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EUROPEAN VALUES AND GEORGIAN POLITICAL THINKING

Today Georgia is pursuing thoroughly the path of western orientation. From the beginning of European History, Georgia has participated in the development of spiritual, cultural, political and economic formations, which now constitute the essence of European life. Georgian writers, political leaders and thinkers have invested their knowledge and experience in those principles of law and political order, which now compose the basic principles of functioning of European Union. Analysis of historical preconditions has shown that those, among others, include the separation of power, social policy aimed at supporting the unprotected categories of population, elections, and some areas of criminal and civil proceedings. The important political challenge of the 21st century remains in the geopolitical area of the modern world. In these processes, Georgia is actively participating today too, as an agreement of the association between Georgia and the European Union was signed in summer 2014. This fact was a landmark of the greatest historical importance for Georgian people. It means returning of the Georgian people to its initial homeland-Europe, who always struggled and strived for it.

It must be noted that we are not entering the Europe with "empty hands", but are widely credited with the propaganda of European qualities and bringing them to Georgia. It is still not widely known to the public that famous Georgian scientists and public figures. M. Muskhelishvili and A. Nikuradze were standing at the starting point of uniting the European Union (European Confederation). While Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet talked about the idea of uniting Europe, M. Muskhelishvili and A. Nikuradze were publishing articles on the same subject in the leading newspapers and magazines and were actively participating in the processes of creating the European Union. Therefore, it is proposed to consider this background while planning Georgian routes further towards Europeanness and back from the "forced" image of Asian state.

Keywords: Europe; Georgia; Byzantium; Russia; Science; History; government.

What does Europe really mean, what does Europe represent, what nations do Europe mean? Paul Valérie, the great French poet and thinker, a true European, expressed a very interesting opinion on this matter: "All races, all lands which were sequentially romanticized, Christianized, are subject to the Greek discipline and are absolutely European" (Mikhail Muskhelishvili, "Georgia and Europe"). According to this formula by Paul Valérie, Georgia is as European as Poland, Hungary or any other country. If we do not take into account the remains of the oldest human in Europe (1.8 million years ago) found in the territory of Dmanisi, twice the age of the ancient analogues found in Spain and Italy (Atapuerca and Ceprano, 800,000 years old), then Georgians' relations with European civilization, Medea, the "Golden Fleece" and the Greek expedition to Jason in Colchis counts for more than 30 centuries.

Yes, Georgia is a European country. According to prominent archaeologists, this is where Europe begins. According to the well-known scientist Varaniak, the first great wave of Iberian-Caucasian tribal emigration to Europe was actually initiated from Georgia, which created the first great civilization. This civilization is shared by Indo-Europeans who came to Europe several thousand years ago. Later, close relations were established between Georgia and Greece (the establishment of trade emporiums by the Greeks on the Georgian Black Sea coasts and trade-cultural relations). According to prominent Georgian immigrant scientist Professor Mikheil Muskhelishvili, "There was a time when Georgians learned that they belonged to Europe. Europe is now (meaning the beginning of the 1950s) making this conclusion.

It is also necessary for Georgians to prove their existence in Europe and for Georgia to be accepted in the family of Western nations"¹. Thus, Europe is determined not by geography, race, language, or morality, but by the undeniable qualities of its soul, the soul which is the successor of the three influences defined by Paul Valerius. There are many factors that prove the Europeanity of Georgians. We mention only some and essentials. According to Ivane Javakhishvili's study, Georgian feudalism and patriarchal system resemble strikingly similar to the feudal order of medieval Western Europe ... patriotism gave a prominent tone to all of ancient Georgia: it reigned both in social and in state order ... Even a mortal if they had their ears. "Servitude" also meant submission to the servant and commitment to servitude and devotion to the patron. Almost then all of Georgia, from the king to the mere picture of the king, was covered with the yoke of patriotism ... During the war Georgia's eyesight was patriarchally affected"².

This patronage system is reflected in the masterpiece of the great Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli in "The Panther's Skin". The right to inherit the throne, the equality of men and women, the assignment of certain rights and duties to each rank of feudal society, the right to war and rebellion – these are the main issues of the author. They give us an idea of Rustaveli's legal and political views, which he is determined to address according to "righteous law" ("the tree of righteousness is created by the cruelty of the earth"), which was later founded by European civilization. It is no coincidence that Rustaveli's ideal is a king of self-control, reformer, and tolerant; the king of love and subjection to the king, caring for the widows and the needy, adhering to the later European social ideal: "Give up the armor of the gods, free the slaves!" It is such a king (Tamar in the 12th century) that cancels letters, stops capital punishment, develops charity – subsequently purely European ideals and principles, upholds the tradition of government service and not empty surname, preferences for non-aboriginals, and their culture, religion, private property (David IV). Religious peace, respect for and support for all religions were the state policy of Georgia, which strongly supports European ideas. We must attribute to a series of purely European events such as the Qutlu-Arslanian view of the reign of power and the division of power in XII century in 1184. The legal basis for the transformation of the whole feudal Georgian state order into the Kutlu-Arslan troupe is the secular dedication of the separation of powers (the classical foundations of which Locke and Montesquieu established in the 18th century).

There were two major points in this program: a) the creation of a two-chambered parliament (lower chamber – hall, upper chamber – caravans), which was actually equivalent to a constitutional monarchy; b) the separation of state authorities and their implementation by different bodies³. This event, as Ivane Javakhishvili wrote, can only be found in the world history of that era only in the Great Charter of Liberties in England (1215), which points to the world-historical significance of the Kutlu-Arslan troupe⁴. This great political-legal event of the twelfth century was made up of the legacy of the great thinkers of the previous era, especially the great thinker George of Mt. Athos: "It is enough for the 11th century amidst Georgian monastic system, the change in the recall, when the old foreman from the appointment of the monarchical rule of Republican rule has been changed and monasteries in all the members' support and ertnebobit." Elections were introduced to Tamar at the group of Qutlu Arslan political movement as a result of the state. The ideal origin of the changes in the order of things has become clear⁵. Georgian traditions of child rearing, education and science development were very close to the European one. It is well known that there was still a rhetorical academy in western Georgia in Phase IV of Phase. At the turn of the XI-XII centuries, David Agmashenebeli equated the Georgian high school with the advanced European level with the establishment of Gelati and Ikalto Academies. Georgian law at the time was one of the most humane and democratic in the world. By stopping the death penalty and banning torture, Tamar's Georgia has gone far beyond European countries: "Georgia has made remarkable progress in that field of law too. Alongside the great achievements of criminal justice theory, the wonderful examples of which are the killing and wounds in the doctrine of Ekvtime Athonite, a number of activities were practiced in Georgia – a special institution was established that would handle only criminal cases"... The areas of criminal and civil proceedings were amalgamated.

Subsequently, David Agmashenebeli removed the functions of the supreme authority from the cassation complaints (ie, the court separated the executive from acting as independent authorities).

¹ Muskhelishvili, M. (1995). *Georgia and Europe, Georgia's Relations with European and American Countries*, Tbilisi, II, 182.

² Javakhishvili, I. (1981). *Collection works in 12 volumes*. Tbilisi, VI, 448-452.

³ Shubitidze, V. (2006). *Political Science*. Tbilisi, 76.

⁴ Javakhishvili, I. (1981). *Collection works in 12 volumes*. Tbilisi, II, 374.

⁵ Ibid, 376.

And, instead, the Supreme Cassation Board¹ was created. It was also a reflection of the high social responsibility of the Georgian authorities that 10% of the state income was used for charity and for the poor, which is the social norm and rule of the modern European states. This was what led to social peace in a country where "the goats and the wolves of their warriors fear one another." With its fierce battles against the Turkish-Seljuks and Mongols, Georgia slowed down the offensive waves of these savage invaders to European countries, though it itself became a victim of endless and exhilarating attacks by the Ottomans and Persians. In 1453, the Ottomans conquered Byzantium and Constantinople, Georgia broke Europe and European values for a long time, and it was among the barbarians. Even under these most difficult conditions, Georgians have not stopped aspiring to European ideals (Simon King, Teimuraz I, Vakhtang VI, Sulkhani-Saba Orbeliani, Antimoz Iverieli, Erekle II, etc.). Georgian devotion to Christianity (Ketevan Martyred – 1624) has been practiced throughout Europe and exemplified by European missionaries and clergy. If Georgia had been following the European countries before, and in many respects even surpassing them, the country that had fallen into the hands of Iran, the Ottomans and Russia was far behind and was now receiving vital ideas and technologies for development from Europe. Despite the cruel colonial rule of all these invaders, the Georgians never gave up on the most important European values – freedom of nation and person, incompatibility with the enemy, establishment of civilized rule. For example, during the conspiracy against Russia in 1832, the main idea of the Georgian aristocracy was to establish a state-like government as in England. Even after the death of Erekle II (1798), the idea of a constitutional monarchy found great support in the outlook of Georgian figures – Solomon Dodashvili, Alexander Amilakhvari, Chabua Orbeliani and others. Alexander Amilakhvari also demanded the introduction of the principle of electing the king himself instead of the inheritance rule². The great Georgians (Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Niko Nikoladze, Vazha-Pshavela, Archil Jorjadze, Ivane Machabeli, Ivane Javakhishvili, etc.), who were involved in the cruel and barbaric Russian affairs, were fascinated by European socio-political values. One of the key principles of European rule is to take responsibility for yourself – when you solve your own problems and don't look after others.

Georgia of David Agmashenebeli and Tamar era was such a country. Georgia was an economically and socially sound state. According to Persian geographer Hamdala Kazvini, the annual cash flow of Georgia's own state treasury equaled 3 million 750 thousand gold rubles (excluding godfather countries, of which perhaps 1.5-2 million rubles was a tribute – eg). In Western Europe itself, according to the famous scientist Zambart, the king of England's income was not more than 4 million francs in 1300, and France's in 1311 – not more than 3 million francs. The aforementioned amount of Georgia's income is only the amount of cash income. In addition, he had separate taxable income³. Asian inertia and the persistence of others reigned in colonial Georgia was the issue against which our national figures fought. The names of Ilia Chavchavadze, Niko Nikoladze and Archil Jorjadze are related to bringing European values back to Georgia. It is the Europeanisation of Georgian thought and political culture, the Europeanization of science and art, the preparation of Georgian soil for European progressive thinking and the creation of landmark democratic values, and the attempt to lock the nation in a narrow niche. In Ilia's view, the spiritual and fleshly revival of the nation is first and foremost possible only by internal forces and not by "foreign aid": "Gentlemen, our present and future destiny will be lost. We had to be masters of our hardship and grief. This yoke is heavy, but the more prominent it is, the more faithful it is. It is hard, but it is not without mercy for the good and hard work of the people of this country, there is no other way, we must forfeit our livelihood, we must control our destiny and misery".

It was Ilia Chavchavadze who laid the groundwork for the "common ground" theory of Europe (Ilia called it the reconciliation of rank), developed and deepened by Archil Jorjadze (which he called the theory of "common action"). Ilia thought that as long as the nation is whole and united, it will be invincible when the nation begins to "starve", and it will face the inevitable demise: "Woe to the people, who have suffered a common spoil; Woe to a country that spilled blood into a common bloodbath, not everybody in everybody, everybody doesn't think about everybody, and everybody like me, often "we" – is rare ... everybody together and every single person. One must know separately that he is an integral part of the whole nation and that is why he should seek his own good only for the good of the whole nation and not separately"⁴. According to Jorjadze, the theory of "common action" guarantees a fair resolution of fundamental issues facing the nation

¹ Ibid, 409.

² Batiashvili, E. (1998). *Ilia and Georgia*. Tbilisi, 33.

³ Javakhishvili, I. (1981). *Collection works in 12 volumes*. Tbilisi, II, 372.

⁴ Shubitidze, V. (2006). *Political Science*. Tbilisi, 80.

and the prism of national interests: "Undoubtedly," he wrote, "in Europe the staunchest people stand on the ground of common action. This circumstance should not surprise us. Creating democratic institutions requires the united strength of all progressive parties, and to this end it is often necessary to weaken the intensity of class struggle"¹.

Iliia Chavchavadze called on Georgians to implement the principles of a modern market economy, whose homeland is Europe: "Now either we have to grab our hands, or a plow, or a machine shop, or a valid car. Now the bravery of war is not to shed blood; bravery must be labored to sweat. We will say again that the country is now full of people who know the rules and the way, who take care of the work, who take care of the balance; today, the only one who is a guardian and good in spirit and flesh, in knowledge and on the right, is all about war, and not bloodthirsty, sweatshed, bloodless, peaceful, quiet – this is a war of labor and as labor is honest, honorable, and just as humble self-promotion, as it was before the gun and sword war. Bravery in this war is far ahead of the bravery of the bloody war" (V. Shubitidze, *Political Science*, pp. 82-83). The destruction of this idea has killed the country, and now it does: "The sword-foe could not harm us, could not take our land and our water. The sword cannot fail us; with labor and diligence, knowledge and skill, he will bring us together, replace us with earth, shatter our name, and cut us off. The Georgians will be mentioned, and others will be taken over by our beautiful country as a homeless haven" (Ibid, p. 82). The new generation of Tergdaleites (N. Nikoladze, G. Tsereteli, K. Lortkhi-Fanidze, S. Meskhi, etc.) managed to dig new paths in the history of the Georgian nation: *The Road is the Road to Western Europe*² (). This must be said about Dr. Niko Nikoladze. Niko Nikoladze was one of the first to preach Western views in the 1870s. He was the instigator of European pragmatism and activity, European political realism, European education and technology, and culture in Georgia. He embraced the progressive thinking of Western Europe and created a profound national outlook, his own socio-political concept: "None of our figures at that time felt the spirit of the era as much as N.J. Nikoladze felt – wrote Simon Khundadze – no one has brought us as much progressive and European (in the cultural sense of this word) as Nikoladze has brought"³.

Geronti Kikodze considers Niko Nikoladze to be the first representative of European thinking in Georgia⁴. Niko Nikoladze was the first Georgian to defend his doctoral thesis abroad in Zurich in 1868 on the highly relevant topic "Disarmament and its Socio-Economic Consequences", published in French in Geneva. Niko Nikoladze advocated the creation of a national model of European development with a view to using positive foreign experience, believing that it was impossible for a foreigner to understand Georgian specificity and reality, to develop a precisely tailored recipe for the country: "He also often makes us goat milk, not a human being ... A foreign nanny, as she is healthy, your mother cannot teach you the language, she cannot understand the nature and need of your country"⁵. The most important condition for the revival of the country was Niko Nikoladze's hard work, self-development and learning of local self-government. At the same time, he thought, "Unless the inactive part of our society gets used to its work and its survival until our people are out of the condition of the beef cattle, it is impossible for us to have true unity or a sincere brotherhood or a different attitude"⁶.

Nikoladze focused primarily on the need to develop the country with his own resources and labor, and not just on financial and economic aid to foreigners, which is never disingenuous: "Nowhere in any country has anyone seen an example of any people or society being raised with the help of others, if not their own. With labor and genius. Easily available, found, or gifted will not hurt the private man or the public at large. For man and for the country alone he is useful and precious, which he has accomplished through his own sweat and labor"⁷. Niko Nikoladze was resolutely rejecting any radicalism in resolving national affairs and believed that "Georgia's goals can only be achieved through moderation." He considered the golden rule of European generational inheritance as a model for Georgians when the new generation treasuredly inherited the legacy left behind and added its own treasure. N. Nikoladze was one of the first Georgian figures to put forward practical and pragmatic issues that were fully in line with the country's development requirements.

This is how he was praised by the journal *Rock* in 1913: "Nikoladze and the intelligentsia taught in Russia are two antipodes, completely different types. N. Nikoladze is a European by heart, a European-educated, man

¹ Jorjadze, A. (1911). *Narrations*. Tbilisi, IV, 23.

² Khundadze, S. (1927). *For the History of Socialism in Georgia*, I, 182.

³ Khundadze, S. (1927). *For the History of Socialism in Georgia*. Tbilisi, I, 182.

⁴ Jijeishvili, K. (2002). *At the Head of Georgian Democracy (Niko Nikoladze and Archil Jorjadze)*. Tbilisi, 81.

⁵ Shubitidze, V. (2006). *Political Science*. Tbilisi, 85.

⁶ Ibid, 86.

⁷ Ibid.

of European ideas, a man of European technology-industry knowledgeable initiative, practical and business. And our intelligentsia is mainly brought up in a Russian school, infused with this slave spirit, bureaucratic routine, and socialism. That is why our intellectuals are primarily theorists, dreamers, people of academic reasoning. Such areas include a warm cabinet, a soft chair, unaddressed theoretical reasoning, metaphysical morality and various party-political dreams, fantasies. Nikoladze is, first and foremost, a workman with hands-on work, a life technician and a laboratory assistant. He is a realist, a real policy maker. A knowledgeable man of life, fallen into his abyss"¹. Niko Nikoladze is a major contributor to the reconstruction, electrification and mechanization of Poti. With the launch of the port of Poti, he cut Georgia's window to Europe. He was head of the city of Poti for 20 years. During this time, the city budget has increased 10 times. He has done a great deal of work in extracting Tkibuli coal ore and expanding the production of Chiatura manganese. He pulled up the Shorapan-Chiatura Railway, resolving the manganese shipment and lowering it.

He was actively involved in the construction of the Tbilisi Water Pipeline, in the building process of the Kakheti Railway and the Surami Tunnel, and even the Trans-Siberian Railway. He invited the French billionaire Rothschild to the Caucasus and had a business relation with the Nobel brothers. He founded a modern bank in Poti. For the first time in Georgian reality, Niko Nikoladze printed bonds, lottery tickets, and all the incomes he spent to improve the city, which at that time was an unprecedentedly innovative European move. Niko Nikoladze, in an official conversation with German diplomats in 1918, put forward the idea to pass a trade route which would connect Europe with Asia and the Far East through the city Poti (Berlin-Poti-Beijing). This idea today is practically fleshed out under the name of the Eurasian Corridor – the Silk Road. In 1874, Niko Nikoladze, while in Paris, wrote and published the work "The Decadence of the French Press" in French, which was highly endorsed by prominent French thinkers and journalists. Niko Nikoladze had a personal encounter with famous Europeans – Victor Hugo, Emil Zola, Alphonse Dodd, Marcel Depress, Karl Marx and others. He studied the rich experience of European countries and Japan in building a national state and thoroughly analyzed it for Georgian people. He pointed out that the crucial importance has not the size and population of the country, but scientific and technical progress, the introduction of new technologies and the discipline of the performing arts. "Power and strength are not about numbers and space," he wrote, "but about knowledge, organization, weapons, order and discipline." And today, there are really small and far richer countries than Russia, which are huge and rich in raw materials – Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands. They developed the productive forces, increased their knowledge, managed a reasonable labor organization. Georgia should imitate them. Noah Jordania was one of the first Georgian political figures, who after studying in Europe realized that Europe was "not our enemy, on the contrary, it is our blood and flesh. We become Europeans ourselves, and therefore we must live with it, in union with it"². And that "Europeanization is taking place on Georgian soil, on Georgian culture"³. During the forced emigration from King's Russia to Europe and after many years spending there, Noah Jordania became even more convinced that "Europe's way is a world way, now history has not invented another way, and it is easy to guess why we follow this path"⁴. If David was a purely Georgian industrialist, he would have end up like Georgian long time ago – nothing would be left of his property. Only the European man could have everyone grateful for him and at the same time be able not to embezzle his property. Connect Georgian kindness and food and drink with European activities and you will get David Sarajishvili. This person is ideal example of Georgian and European mixture, and I think that the Europeanization of Georgians should be precisely this way. When each of us will learn about European's working style, European activities, and not losing our national character – our Europeanization will be a fact. David Sarajishvili was a Georgian European"⁵.

According to Noah Jordania, Georgia should join Europe, not Russia, but as an independent, free country. According to him, Russia has twice turned its back on Europe (after Peter the First and since 1917), and Georgia has always been on its way to Europe ... Georgia, with its historical and social core, is a piece of Europe, Western culture, and to stop it on the mid-way through foreign power strikes and to come up with a non-European relationship would be the death of the people, the extinction of the nation. Russia does not expect such extinction as it stands on its historical basis; Asianity, after all, should be turn into Europeanism. It is a natural procession, but it is a complete mess of the natural procession of the European nation – Georgia – by force turn into Asian State. It is a deadly leap ... Tying our future with Russia's future means

¹ Nikoladze, N. (1996). *150 Anniversary Collection*. Tbilisi, 10.

² Jordania, N. (1920). *Selected Writings*. Tiflis, II, 196.

³ Jordania, N. (1911). *Selected Writings*. Tiflis, 114.

⁴ Jordania, N. (1990). *Europe and Humanity. Selected Writings*. Tbilisi, 154.

⁵ Shubitidze, V. (2008). *100 Greatest Georgians of All Time*. Tbilisi, 345.

our complete destruction not only politically and nationally but also physically... Democracy cannot fall from the tree of Bolshevism. This is a distant stage. That is why we want Georgia to break away from these Russian asperities in a timely manner, restore its sovereignty and move forward in its own way... the Georgian nation must eventually join the European family”¹.

The government of independent Georgia occupied by Soviet Russia under the leadership of Noah Jordania in 1921 emigrated not to Iran-Turkey, where our authorities used to go, but to Europe. While still in government, they laid the practical groundwork for Georgia’s European orientation and modern European socio-democratic ideas and direction in Europe since 1918. Two prominent Georgian immigrant researchers, professors Mikheil Muskhelishvili [1903-1964] and Alexander Nikuradze (1901-1981) are among the prominent European scholars and politicians known for developing and implementing the idea of modern European integration. Georgia started returning to Europe when we received Christianity and became part of the Hellenistic world, a participant of Roman and Greek civilization. Georgia has never stopped moving towards Europe. It was following the course of the civilization of European countries and was ahead of them in many respects. One of these exceptions is United Europe’s Apologist, President of the Congress of European Peoples, Member of the Central Committee of the “Federal European Movement”, Vice-President of the Bureau of the International Center for the Formation of Europe, Founder and Secretary General of the European University Association, well-known European politician Mikheil Muskhelishvili (known in Europe as Michelle Mouskhely) and Professor of the University of Berlin, Alexander Nikuradze, founder of the first Continental European Research Institute in Europe. The first worked in France, and the second in Germany. They actively participated in the implementation of the idea of united Europe and creation of Federation. According to Mouskhely, European federalism – this is not only a vital necessity for the European nations, but also a guarantee of peace and the guarantee of common prosperity, freedom and dignity in Europe, he wrote in the paper “The Structure of European Federalism”. The first Idealist of the European Community and the European Union concept was Michelle Mouskhely, a leading professor of the Department of International Public Law, Political and Economic Sciences at the University of Strasbourg, who at a time when Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann were talking about the idea of European unification, already put forward significant initiatives both for the idea of institutionalizing Europe and creating the legal basis for Europeanization. However, before moving on to legal initiatives, it is very important to focus on the three most important aspects of his work. They relate to the establishment of important institutions in Europe, which later have begun to facilitate the European institutional development and Europeanization process. The first – it was the creation of a research center that covered all of Europe.

M. Muskhel in 1948-1949 founded the Scientific Research Center of the USSR and Eastern Europe (the so-called Socialist). He has been in charge of this center for 18 years. It was later called the Mouskhely Center (it is still called this way today). The center was one of the most important hearth of political science and international law in the field of sociology in France, where the idea of European integration and the removal of borders was being worked out. He was one of the first political figures in the world to propose and defend the idea of taking over the European Union and European borders². Secondly, he was involved in the creation and establishment of the Council of Europe (1949) from the beginning. This Council laid the groundwork for the guarantee of human rights in Europe. Since 1952, Michel Mouskhely has been in possession of „the mandate of the Council of Europe’s Advisory Assembly” and has been actively involved in the work of the Council of Europe. The third direction of the politician’s work is as follows: he formed „the Georgian-European Movement” – the first apolitical union focused on democratic values and liberal values. On August 10, 1953, the first "Georgian-European Movement" was officially founded in Strasbourg, inspired and initiated by Mikheil Muskhelishvili.

The "Georgian-European Movement" had a charter, which was drawn up and approved by the Constituent Assembly of Munich, gathered on April 7, 1953 in St. Petersburg. The charter claims: 1) Spreading the idea among the Georgians of the European Union and the need for Georgia to join this Union as a sovereign and democratic State. 2) To inform foreigners that Georgia has always been a part of Europe spiritually and culturally and wants to become a member of it. To achieve these goals, he contacts with the Caucasian Neighbors and other European nations. The Charter of the Movement states that „the Georgian-European Movement” was not belonging to any party or group. Any Georgian, regardless of religious and political beliefs, who recognized Georgia’s sovereignty and shared the idea of European integrity could

¹ Jordania, N. (1923). *Issues of Struggle*. Paris, 25.

² The Newspaper Figaro (1965). 2 (III).

participate in it¹. When it goes to the legal side of Europeanization process, the following initiatives are particularly important from Mouskhely works. In 1948, M. Mouskhely, together with French constitutionalist Gaston Stefan, create a draft project of the European Federal Constitution, "Michel Mouskhely, Gaston Stefani, Draft of a European Federal Constitution 1948", detailing the principles of political and social democracy. It is based on peace and social justice in the context of the unity of the federation and the diversity of the federal states. It is noteworthy that modern European law is richly nourished by the principles of law initiated by Muskhelishvili (most notably his fundamental papers on fundamental human rights and freedoms). On August 6, 1950, the day before the opening of the European Conference in Strasbourg, more than 300 students from 8 European states, led by passionate European Union initiator Michel Mouskhely and three other professors, dismantled the French-German border infrastructure and raised the united Europe's flag, "We just light a small fire, big bonfires now need to be lit up in Strasbourg so that European hearts can be lightened," said Michelle Mouskhely². In September, 1955, at the World Congress which took place in city of Trieste, attended by 120 participants from 18 countries, the keynote speaker Michelle Mouskhely addressed the representatives of Civilized World's countries: now the time has come for the intellectual and cultural unification of Europeans, which, in the first place, meant the modernization of the unified European education system, the project approaching the present-day Bologna process, the prospects for European intellectual mass mobility and convergence, Europe Harmonization of educational programs. Michel Mouskhely was at the time initiating the development of unified teaching methods in the higher education institutions of European countries, the mobility of professors and students of European higher education institutions and the development of good relations³.

M. Mouskhely was initiating the creation of a common European market in Brussels and in the international tribunals of Europe. On April 23-27, 1958, at the Pavilion of the World Exhibition C.E.C.A in Brussels, the next meeting of the European Professors' Association was held. M. Muskhelishvili gave an extensive report here on the creation of the European common market, its integration and its legal aspects. He believed that the European market should be united after the European Union, which would facilitate trade between the countries and create a single market system on the European continent. The creation of a common market system would promote the consolidation of European countries and strengthening of this process⁴. In addition to Mikheil Muskhelishvili's initiatives, the contribution of Alexander Nikuradze, a professor at the University of Berlin, to the development of Europe as an interdisciplinary field is also interesting. On the initiative of Alexander Nikuradze in September 1952 in France, a congress of European scientists was held near the city Compienne in the Labrévier Palace. The subject was discussed, in particular, among other proposals, the Congress adopted in order to introduce the notion of the term "European Studies", which originally meant to bring together European scientific disciplines and to form one field of study. Also, the initiative was to create and develop a separate branch of the "Volkswirtschaft" economy, which would deal only with economical study issues. Since then, the use of such terms as "European Studies" and "the Volkswirtschaft" economics in science and their placement in European higher education institutions is connected with the name of Professor Alexander Nikuradze⁵.

Realization of Mikheil Muskhelishvili's idea in Georgia, 25 years after its independence was implemented in the form of "visa liberalization". On February 2, 2017 Georgia received the right to visa-free travel (visa liberalization) in the Schengen Member States. This is a result of the successful reforms implemented by the democratic government of Georgia in the country; and we hope this will be another step forward for Georgia's EU integration. Therefore, the political and legal initiatives presented here testify that one of the first apologists for the idea of a European Union was Michel Mouskhely.

Thus, adopting today's visa liberalization is one way in which Michel Muskhelishil's four key concepts are implemented. This concept originally meant: the unification of European countries (European Union, Confederation), the creation of a common European market, the demarcation of borders between European countries, the creation and harmonization of the European single education system. Georgia has been actively involved in the last two concepts, and the rest remains the country's main challenge.

We hope that by taking successful measures, Georgia will soon join the European common market and at the same time eventually return to the European family where it will take its own place.

¹ The Journal of the Fate of Kartli (1953), 15, September.

² Spiegel der Sudpfalz (2006). *Thema am Samstag, revolution fur Europain St. Germanshof, Samstag, August, 5.*

³ The Journal of the Fate of Kartli (1956), 21-22.

⁴ The Journal of the Fate of Kartli (1958). *Congress of the European Professors' Association*, June, 43-44.

⁵ The Journal of the Fate of Kartli (1951). *Professor Al. Nikuradze in Paris*, 10.

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