

# **A Content Analysis of Georgian Left-Wing Internet Publications**

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**Abstract:** The study examines three Georgian leftist websites: the Anarchist Library, European.ge, and the Tbilisi Fabian Society.

The Anarchist Library represents the interests of Georgian anarchists, while the other two have more social-democratic orientation.

The research is relevant, because in recent years, the leftist groups from these internet platforms were the main participants of the frequent social protests. We can consider these websites as the tool for organization and the dissemination of ideas, and communication with broader society. The paper will conduct the content analysis of the publications displayed on these platforms, and will attempt categorize them and find the common context among them.

**Keywords:** political communication, left-wing movements, Internet sites, Facebook pages, ideological-political platforms, electronic propaganda, Internet activities, anarchism, social democracy.

## Introduction

Since 2012, organized social groups with left-wing values, mainly composed of students, have been appearing and becoming active in public life. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the left-wing camp has not been a popular political actor in Georgia for two decades. A year before the 2012 parliamentary elections, several student organizations that espoused left-wing values were established at Tbilisi State University, among which the most prominent and active was the “Laboratory 1918”. The protests organized by this group in the capital before the elections significantly changed the country’s pre-election agenda.

“Laboratory 1918” ceased its activity shortly after the change of government. However, its members were divided into various groups. In addition to these groups, there were several other organizations created on the basis of Tbilisi State University.

From 2012 to the present, the organizers of a number of social protests were and are the very left-wing groups whose online publications we studied, namely the “Anarchist Library”, “European.ge” and “Tbilisi Fabian Society”.

From student groups, the above-mentioned organizations have turned into platforms with distinct values, visions, and methods of organization. These groups differ from each other in a number of characteristics, which are also noted in the study. These groups are represented by researchers, young scientists, activists, members of non-governmental organizations, people who actively participate in the political process. The study identifies the issues and problems around which the above-mentioned groups operate, and also studies the content of their platforms and the method of communicating with the public.

The general information available about left-wing social movements and their online publications is presented in the following table:

Movement	Creating a moving mold	Website	Site creation date	“Facebook Street Page”	“Facebook Street The door handle Number”	Foreign orientation	Ideologia
European	19.01.2011	European.ge	19.01.2011	Facebook.com/European.ge	14.414	Pro-European	Social-Democracy
Anarchist Bible Eka	2.01.2012	Anarchist Library.org	2.01.2012	Facebook.com/AnarchistLibrary	7.103	Anarchist	Anarchist
Tbilisi He/She Fabianu Ri in general Oeba	November 2013 Nation	Fabianists.wordpress.com	2013 November 1	Facebook.com/fabianists	2.934	Western food	Social-Democracy. Fabian socialism

## Anarchist Library

The first post of the Anarchist Library dates back to January 2012. It is worth noting that this online publication has a Western counterpart, “The Anarchist Library”,<sup>1</sup> where a huge archive is collected. It can be said that the Georgian Anarchist Library is the Georgian version of this publication.

The publication offers the reader both translations of texts by contemporary internationally renowned authors, as well as biographies of famous representatives of Georgian anarchism, texts, reviews from the history of the international anarchist movement. The publication tries to provide the reader with information about anarchism. To provide basic knowledge about the principles on which this ideology is based. For example, the article “Consensus” dated January 2, 2012 (Anarchist Library, 2012) is interesting, where the author tries to explain the principle of consensus, to highlight its main features: towards agreement Aspiration, collaboration, equality, involvement, participation. In the article, the author talks about the rules of decision-making, the necessity of unanimity, mutual respect, which, according to anarchism, should be a kind

<sup>1</sup> <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/special/index>

of pillar of public life. It can be said that the purpose of this article is to familiarize the reader with the basic principles of anarchist theory.

In the article “What is Anarchy?” (What is Anarchy, 2012), the author more specifically tries to convey a brief history of modern anarchism, thereby giving the reader an elementary idea of the recent history of the anarchist movement. In this article, the author limits himself to describing the Western European anarchist subcultures of the second half of the twentieth century. The author simply tries to exhaust in short paragraphs the main postulates that derive from anarchist theory, and these postulates are formed as questions and short answers to them (an anarchist vision of the state and elections and a brief recollection of the anarchist experience during the Spanish Civil War). It can be said that the first articles are not distinguished by an academic style, they are more propagandistic texts, where a superficial description of the principles of anarchism is given, although it is worth noting that the blog still exists and it periodically changes its editorial style, and translations have begun to be published, for example: By such famous anarchist authors as Emma Goldman and Erico Malatesta — “The Philosophy of Atheism” (Goldman, “The Philosophy of Atheism”, 2012), “Patriotism, a Threat to Freedom” (Goldman, 2012), “Anarchy” (Goldman, 2012), “Marriage and Love” (Goldman, 2012), “Neither Dictators nor Democrats” (Malatesta, 2012). Goldman and Malatesta are well-known representatives of the international anarchist movement, although their role in the history of Georgian anarchism in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries was small. The efforts of the modern authors of the Anarchist Library, and the editorial staff’s promotion of the hitherto little-known Malatesta and the relatively more well-known Goldman for Georgian anarchist thought, indicate that modern Georgian anarchism began to develop independently of its predecessor, the anarchist thought of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and this has its objective reasons, which can be explained by the persecution of anarchist thought in the Soviet Union and later, by its particular weakness in the post-Soviet space. If we follow the articles of the “Anarchist Library” chronologically, after the articles of Goldman and Malatesta, we will soon see digitized versions of the works of the prominent Russian anarchist theorist, Pyotr Kropotkin, including the Georgian translation of 1906. Digitizing old texts is a difficult, time-consuming process. It is worth noting that Kropotkin was a significant source of inspiration and often a comrade-in-arms for an entire generation of Georgian anarchists (Mikhako Tsereteli, Varlam Cherkezishvili, the Komando brothers and Shalva Gogelia).

In addition to Kropotkin, the site also features translations of texts by Mikhail Bakunin and Elise Reklus (one of Reklus’s texts is a digitized version of a Georgian translation published in 1906). The blog also features an excerpt from Komando Gogelia’s “Critique of Social Democracy”, as well as a bachelor’s thesis about Komando Gogelia, written by Tamar Buadze, one of the members of the editorial team of the “Anarchist Library” (Buadze, 2015).

An interesting text is “The Anarchist Movement of the Caucasus at the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century” (2014), where the authors present an extensive compilation about

the anarchist movement of the revolutionary period of the Russian Empire. It discusses the ongoing revolutionary process in the South and North Caucasus, terrorist attacks and strikes carried out by anarchists, and describes the role of Georgian anarchists in the Russian Revolution, which provides us with important factual material for studying the anarchist movement of this period.

It is also worth noting the digital versions of Mikhako Tsereteli's famous works, "Ka-Noni" and "Answer to the Protestants", which were made available on the platform directly through the efforts of the editorial team.

The Anarchist Library also offers translations of the works of famous philosophers of the second half of the twentieth century, Herbert Marcuse and Noam Chomsky, into articles, where the editorial team offers specific excerpts from these works according to their own priorities.

The blog also pays great attention to translations of texts by German sociologist Erich Fromm, where the author writes about power hierarchies, capitalism, and bureaucracy.

The accents that the "Anarchist Library" uses to oppose specific groups are important. On the main page of the publication, there is a "criticism" section, where the editorial staff offers criticism of the non-governmental sector, nationalism and social democracy. The section against NGOs contains a translation of an extensive text prepared by the Macedonian group of anarchists — "NGOs — the Trojan Horse of Capitalism", where the authors write that there is a misconception about NGOs and their democratic functions. "USAID defines NGOs as private voluntary organizations. The definition is clearly problematic, since most of them are funded by the government and corporations, and it is also difficult to say that an organization where the staff has professional salaries, starting from the manager to the field worker, is voluntary" (Anarchist Library, 2014).

The article notes that worldwide, the main funders of NGOs are international corporations, as well as governments of various countries, and sometimes churches of various denominations, all of which proves that NGOs are not independent entities and serve different interests.

According to the article, corporations with mercantile goals in underdeveloped regions are "maintaining the status quo" through NGOs, "continuing to plunder their resources" and "undermining the radical struggle against poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and other evils" (Anarchist Library, 2014).

As we can see, non-governmental organizations are considered by Georgian anarchists to be one of the most important opponents, along with social democracy and nationalism.

In the history of Georgian anarchism, there is a century-old experience of criticizing social democracy. In this regard, Varlam Cherkezishvili's "Pages of Socialist History" is interesting, which is an internationally known text, and also Mikheil Tsereteli's "Reply to the Protestants", which is specifically written against Georgian social democrats. In the section on criticism of social democracy of the "Anarchist Library", only a

short text by the Ukrainian anarchist, Nestor Makhno, is found, which is called “May Day — Symbol of a New Nation (Makhno, 2015)”. This text shows Makhno’s negative attitude towards the Soviet Union and believes that workers are oppressed in bourgeois countries as much as in the social democratic Soviet Union.

As we can see, the “Anarchist Library” functions in an academic style. The blog contains an academic work written by one of the editorial staff members, which covers historical issues of Georgian anarchism (Buadze, 2015). The blog also contains several digital samples of original Georgian texts from the early twentieth century. The editorial staff of the “Anarchist Library” tries to explain to the reader the basic principles of anarchism, which are presented in several texts (Anarko-komunizm, 2012), (Ra aris anarchia?, 2012) (Konsesusi, 2012).

The translations of texts by internationally recognized philosophers, sociologists, and leaders of the anarchist political movement are important, a large part of which is done by the editorial staff of the “Anarchist Library”, as well as the translated articles that reflect the anarchist vision of modern international processes. We can conclude that the “Anarchist Library” is an academic-style online publication, and the editorial staff also tries to popularize its own ideas, as evidenced by the translations, texts, and appeals on the blog, which are designed to increase knowledge about anarchism and its basic principles in modern Georgian society.

## European.ge

European.ge is a Georgian social-democratic online publication that is actively functioning. Its editorial team consists of about 50 people, including politicians, members of parliament, researchers in the field of social sciences and economics, well-known figures in the public (Ana Dolidze, Irakli Kakabadze), and students.

It is noteworthy that the editorial group is mainly composed of members of the political party, “Social Democrats for the Development of Georgia”, which in turn is represented by the faction of the same name in the parliamentary majority of the party “Georgian Dream”.

European.ge offers a section for blogs, video blogs, reviews, translations, and political directions, which are in turn divided into various subsections:

The publication is structurally quite well-organized, blogs are constantly updated in the form of articles, research, and translations. It is important to study the content of the directions allocated by the publication, to identify the main priorities of the editorial team in both domestic/foreign policy and economic policy.

The first subsection of “Political Directions” is “Employment and Labor” (European.ge), where the first article dates back to 2012, although only 5 articles were published in this section from 2012 to 2016. “Employment and Labor”, like the entire site, became especially active in 2016.

Naturally, given the scope of the research, it is impossible to discuss every article in the online publication, however, we tried to get to know each article and describe the main focuses that European.ge puts on the platform. It is also worth noting that each section contains articles by representatives of the editorial team, as well as a number of translations by various important internationally recognized authors. These articles may appear not only in one section, but in several at once.

The publication tries to draw attention to the situation in Georgia's industrial cities, problems in the field of education, and blogs are also constantly published, where researchers try to introduce their perspectives to the public. The last article that was searchable during the research period (December 2018) is dated November 20, 2018, where the author — Esma Gumberidze writes about what determines political participation. The author indicates that it is difficult for the poor to be politically "incorruptible" or politically active (Gumberidze, "What Determines Political Participation?", 2018). The author focuses on the 2018 presidential elections and indicates that many people in Georgia are deprived of elementary opportunities for socialization, and the state is unable to equip citizens with minimal conditions, and on the contrary, deprives some groups of the opportunity to participate in elections.

A similar problem is addressed in the article "Income Inequality and Youth Unemployment" (Esposito, 2018), which is an article translated into Georgian by Harvard University professor Mark Esposito. The author talks about the global economic crisis, the growing rate of youth unemployment in the developed and developing worlds, and their inadequate involvement in the political process. The article "Poverty and Income Inequality Are Key Economic Issues" (European.ge, 2018) discusses an analysis of a study published by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in January 2018, which indicates that the main problems for the Georgian population are unemployment and inflation.

In the article "The Neoliberal Curse of Unemployment" (Khundadze, 2018), the author notes that unemployment is the number one problem in Georgia, that the market economy is characterized by cyclical crises, which often cause long-term economic problems. The author also notes that since the 1930s, the Western world has developed mechanisms to combat these crises, without which unemployment and the economic crisis may continue for years.

The author identifies employment policy as one of the main mechanisms, and cites the examples of Taiwan and South Korea. Speaking of Georgia, the author writes:

"Fully" Confidently, maybe to say that Today Georgia No has Neither Industrial Politics And Neither Employment The policy that led to Actually I must to create Complete Employment In the country. Not only that Employment Politics, Georgia No has Employees And Unemployment Accounting Correct System. Result It is critical. The economy Growing Little by little And This Small Growth too Distributed Mostly Elite Groups of countries Population Yes Last In the years Unwaveringly Decreases Labor Migration As a result" (Khundadze, 2018).

The author believes that liberal recipes for enrichment do not work in Georgian reality, and that, moreover, these models often exacerbate specific crises. The author points out that the share of transfers sent by citizens employed abroad in the country's gross domestic product is as much as the share of agriculture, which, in turn, employs at least half of the population.

The author concludes the text as follows: “When a theory does not work, it should be thrown into the trash can. Neoliberal economic doctrine has rightfully earned a place on the dustbin of history, given the socio-political catastrophe it has brought to Georgia over the past 25 years. Today, more than ever, it is necessary to put aside sophistical dogmas and pursue real economic policy” (Khundadze, 2018).

As we can see, economic inequality, unemployment and migration, ineffective socialization mechanisms, and lower involvement of citizens in the political process are a whole chain of problems for the editorial team of the publication, which is related to the state's economic policy and free market economy. Accordingly, overcoming poverty, according to European.ge, is not possible through the liberalization of a number of institutions and the implementation of market principles, but on the contrary, it can be said that the way to eliminate inequality, according to this publication, is to increase the role of the state in the economic process, revise existing economic paradigms, and conduct industrial policy, which will radically change the current priorities in the Georgian economy.

According to European.ge, the institutionalization of the economy will be a prerequisite for solving the problems of unemployment and inequality. This vision, in turn, is a new institutional vision, and the publication is trying to actualize this vision, this approach in Georgian society, among readers and academic circles.

In our analysis of the “Anarchist Library”, we have already noted that the editorial staff is skeptical, one might even say negative, towards NGOs, a similar sentiment is expressed in an article translated on European.ge, authored by James Petras, a professor of sociology at the State University of New York, entitled “NGOs in the Service of Imperialism” (Petras, 2017). According to Petras, NGOs often have budgets in the millions and receive salaries about the same as those of corporate executives, and their activities have a negative impact on millions of people – the poor, women, and those employed in the informal sector.

The non-governmental sector often attracts academics and journalists from various left-wing movements, as they are provided with a salary, and in return, they bring organizational and rhetorical skills, while in reality they put themselves at the service of imperialism and capitalism (Petras, 2017).

Petras is particularly critical of civil society, for him it consists of different classes, “most of the greatest injustices against workers are committed by wealthy bankers who are members of civil society” (Petras, 2017). The concept of civil society, according to Petras, encourages NGOs to “collaborate with the capitalist interests that fund them” (Petras, 2017).

European.ge authors write a lot about the problems existing in Georgia, where they offer their own analysis and often ways to solve them. In this regard, the article “One Day in Chiatura” (Gumberidze, 2018) is interesting, where the author offers a description of the industrial city of Chiatura, Western Georgia, in the context of the important problems that plague this city.

In this text, the author provides a detailed review of the working conditions of miners, describing the problems of three thousand workers employed in the extraction and processing of manganese, their conditions, as well as the ecological disaster facing the city, as well as the specific obstacles that workers encounter in their relations with their employers (Gumberidze, 2018).

Information “Tbilisi Metro Drivers Address Citizens” (European.ge, 2018) — This is the text of the metro drivers’ appeal, where the workers inform citizens of the strike plan, its reasons, and the demands they are demanding from the state.

It is worth noting the “Statement on the Tkibuli Tragedy” (Aroshvili, 2018) dated April 6, 2018, where the editorial team responds to the deaths of miners in the city of Tkibuli on April 5, 2018. The text is a kind of manifesto, where political demands are also highlighted. The editorial team speaks about the nationalization of the enterprise as an effective way to solve the problem. It is also important that the editorial team emphasizes that the government has an anti-social policy towards this city and industrial cities in general.

It can be said that unlike the academic translations or articles that are published on the publication’s website, the editorial team in this statement is much more radical, the text shows radical criticism of the elites and the state, the government, according to the editorial team, “trembles with fear in the face of a few unbridled businessmen” (Aroshvili, 2018). The editorial team promises to launch a campaign “for humane, population-oriented To the majority Ethical, welfare Oriented And Highly developed Society “For Construction” (Aroshvili, 2018) and that they will bring together all the groups that are fighting for it.

## **Tbilisi Fabian Society**

The internet platform of the “Tbilisi Fabian Society” consists of 7 sections: “About Us”, “News”, “Articles”, “Translation”, “Library”, “Socialists from Georgia” and “Music”.

The “About Us” section contains a manifesto (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2014) where the society introduces its visions:

“We, this Manifesto We, the undersigned, consider that Post-Soviet Transformation Despite Georgia Socially Unsustainable And Less Democratic Political System Decisions are being formed. Acceptance In process Can’t They join. Citizens. Public Good things They own With the government Close-up Small number Groups. Thus, it is clear Social Inequality. Personal, selfish With interests Active The largest Economic Actors Can’t They consider And Often They are hurting. Others For life Important

Needs – we In society Can't It is possible Health, work And Education Rights Perfectly Provision. “Fabians connect their visions with the Georgian social-federalists of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with social-democrats, as well as with the traditions of German “revisionism” and British left-centrism. Unlike European.ge, “ Fabians “ have detailed their own political position, — this is the tradition of the British Fabian Society, which preaches the implementation of socialism in an evolutionary way. “Fabians “ identify the values on which the movement will be based (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2014): 1) positive freedom, 2) social justice, 3) social market economy, 4) ecological freedom, 5) civic participation and pluralistic democracy, 6) gender equality, 7) pacifism and anti-imperialism 8) patriotism.

Like the “Anarchist Library”, the editorial staff of the “Tbilisi Fabian Society” pays great attention to the traditions of democratic socialism in Georgia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the section “Socialists from Georgia<sup>2</sup>”, you can find numerous articles describing the political process of the last century, active figures and their biographies in an academic style. The “Fabian Society” is especially trying to popularize the Democratic Republic of Georgia (it is worth noting that European.ge, as well as the social-democratic publication, is not distinguished by raising the issue of a democratic republic). The latest news in the section “Socialists from Georgia” was uploaded on March 11, 2018, where a stenographic report of the speech of the famous Georgian revolutionary of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Silibistro Jibladze, from the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia is provided (Jibladze, 2018).

Also of anti-communist content is the article “Isidore vs Stalin” (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2015), dated October 5, 2015, which describes Joseph Stalin’s visit to Tbilisi in the summer of 1921, when he was opposed by local social democrats (Mensheviks), led by the famous revolutionary Isidore Ramishvili.

The section will also feature a transcript of a speech by Akaki Chkhenkeli, a famous social democrat and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the First Republic (“Unity”, 1920), which dates back to December 1920. In this speech, Chkhenkeli discusses the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. In this extensive text, Chkhenkeli responds to opponents (Socialist Revolutionaries) about land reform, and also discusses the Constitution, the principles of democracy, the autonomy of peripheral regions, etc.

In addition to reminiscing about the past, “Fabian Socialists” are distinguished by their constant updating of other types of news. These articles include analysis, discussions, etc. of both international and Georgian politics.

The “Fabian Socialists” are distinguished by their active coverage of the political processes taking place in Germany. The article “Founding Statement of the #AUF-STEHEN Movement” (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2018), published on September 9, 2018, is dedicated to the founding of the German left-wing unifying movement, which took place in late summer 2018.

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<sup>2</sup> “Socialists from Georgia” <https://fabiansocialists.wordpress.com/category/%E1%83%A1%E1%83%9D%E1%83%9C/>

The translation of an article by Florian Gutmann and Christoph Henrichs, which is dedicated to the crisis of the German Social Democratic Party, is dated April 22, 2016. The translation is called “The Misery of the Social Democrats, Why Do Comrades Keep Falling?” (Tbilisi Fabian Society, 2016). The article discusses the crisis that the German Social Democratic Party is experiencing, the past successes of this party and the changes in those classes that were usually voters of the Social Democrats. The article mentions the “Alternative for Germany” “AfD”, which is distinguished by its anti-immigration spirit and which has managed to attract a large number of supporters of the Social Democrats. As we can see, “Fabian Socialists” is a clearly social-democratic platform online publication and society. “Fabians” attach particular importance to the history of Georgian social democracy. The legacy of the Democratic Republic of Georgia and its ruling power, the Social Democratic Party, is of paramount importance to them. The publication also actively works on issues current in the German political process. The style of “Fabian Socialists” is clearly academic. At the same time, they try to popularize their own views and explain their core values in a clear way.

## Conclusion

The “Anarchist Library” and the “Tbilisi Fabian Society” have limited resources, their online publications are presented in the form of simple blogs, and we can say that their sites (A-library.Org and Fabiansocialists.wordpress.com) do not represent a frequently updated domain, the editorial teams are also much smaller than those found on European.ge (about fifty authors), European.ge tries to translate more modern, scientific texts (although naturally these translations are selected along sharply ideological lines), although this publication is not distinguished by its emphasis on the left-wing experiences of Georgia, while the “Anarchist Library” and the “Fabians” try to popularize Georgian anarchism and Georgian social democracy (Menshevik wing).

European.ge pays great attention to the field of economics, which has a separate section called “Economics and Political Economy”. A similar content section can be found on the “Anarchist Library” website, although here this section is called “Capitalism”, where texts by classic authors such as Alexander Berkman, Peter Kropotkin and Emma Goldman predominate over modern studies. There is no section with identical content on the “Fabian Socialists” page, here the articles are collected in one section.

There are a total of about 800 articles posted on European.ge (various translations, manifestos, and research), which far exceeds the number of articles on the online publications of the “Anarchist Library” and “Fabian Socialists.”

Platform	Website	Number of news items
European.ge	European.ge	771
Anarchist Library	A-library.org	129
Tbilisi Fabian Society	Fabiansocialists.wordpress.com	17

We can say that all three publications are trying to popularize their own ideas, “Anarchist Library” — anarchism, “Fabians” and “European.ge” — social democracy, although the accents of the latter are different from each other, it can be said that Georgian left-wing online publications adhere to an academic style (this also stems from the fact that the editorial teams consist of students, young or experienced researchers, as well as university professors).

Despite the challenges facing Georgia’s industrial cities, as well as issues related to social inequality, education, and contemporary international left-wing movements, all three sites are not distinguished by academic neutrality and are characterized by a clearly ideological position.

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<sup>2</sup> „...“ <https://fabiansocialists.wordpress.com/category/%E1%83%A>







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