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**THE IDEOLOGY OF
FAR-RIGHT
GROUPS
IN GEORGIA**

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CONTENTS

GLOSSARY OF TERMS	3
Introduction	5
1 Methodology	6
2 Analysis of biographical-narrative interviews with far-right activists	7
3 Reasons for joining far-right groups	12
4 Respondents' visions and collaborations with far-right groups	14
5 Antiliberal messages in georgian far-right groups	16
6 Summary of interviews and key points	18

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The below definitions of terms are not universal and have been developed for the purposes of this research.

FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGY

An ideology that combines racism, xenophobia, misogyny, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

Groups that stir up antiliberal and anti-western sentiments. Their rhetoric is also expressly homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic and nationalistic.

EXTREMISM

A set of ideas, an ideology, that does not recognise the principle of human equality, promotes hatred, violence and intolerance, threatens the democratic structure and the rule of law in the country.

RADICALISATION

A process in which a person might go beyond legal bounds when disseminating his/her beliefs and promoting a certain ideology and become involved in a terrorist and/or extremist activity. This process demonstrates the willingness of a person to consent to and/or, if necessary, use violent methods for the sake of the objectives of the ideology supported by him/her.

ANTI-WESTERN DISCOURSE

Expressing explicitly negative sentiments towards the European Union, the North Atlantic Alliance and Western Countries and analysing them in a negative light.

ANTILIBERAL DISCOURSE

Identifying and analysing the demonisation of liberalism and diminishing liberal values.

INTRODUCTION

Populism and far-right movements are not new to Georgia. However, far-right groups have been active in the country since 2012. The Democracy Research Institute (DRI) has been monitoring far-right groups and their leaders in Georgia since the beginning of 2019, in the light of the local context and problems, both in social and online media, as well as during rallies and demonstrations.

One of the main objectives of our observations was to analyse the root causes of far-right extremism. To this end, we conducted in-depth interviews with several supporters and followers of far-right groups.

There is a wide range of far-right groups represented in Georgia. Due to their amorphousness, it is difficult to distinguish between the main messages voiced by the leaders of these groups and their followers. Within the framework of the research, we studied the positions of activists of various far-right groups operating in Georgia and analysed similarities and differences between the groups, based on their narratives. The identification of the circumstances that caused our respondents to gather under the umbrella of far-right ideology is another subject of interest of the research.

The study aims at presenting the nationalist, far-right discourse, with the example of activists of non-mainstream groups, to illustrate the differences between the rhetoric of the mainstream far-right group, Georgian March and the rest of the nationalist movements. The fact that most of our respondents had the experience of cooperating with Georgian March provided us with some data for comparative analysis.

These were the major research questions posed during the interviews:



When and for what reasons did a particular activist join far-right groups and identify him/herself with this ideology in general?

How do ordinary far-right activists and supporters see their role in shaping up the agenda of the current political or civic processes?

Who are the victims of the aggressive reflection of far-right groups and why?

1. METHODOLOGY

The research framework and research questions are based on qualitative methodology. In the framework of the present study, in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents who were in leadership positions at various times or were followers of various far-right groups. The biographical-narrative interview method involves a non-structured discussion plan with the respondents and is based on unstructured narration.

The far-right groups represented in the Georgian reality consider certain historical and public personalities to be their distinct authority figures, on whose ideas, views and values they assume their agenda and action plan are based. The interviews were analysed through studying the context of the perceived reality and individual experiences of the respondents.

While the rhetoric and messages of the far-right groups in Georgia are similar, there are also differences in the personal attitudes of followers and leaders, and the experiences of civic activism. In the current study, the personal experience of ordinary members of the far-right group has been studied to highlight the conflicts and differences between various groups. Biographical-narrative interviews also expressly highlight the reasons that led these people to join particular groups.

2. ANALYSIS OF BIOGRAPHICAL-NARRATIVE INTERVIEWS WITH FAR-RIGHT ACTIVISTS

The present analysis is based on the stories of twelve far-right activists. A few of them consider themselves as ethno-nationalists, some as conservatives. One of them was a member of the National Movement and called himself a patriotic activist.

The history of their activism is also diverse. Three respondents are members of the far-right group, Georgian Power;¹ one was a member of Kardhu² and three respondents represented themselves as members of National Unity of Georgia³. One of the respondents was actively involved in the Georgian National Liberation Movement. Two respondents said they were independent, nationalist activists of the far-right wing and engaged in civic activism without joining any group. Two respondents said in an interview that they did not consider themselves far-right activists and that their involvement in far-nationalist rallies years ago was solely due to the lack of information. These respondents said that, after studying at university and becoming clear about their political ideologies, they no longer want to be labelled far-nationalists and presently wish to distance themselves from their past.

We were guided by several factors when selecting respondents:

- 1) All respondents interviewed by us have **higher education**. Each of them has a bachelor's or master's degree (in history, archaeology, political science, etc.), which indicates their likely conscious choice and at least minimal knowledge of political ideologies or terms.⁴
- 2) Activity in social media. Our respondents actively and publicly express their positions and political interests on the social network Facebook. For the objectives of the study, it was important that respondents had a clear position and interest concerning far-right, nationalist activism.
- 3) All of our respondents are former or active followers of far-right groups or ideologies. Their experience and collaboration with various radical groups, including Georgian Power, National Unity of Georgia, and Kardhu, provide an opportunity to explore the root causes of far-right discourse in Georgia.

1 Georgian Power was founded on 31 July 2015 by Niko Prangishvili, Irakli Mikeladze, Irakli Modebadze and Nikoloz Burnadze. This group is an expressly conservative vision-based ultra-nationalist platform in Georgia. Facebook profile of the group could be accessed at <https://www.facebook.com/GeoAltRight/>.

2 The group Kardhu was registered by Giorgi Janadze and Gera Svanadze in 2016 with the aim of stirring up nationalism and patriotism. The group is distinguished by xenophobic discourse. Facebook profile of the group could be accessed at <https://www.facebook.com/კარდუ-217114512148619/>.

3 National Unity of Georgia was founded on 2 November 2016. Its leader is Giorgi Chelidze. The governing body of the movement is Darbazi (chamber). It has a commander, chancellor and library/chancellery. They replaced the swastika, a symbol of German Nazism, with the Borjgali and cross.

4 One of the respondents mentioned that he himself writes, translates and gets familiar with literature related to nationalism.

When talking about their activism and ideology, respondents use scientific terms and examples from different countries. They also consistently explain the key features of far-right discourse in Georgia.

Before joining the far-right groups, the respondents' life experiences were diverse and different, but in most cases, their activism began in the last 5 years with the activation of the far-right forces and their visibility.

It is noteworthy that most of the respondents speak on behalf of the collective unity ("we" instead of "I") and do not distinguish themselves from other members of the group. The civic activism of the majority of respondents is related to their participation in various anti-immigration and homophobic rallies. Several of them also took an active part in the so-called "counter-rally of Basiani" which was organised by Georgian March in May 2018 and was directed against the founders and visitors of the club Basiani.

One of the respondents happened to have significant and distinct experience in activism. He noted that his ideology "went a long way from liberalism to nationalism".

“ My first civic activities were in the field of liberalism. From the school-going age, I was involved in civic clubs, student forums and I have formed one of the organisations based on liberal values... In fact, my activity was liberal until I was 18-19 years old. However, I gradually realised that this ideology was questionable and unfair. After much deeper understanding, I developed into an antiliberal and began to participate in far-right activism. ”

During the interviews, it was revealed that civic activism of the members of the far-right group mainly supports anti-immigration policy and demonstration of homophobic and nationalist sentiments. However, they have other interests as well. For example, two respondents said that they supported the green policy idea and were actively involved in various clean-up rallies. According to one of the respondents, he is the co-founder of the green-left-movement Green Fist.⁵ This issue may indicate, on the one hand, ideological hybridity and, on the other hand, it emphasises the importance of "green policy" in far-right activism. Respondents repeatedly noted that it is valuable for them to bring environmental activism into their daily lives and lead a healthy lifestyle. However, on the other hand, the Green Fist is an expressly left-wing movement that accurately reflects a fragmented political identity and may be used as a tool to attract additional supporters.

Some respondents refer to the "need to carry out educational activities to wake-up the nation" as the main reason for their activism and membership of far-right groups. In this regard, the positions of members of the National Unity of Georgia are noteworthy.

“ Our [National Unity, Georgian Power, Resistance Georgia] main goal was to carry out educational activities for young people to wake up the nation; to make national forces more active and involve young people in national civic activism. ”

In the course of the interview, those nationalist issues were outlined on which the res-

5 The Facebook profile of the group can be accessed at <https://www.facebook.com/greenfist.ge/>.

pondents based their arguments. According to most of them, Davit Aghmashenebeli, Ilia Chavchavadze, Merab Kostava and Zviad Gamsakhurdia played a special role in defining and shaping up their ideology. This also suggests that far-right groups are offering their interpretation of the ideologies and values of national heroes and likely to try to attract support by idolising historical figures.

“ The recent history of Georgian nationalism is associated with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, and this man is, of course, the only legitimate and dignified President of Georgia for me. ”

“ I will especially single out two people. Happy is the nation that can have such guides throughout its history as David Aghmashenebeli and Ilia Chavchavadze. I believe that the foundation of the national worldview of me and my comrades is defined by them. ”

As for the current authorities, the respondents believe that today Georgia does not have such important figures who are able to manage the country with dignity. That is why they say that they will cooperate only with those who oppose the existing unjust system and fight to protect national interests. In their opinion, there is no political force in modern Georgia that will uphold nationalist values. According to the respondents, political forces in Georgia are oriented towards foreign investors and co-operatives. It is done at the expense of violating national values. The establishment of a “liberal dictatorship” in Georgia is considered an unfair system. Far-right activists also have a negative attitude towards the government, negatively assess the liberal discourse pursued by Georgian Dream and oppose the open immigration policy of the authorities.

During the discussion about the homeland, traditions and national values, most of the respondents mentioned that homeland for them, first of all, is their land and race left by their ancestors.

“ For me, first of all, my own land, roots, race and blood are important. If love for your homeland and your people, respect for your ancestors and devotion to your traditions are fascism, let me be a fascist. ”

“ The love for your country begins with civic self-awareness. Preserving traditions means preserving what is left of one's ancestors, be it the land or the culture of the homeland. ”

While delving into the definitions of national traditions and patriotism, the majority of respondents highlighted that the homeland is primarily related to land as a core value. Therefore, it is possible to explain the anti-immigration rhetoric in the far-right discourse as the fear of losing it. It is important, however, that land, as the main driving force of the national value, does not figure in the anti-occupation rhetoric of far-right discourse. The respondents' anti-Russian sentiments are based not on the issue of land grabbing, but a two-century-old hostile historical experience. The anti-Soviet sentiments of the respondents are especially noticeable.

“ The Iranian is not a guest anymore. He buys land in Georgia and registers it. Iranian villages are being built near Tsitsamuri, which is unacceptable. The Georgian land is of paramount importance for me. ”

In addition, respondents expressed their fear that they would lose the advantage in their own country and that the remnants of their ancestors would be in danger. Ethnic hegemony is also an important component in this regard. Far-rightists believe that this is what determines the sense of stability of the country and society, and Georgia should be primarily for Georgians. Consequently, the immigrant, as a foreign element that violates the unity and hegemony of the nation, poses a threat to them. Respondents also criticised the government's immigration policy. According to them, the “uncontrolled migration” and the influx of “foreign tribes” are entirely the fault of the weak policies of the government and they are being held accountable.

“ I would like to outline two aspects I hold against migrants. The first is the existing policy and the second is the distrust of the created agenda. We have been protesting against the purchase of land by foreign investors in various ways and bypassing the policies. As for trust, there is no trust in the government that it will honestly fulfil the interests of the people and that it is not corrupt. ”

“ I have absolutely no desire to demonise migrants. I do not think that they have harmful goals concerning Georgia, but I consider cultural differences to be a significant problem. They are part of a civilisation different from ours and will never be able to assimilate. ”

To defend one's own ideas and ideals, the respondents think that it is also justified to express their protest in extreme forms. According to one of them, they are victims of injustice on the part of the law enforcement authorities during the rallies.

“ I am in favour of strong protests and I will not be able to act [only] within the legal boundaries. Where there is a need, there must be an aggressive protest. I personally took part in a rally organised by Georgian Power on 27 September 2016 against migrants, where police arrested 11 protesters. However, there was no violation of the law by protesters. ”

Speaking about nationalist sentiments, one of the respondents, a member of the National Unity of Georgia, highlighted the importance of symbolism in their movement. The symbolism of the group is the Borjgali on a crimson background, which is often perceived as a fascist symbol. The respondent explained:

“ The Swastika and the Borjgali are related symbols. It is a symbol of the eternity of the nation. Mankind will constantly change, people will change, but the nation, as a given, will be permanent. ”

The respondent does not consider himself a follower of fascism and also points out the shortcomings of the individual rule but tries to find some justification for the ethnic

cleansing committed by Hitler. According to him, the main value is the interests and prosperity of the nation.

“ Adolf Hitler's political face, assertiveness, oratorical talent, audience management skills, charisma and vision are also interesting, acceptable and role models for me, because I agree most with the concept of National Socialism as a deep and thorough idea. ”

For the activity of the members of the far-right group, the social network Facebook is an important platform for attracting followers and internal communication. Most of the respondents mentioned that they spread their opinions and ideas in society with the help of Facebook. Nevertheless, three respondents criticised the Facebook administration and accused it of bias.

“ Recently, Facebook censorship has become very strict. Our pages Far-Right and National Unity have been blocked several times. In addition, my personal page is systematically blocked due to political views. ”

3. REASONS FOR JOINING FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

The reasons for joining different groups of far-right activism are more or less similar. Their interest in extreme nationalism, on the one hand, is driven by a desire to acquire like-minded people, and, on the other hand, by a feeling of insecurity when facing the liberal and digital agenda. It is also noteworthy that most of the respondents were brought up in a conservative environment. In addition, several respondents linked the process of forming their own ideological identities to the protests against the political elite in their teenage years, which they said were caused by their disregard for liberal values. National motives also form an important element for far-right activists in terms of membership of various groups.

“ I have always thought that I could not fight alone. Therefore, I needed to join a group of like-minded people. I was trying to find a group with whom I could share my vision and ideology for the future. ”

“ When I started activism in the nationalist direction, I did not have much information about this ideology, but I felt the rise of national motives and I wanted to be active. I had a sense of protest and I saw national threats. ”

The story behind joining a far-right group of one of the respondents is different from the others. He is deeply aware of the group's socio-political context and, when talking about his own ideology, focuses not on individual approaches but large-scale actions such as the conduct of national meta-politics with members of his group.

“ Activists of National Unity and Georgian Power tried to generate a meta-politics under which we would spread our nationalist ideas among the population, and then it would be possible to pursue a successful election policy with someone with a national vision. ”

An important aspect of joining the far-right groups was the knowledge of nationalism and the desire to access education. Several respondents noted that in these groups they received information about nationalist values. Far-right groups are perceived by respondents as an information and educational platform in the process of shaping national values.

“ Nationalism cannot exist without defined and established knowledge, purpose and value, which is why a nationalist society must be educated, self-sufficient and moral. ”

One of the respondents is different from the rest in terms of the process of determining ultranationalist values. The respondent does not identify with any group but intends to create a platform for traditionalist and truly anti-systemic intellectuals with antiliberal allies.

The respondent also outlines the basic values on which ultranationalist groups should be based.

“ Every socio-political group carrying a nationalist ideology should directly express the will of its own nation and the ideological aspirations of the people. Priority should be given to the national interest and only then will everything else fall into place. ”

Our respondent intends to prove that the far-right space is still open to creating new groups and platforms. Historical experience and political identities are beginning to transform into a new hybrid environment. Consequently, far-right groups continue to operate with a new agenda.

4. RESPONDENTS' VISIONS AND COLLABORATIONS WITH FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

At the beginning of the interview, most of the respondents highlighted the differences that separate them from the activism of Georgian March. Moreover, they believe that the discrediting of far-right groups and nationalism is caused by the actions of Georgian March. The respondents also explained the reasons for distancing themselves from the members of this group. In their opinion, Georgian March in all its essence serves the interests of Georgia's enemy, Russia, and it has nothing to do with nationalism. The respondents also accused members of Georgian March of pseudo-patriotism.

“ These people are marginalising the perception of nationalism and it is completely incomprehensible why we are being identified together. Members of Georgian March do not live with a national consciousness. I do not recognise them as patriots either. ”

“ I do not remember any group in the Georgian reality that has completely destroyed Georgian ideals and ideas as Georgian March did. ”

The issue of Russia's occupation of Georgia as viewed by far-right activists turned out to be especially important. One respondent also noted that it was because of the country's occupation and pro-Russian foreign course that he stopped cooperating with Georgian March. He added that he had taken part in various rallies against the Russian occupation and, during the so-called Gavrilov's night, he and his comrades also protested against the visit of the Russian MP to Georgia. During the interview, he also recalled how his colleagues burned Russian passports. This kind of performance was directed against the Russian occupation forces.

“ Members of Georgian March are pro-Russian in their actions, and they will justify any Russian aggression against us. ”

“ Over time, I discovered that we could not agree on the direction of foreign policy. These people cannot or do not realise that Russia is occupying the country with its military forces and invading Georgia with troops. ”

In addition to the "pro-Russian" course, the respondents also accused Georgian March of double standards and noted that members of this group do not serve the idea of nationalism through their way of life or actions. In response to a statement, one respondent recalled an occasion about the sale of land to migrants and said that several members of Georgian March had protested against the sale of land to migrants and yet sold the land to foreigners for personal gain.

The respondents also explained the everyday routine of an ordinary nationalist and noted that the preservation of the relics left by Ilia Chavchavadze in the form of language, religion

and homeland needs a constant struggle. Consequently, for them, nationalism and patriotism are the concepts that have determined their activities or ideology. The anti-Russian rhetoric of one of the far-rightists was also noticeable in the negative comment made concerning communism.

“ Communism is an ideology that is categorically unacceptable to me. Accordingly, a communist is the only person with whom it is impossible for me to communicate and have a relationship. ”

It is also noteworthy that some of the respondents do not rule out joint civic activism with members of either left-wing groups or liberals. For them, the important issue is to protect what is left by the ancestors, and it is for the society to judge about the ways to achieve it.

“ While for me, as a representative of a far-right group, some liberal organisers and speakers during the Gavrilov's night were personally and ideologically unacceptable, I still stood by them. In this case, the main thing was national self-awareness and unity. ”

“ I believe that Georgians do not have the right to separate from each other. We cannot be separated from each other. At one time, I was involved in the activism of left-wing groups and supported their green movement. I will do the same at other times when it comes to the interests of the country and particularly important issues. ”

The respondents believe that there is a need for a change in the far right. In their opinion, Georgian March has best demonstrated a vicious aspect of nationalist

discourse in Georgia, which is, primarily, considered to be a stereotypical perception of patriotism. Talking about changes, the respondents think that it is time for nationalism to move from street activism to everyday life and be reflected in the lifestyle of ordinary far-right activists, which includes refusing drugs and casinos.

According to one of the respondents, he left the far-right group because of the ideological disagreement with the leader of the National Unity of Georgia group, which was against the modernisation of the organisation. According to him, “without change and rebranding, the far-right wing is doomed to fail.” Another respondent underlined the need for a change and modernisation, emphasising the harmful habit of manipulating with religious issues in the far-right discourse, noting that it is much more important to talk about the de-occupation of the country than to manipulate with spiritual values.

The essence of cooperation with diverse types of groups is expressly nationalistic for the respondents. They believe that the discussion around national values will constantly be between people with different ideologies. In this process, it is important to protect the historical heritage and spiritual and cultural values of the country, the enemies of which are liberal values and globalisation. The respondents point out that the radical and extremist actions by far-right groups are only a response to the hostility of the ideological enemies (liberal media, non-governmental organisations, etc.) to nationalism and national values.

5. ANTILIBERAL MESSAGES IN GEORGIAN FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

In the interviews, the respondents showed expressly antiliberal sentiments. For them, liberalism is equated with hostility to culture, public mentality and nationalism. In addition, they discuss the transformation of this ideology and emphasise that liberalism has lost all its meaning and value.

“ Liberalism is harmful and nothing more than ethnic, cultural and suicide committed by the state. No matter how we turn around, the original form of liberalism has died, and this violent form has reached us, which is fundamentally at odds with itself, and has become an anti-pluralistic machine that restricts people's freedom of expression and persecutes opinions contrary to it. ”

“ Liberalism today is a symbol of the captivity of one's pseudo-values. Beyond its apparent tolerance, we must always look for the historical roots of colonialism. The nation must decide for itself what policy to choose. ”

According to one of the respondents, he has published a paper⁶ on liberalism, in which he reviews the unacceptable postulates of liberalism and maintains that “the liberal-capitalist class, as a political, academic, cultural, civil or public conglomerate, is the country's unspoken enemy.” During the interview, the respondent stated that liberals are the enemy of free-thinking. The main goal of far-right activism is to fight liberalism.

The views of the respondents regarding the media are also important. They believe that the editorial policies of Radio Liberty, TV Pirveli, Main Channel and Rustavi 2 support liberal values. In the interviews, the far-right activists said that since these media outlets are discrediting their ideology and views, they are actively fighting against them.

The respondents' attitudes towards the non-governmental sector are also imbued with distrust. It is noticeable in their opposition to liberal activism. The majority of respondents involved in our study openly demonstrated an expressly negative attitude towards the values of liberal ideology, such as pluralism and the protection of the rights of sexual minorities. This is where homophobic attitudes come into play. Respondents refer to sexual minorities as perverts and accuse the organisations protecting their rights with propaganda of filth. George Soros's personality is viewed particularly negatively, and he is considered the main sponsor of the liberal non-governmental sector.

“ Western non-governmental organisations' false studies are unacceptable for me and I like the fight of the Patriots Alliance against them. Here, the non-governmental sector serves to spread various filth with the help of the Soros Foundation to degrade our country. ”

⁶ The paper indicated by the respondent is available at iBooks.

“ Especially in this regard, I would like to single out the sexual minorities, the non-governmental organisations that are funded by Soros, who surround themselves with this depraved lifestyle. I don't want to legalise their depraved lifestyle. I don't understand, and the same-sex marriage is unacceptable for me. ”

The antiliberal discourse also emphasises the vision of one of the respondents, who distinguishes between liberalism and democracy. He believes that liberalism is the enemy of any nation. Unlike liberalism, for him, democracy is the foundation of a fully justified human order. In his view, a self-sufficient and dignified nation must determine its future. The guarantee of the nation's identity must be an authority that will be like Iliia Chavchavadze or Davit Aghmashenebeli.

“ The government must obey the will of the people. We are a national force in the majority, and we do not want to legalise LGBT marriage. It is a democracy that respects the choice of the majority. Liberalism is trying to impose its doctrines on us. ”

Women's rights activists are also unacceptable to some of the respondents.

“ Modern feminists also need mental help, because most of them are not sincere and what they do is only caused by a mental illness or a desire to own property. I don't want to single out specific individuals, though there are many whom I find ridiculous. ”

Some respondents also openly oppose multiculturalism and present it as a major enemy of nationalism. In addition, respondents highlight the economic challenges that, in their view, are caused in the world by multiculturalism as spawned by liberalism.

“ Today, liberalism endeavours to impose multiculturalism on us. What is this if not a desecration of the national values? Multiculturalism has posed the greatest threat to Europe by the influx of immigration. This has put a number of countries in economic collapse. ”

6. SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS AND KEY POINTS

After summarising and analysing the results of the interviews, several aspects can be identified that are particularly important in the process of highlighting nationalist effects in the far-right discourse. First of all, it concerns the authority figures of the respondents, whose activities and nationalist spirit determined their political and civic identity. However, a kind of fragmentation of their identity is also revealed here. Far-right activists are constantly re-evaluating their ethno-nationalist visions, both individually and institutionally. In the process of constant definition of ideology, the hybridity of political ideology also becomes noticeable. Historical experience and systems are losing relevance to far-right groups, and, amid the breakdown of political systems, new far-right groups are soon adapting to the existing environment and using different ideologies as tools of political struggle to gain more support. Nationalist values are instrumental in this fight.

The respondents explain their decision to join different groups of far-right activism by a desire to associate with like-minded people, on the one hand and, on the other hand, by a sense of insecurity when facing the liberal and digital agenda. The past experience of the respondents is also a significant factor. Their majority were brought up in a conservative environment, which ultimately led to their membership of far-right groups. The respondents also refer to the protests they developed against the liberal elite in their teenage years that helped shaping up their political identity. National motives also form an important element for far-right activists in terms of membership of various groups.

The respondents argue about transferring the power and the authority of political decision making to the nation being the core value. At the same time, however, they emphasise that the far-right nationalists are in the majority and therefore, we can conclude that the transfer of power to the nation is primarily about strengthening their positions. Although far-right activists have expressed readiness to cooperate with representatives of different ideologies, if necessary, it is doubtful whether cooperation is possible against the background of their negative attitude towards diversity.

The interviews also highlighted the agenda of structured action by the far-right groups. They have clearly expressed narratives based on the nationalist spirit, which are widely disseminated with the help of Facebook. In addition, they are constantly able to appeal to pressing national issues. It should also be noted that internet-based discussion is not limited to pressing issues or critical events. It is important for them to disseminate information about their political and social views on an ongoing basis.

The study aimed to study the main views and goals of the mainstream groups of the far-right, different from Georgian March. During the interviews, two different directions of far-right discourse in Georgia were identified. If Georgian March appeals to topical political issues, far-right groups such as Georgian Power, National Unity of Georgia and Kardhu

continue to spread their narratives and are clearly defined by a well-defined action structure and plan. These groups also come into conflict with the mainstream far-right with their approach to the anti-Russian agenda. They have anti-Soviet sentiments and see modern Russia as Georgia's enemy. It is important to note that the respondents named their anti-Russian views as the reason for their confrontation with Georgian March.

In general, the action rhetoric of the far-right activists involved in the study is power-based. They are actively trying to attract followers. In addition, proponents of the far-right ideology intend to pursue a broader nationalist policy that differs from other groups.

6 The paper indicated by the respondent is available at iBooks.