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**The Socio-political and Cultural-economic
Relations of Georgia and Turkey at the
Modern Stage (1992-2012)**

Specialty: History of Georgia

Annotation

**of the dissertation submitted to obtain the degree of the
PhD in History**

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Relevancy of the research topic. The Republic of Turkey is the neighbor, friend and strategic partner of Georgia. Over the centuries, our relationship with the Ottoman Empire (the successor of which is today's Turkey) was developing in non-linear way: there were periods of confrontation and peaceful coexistence, military-political and cultural-economic relations. However, today the situation has changed: after restoration of State Independence of Georgia (April 9, 1991), the Republic of Turkey was one of the first states to recognize us as a subject of international law and gave us the helping hand in hard times.

This fact can be proved by the framework treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations signed in 1992. This very date and the 20-year period after that, we took as the chronological framework of this work, which we think is logical and justified.

The research period at first glance seems to be short, so it is very important to demonstrate and analyze it from today's point of view. The purpose why did we take 2012 as the upper limit of the chronological frame of the thesis was not just entering up the 2 decades. This is the year in the recent history of our country, when a peaceful change of government took place, bringing the domestic and foreign political relations of the country to a new stage of development.

The relations with Turkey has always been and still stays topical. Research of these relations becomes more and more topical at the modern stage, at first, because of our strive to the geopolitical space Turkey is a member of which: of course, we mean the North Atlantic Cooperation Organization (NATO) and cooperation within it and secondly, that the modern Turkey is our strategic ally, which is a new stage in our centuries-old relationship. It has replaced Russia to some extent and, as a member of NATO, has become our ally and greatest trading partner. And third, Turkey, as one of the strongest players in the region, has always had and still has its particular geopolitical interest in the Caucasus as a whole, and Georgia in particular. Realization of these interests was given greater scope after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Thus, development of relations with Georgia is also interesting in this context. These relations have a great impact on domestic and foreign policy of Georgia, its economic development, energy and regional security and finally, on state development of Georgia. Turkey, together with Georgia, is involved in regional and international energy projects. Georgia is

an important transit country of energy corridor that is why relations between the two countries play a major role in economic, political and strategic development and security of the region.

However, it should be noted that the use of soft power elements by Turkey may be considered as a challenge for these relations, which is quite visible in diplomatic, energy, economic, cultural, ideological-intellectual and other components of relations. This view is further supported by the fact that Turkish officials (President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister) often remind the international society about the borders of the former Ottoman Empire. Adjara, part of Guria and Samtskhe-Javakheti are also considered in this boundaries.

Goals and objectives of research. The goal of research is to study and present the socio-political and cultural-economic relations of Georgia in 1992-2012, in accordance with the requirements of modern historical science, based on the research and objective analysis of the scientific literature and sources, archival documents and official correspondence, show the dynamics of these relationships. It is impossible to demonstrate the relations of the two decades separately, without taking into account the reality of the 20th century. That is why in the first part of this paper, we focus on Georgian-Turkish relations during the period of Democratic Republic of Georgia, as well as the Soviet period; of course, at the initial stage of these relations, the processes taking place in whole Soviet Union should be taken into account, as well as disintegration of the union and the emergence of conflict zones; the detailed analysis of the treaty of 1992 seems as an important issue for us; the concluding part of the paper deals with Rose Revolution and position of Turkey towards the Russo-Georgian War of 2008 and other socio-economic aspects.

To achieve the mentioned goal, we set out the certain tasks. In particular, we need to find out what Georgian-Turkish socio-political, economic and cultural relations were at different historical stages and in the modern period; how did the dissolution of the Soviet Union affect Georgian-Turkish relations; to what extent is the soft power revealed in these relations, what is its impact and implications on security, socio-political and economic development of Georgia? In a paper qualification we took into account how the mentioned problems are studied, as well as the fact that there is a number of

contentious, less studied issues, that is why we have put all our efforts into a complex analysis of the political, economic, social, cultural relations that influence the changes in Georgian society and the development of the state.

The scientific novelty of the work will be that for the first time in Georgian historical science the political, economic, social, cultural and educational aspects of Georgian-Turkish relations will be fully represented. The possibilities of achieving the desired foreign policy goals by the state in a peaceful way, using the soft power theory, popular in the West, will be analyzed. At the modern stage, conclusions made after study and research of Georgian-Turkish relations will allow us to analyze the beneficial effects and challenges of these relations.

The theoretical-methodological basis of the work is the complex use of the principles and methods developed by modern historical science, such as chronological, historical-comparative, statistical, retrospective, political analysis and others.

While working on the paper, we used Georgian, Russian, English, Turkish documents, the materials of Central State Historical Archive of Georgia and Russia, Central Historical Archive of Adjara, the Fund of Manuscripts of Khariton Akhvlediani Adjara State Museum, National Parliament of Georgia, Batumi State University and Batumi Public Libraries, the monographs of Georgian and foreign authors, memoirs, articles and scientific literature, periodical press, internet resources, etc.

The theoretical and practical importance of the work. The work will be interesting with the recent history of Georgia and Turkey, the dynamics of neighborhood relations, its socio-political and economic aspects, for researchers and students interested in the geopolitics and worldviews of the great states. It can be used when preparing an appropriate educational course at universities. The research results, enclosed bibliographies may be useful when working on bachelor's, master's and other types of scientific research.

A history of studying the issue. The history of Georgian-Turkish relations is the subject of interest of many scholars and accordingly, the bibliography is quite comprehensive. In recent years, articles, monographs

have been published, dissertations have been defended, documents stored in various archives have been published, discussing new important aspects of Georgian-Turkish relations.

From the authors working on the subject of our interest, the most notable is the famous Orientalist, prof. Mikheil Svanidze. Although his writings mainly refer to the relatively earlier period of socio-political order of Turkey, Georgia-Turkey relations, but in his fundamental work - Turkish History, which for the first time fully demonstrates the way of life of our neighboring state in Georgian, the accent is made on relations with Georgia. The numerous papers on the issue of relations between the Democratic Republic of Georgia and Turkey have been published by researcher R. Kavrelishvili. His doctoral dissertation was devoted to the Turkish historiography of Georgian history of 1918-1921. It is noteworthy that Mr. Roin is actively using Ottoman-Turkish sources, contemporary advances in Turkish historiography that along with scientific innovation, adds more attractiveness and plausibility to his publications.

Emzar Pazhava's Monograph – The International Factor in South Caucasian Politics of Turkey is noteworthy for Turkish-Georgian relations (Tbilisi, 2017). The paper deals with defining the place and role of Georgia in Caucasian politics of Turkey. It discusses the dynamics of relations between these countries, the results achieved and the prospects for further development, focusing mainly on political, economic and military relations. Professor E. Makaradze studies the topical issues of modern Turkey, its domestic and foreign policy aspects. His monographs focus on issues such as the dissolution of Soviet system and intensification of the Turkish politics, laicism, turanism, relations with Georgia, framework treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations of 1992, etc. In his opinion, Georgia is an important partner for Turkey and considers it as the bridge leading to the South Caucasus and Central Asia. E. Makaradze is the author of a lecture course reflecting the last century of Turkish history, giving the helping hand to the students, as well as to other interested parties.

“Near East: Space, People and Politics” (Tbilisi, 2008) of R. Gachechiladze is also noteworthy, in which the author has thoroughly shown the problems of the Middle East region and peoples. One of the chapters is devoted to the Republic of Turkey, the peculiarities of its politics, role and impact on processes ongoing in the region. The book by Dimitri Tsetskhladze – Friend-

ship Continues (2005) is also very important within the terms of Georgian-Turkish cultural and foreign relations, with many other issues interesting for us.

The subject of our research for many years has been the interesting monographs of the Ambassador of Georgia to the Republic of Turkey, T. Lebanidze, focusing on the domestic politics of Turkey and the role of political parties in Turkish political life. The dissertation of the mentioned author is also dedicated to these problems. The stable development of Turkey is in the vital interests of our country, therefore, the analysis of these issues is of great importance in terms of the stages of development of the Georgian-Turkish relations.

At the dawn of independence of Georgia, in the early 1990s, the issues of conception and development of new neighborhood relationships and moving to a qualitatively new stage are interestingly presented in the book by Nodar Komakhidze, the first ambassador of independent Georgia to the Republic of Turkey – “Mezobelo Karisao” (The next door neighbor”) (1994).

Book of Maya Manchkhavili - Turkey at the end of XX century and at the beginning of XXI century is dedicated to presenting the socio-economic processes and political life of Turkey (Tbilisi, 2014). The work also deals with relations of Georgia and Turkey. According to the author, these relationships are diverse, capable of multilateral development and successful.

An interesting guide was published in 2014 under the stamp of TSU publishing house: Foreign Policy of Turkey (1990-2008). It deals with foreign priorities of Turkey, relations with the European Union, the USA, the Middle East and Central Asia.

It is noteworthy that the information about Caucasus is poorer, but it is still interesting from the point of view of tasks, facing the basics of Turkish politics and its foreign policy. Interest in study of Georgian-Turkish relations is also expressed in papers published in Turkish, Russian and European languages.

Of the works published in Turkish, the most noteworthy is the fundamental work of S. Sürmeli – Turkish-Georgian Relations (1918-1921), which contains interesting and noteworthy information for the relationship between the First World War and its subsequent three-year period. These are the years of existence of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, which is discussed in the

first chapter of our dissertation. This 700-page monograph details neighborhood relations from Erzincan talks to Treaties of Moscow and Kars.

The article - Turkish-Georgian relations of the Atatürk Period (2018) by Derya Çini Şimşek deals with relations of that period, interesting for us. The Georgian-Turkish relations are also discussed in the article - Trade relations of Turkey with Georgia and its impact on the Artvin trade (2016) by Münevver Katkat Özçelik. Especially noteworthy is the work of Yelda Demirağ - Turkish-Georgian Relations from Independence to the Rose Revolution. The article deals with the political, military and economic relations between our countries.

From Turkish authors, the most noteworthy is the “Stratejik Derinlik” (“The Strategic Depth”) by Ahmet Davutoğlu. This book, to some extent refers to the important issues of foreign policy and security of Georgia. Its doctrine provided the zero problems with neighbor countries. He considers that, even theoretically, there is no reason for Turkey to have some unresolved problems with its neighboring countries.

One should notice the publication of the collective of authors, Turkey and Eastern Partnership: the Foreign Policy of Turkey towards Post-Soviet Black Sea Neighbors, published in European scientific space. This quite fundamental work deals with issues such as the foreign policy of Turkey at the end of the Cold War, trade-economic, energy, educational and cultural relations of Turkey with its Black Sea neighbors. According to the authors, this regional direction in the foreign policy of Turkey takes one of the top positions.

The fundamental publication of the American Academy: Georgia after Rose Revolution is dedicated to the issues of the statehood and security of Georgia of the post-2003 period.

Some aspects of the problem we are interested in are discussed by the authors: Ali Faik Demir (South Caucasus from the Perspective of Foreign Policy of Turkey), A. Alkan (Black Sea Safety), A. Cecen (Turkey and Eurasia), G. Arshakyan (the main directions of Turkish-Georgian relations in the context of Turkish regional policy at the beginning of XXI century), Erik Davityan (The tripartite military pact between Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan), etc.

While working on the dissertation, we had to mention the numerous documents and agreements signed between the two states: the treaties of

Moscow and Kars; the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Turkey (1992), etc. It is noteworthy that many international conferences, symposia or seminars have been devoted to the problem of Georgian-Turkish relations both in Georgia and in the Republic of Turkey.

The materials related to research of Georgia-Turkey relations published in the periodic press, district of Batumi and events, taking place in Southwest Georgia are used in the dissertation, as well as to the activities and decisions of the government and the organizations operating here, socio-economic situation of Georgia, political, cultural and economic relations between Georgia and Turkey.

Approbation of the work. The work was successfully approbated in the Department of History, Archeology and Ethnology of BSU on October 9, 2019. A separate part of the paper was published in scientific journals in the form of the articles and was read at an international scientific conference.

Structure of the thesis. The thesis consists of an introduction, 3 chapters, 8 paragraphs and a conclusion. It is attached with a list of sources and scientific literature, as well as with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Turkey and a list of bilateral agreements concluded between the two countries in 1992-2012.

The introduction deals with the relevance of the topic, aims and objectives of the research, theoretical and methodological basis of the thesis, scientific innovation. The contemporary level of study of the subject are also presented in details, emphasizing the importance of individual sources and scientific literature.

Chapter I. At the outset of Georgian-Turkish relations
§ 1. Georgian-Turkish relations during the period of the
Democratic Republic of Georgia

The World War I was in its final phase by 1918. By virtue of paragraph 4 of the Treaty signed in Brest on 3 March, Russia lost influence on the districts of Ardahan, Kars and Batumi. Although not stated in the treaty, these districts were to be transferred to the Ottomans, which, contrary to the will of the local population, began their occupation and the restoration of the Russian-Ottoman state border in 1877. From March 14 to April 5, a trilateral armistice conference was held in Trabzon between the representatives of the Transcaucasus (Chairman A. Chenkeli) and the Ottomans, where it appeared that the main issue for the Ottomans were to recognize the terms of the Brest Armistice by the Transcaucasian authorities. Even it was impossible to stop the attacking military aggression and the Ottomans occupied Batumi on April, though they did not think to stop. On April 15, the Turkish party agreed to continue negotiations, now in occupied Batumi. The Transcaucasian delegation tried to curb the Ottoman aggression by some concessions. At the conference, the Turkish party put forward a draft treaty, in which Georgia was losing all the territories it had regained throughout the 19th century as a result of the Russian-Ottoman wars.

On May 26, Georgia declared independence and on May 28 signed an agreement with Germany, which recognized Georgia as de-facto. There was hope for survival of territorial integrity of the country. The German diplomatic demarche stopped the Ottoman military intervention in Georgia. On June 4, in the Friendship Agreement was signed between Georgia and Turkey, which granted Turkey access to the Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe Okrug from the Choloki River to Abastumni. It was decided in the political circles of Istanbul to merge the occupied territories directly to the empire by a plebiscite, which was followed by protests both - within the country as well as from the allies of Georgia, including Russia.

Soon after the outbreak of World War I, it was clear that the victory was on the allied side and the inevitable defeat of Germany and its supporters was only a matter of time.

On October 30, 1918, by the Armistice of Mudros, the Ottomans were forced to completely withdraw their troops from the Transcaucasia, and the

region was declared an area of British influence. On December 22, five British cruisers with 15-20 thousand military contingents entered Batumi port. The Major-General Cooke-Collis of Irish origin was appointed on the position of the Governor of Batumi. The Ottoman regime was over.

The Ottomans defeated in the war, indirectly tried to gain some dividends against Georgia and to screw up the situation in his southern part, but in vain.

The majority of Georgian Muslims were in favor of remaining autonomous within Georgia. Their leader was Memed Abashidze. On August 31, 1919, a meeting of Georgian Muslims, led by Memed Abashidze in Batumi, made a decision of remaining within Georgia, with the wide autonomy.

Soon the great opposition of the Sultanate Government appeared within the country, represented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which led the country to the diarchy and then to the declaration of a republican order.

It is noteworthy that the Kemalist Turkey appeared to continue the line of Sultanate government in regard to relations with Georgia. Although Turkey was in the midst of a severe crisis, internal strife, and civil war with imperialist states from the end of 1918 to 1921, it still managed to make claims on the historic provinces of Georgia. Moreover, according to Article 2 of the Turkish National Pact adopted on January 28, 1920 by Mustafa Kemal (the so-called "National Testament"), the new Turkey would include the districts of Old Batumi and Kars within its borders:

Upon the withdrawal of the English troops from Batumi, the government of Ankara sent a protest note to Georgia on 25 July 1920, reminding that Batumi and the Batumi District (Batumi Sanjak) were returned to Turkey by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Batumi. This strained relations.

On September 24, 1920, Turkey began a war with Armenia, which went on to its advantage. Under such circumstances, the Kemalist authorities did not further escalate their relations with Georgia. Atatürk, on the other hand, viewed Georgia as a buffer zone for Russian invasion of Anatolia.

On October 23, 1920, Kazim Bey (Dirich) was sent to Tbilisi as the ambassador of the new government, and Simon Mdivani was appointed as the Ambassador of Georgia to Ankara. In February 1921, Mustafa Kemal received credentials from the Georgian ambassador and arranged a warm meeting for him during which the parties expressed the bilateral wishes to continue friendship and peaceful relations. On February 8, Turkey officially

recognized the independence of Georgia and the diplomatic relations were established.

§ 2. Relations of Georgia and Turkey during the Soviet period

On February 11-12, 1921, large-scale military intervention by the Soviet Russia against the Democratic Republic of Georgia began with the aim of annexing the country and forcing its Sovietization. On February 25, the Georgian government left Tbilisi. On March 4, the Red Army occupied Sokhumi, and on March 10 - Kutaisi. At the same time, Turkey also launched hostilities against Georgia, the troops of which appeared on the outskirts of Batumi on March 11.

Noe Zhordania, the Head of the Government, thought that Turkey would provide military assistance to Georgia in the battle against the Bolsheviks, but in return, the Ankara government demanded concession of the Ardahan and Artvin districts, and conduct of the "nominal" plebiscite in Batumi district. On February 22, Turkey called on Georgia to leave Ardahan and Artvin. The next day Georgia withdrew troops from the region. Noe Zhordania thought that this would eliminate misunderstanding, but the target of Turkey was Batumi. The so-called Chorokhi Grouping was set up to attack Batumi, which obeyed the seventh regiment. At the same time, the Turkish government has diplomatically tried to avoid a possible military confrontation with Russia. The Georgian government also agreed to the occupation of Batumi by Turkey, provided that the Georgian government would have civil governance and sovereign rights over the district. On March 11, the first echelon of Turks entered the city. By March 15, their troops had reached 3,500.

It became clear for N. Zhordania that the Turks were not going to help the Democratic Republic of Georgia and engage in war against Russia, so he decided to hold talks with representatives of Soviet Russia to maintain Batumi. In Kutaisi, an agreement was reached on immediate cease of the hostilities. The democratic government allowed the troops of the Revolutionary Committee to enter the district of Batumi.

In such situation, the Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood of Russia and Turkey was signed on March 16, resolving the issue of Batumi in favor of Georgia.

On March 17, a Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee was formed headed by S. Kavtaradze. The Reds began to bring military units into the city by train, but they were not enough to liberate the city. However, the Revolutionary Committee, as the official structure, did not want open confrontation with Turks, that's is why the battle for the liberation of Batumi from the Turks was led by the army, remaining in Batumi of the Democratic Georgia and its Commander, G. Mazniashvili.

After the bloody battles of March 18-19, the Georgians won, on March 20 the Turks decided to leave the city. 84 Georgians were killed in the operation to liberate Batumi. It was with their self-sacrifice that Georgia was able to maintain Batumi.

The provisions, drawn up in Moscow on March 16, 1921 were reflected in a document signed in Kars later, on October 13, 1921. In fact, the issue related to bordering of Transcaucasian republics with Turkey, without asking the heads of these republics, was decided in Moscow at first and the Soviet Azerbaijan, Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia confirmed the compromise between the two empires with signatures of their representatives in Kars.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia has not been formally existing independently for a long time. It has been in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics since 1922 and the relations with neighboring states (including Turkey) before breaking the union should be evaluated in this regard. Accordingly, the problem of our interest should be discussed in the context of the USSR-Turkey relationship.

Creation of the Soviet Union banished Turkey from this region for many decades, and since 1952, after accession of Turkey in NATO, the iron curtain fell at the border and the contacts diminished.

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union, as a winner state, made territorial claims against Turkey - to restore the border between the USSR and Turkey by 1878, provided the districts of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin, lost in 1921, to be returned to Armenia and Georgia that would become basis for signing a new Treaty of Friendship with Turkey.

The territorial issue has been actively discussed in the Georgian and Armenian society during this period. On December 14, 1945 the newspaper

article “On our legal claims to Turkey” by Simon Janashia and Niko Berdzenishvili was published in the newspaper “Communist”. This publication was followed by articles by Arnold Chikobava, David Zavriev, Ekvtime Taikaishvili and others.

In parallel, the world diplomat actively took action against the Soviet Union. America devised a plan for the atomic attack on USSR, which led the USSR leaders to abandon their territorial claims.

Soon after the death of Stalin, a relevant note was sent to Ankara. Hereby, Georgia lost the chance to return Tao-Klarjeti, as well as Göle-Ardahan and Lazet-Chaneti.

Chapter II. Political situation and socio-economic relations between Georgia and Turkey in the post-Soviet period

§ 1. The geopolitical interests of Turkey after dissolution of the Soviet Union

At the end of 70's and of the beginning of 80's of XX century, the crisis of the Soviet system had become all-embracing. The level of industry has fallen, and the situation in agriculture has been deplorable. The Soviet farms could no longer supply the country. Transport stopped working. The urban farming could no longer function normally. The prices of products increased, which led population to difficult situation. The Soviet authorities continued to oppress the non-Russian people.

Mikhail Gorbachev and his supporters, who came to power of the USSR in 1985 began the so-called transformation policy that affected all fields of life, but it did not bear the fruits that its supporters and activists expected.

On December 26, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union adopted the declaration on dissolution of the Soviet Union, which was preceded by the decision to create the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) two weeks before, signed by the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarussian leaders in the Belavezha Forest near Brest.

After dissolution of the Soviet Union, the balance of power at the regional and world levels changed. The so-called Cold War ended with the Soviet Union – the confrontation between East and West. This has given the Republic of Turkey new opportunities, one of the main goals of which was

to attain a leadership role in the South Caucasus region and increase its influence. Dissolution of the Soviet Union allowed Ankara to change its traditional foreign policy behavior and form new strategic orientations. It began emphasized demonstration of its ethnic, historical and cultural connection with the post-Soviet southern states.

Of course, the interest in cooperation was mutual. Interest of Georgia towards Turkey was conditioned by the fact that the latter is a member of NATO and was considered as the kind of bridge along this way, but Turkey had the far-reaching and global plans, for which it was actively using the so-called "soft power" policy that gained the complete image at the beginning of XXI century.

The first use of the term "Soft Power" in science is connected with the Professor of Harvard University, Joseph Nye. This is an opportunity to reach your goal through attraction, not through the force. Consequently, the political, economic, social, cultural, and other means were given priority to pressure and achieve the goals.

Nongovernmental institutions, where serious financial resources are mobilized, play an important role in soft power policy. We may consider the factor of religion in the same direction. Religion is also one of the components of the great chain engaged in the creation of public opinion. We can say that the characteristics of soft power policy are found in everyday life, the successful work of which is detrimental to national security.

Turkish soft power plays a special role for its geographical location, which links Southeast Europe and Southwest Asia with each other. Turkey has a multilateral business relationship with neighboring states for realization of soft power. It actively uses the political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and other means for implementation of its interests.

Turkey is continuously negotiating with the countries of the region and proposes to develop a strategic partnership, to open language and culture centers and organizations, establish international universities and schools in the region.

The strategy "zero problems with neighbors" is the basis for the Turkish soft power policy in Caucasus. Turkey often comes up with the idea that neighboring states should be maximally involved in regional and international projects, to foster closer relations and develop strategic partnerships. The

influence of Turkey is also increasing as it is a guarantor of security in the region of South Caucasus as a NATO member state.

In the post-Soviet countries, "soft power" is manifested in its cultural expansion, in high quality Turkish soap operas, in the opening of educational institutions, including universities, the graduates of which express a sense of loyalty towards the foreign country. Such schools were opened in Georgia too, in 1990s.

One of the contributors to soft power is lobbyism, which implies influence on high-ranking legislative and state officials, further enhancing its ability to use it for intelligence purposes. One of the preconditions for lobbying groups and strengthening of lobbying influence, which actually creates and enhances the interest groups of different states.

The politics of soft power are in some way correlated with the ideology of Neo-Ottomanism (Neo-Osmanism) the primary purpose of which is to spread the field of influence. In the last decade of XX century, the coherent transformation of Pan-Turkism in neo-Pan-Turkism is remarkable.

The difference between these two ideological orientations is that the neo-Pan-Turkism is considered by Turkey as an instrument for bringing Turkish-speaking populations of Central Asia, Russia and the Caucasus into their space, whereas Neo-Ottomanism is a peculiar ideological basis of a poly-cultural society that includes the non-Turkish societies.

§ 2. The framework treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between Georgia and Turkey of 1992

Various initiatives for cooperation and regional integration have been included in the agenda by the Turkish leaders since 90s of XX century, the most notable of which was the initiative of the President Turgut Özal to set up the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). The purpose of this organization is to establish the stability and peace in the region bypassing economic issues.

Along with the above mentioned, in terms of bilateral relations, the framework treaty signed with the Republic of Turkey in 1992 was the most important for Georgia. The Republic of Turkey was one of the first countries to officially recognize the independence of Georgia on December 16, 1991,

a week before the Tbilisi Civil War. The diplomatic relations were established on May 21, 1992.

During the first official visit of Hikmet Çetin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Eduard Shevardnadze, the Chairman of the State Council of the Republic of Georgia since the dissolution of Soviet Union, the political, economic and cultural issues of mutual interest were discussed. The logical continuation of this meeting of high-level delegation to Tbilisi. At the end of July 1992, an official delegation of the Turkish government headed by Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel arrived in Georgia.

In his speech, Demirel: "Turkey will always be next to its neighbor. We have one border, one sea, one interest. Our path is the path of close political, economic, cultural cooperation". Eduard Shevardnadze focused on the fact that after gaining the Independence, such a high-level visit is important for Georgia. Noting the growing role of Turkey, he said that Turkey is a great state with its intellectual potential and especially with its great future.

The issues of political, economic and cultural importance for both parties were discussed during talks. On July 30, the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations was signed between Georgia and Turkey, which became the legal basis for relations between the two countries.

The treaty consists of fifteen articles. According to the principle included in it, the relationship between the two states was to be formed on the basis of new principles of international relations. The treaty is preceded by a preamble stating that the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Turkey will respect the sovereign status of each other and rely on independence, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers and the principles of non-intervention in the affairs of one another. The states will comply with the agreements signed between them, beginning with the Treaty of Kars of October 13, 1921. However, it also states that the Parties will comply with the provisions of this Agreement in the light of their laws, existing practices and their international obligations. Accordingly, the legislation of our country and current practice do not form the basis for a new interpretation of certain articles of the treaty.

The treaty sets out in detail the principles on which cooperation should be built. The parties agreed to develop and expand their relations in the fields of politics, economics, trade, scientific technical, agriculture, science,

transport, culture, information, tourism, sports and other fields. The treaty also sets forth the cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries, exchange of governmental and other delegations, establishment of personal contacts, development of direct cooperation in the field of culture and art.

The treaty was concluded for ten years. It shall continue for a further five years unless either party notifies the other party on termination three months prior the expiry date.

Six important documents were signed except the mentioned treaty: "Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Education, Science, Culture and Sports"; "Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation"; "Agreement on Mutual Incentives and Protection of Investments"; "Agreement on Air Traffic"; "Agreement on International Transportation" and "Maritime Agreement".

On September 28, 1992, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey decided to ratify the treaty of relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Turkey. The similar resolution was adopted by the Parliament of Georgia on 25 March, 1993.

A new stage of Turkish-Georgian relations began after signing the treaty, about which an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia in the Republic of Turkey wrote: "The relations of Georgia and Turkey have great prospects. Georgia is an important country in the region with its geopolitical and strategic location and can play the role of a bridge between West and East, North and South. "

By recognition of the Independence of Georgia in December, 1991 and the treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations signed on July 30, 1992 began to grow into a strategic partnership.

§ 3. The socio-economic and cultural relations of Georgia and Turkey in 90s

Since the 1990s, Georgia, like almost post-communist states embarked on a previously unknown path of economic reform. Unfortunately, for Georgia, unlike other countries, this process was particularly difficult, not just for economic reasons, but primarily because of non-economic factors. Georgia has endured the patriotic, as well as the civil wars, extreme aggravation of criminogenic situation, energy and transport blockades, revolution, etc.

As for Turkey, in light of the complicated Armenian-Azerbaijani and Armenian-Turkish relations, Georgia is its only corridor, which links Turkey with the most important partner in the Caucasus - Azerbaijan and the Turkish-speaking countries of Central Asia. That is to say, within the terms of blocked Armenia, it is the shortest way for Turkey to access Caspian energy resources. Furthermore, according to Turkish geopolitical logic, Georgia should become a buffer zone between Turkey and Russia. From an economic point of view, Georgia is also interesting for Turkey as a small but stable market for its own products. For its part, Georgia considered Turkey as a counterbalance to Russia and a "window of Europe".

Since the 1990s, Turkey has positioned itself as a Eurasian country with growing geopolitical interests. It actively pursues a foreign policy course aimed at strengthening regional positions. Neighborhood with countries, three-quarters of the oil and gas resources of world are located, gains additional hue to its policy.

The large number of diasporas of the Caucasian peoples in Turkey greatly influences the policy of Ankara towards Transcaucasian countries. According to some data, their number is estimated at 7 million. The representatives of this diaspora include politicians, businessmen, parliamentarians, journalists and even Turkish army officers. Ankara is trying to use them to increase its influence in the Caucasus. Turkey was objectively interested in maintaining tensions in the North Caucasus, especially in Chechnya, as this factor was the basis for the additional argument in favor of Baku-Ceyhan pipeline construction bypassing Russia.

In the mid-1990s, Turkey allocated 1 billion USD to the countries of Transcaucasia and Central Asia. Of course, in the Transcaucasia, priority was given to Azerbaijan by Ankara. The first years of relations with Georgia were relatively passive, due to the fact that Turkey was interested in getting into closer relations with Azerbaijan and Central Asian countries, while in its relations with Georgia, Turkey was interested in its stability as a corridor. Since the mid-1990s, the Georgian-Turkish relations have developed rapidly, prompted by Georgia joining CIS. This would potentially strengthen Russia in the region and call into question the possibility of implementing a "Turkish model" in Turkish-speaking states.

The Turkish-Georgian relations entered a more active phase after 1996, what is connected with the name of Süleyman Demirel. This further facili-

tated trade between the parties, which had already a substantial character in 1990s and Turkey became the main trading partner of Georgia with up to 20 percent of total trade in 1995. In 1990s, its share in total foreign turnover remained 15 percent for the following decades, twice more than the trading share with second largest trading partner of Georgia - Ukraine.

It is very important factor that Georgia has gained a priority for Turkey in implementation of the energy projects of the region. Yet in 1999, a decision was made at OSCE Istanbul Summit to involve Georgia in major projects as a transit country. During the official visit to Georgia in 1998, M. Ilmaz, the Prime Minister talked about importance of Georgia in foreign policy of Turkey, noting that Georgia is a state with which Turkey has common interests and that Turkey is ready to cooperate with Georgia in all fields.

The trade turnover of Turkey with Georgia increased by several times in the 1990s and exceeded the share of Russia here. Forty-five Turkish food industry firms operated in Georgia in the fields of communications, transport, construction, etc. In Georgia from the 1990s to 2000, the military-technical and the military-political cooperation with Turkey is particularly intensified, which is reflected in material and technical assistance, training of human resources, etc.

In this regard, the reform of the United Military Academy of Georgia is remarkable, participation of Georgian platoon in Turkish peacekeeping battalion in Kosovo, as well as the grant program of Turkey for Georgia in the military field and its support on the way to Euro-Atlantic integration, etc.

On the basis of the agreement of 1999, Ankara allocated 1.125 million USD for Georgia with the help of Turkish specialists for the reconstruction of a military airfield in Marneuli. The Turkish party handed over the military cutters to Georgia to control Georgian borders. With the help of Turkish instructors a special military brigade of Kojori was trained, some military bases were repaired and equipped with the latest equipment. Another initiative of the economic nature of the Turkish authorities to set up the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), by which Turkey actually paved the way for Turkish businessmen and private sector representatives to make small and large investments in the post-Soviet space.

Although Turkey recognizes the territorial integrity of Georgia, but still maintains close ties with Abkhazia. This fact clearly indicates that Turkey is

making every effort to pursue its own interests and to expand its influence in the region. Turkey, at the non-governmental level, is closely cooperating with the de facto authorities of Abkhazia both at the economic and public levels. The fact that there are also varied ties between Turkey and the separatist region of Abkhazia, casts a shadow over relations between Georgia and Turkey.

Chapter III. Georgian relations at the current stage. (2003-2012)

§ 1. Rose Revolution and the new phase in relations with Turkey

Changes in the foreign policy of Turkey have been taking place since 2002, prompting a change of government. “The Justice and Development Party” comes to power. The foreign strategy of this political force was determined by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President and Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Prime Minister. They consider Turkey as a major independent force with its own geostrategic interests. The goal of the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey has been to create the circle of friendly states within the perimeter of its borders.

This new policy implies bringing the historical and cultural similarities of the countries, the Ottoman heritage, to the forefront. His opposers, whether inside or outside the country, called this policy Neo-Ottomanism. During this period, Turkey continues to maintain close friendly and economic relations with neighboring states, except Armenia.

If previously the South Caucasus was associated with problems, everyone tried to keep off which, then, in line with plans of Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Prime Minister of that period, Ankara offered a strategy for resolving the problems instead of seeing them.

The Turkish-Georgian relations entered a new phase after the new political force, headed by Mikheil Saakashvili came to power in November 2003 after the Rose Revolution. Turkey was one of the first states to express its readiness to cooperate with the new government. Georgia has already begun to rid itself of Russian influence, drawing closer to the West and Turkey, which it considers the representative of West in the region. M. Saakashvili estimated this situation as follows: Previously, Russia was a window into the world for us. Now this window is Turkey. Especially from

this period, it seems that political relations have reached a level of strategic partnership.

It is interesting that in the National Security Concept of Georgia of 2005, Turkey is referred to as a "central regional partner", while in the version of 2011 of the same conception, this wording was changed to "the main partner Georgia in the region."

On May 22, 2004, the President of Georgia paid an official visit to Ankara. Saakashvili focused on the need to maintain and deepen the existing relationship. This was followed by the return visit of the Prime Minister Erdoğan in August of the same year. The Georgian-Turkish relations have entered a new active phase.

In March 2006, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer paid a visit to Georgia, who reiterated on the need for close cooperation between the two countries.

In recent years, Turkey has been the main trading partner of Georgia. The trade turnover amounted to 300 million USD by 2004, while the Turkish capital invested here consisted of 100 million USD. One of the reasons for this is the purchase of the desired products in Turkey at a favorable price and its trouble-free transportation. Turkey mainly imports construction materials from Georgia due to the demand of the domestic market, followed by the paper products, home appliances, clothing and other products.

In 90s, as well as at the beginning of new century, the black metal, ferroalloy, automobiles and knitwear were exported from Georgia. Since 2012 wheat exports have also started. One of the examples of close cooperation is the abolition of the visa regime between the two countries on February 10, 2006. Since 2012, the citizens of both countries do not even need an international passport to cross the common border; an ID card is enough for it. Moreover, Georgia signed a free trade agreement with Turkey in 2007.

The total value of annual imports from Turkey has been higher since 2007 than the total value of goods and services imported from Russia. Currently, the economic impact of Turkey on Adjara is significant, most of Turkish investments come on this very region, mainly in small and medium-sized enterprises. Except for its geographical proximity to Turkey, Turkish companies are attracted by the expectation that Batumi will become an international tourist center.

Moreover, Turkey is also trying to strengthen its political position. After revising the foreign policy of Turkey towards the South Caucasus and change of its approaches towards the region, Turkey has been demonstrating its power in the South Caucasus. In this regard, the Turkish diplomacy has been actively working for the last two decades. Ankara has offered the South Caucasus states and the international community two models for resolving regional security issues. However, the Stability Pact for the Caucasus nor the Security Platform of the Caucasus failed to become the subject of real discussion as Russia differently understands the security in South Caucasus and at the same time, its sphere of interest does not include increasing the influence of other forces in the region.

Despite the political-economic relations that the Ankara government has with South Caucasus, the relations of Turkey with countries of the region are still different. The relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan are relatively clear and interconnected. Turkish Government recognizes Georgia and Azerbaijan as young partner states, by establishing and improving relations with these countries, Turkey will manage to achieve its goal and become the energy transceiver for the European countries.

These relationships will also ensure the growth of Turkish capital in other sectors in Georgia and Azerbaijan and create an additional market for services.

§ 2. The Russo-Georgian War of 2008 and the position of Turkey

In the twentieth century, the world was accustomed that the Caucasus and Central Asia were under the influence of the Soviet Union, but with dissolution of USSR, the West and especially the United States are trying to become the major player in the region. One of the main goals is to supply oil bypassing Russia and prevent Moscow from regaining control of the region. In solving this problem, Georgia was considered as the most acceptable, West-oriented country, via which the vast oil resources of the region would be safely transported.

The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline was completed in 2005 to transport oil through Georgia, which should be considered a success of US policy. The pipeline provided diversification of energy resources, which was of particular importance due to the instability of the Middle East region.

In terms of energy independence, Georgia is an important link for the EU. It is through its territory that oil and gas pipelines can supply energy from the Caspian region bypassing Russia. In other words, if Georgia could maintain the territorial integrity, it would become a country able to reduce the energy dependence of West on Russia. However, after the 2008 war, it became clear that this project was not safe. The escalation of the conflict of so-called South Ossetia and recognition of independence of South Ossetia by Russia have called into question the stability of the region.

The solution here was to freeze the conflict. That is why the West has begun serious talks with Russia on enlargement of NATO. The US had to suspend its decision to deploy the antimissile systems in Eastern Europe, while Saakashvili had to stop the rhetoric as if Georgia is already a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Moscow had to adapt to the status quo in the Caucasus despite recognition of independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Turkey cannot consider this conflict solely as a confrontation between Georgia, so-called South Ossetia and Russia.

Russia is at the epicenter of this confrontation. Turkey, due to its strategic interests, supports the territorial integrity of Georgia on principle. However, the peoples resettled from the North Caucasus living in the Turkish territory are distinguished by their sympathy for the Ossetians. But Ankara is interested in deepening strategic relations with Moscow. In this situation, it is hard to imagine that Turkey would openly support any party.

During the conflict, Ankara took a passive stance, unless humanitarian measures are taken into account. On August 11-12, the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the President, Abdullah Gül made a statement (Erdoğan arrived in Moscow on August 13 and in Tbilisi on August 14, a day after the visit of French President, Sarkozy).

In case of Turkey, as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the Prime Minister of the country stated, the Russo-Georgian war is dangerous, as Turkey is the direct neighbor of Georgia. That is why Erdoğan urged the Russian and Georgian leaders to stop hostilities in Georgia. It is noteworthy, that a telephone conversation has taken place between Abdullah Gül, the President of Turkey and Dmitry Medvedev, the Russian President of that period and discussed the need of taking measures that would guarantee peace and security in the region.

§ 3. The socio-economic and cultural aspects of Georgian-Turkish relations in 2000s

As it was mentioned above, relations of Turkey with Georgia have been developing particularly rapidly since the Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002. Using the economic, political, cultural tools of the "soft power", Turkey actively entered Georgia and has a significant influence on it.

The main directions of the "soft power" policy of Turkey include economic and cultural cooperation, popularization of Turkish language and cooperation in the field of education and science. Implementation of this policy in Georgia, to some extent, was facilitated by the foreign policy of our country since the Rose Revolution, when Mikheil Saakashvili came to power and declared relations with Turkey as one of the priorities of foreign policy of the country. The political processes within the two countries have brought them closer together. These relations were further strengthened after the opening of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline (July 2006) and the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline (March 2007), as well as the exploitation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project.

Implementation of energy projects take an important place in Turkish-Georgian relations of which the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) project is the most significant from the geopolitical and economic point of view.

The project has a major impact on Turkish-Georgian relations and takes the special place in Turkish foreign policy. Since beginning of 1990s, the Turkish government has made every effort to supply the world market with oil of Caspian region via the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline through Turkey. Laying the groundwork for the project was vital for Georgia due to the fact that the country was in a difficult socio-economic situation after dissolution of Soviet Union and the project allowed to improve this situation.

The length of the pipeline is 1760 kilometers. The length of the pipeline in Azerbaijan is 442 kilometers, in Georgia 248 kilometers and 1070 kilometers in Turkey. The Turkish government has made great effort to implement the Baku-Ceyhan project. Implementation of this project implies in itself leaving Russia out of running, which, in 1990s, had a major influence on the Caucasus and Caspian Sea and represented the main controlling state. Therefore, implementation of this project was unacceptable for Russia, as it

would be followed by appearance of other states in Caucasus, Central Asia and Caspian region.

For carrying out the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline project “The Ankara Declaration” was signed by Süleyman Demirel - the President of Turkey, Heydar Aliyev - the President of Azerbaijan, Eduard Shevardnadze - the President of Georgia, Nursultan Nazarbayev - the President of Kazakhstan and Islam Karimov – the President of Uzbekistan on October 29, 1998. At the Istanbul Summit in November 1999, the Turkish government signed the guarantee agreement, undertaking an obligation to pay the prime cost for competitiveness of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline from the commercial point of view, if it exceeded 2.7 billion USD. This agreement also provided for the completion of BTC pipeline construction in four and a half years.

Construction of one of the longest BTC pipelines in the world was launched on September 18, 2002 in Baku and was put into operation on May 25, 2005, when the section of Azerbaijan was opened. The section on the territory of Georgia was opened on October 12, 2005. The pipeline became fully operational in 2006. At about 4 billion USD was spent for construction of the pipeline.

The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline is not the energy project of only economic, but also of geopolitical importance. This is the first project implemented in the region without participation of Russia. The project changed the geopolitical balance in the South Caucasus. BTC was considered by the Georgian side as a vital project for our country. Georgia was becoming one of the key links of the significant chain that would ensure delivery of oil from the Caspian Sea to Europe from Turkey, via Georgia and what is most important, bypassing Russia.

Political, trade and economic relations between Turkey and Georgia have been developing successfully since the 1990s. The most exported products to Turkey were electricity, metals, fertilizers, clothing, fish and automobiles; while the most imported products from Turkey were metals, pharmaceuticals, furniture, paper, cables, etc.

By 2011, Turkey had the largest share in the import of Georgia – more than 18%, while the share of Russia consisted of 5,5%, 8,6% of Azerbaijan, 10% of Ukraine. Turkey was taking the leading place between countries exporting from Georgia.

Except for economic and trade relations, there have been and are close ties between Turkey and Georgia in the fields of education and culture, which have been particularly developed in the last two decades.

The cultural and scientific relations have deepened since Turkish-Georgian relations were restored at the state level. The students, scientists, doctoral students have been sent to Turkish and Georgian universities. Exchange of the art masters, as well as amateur artistic collectives became of the systematic nature. Any Georgian citizen, whose education is funded by the Republic of Turkey, can receive education at higher education institutions of Turkey. The field of education and culture serve to bring the nations closer and help them to deepen their relations, as well as bring people together. Therefore, this relation, which began in the late 90s, has become one of the good opportunities for Georgian and Turkish people to come together in an "informal" environment. These relationships are getting deeper by the day.

CONCLUSION:

- At the dawn of proclamation of a Democratic Republic of Georgia, Georgian-Turkish relations failed to develop within neighborly frames. According to the Treaty of Brest, the Ottomans occupied Southwest Georgia, Batumi District in April 1918. Unfortunately, no compromise was reached at the Trabzon and Batumi conferences.

- One of the first states (after Germany) to recognize the independence of Georgia, was Turkey. This was practically at the expense of concession of Batumi, but this ultimately did not save the country from Soviet occupation.

- On the basis of the results of so-called "referendum" held in July 1918, the Sultan's government declared Ardahan and Batumi united with Ossetia, but it was recognized not only by Georgia, but by no other state, including Germany, the ally of Turkey as it was conducted under illegal and violent conditions. In 1919, the Turkish authorities attempted to disrupt the situation by establishing a so-called "Republic of Kars" in the south of Georgia, but this attempt ended in failure. During this period, Turkey itself faced a great challenge - the threat of fragmentation of the country, which, in the early 20s, with the efforts of Mustafa Kemal, was overcome by Turkey.

- In February 1921, Kemalist Turkey recognized Georgia within its borders, but this new neighborhood-friendly relationship did not last as long as the country became a victim of Bolshevik aggression within a few weeks.

- In March 1921, Batumi again faced the threat of Turkish separation from Georgia. However, due to the great opposition of the Georgian people and the agreement reached in Moscow, this attempt, fortunately, failed.

- On March 16, 1921, a treaty was signed between Russia and Turkey in Moscow, which outlined the key provisions reflected in a document signed in Kars on October 13, 1921. In fact, the issue related to bordering of Transcaucasian republics with Turkey, without asking the heads of these republics, was decided in Moscow at first and the Soviet Azerbaijan, Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia confirmed the compromise between the two empires with signatures of their representatives in Kars. An unrecognized Bolshevik Russia signed a treaty with unrecognized Kemalist Turkey in Moscow on territories (by the way) that did not formally belong to them. In Kars, the terms of Moscow Treaty was confirmed by representatives of the Soviet Georgian government, who did not express the will of the Georgian people and came to power several months earlier, supported by the foreign power, through military aggression.

- Since 1922 Georgia has been one of the allies of the Soviet Union, accordingly, Georgian-Turkish relations are discussed in the context of USSR-Turkey relations. In the post-World War II period, the major problems in the relations between the two countries, along with the straits, were conflicts with the issue of historical territories of Georgia and Armenia. Since December 1945, the Georgian side has also been actively involved in the campaign for the return of lands, seized by Turkey. The Soviet Union made claims against Turkey, which gradually became the ground for the first confrontation between the West and the East. World diplomacy was actively launched against the Soviet Union. Finally, on May 30, 1953, the USSR was forced to formally abandon the territorial claims of the Soviet Union towards Turkey and refuse gaining of these lands. By this, Georgia finally lost the chance to return Tao-Klarjeti, as well as Göle-Ardahan and Lazet-Chaneti.

- The Republic of Turkey managed to fundamentally change the ethnic and demographic picture of these provinces during almost the entire second half of the 20th century. Most Georgians were exiled to the Turkish provinces, which was a great tragedy for our nation.

- Turkey was one of the first states to recognize the independence of Georgia, the Turkish authorities at that time sought to take steps to intensively develop the political-economic relations between Georgia and Turkey. Neighboring Turkey has played a positive role for Georgia in a difficult economic and financial situation. Under these conditions, Georgia was in dire need of new partners and capabilities, providing food and basic consumer goods. Such support immediately emerged from Turkey, which became the leading export partners and investors of Georgia for several years one.

- If the Ottoman Empire had historically used the "hard force" to preserve Georgia, since 90s and especially, from the beginning of XXI century, it has chosen a "soft power" policy. Despite a number of positive moments in the relations between the two states, the activation of the Turkish soft power is associated with certain threats and poses a number of challenges for Georgia.

- In post-Soviet countries, including in Georgia, the Turkish "soft power" is demonstrated in its economic, cultural, educational expansion – in high quality soap operas, educational institutions, including universities, the sense of loyalty towards the foreign country.

- According to Georgian and foreign authors, the use of soft power today is an important part of Turkish neighborhood policy in order to influence the countries of the region. In its turn, lobbyism the constituent part of the soft power, which is actively used in political, economic, cultural, military, educational fields and is manifested in various forms.

- One of the targets of soft power policy is economic relations and penetration into the national market, influence and conquer of the market. Consequently, such influx of Turkish companies into Georgia may be conditioned by the Turkish influence, which is explained by the influence on Georgian officials and decision-makers.

- Its relations with Abkhazia can also be seen as a manifestation of Turkish soft power policy. Turkey recognizes the territorial integrity Georgia, but closely cooperates with the de facto authorities of Abkhazia at the economic and social level. There are more ethnic Abkhazians living in Turkey today than in Abkhazia itself. Consequently, it is fertile ground for action. Abkhazian diaspora groups of Turkey serve as lobbying organizations of the Turkish government and they can be used in different directions –

Turkish governmental circles, informal, communication, economic, cultural, etc.

- After dissolution of Soviet Union, the new phase of Georgian-Turkish relations began. On July 30, 1992, Eduard Shevardnadze, the President of Georgia and Süleyman Demirel, the Prime Minister of Turkey signed agreement, the preamble of which envisaged the following: "The Parties declare to abide the treaties and agreements signed between them, beginning from the Treaty of Kars of October 13, 1921.

- Turkey has somehow replaced Russia and, as a NATO member, has become the strategic ally and the largest trading partner of Georgia. Today the Turkish private sector is the largest investor in the Georgian economy. There is a free trade regime between the countries. There is a simplified way of traveling for citizens of both countries. Turkey, together with Georgia, is involved in regional and international energy projects and is an important transit country of the corridor, that is why the relations between the two countries play a major role in the economic, political and strategic development and security of the region. Since the mid-1990s, the Georgian-Turkish relations have developed rapidly, prompted by Georgia joining. This would potentially strengthen Russia in the region and call into question the possibility of implementing a "Turkish model" in Turkish-speaking states. But decisive was that factor that was given the priority by Turkey in implementation of the energy projects of the region. Yet in 1999, a decision was made at OSCE Istanbul Summit to involve Georgia in major projects as a transit country. The goal of Turkey was to strengthen its influence over the country.

- Relations in the field of education take an important place in relationship of two countries. The people develop different values, sympathies, and positive attitudes through education. This situation creates the leverage of impact. At first, it affects the younger generation, which is the active phase of socialization in human life, when the personality of person is formed and contributes to the creation of public opinion.

- The cultural aspects of the relations between the two countries are also very important. In this direction, different values are brought to the forefront and popularized. There are many Turkish traditional and cultural events taking place in Georgia (cultural-historical festivals, literary exhibitions, traditional events, holidays, culinary, etc.), which are being popula-

rized very successfully. In this regard, the intensity of showing the Turkish soap operas and films is

particularly noteworthy. These films portray Turkish identity from the best side, after watching it is hard not to be fascinated by Turkish history, culture or tradition.

- The influence of soft power can be mitigated by controlling and analyzing the process, making deliberate changes to legislation, collecting operational, analytical data by the intelligence service, analyzing them and preventing possible threats, involving representatives of various fields of science in the process.

- The state must support the Georgian diasporas; identify their problems, making youth interested and their engagement in the activities of diaspora.

- The citizens of Georgia residing in regions with ethnic and religious diversity should be provided with:

- Improvement of economic situation;
- Further development of agriculture;
- Creation of jobs and reduction of unemployment, potentially reducing labor migration;
- Improvement of the level of education, ensure knowledge of state language;
- Popularization of Georgian language, culture, history, etc .;
- Stimulation and support of the youth;
- State support and material incentives for multi-children families to solve the demographic problems of Georgia;
- Improvement of the quality of health care.

**Jemal Beridze's
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