drive for independence. It was brutally suppressed by Khrushchev, entailing around 150 deaths" (Kalipada 1996, 224). The second phase lasted for 30 years until 9 April 1989, and it is from here that the third phase began, which still exist.

The period of Democratic Republic of Georgia was not too long, but notable events happened, such as the official recognition of Georgia as an independent state from Russian side on 7 May 1920 (Anchabadze 2017, 1). Of course, that 'fake' recognition remained on the paper, but still Georgian government felt a little relief. The Armenian-Georgian war where the League of Nations played a key role in the survival of Armenia's capital Erevan and Georgian army have been stopped particularly by the demand from the United Kingdom. The Government of Georgia was pushing for the country's membership in the League of Nations, and Georgia went to sign a cease-fire agreement and its counter-attack has been stopped (Kaiser 2017, 85). One of the significant facts of that time was the country's Constitution, which was approved on 21 February 1921 (Gassama 1999, 133) but, 4 days after, the Soviet Russia occupied Georgia, and it later became an integral as well as constitutional part of the then newly established Soviet Union from 1922.

The period of Georgian Democratic Republic was very short; however, those years were enough to build a new 'never forgotten' nationalist feelings and Russia's aggression made those feelings more solid. Before the execution of General-major Varden Tsulikidze, he said to be stating that "You cannot scare us by death". He claimed that the death was a guarantee of the country's liberation and would help in making the country even more solid and creation thousands of warriors. (IDFI 2016, 3). In the beginning of 1990s, when Georgia regained its independence almost all political parties had nationalist view: National-democratic Party, National-independence Party political alliance Round Table – Free Georgia and the first president of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, was the leader of the latter party (Nodia 2001, 27).

During the Gamsakhurdia period of time, there was no clearly outlined internal or foreign policy. Gamsakhurdia simply had no time for policymaking. Georgia was newly separated

from the Soviet Union, at the same time it started facing the challenge of the civil war, including conflicts in Abkhazia and Ossetia. This period of nationalism-fueled political turmoil was halted by the drama of Gamsakhurdia's assassination on 30 December 1993. From then, Georgian nationalism took a short imagery break and started its redevelopment activity.

Things have changed when Georgia's second president Eduard Shevardnadze (Parliament Speaker in 1992) came to power in 1995. During Shevardnadze's presidential period, nationalism was the main issue and there was no other political ideology that could be the driving force for the country. The country was on the edge of political irrelevance and economic bankruptcy, but, in five years, Shevardnadze managed to make significant changes to ensure the country's economic growth by 12.5% in 1999. It was a huge jump compare to the 1992 when the country's economy fell by 43.2% and 1994 when Georgia's GDP was USD 501.00 per person (Freeuni, 2010).

Nationalism was also the main motive power of the events in 2003, when the United National Movement (UNM) came to power under the leadership of Georgia's third president Mikheil Saakashvili. (Shafir 1995, 33). The UNM was considered as the power that would help Georgian statehood to stand up. Officially, the UNM was a center-right political party. However, it was not trying to avoid populism and somehow was trying to proceed the nationalistic ideas in order to gain trust in the voters. The nationalist attitude became the most powerful during the confrontation period with Russia. During the Saakashvili's period, Georgia clearly expressed its aspiration toward the West and the country became more famous throughout the world.

During that period, there were significant developments in different spheres and it can be said that the country developed to some extent, but the immigration policy did not change, as it is somehow similar as it is today (Jones 2006, 248). After the Rose Revolution, globalization slowly started striking roots into the Georgian reality (Zedania 2011). Even though, new government Georgian Dream and previous UNM are considered as the main enemies of each other, both of them try to put globalization's idea forward and Georgian Dream is just a continuation of what UNM started.

2.2. Influence of the Church

Georgia is the second country in the world, which adopted Christianity on the level of the state, in 326 A.D, during Constantine the Great period. By mid IV century, Iberia and Lazica adopted Christianity as the main religion. From that time, the Georgian Church has an immeasurable influence on the country's social life. Even currently, according to the IRI statistics, the Church is the country's leading power (94%) in terms of trust among the different institutions. ('IRI: 'Church is the leader among other institutions' 2017)¹. Georgian people believe that the fact that country has come this far is because of Christianity and the country's survival is based on religion. People had a belief and because of that belief, they were able to sacrifice themselves for the country.

According to the legend, St. George was fighting visibly along with King David IV the Builder during the Didgori Battle in 1121, where David IV defeated 300,000 Turk-Seljuk's coalition only by 56,000 soldiers (Hewitt 1993, 23). There are different legends related to the belief in Georgian history and throughout time, expression established among the Georgian people – Empires come and go Georgia stays eternally. There were cases when Georgian patriarchs sacrificed themselves for the country and the nation.

2.3. Nationalism as a Driving Force

After the fiasco of fascism, nationalism is no longer ruling power in modern Europe unlike XIX century Europe. However, nationalism remains as one of the main ideologies of many political parties. Nationalist parties have deputies in many European countries' parliament. For example, AfD party, which entered Germany's parliament for the first time recently and now, is represented in 13 out of Germany's 16 state parliaments. *Sverigedemokraterna* in Sweden,

¹This and all other non-English language sources are translated by author.

Prawo i Sprawiedliwość in Poland, *Fidesz* – Hungarian Civic Alliance and many others. Unlike in the aforementioned European countries, Georgian nationalism incurred serious regress time to time and became superficial. Absolute majority of Georgian parties expresses just populist nationalism and in reality, nothing changes. Ilia Chavchavadze has represented perfect model of Georgian nationalism when he made a liberal-nationalism's European module as the basis of Georgian nationalism.

Moreover, Georgia is a tiny country and it is standing in front of the huge challenges. There always will be a place for 'smart' nationalism in Georgia and especially when it is really necessary right now in this era as never before. Mentioning the challenges and necessities, is the most suitable words for current time period. Because, there is no time for additionally uncontrolled globalization, when there is a Russia which has invaded 20% of Georgian land (Tamkin 2017) when Erdogan openly states his pretension over Batumi (Kucera 2017) when one of the candidates of Armenia's presidency says: "We had opportunity to use Russo-Georgian war in 2008 for our benefit and send troops in the Javakheti region", (Pirveli 2014) and when Azerbaijan has claims over David Gareji monastery complex, located near the border. (Rustamova 2017). Also, few years ago there was a case when Georgia's government decided to celebrate 12th of August in memory of Didgori battle (Imedinevs: '12th of August can be national holiday') and make this day red-letter. (*Further Didgori – ArmchairGeneral, 2008*). Few days after this announcement Turkey's embassy asked Georgian government to abolish this law (Avaliani 2017, 1) Accordingly, tolerant government of Georgia agreed on Turkey's desire and changed its mind. Meanwhile, Turkey celebrated 97 years anniversary of Artvin's liberation from 'Enemy' on 7th of March in 2018 (Gökyiğit 2018, 1). Whereas, Georgia is understood as above-mentioned 'enemy' because Artvin was a part of Georgia during Democratic Republic and then USSR gave this region to Turkey. When a country like Georgia has too many problems to solve regionally as well as internally, there is no time for additional headache which unruly globalization can bring. Georgia became like a puppet of the EU and not only. Country which can swallow every insult and then justify its action by the name of tolerance. Day by day Russia shows its power against Georgia like it wants to know what Georgia can, but there is nothing that Georgia can at this point anymore. Few days ago, so called S. Ossetian separatists kidnaped and then killed one of the Georgian officers in Tskhinvali region (Nutsunidze, 2018) Reaction zero. Except HARSH indignation from international community (U.S. mission OSCE). This was not a first case and those harsh indignations were not first too. A state which does not make any action except indignations is

not a state at all. If Georgia really cared for its citizen, it would repeat the Israel case. (*Further 'Wrath of God' – Pearson, 2018*) Above-mentioned examples showed that at this moment country of Georgia is not even ready to stand against what is visible and globalization has so many hidden problems which are not easy to see at all. So, Georgia will be draw into the huge swamp of problems even before it come conscious.

2.3.1. Clashes Between Government and Society

One of the most widely discussed issues in Georgia was the law about selling the agricultural land to the foreigners. Huge demonstrations and conferences were held to this effect. The most influential demonstrations were called 'Georgian March' when thousands of people came out in the streets to protest against illegal immigration, agricultural land selling to the foreigners, and disrespectfulness of the Georgian language from the government side (Garrett 2012, 19). According to the civil registry of Georgia, 5% of the foreign citizens own lands in the country. Due to the resistance from the citizens, members of the Georgian parliament's major party finally presented the bill about the agricultural land selling abolition on 30 May 2017. Based on the new constitution agricultural land selling was forbidden, considering it a 'unique resource' (Kaiser 2017,89). Agricultural land selling was not only issue of 'Georgian March'. Situation became so tense in some of the central streets of Tbilisi that nationalist movements started to form 'People's Patrol' which will monitor the actions of foreign migrants in Georgia. In that way the organization believes to provide support to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) because the state, in their words, "is unable to prevent foreign criminals and terrorists from entering the country" (JAMNEWS 2018).

Second issue is disrespect of the state language. Georgia is one of the best places where a person can start a business in the easiest way and that is why Georgia holds one of the leading positions as the best place to do business (Nodia 1995, 104). Simultaneously, with increasing numbers of investments in the country from the foreigners who have their own shops, restaurants or other public places opened in Georgia. According to the eighth article of Georgian constitution, state language is Georgian and the status protection of state language in any kind of sphere is priority. According to the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th Articles, law also regulates diverse types of advertisements (Parliamentary Gazette 1998, 11-12).

The government ignores the fact that in most cases there is not even one Georgian word on the advertisements made by the foreign investors (Losaberidze 2010, 9). Citizens often think that such intentional ignorance of the adverts implies that the government wants motivate foreigners to invest in the country. If one wants the country to be globalized, diverse, and multicultural, there is need to defend the culture, identity, language, and finally the law.

In addition, there were cases when foreign politicians interrupted the country's internal political systems exemplified in the statement of Venice Commission President Gianni Buquicchio. Several months after Georgia's Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili claimed his focus on ensuring the constitution recognize marriage as the joining together of man and woman, (Forbes, 2014) Buquicchio claimed that Georgians should write down in their constitution that such a move will not be interpreted as the prohibition of same-sex partnership (Marshallpress 2017). Of course, all people have their own ideas and they are free to express them, but Buquicchio statement "write down in your constitution..." was superfluous. No one should be able to give the country instructions about its constitution. The fact that such high rank politician utter statements like that only demonstrate the weakness of Georgian democracy.

Constitution remains supreme anywhere across the globe and represents the wishes of the society and citizens. It is a document that limits the state's arbitrariness, which is itself an enemy of statehood (MacFarlane 1997, 393). This is one of the main problems in Georgia, when previous two governments came to power both changed constitution according to their needs. The current government arranged examination of constitutional changes with the people in several parts of Georgia. Even though majority of the people were against constitutional changes, the government still approved the 'new constitution.'

The government often changes the constitution to suit itself and not serve the people. Another issue that the government is able to change the constitution so easily is the society's lack of understanding of the exact constitution. Unlike the US, Georgian constitution has been changed 34 times since its inception in 1995 (Peuch 2004). "To borrow Jon Elster's Homeric metaphor, the constitution maker, like the resourceful Ulysses, ties himself to the mast because he wants to listen-have to listen-to the sirens, but he knows he is incapable of resisting the temptation their song presents if he does not tie himself to the mast" (Sajó 1999). Power affects people like sirens' song and they cannot resist temptation. This is exactly the constitution which has the restrictive ability, but not in Georgia. Instead of tying up itself to the mast Georgian

government destroys that mast in order to gain control over the constitution and change it whenever it wants. Moreover, change not according to its own people but international community rules. Based on all the examples mentioned above, neither the government nor the society is ready to adapt to the changes that globalization can bring to them.

3. POST-SOVIET IMMIGRATION POLICY OF GEORGIA

With the fall of the Soviet Union, Georgia had a rough time with its internal as well as external issues. Civil war started in 1991 and lasted until 1993, but between those periods, Abkhazian war also broke out in 1992. As mentioned above, the country was on the edge of bankruptcy and had its serious internal issues to solve beforehand. There is no official information about the country's immigration policy after the collapse of the USSR, at least until 2003.

There were several laws about Georgian citizenship in 1993, (Suny 1993, 230) such as the law on rules of citizen entry to and exist from Georgia and the law on alien temporary entry to, staying, in, and exiting the country, but that period tends to be so obscure, such that it is impossible to find clear official document. In 2003, European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was established with the goal of supporting the economic, cultural, and political accord between EU and the neighbors. Georgia became involved in ENP in 2004 (Popescu 2011, 72).

In 2006, the EU-Georgia ENP Action Plan was approved for a period of five years that aim to set strategic objectives and primacies for cooperation among others in the area of justice, security, and liberty. The EU's Eastern Partnership contains multilateral and bilateral cooperation formats. The multilateral format offers extra prospects to reinforce cooperation on issues that relate to migration. Georgia decided to implement the Eastern Partnership multilateral and bilateral Roadmaps that allow having reforms in the sector of migration. In 2009, Georgia and several member states of EU signed declaration on cooperation of EU's partnership for Mobility with the cooperation foreseeing combined fight against illegal migration (SCMI 2017).

According to 2013 data, Georgia had a policy of open labor market and that presented certain limitations. With the policy, the work permits are not necessary because usual visas are sufficient. In EU countries, immigrants require working class visas or residence permit in order to get a job. The same rule must apply in Georgia too, because, as it was argued, a country should not look like some thoroughfare. This is what is written on the paper, but according to some Georgian journals, president Saakashvili gave citizenships to 3,000 Turks for no reason based on Fethullah Gülen's request. According to '*KvirisPalitra*', '*GeWorld*' and

'MarshalPress' those people were members of Turkish organization 'Gray Wolves' and Saakashvili took several million dollars instead of their citizenship status and gave citizenship to them with accelerated procedure before his end of presidential term (Ibid).

During the thesis writing process, a notable event occurred in Georgia. Four Islamist non-Georgian citizens took over one of the living buildings in Tbilisi on 22 November 2017 and executed a terrorist act. Because of the activities that happened, one member of the criminal group was detained and three were killed. The members of this group were identified as non-Georgian nationals. The incident was attributed to the failure in implementation of the immigration policy where many non-citizens have managed to gain entry into the country (Giorgobiani, 2017). No talk is necessary about EU immigration policy, because many of the people already start doubting that Merkel's immigration policy failed exactly because of the terrorist attacks and at this rate, ethnic British population will not be the majority (Coleman 2016 & Browne 2000). Georgia faces the same problems nowadays and if the government do not take those problems seriously enough, it will create more and more problems like these. That is why some organizations like 'Georgian March' and 'Georgian Power' are demanding from the government to take an example from Hungary. People in those organizations think that Orban's politics must be worthy. Especially, because of what he said during his speech with leave.eu journalists. "We cannot give in to extortion. We will fight those who want to change the Christian identity of Hungary and Europe!" (Orban 2018).

The incident that occurred is an indication that much needs to be done concerning the Georgian immigration law. Nevertheless, this is a fact that Georgian immigration policy is also reviewable. It is unforeseen act to give residence permit to such people who made the terrorist attack, especially when Security Service claimed that the Special Forces were tailing those people for a period of one month and not to provide citizenship to people who are ethnic Georgians and, in some way, even better Georgians than Georgians living in the Georgia. Several weeks before, few ethnic, Georgians from Iran applied for Georgian citizenship in order to get back to their home country, but the government refused their demand. (Kakulia 2017). 130 000 Georgians were forcibly moved to Iran by the Abbas I of Persia in order to develop economic and military power (Commire & Gale 1994).

4. DOES GLOBALIZATION NEED NATIONALISM TO BALANCE SITUATION?

Globalization entails the removal of any obstacles in trade, barriers in communication, and any cultural altercations. Through globalization, it is easier for consumers to purchase products at affordable prices. In US and Europe, consumers can purchase inexpensive items manufactures by people thousands of miles away where labor is low; reducing the price of products, which is beneficial to consumers. Because of globalization, the trade barriers have significantly reduced so that to support more multinational expansion and economic gains while geopolitical cooperation has flourished (Arnason 1990, 207).

Economic well-being is one of the most crucial factors that is mentioned when it comes to globalization. In developing countries, they have experienced substantial changes because they already have access to the world's famous markets and are able to export low-priced goods, but as mentioned above even economic development which was caused by the globalization created certain problems in Georgia (Ivaniashvili-Orbeliani 2009, 70). Followers of globalization claim that globalization has positive impacts that are responsible in making the world a better place and help improve the economy through allowing trade and offering employment; hence, solve some of the inculcated issues such as poverty and unemployment. On the other hand, critics of globalization purport that globalization has worked to make the rich wealthier and the poor people continue suffering (Smith 2013, 232). It has significant advantages to the investors, business owners, and business executives, but negatively influences the workers and working environment (Robertson 1996, 127).

4.1. Nationalism: A Predictable Reaction?

Many of those who are dissatisfy with globalization are seeking a solution for their problems in nationalism. Experts are putting much attention to re-emergence of nationalism in a universe that is greatly becoming interconnected legally, economically, socially, and politically (Collins 2015). The role of national identities and the states tend to be changing. National identities

assist to determine the boundaries of communities; those who do not belong to it, and those who belong to it. There have been emergences of nationalist parties, leaders, and movement, which is an indication that the mood of individuals and ideological frames tend to be evolving. Some nationalist parties such as UKIP in Brital, Jobbik in Hungary, Lega Nord in Italy, and Front Nationale in France see some elements of globalization as being a threat. This is similar to the 2016 presidential election of Donald Trump and the protectionist agenda based on the motto “America First” that shows that nationalism continues to be on the rise.

In its academic and public discourses, nationalism assists in formation of a sense of solidarity and empowerment among those that share a common ethnical, cultural or linguistic background (Robertson 1996, 136). This was witnessed in Churchill claim that the love for tradition does not weaken the nation, but it strengths it during the time of peril (Smith 2013, 232). After nationalism appeared on the world arena as an ideology, theoreticians and researchers cannot stop arguing around this topic. Many argue that nationalism may entail a more likely negative event than positive only because of the two world wars, but then situations were different as there is a significant difference between Hitler’s chauvinism and pure nationalistic idea (Hobsbawm & Kertzer 1992, 3). As mentioned in the previous paragraphs in case of Georgia, nation needs alternate method of problem solving. Something that will not allow globalization to introduce its full potential. If Georgian society decides that nationalism is not a logical reaction against globalization and allows it to spread freely, it will cause huge problems in the country, because globalization ties countries together, so when one country disintegrates, the disintegration is likely to spread through the system and pull many different countries with it (Sassen 1996, 33).

There is also one example about currency values. Globalization makes a currency ‘race to the bottom,’ with each state trying to get an export benefit by reducing its currency’s value. Approximately 10 years ago until 2013, the Georgian Lari (GEL) was quite steady. The following chart clearly shows the currency trend:

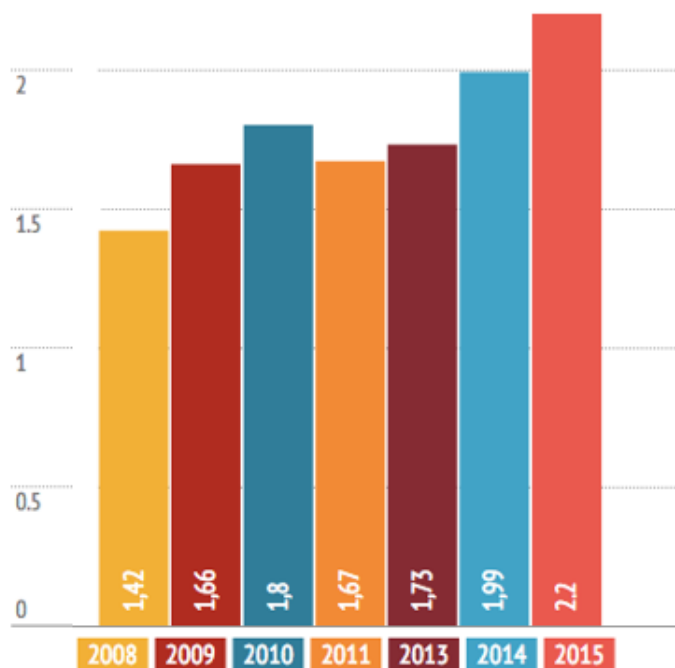


Figure 1. Exchange rates
Source: Compiled by the author

From the chart, it shows the GEL's trend over the years in comparison with 1.00 USD. However, Georgian government still believes that the country has achieved one of the highest export rates and tourism has flourished. Reports from the government indicate that both export as well as tourism will help national currency to return in to normal, but it is still fluctuating. Three and half years ago, one EUR was equal to 2.32 GEL and today it equals 3.2 (National Bank of Georgia, 2018).

For the economic nationalism Trump's idea – "America First" will be suitable since it is a part of immigration policy too. According to Polls 70% of Americans support Donald Trump's immigration policy and want Americans hired first (Bedard 2017, 1). After the election more than 1.3 million working places appeared and since the 2004 American manufacture shows highest index and average income raise. The struggle of Trump's administration against illegal immigration also played pivotal role in terms of economic success which ended with deportation of 2 million people.

Leaders of several countries have already started talking about immigration problems and unanimously confess that Merkel's immigration policy was a mistake. For example, Austria's

new foreign minister slams Merkel for migrant crisis and demands Orban-style border protection (Tomlinson 2018, 1) Also Prime Minister of Czechia said, “The EU will not dictate who should live in our country” (Babis 2018, 1). Donald Trump during his visit in Sweden told Sweden’s PM that “I proved to be right” after making claims last year that violence had spiked thanks to immigration (Schwab 2018, 1)

When such big events are happening all the time around the world Georgia still remains as a blind lazy person who wants nothing but a EU recognition. Country is on the brink of poverty. Pension is 180 GEL (60 EUR). Economy is collapsing and meanwhile government decide to set up fully funded scholarships for foreign students (Euronews 2018, 1) and the fact that thousands of local youth has halted student status because of the financial issue means nothing. During the last 25 years whole population of Georgian has been decreased by 1.7 million (Amirashvili 2015, 1). Mostly, during last 4 years Georgian populations decreased almost by 800 000 people (AGORA). People are leaving the country because of the poor economic situation and according to UN research Georgia is among top 5 nations on the brink of extinction (Info9 2017, 1).

4.2. Nationalism and Globalization: Future Prospective

Nationalism and Globalization’s as a controversial and simultaneously joint two phenomena’s interdependence births a highly interesting and hard question: What will be a fortune of nationalism and globalization in the future? Or how can we imagine their interdependence in future prospective?

To answer this question unambiguously is impossible. Many hypotheses exist, which can be put on the line according to their nature and there will be two extremely controversial answers at the end of this line:

1. *Future is for globalization.* The result of this process will be the convergence of world politics, economics, and culture. Borders between states will erase. Nation-states will end existence. Complete miscegenation will happen, and one world nation will be created. The disappearance of nations and states means the disappearance of nationalism and there will not be a place for nationalism in globalized world.
2. *Globalization is myth.* Neither integration nor mutual-understanding is not able to destroy the nations, languages, and cultures. But time by time national feelings will

wake up in many people and they will fight for the creation of their own national state. The future world's main nature will be a struggle between states and its own ethnic minorities. Therefore, nationalism's epoch comes.

It is obvious that there are not many people among scientists who support such kind of extreme processes.

4.3. Coexistence of Globalization and Nationalism: A View from Georgia

It is essential to determine the kind of coexistence that takes place between the two. Most people who are not content with globalization seek nationalism as the solution to their problems. Globalization is about the process in which the world is becoming interconnected due to the massive increase in cultural connection and trade. (Williamson 1998, 68). It signifies the deepening and intensification of the economic interdependence across borders.

The national identity serves to define boundaries of communities, which include those who belong to it and those who are not part. Nationalism is essential as it produces a sense of empowerment and solidarity among the people sharing a common ethnic, linguistic, and cultural background; hence, nationalism has to remain as the main determinant factor (Hobsbawm & Kertzer 1992, 4). In other words, nationalism must be the ruling power of globalization (Sassen 1996, 32).

There is fear that nationalism can be a threat to globalization process, which is justified when it becomes militant, aggressive, and intolerant of the international cooperation (Smith 2013, 233). Today many people understand nationalism as the ideology of trouble or less modern. People need to understand the meaning of nationalism as an ideology that acknowledges uniqueness of all nations and races (Williamson 1998, 66). Since, most people from the modern society have different understanding of this ideology claiming that there is only one race called the human race, there is no place for such individuals in a nationalist society. Every person tries to establish himself/herself into the society and if they cannot see themselves in nationalist society, they try to settle into something, which accepts them and their ideas (Shaffer 2000, 1). That is why there will always be agitations between nationalists and globalists. There is also one example why globalization in several aspects cannot survive in Georgia. Globalization spreads in Georgia according to the international standards. The international standards include

one of the most important parts, which is human rights, which is also essential for nationalists. According to the international human right rules for instance, same sex-marriage is one of the components of a democratic society (Hobsbawm & Kertzer 1992, 6). This will never be practical in Georgia, at least in the near future. In the country where majority of the population about 85% are Orthodox Christians and respects traditional values such laws in the name of 'human right' is likely to result to controversy in the nation as laws can never be above what is considered as moral (Collins 2015).

Most nations seek freedom in order to be the chiefs of themselves, to develop and find a way to establish themselves in the world. Globalization is an irreversible process that can truly destroy the nation's individualism and nationalism; however, if Georgia is strong enough with its traditions, culture, history, and inner-state situation, it will be able to keep up globalization in a way that it will not lose individualism and will be able to establish itself on the international arena. Moreover, it will be able to turn its own culture into a global culture and not vice versa.

CONCLUSION

While globalization and nationalism are critical in steering the development of a country such as Georgia, the latter's instrumentality in suppressing and addressing the negative effects of globalization remains supreme. In this paper, the researcher has looked at an in-depth discussion of globalization and nationalism. It has examined some of the issues that Georgia faces because of globalization and determined nationalism as the pivotal factor for not only nation building process, but also maintaining cultural identity. The paper also points out globalization's positive sides and does not eliminate the possibility of co-existence with nationalism, at least in some aspects such as economics. The research explored several factors of nationalism's driving forces in Georgia and concluded that nationalism exists and is likely to continue its existence in the country due to those factors.

Looking through the paper from the historical side, Georgia proves that nationalism is always one of the most determinant factors during hardships. Also, based on the historical examples nationalistic views almost never caused problems for multi-cultural Georgia, keeping in mind that most of the regions of the country were and are still diverse. Especially, Tbilisi, the country's capital city, has been hosting representatives of hundreds of different nationalities over the centuries.

There is a certain academic logic in a serious discussion on whether or not nationalism is more effective against globalization than the other ideologies like conservatism or traditionalism. Clearly, the Georgian example indeed shows that the country's response to globalization is bound by nationalism, which also includes some elements of both conservatism and traditionalism. Considering the fact that Georgia is a relatively small country, a total globalization can bring it on the edge of survival. Contextualizing it with the Georgian case, this paper's findings realistically suggest that, since international system is featured by a significant level of national diversity, it will not be possible to always treat the phenomenon of nationalism as a threat for other nations, because it acts according to the natural laws.

Nationalism is never a distinctly Georgian phenomenon, but it has been playing its essential role in history of many countries, providing for a range of certain benefits and in different periods of development. Since nationalism acknowledges uniqueness and distinctiveness of all ethnicities and races, it cannot be identified as a racist ideology as some experts perceive it to be, but a decent analysis conducted on nationalism can assist in foreseeing and addressing the dangers of colonialism and, to some extent, globalism, which can liquidate earth's diversity and make it featureless, monoculture gray mixture. In this paper, it assumed that different groups of people create reforms, make laws, and have interests, which supports the development and existence of those particular groups. This is a natural instinct of self-preservation.

This paper has analyzed several examples of Georgian immigration policy parts in the era globalization and has detected that nationalism is very much alive in Georgia. For further research, it would be interesting to learn how other ideologies such as conservatism, traditionalism, patriotism, or conservant-nationalism can foresee country's future and how they can resist negative effects of globalization. This could give the possibility to find out more beneficial ways, if any found, from each of those ideologies and combine them in order to support the successful development of the nation as a whole. Another alternative for further research would be the negative effects of nationalism related ideologies on Georgia in case these ideologies affect the equilibrium. Studying both positive as well as negative effects will help the government and the society to make better decisions.

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