

Mgr Irina Tkeshelashvili  
Instytute of Political Science and Public Admnistration  
University of Opole

Promotor: prof dr hab. M. Iwanow

### **Summary of doctoral dissertation**

#### ***EXTERNAL STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION OF GEORGIA SINCE 2003***

The dissertation analyzes Georgia's external strategic communication. The timeliness of this dissertation lies in the prime importance of creating external strategic communication for the Georgian state.

Strategic communication is a relatively new tool, but one of the states that has taken the challenge to formulate it is Georgia. The Georgian state operates under constant threats to its territorial integrity (particularly in the Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions) as well as the threat of loss of state sovereignty from the Russian Federation, as exemplified by the 2008 war. In order to repel and effectively counteract these information attacks, and to maintain the attention of Western partners in the face of the threats that Russia constantly generates in the South Caucasus, Georgia has carried out innovative changes in the state's security policy, including making an effort to create external strategic communication that integrates all activities aimed at shaping its international position, serving to support the realization of the state's strategic goals.

Within the framework of the given dissertation, the communication models and components of the state's external strategic communication were presented. An analysis of official documents as the legal basis for Georgia's external strategic communication was also carried out, and the specifics of Georgia's external strategic communication were defined.

Therefore, the necessity to strengthen external strategic communication stems from security policy considerations, since the threat of independence is closely related to hostile provocative activity, division and polarization of society, and impact on the degree of trust of allied states towards Georgia. In the situation of a constant threat to the security of the state and its territorial integrity from a powerful neighbor, which is the Russian Federation, it is necessary to conduct active measures to draw the attention of the international society to the existing phenomenon. Accordingly, the external strategic communication of the state becomes a tool for the internationalization of the existing threats, which influences on the growth of the level of security.

The implementation of reforms, the harmonization of Georgian legislation with that of the European Union, the transformation of state institutions, the simplification of the tax system, the reform of the police, and a parallel clear change in Georgia's foreign policy created a clear message to the international community. The research analyzes the approach and instruments of the state's

external strategic communication towards the European Union, NATO, and the Russian Federation during the indicated period.

The research applied in this dissertation consists of institutional analysis and refers to the role of state institutions, including ministries in foreign strategic communication. At the same time, the example of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara, which, as an autonomous region, has established cooperation with the Polish Lower Silesian Voivodeship and has become a model of interregional cooperation between Poland and Georgia, is referred to as an example of the practical application of external foreign communication.

In order to achieve the objectives<sup>1</sup> of this dissertation, numerous source materials in Georgian, English, Russian, and Polish were analyzed, and the literature on the issues raised was also taken into account. It is noteworthy that despite the numerous scientific works, expert papers, and analytical works on Georgia's domestic and foreign policy, the given dissertation is the first to address the issues of external strategic communication of the Georgian state. International rankings were also considered in the given discussion.

This dissertation consists of five chapters, an introduction, a conclusion, and a bibliography.

The first chapter of this dissertation was dedicated to an explanation of what communication and strategy are, followed by what the formation of strategic communication of the state consists of. As well as in the chapter were analyzed several models of communication<sup>2</sup>, which will indicate their evolution.

The dissertation's second chapter was devoted to issues related to Georgia's foreign policy. In the case of Georgia, which is categorized as a small state<sup>3</sup>, an orderly and explicitly focused foreign policy<sup>4</sup> is crucial to ensure the security and sovereignty of the state.

Chapter three, on the other hand, presents the genesis of the formation of external strategic communication involving the Georgian government's activities for integration into the European

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<sup>1</sup> K. Kakachia, T. German, S. F. Jonce, *Georgia's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Challenges for a Small State*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022; K. Kakachia, S. Minesashvili, *Identity politics: Exploring Georgian foreign policy behavior*, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2015; Л. Буракова, *Почему у Грузии получилось*, United Press, 2011; A. Rondeli, *The choice of independent Georgia, The Security of the Caspian Sea Region*, SIPRI, Oxford University Press, 2001; A. Rondeli, *Georgia: foreign policy and national security priorities*, United Nations Development Programme, 1998; T. Sharashenidze, *The Eastern Partnership: the view from Georgia*, European Council of Foreign Relations, 2015. S. Jones, L. Kakhiashvili, *The Interregnum: Georgian Foreign Policy from Independence to the Rose Revolution*, [in:] *Georgian Foreign Policy, The Quest for Sustainable Security*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> W. Weaver, C.E. Shannon, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication*, 1949; W. Schramm, *How Communication Works*, [w:] *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (ed. W. Schramm), Urbana, 1954.

<sup>3</sup> L. Leszczenko, *Gruzja - wyzwania i zagrożenia*, [w:] *Polityka zagraniczna - aktorzy - potencjały - strategie*, red. T. Łoś-Nowak, Warszawa 2011, s. 413-433.

<sup>4</sup> Dla państw z obszaru poradzieckiego charakterystyczną cechą polityki zagranicznej jest pojęcie wielowektorowości, co powoduje rozmycie jednoznacznych deklaracji strategicznych państwa. Na ten temat zob.: L. Leszczenko, *Ukraina – pożegnanie wielowektorowości. Europeizacja polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa*, [w:] L. Leszczenko, H. Giebień, A. Jagiełło-Szostak, J. Jarząbek, E. Szyszlak, T. Szyszlak, *Pogranicza cywilizacji. Wpływ dylematów tożsamościowych na politykę zagraniczną i bezpieczeństwa wybranych państw Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Warszawa, Dom wyd. Elipsa 2019, s. 173-195.

Union and the development of Georgia's institutional architecture. The impact of the Russian-Georgian war in 2008 on external strategic communication was analyzed. Also, the influence of the European Union on the Russian-Georgian war through the establishment of the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia was shown.

The fourth chapter analyzed Georgia's institutional architecture, which has a particular impact on the formation of the state's external strategic communication. Documents of a strategic nature relevant to the defensive significance of Georgia's external strategic communication were analyzed, as well as patterns of changes in state institutions, including the transformation of ministries due to the creation of strategic communication departments.

In the frame of the case study, was represented the author of this dissertation's own contribution to the application of external strategic communication of the state on the example of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara. Also, the chronology of events of the five-year cooperation at the institutional level and its results as an outcome of the application of external strategic communication at the level of the autonomous region of Georgia was presented.

The assumptions of Georgia's external strategic communication, modeled on the American and British approaches, were transformed into defensive external strategic communication aimed at internationalizing the Russo-Georgian war and attracting the attention of Western countries and the international community to threats to Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Given the dynamic international processes and the ever-present threats to the sovereignty of the Georgian state from the Russian Federation, it should be noted that the considerations presented in this dissertation do not fully exhaust the issues raised. Outlining the research perspective on the impact of external strategic communication on the positioning of the state in the international arena, I would like to emphasize that the final assessment of the effectiveness of the application of external communication will take place after Georgia regains control over the occupied territories