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# **Foreign Fighters and Strategic Communications: The Georgian Legion**

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## **Foreign Fighters and Strategic Communications: The Georgian Legion**

### **Abstract**

The subject of foreign fighters has invited significant scholarly inquiry, particularly in the wake of the Global War on Terror. However, much of this research has remained limited to studying the motivation for the participation of these combatants rather than the means by which they conduct their efforts. Moreover, foreign fighter scholarship has often restricted the scope of study to those participating in insurgent groups, despite the presence of thousands of foreign volunteer fighters in Ukraine since 2014. This study moves beyond these outdated paradigms in exploring how one of the most prolific groups of foreign fighters in Ukraine, the Georgian National Legion (GNL), made extensive use of strategic communications to accomplish its objectives. Acknowledging the increasingly blurred line between private and public actors in modern conflict, this study makes novel use of concepts from strategic communications literature such as stakeholder theory, branding, and framing in order to analyze collected posts from the GNL's Telegram channel through thematic coding. The study further applies these concepts in analyzing public interviews from the GNL commander with members of the press as well as the GNL website, ultimately finding that the GNL has developed an increasingly sophisticated strategic communication operation in the face of growing challenges with the onset of Russia's 2022 full-scale invasion of Ukraine. In addition to illuminating key strategic communications concepts for foreign fighters groups, the study also bears implications regarding the nature of modern conflict in relation to the state and its monopoly on war.

**Keywords:** political science, foreign fighters, strategic communications, social media, stakeholder communication, framing, branding, Ukraine, Russian invasion

**Acronyms**

Georgian National Legion (GNL)

Global War on Terror (GWOT)

Islamic State (IS)

North Atlantic Organization of Fellows (NAFO)

State Security Service of Georgia (SSG)

Two-Factor Authentication (2FA)

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

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*“The Georgian Legion has become a brand of uniting people from different countries in the fight against the empire of evil.” – Post from the Georgian National Legion Telegram; February 21, 2023*

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

For scholars, policymakers, and the wider public, the subject of foreign fighters is a strange one. These people, who for one peculiar reason or another voluntarily risk their lives in wars far away from home, seem an aberration. Hence, much of the literature on the subject seeks only to explain *why* it is they do this, emphasizing the impact of transnational identities and message framing. Little has been said of *how*. How is it that someone is even able to enter into this conflict? How are they able to feed and arm themselves in a faraway place where they may not speak the language? How are they able to tell their story, and potentially inspire others to follow them? If the reasons for their participation are intriguing, then the reasons for their survival are even more so.

Communication has proved an important tool for these individuals, and increasingly so as the internet age makes it more accessible than ever. While this particular aspect of foreign fighter groups has seen little scholarship, its value to these organizations is not to be understated. Moore and Tumelty (2008) noted the foreign mujahedeen’s enthusiasm for mass media in their propaganda and information campaigns in Chechnya during the late 1990s and early 2000s.<sup>1</sup> Research by Klausen (2015) demonstrated that foreign fighters affiliated with the Islamic State conducted a relatively disciplined social media strategy, with tightly controlled information channels intended to propagandize their mission while avoiding unwanted attention from law enforcement and military opponents.<sup>2</sup> Communications technology has served as an invaluable means of recruitment for these groups, with Weimann (2016) finding that organizations such as Islamic State (IS) developed intricate multichannel strategies to radicalize and recruit new fighters onto the battlefield.<sup>3</sup> The effect of these strategies is self-evident in the roughly 53,000 people

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<sup>1</sup> Moore, Cerwyn, and Tumelty, Paul. 2008. "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 417.

<sup>2</sup> Klausen, Jytte. 2015. "Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 19.

<sup>3</sup> Weimann, Gabriel. 2016. "The Emerging Role of Social Media in the Recruitment of Foreign Fighters." In *Foreign Fighters under International Law and Beyond*, by Andrea de Guttry, Francesca Capone and Christophe Paulussen, 93-94. The Hague: Asser Press.

successfully convinced to join IS in its attempt to seize control over parts of Iraq and Syria.<sup>4</sup> The general panic expressed by public officials at the prospect of these fighters' return to their countries of origin highlights the value of properly understanding what allows these fighters to amass so much manpower and resources in the first place.

The question of 'how' is made all the more complicated today, however, as the sort of conflict foreign fighters now find themselves engaged in may be quite different than the battlefield of yesteryear. The character of fighting in Ukraine draws greater comparison by both military analysts and the media to the Somme or Verdun than Fallujah or Sadr City, with clear frontlines fought over between two internationally recognized governments of separate states and all the resources thereof. Indeed, the foreign fighters in Ukraine have, since shortly after the conclusion of the Minsk Agreements in 2015, found themselves more-or-less officially under the banner of the state through incorporation into the National Guard or regular army.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the technology available to these individuals has matured in the last decade, with interesting implications for the fighting organizations they belong to. As a result, these fighters may be more able to openly crowdfund, not only making their acquisition of equipment much easier, but also less costly. These conditions are quite different from those experienced by the tens of thousands of individuals who traveled to the Middle East to fight alongside local insurgencies during the so-called Global War on Terror (GWOT).

Unfortunately, the literature has not yet fully appreciated this, and it remains unclear how it is that the reportedly thousands of people who have traveled to Ukraine for the purposes of fighting since 2014 have managed to survive within their organizations over a decade into the conflict. The very definition of 'foreign fighter', as I illustrate, has until now largely been so restrictive as to *only* include those who participate in the sorts of insurgencies commonly obsessed over by policymakers of the 2000s and 2010s.<sup>6</sup> This thesis aims to put forward some initial steps towards expanding our understanding of foreign fighters organizations, particularly in how they are able to employ novel organizational strategies to address the challenges they face. Recognizing the importance of both technology and social relations in war, we pay particular attention to how one of the largest contingents of foreign fighters in this War, the Georgian National Legion (GNL), has

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<sup>4</sup> Mehra, Tanya, Merlina Herbach, Devorah Margolin, and Austin C. Doctor. 2023. *Trends in the Return and Prosecution of ISIS Foreign Terrorist Fighters in the United States*. ICCT/NCITE Report, Omaha: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism.

<sup>5</sup> Rękawek, Kacper. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine, 45: The Brown-Red Cocktail*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>6</sup> Malet, David. 2013. *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 9. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

made effective use of strategic communications to address challenges such as manpower and equipment shortages, and increase morale within the organization. Beyond this, it has grown from a small organization of approximately 20 Georgian war veterans in 2014 to a contingent of roughly 1,000 professional volunteers from around the globe. Being one of the most successful ‘hubs’ of Western foreign fighters on the Ukrainian side of the war, the GNL represents an interesting case study due to their gradual shift from nonstate volunteer fighters to official members of the Ukrainian armed forces after 2015, and due to their apparent success in drawing the attention of international media, think tanks, and lawmakers since the beginning of their participation in the conflict.<sup>7</sup> GNL social media is also quite active, with more than 7,000 public posts made on the social media platform X (formerly known as Twitter) since the account’s creation in May 2022.<sup>8</sup> The organization also maintains active, public-facing social media pages on other platforms, including Facebook, Instagram, and Telegram; additionally, the GNL maintains separate, public X accounts for its social media fundraising, and its commander, Mamuka Mamulashvili. GNL leadership has actively engaged with members of the press through interviews conducted with both Ukrainian and international media, as well as Washington, D.C.-based think tanks such as the Hudson Institute. These activities all speak to the high importance GNL places on its public communications, and further highlight the value in understanding how and why this is. Thus, a critical research question emerges: **How do foreign fighters groups use strategic communications to accomplish their organizational goals?** This question guides our exploration of the Georgian National Legion's use of strategic communications, providing insights into their recruitment, operational strategies, and survival mechanisms in the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

Accordingly, this thesis begins by engaging the literature on the transformation of war, seeking to understand the current social relations of warfare and the role of the state therein. It examines early paradigms championed by Clausewitz which later scholars like Van Creveld and Kaldor argued overestimated the separation between the armed forces, state, and society at large in modern warfare. As we will see, changes in both technology and social relations have increasingly blurred the lines between state and nonstate actors, with their roles in war overlapping as the state finds itself short of resources. Establishing this as our setting, we will then explore the existing

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<sup>7</sup> Rękawek, 2023, *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine*, 50.

<sup>8</sup> Georgian Legion. 2024. Georgian Legion's Public X Page. Accessed June 4, 2024. [https://x.com/georgian\\_legion](https://x.com/georgian_legion)

scholarship on foreign fighters, looking past the limitations of earlier, more restrictive definitions towards a more inclusive model. As the thesis will make clear, scholars have long recognized the value of public communications and social media to these groups, who often benefit from an exaggerated mystique and reputation as ideological hardliners.<sup>9</sup> Thus, we will end our literature review with an exploration of the concept of ‘strategic communications’ in order to better understand how organizations make use of this tool to accomplish their goals. We take note of three concepts from this literature, ‘stakeholder communication, ‘framing’, and ‘branding’ as key aspects of foreign fighters’ communication strategy and relate them to the established understanding of foreign fighter groups in contemporary conflict in order to form a theoretical framework with which to proceed. This thesis will then introduce the case of the Georgian National Legion, a group of foreign fighters active in Ukraine since April 2014. We will briefly explore their history and current disposition before focusing our interest on their online presence. As we will see, the GNL has developed an extensive social media presence across multiple platforms with a clear communications strategy.

In order to understand how the GNL utilizes strategic communications to achieve its organizational goals, this study employs a qualitative research design, relying on content analysis of social media posts, and analysis of publicly available media and documents such as press interviews. In analyzing this data through the theoretical lens we’ve established, we will see how foreign fighter groups like the GNL make extensive use of branding and message framing to satisfy its stakeholders and accomplish their goals. Our findings provide much-needed insight into an important but understudied subject, as well as contribute to the emerging body of literature in the application of Strategic Communications in the social sciences. Additionally, this research will help move the study of foreign fighters beyond outdated perspectives which have pervaded much of the existing literature. Lastly, the study applies a novel approach to the study of foreign fighters through its adoption of strategic communications-based concepts, as the field’s literature is typically concerned with explicitly private commercial or state organizations.

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<sup>9</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 82.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1: Old and New Wars

In order to effectively explore this aspect of contemporary violent conflict, it is important to establish the contours of the setting in which it takes place. In addition to providing context for the phenomenon we are about to explore, this will also shed light on why foreign fighters are increasingly prevalent in today's conflicts – whether in the Middle East or Eastern Europe – and how their environment shapes their behavior. As we shall see, the differences between today's conflicts and those of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries determine the challenges faced by those who fight them. Moreover, they highlight how some of these combatants are far more similar than they first appear.

Clausewitz' "On War" has long stood as one of the chief foundational works of military and strategic study. Published posthumously in 1832, "On War" sought to clarify the nature of war, and further outlined the material and moral factors which Clausewitz argued were decisive therein. Importantly, Clausewitz' treatise developed in the aftermath of a paradigmatic shift in the conduct of war, when the great powers of Europe grappled with the lessons of Napoleon Bonaparte's spectacular dominance of Europe at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His understanding of war is thus, "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."<sup>10</sup> It is intended to reduce the enemy's ability to resist coercion and is ultimately facilitated through social relationships of one form or another. Strong public morale is prerequisite for war's outbreak and continuation, part of the requirements for wargaming alongside the military and the state. This is in line with Clausewitz' broader emphasis on the importance of *moral* (or psychological) factors in conflict. These factors, "the spirit and other moral qualities of an army, a general or a government, the temper of the population of the theatre of war, the moral effects of victory or defeat" are not equal among a conflict's contenders.<sup>11</sup> Most important among these factors, Clausewitz argues, are "the skill of the commander, the experience and courage of the troops, and their patriotic spirit."<sup>12</sup> Failure to cultivate these resources could prove disastrous to an army forced to confront a national uprising or 'people's war' such as the Spanish insurgency of the Napoleonic Wars. These conflicts require

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<sup>10</sup> Von Clausewitz, Carl. 1832. *On War*, 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Von Clausewitz, C. 1832, *On War*, 141-142.

<sup>12</sup> Von Clausewitz, C. 1832, *On War*, 143.

a greater individual fighting ability and competence of small units, as larger formations would be forced to spread out across a rebellious populous.

Addressing contemporary anxieties over the increasing frequency of armed rebellion as well as the question of an armed populace, Clausewitz is more forward-looking than some of his peers. Rebellions, he says, are “simply another means of war – in its relation, therefore, to the enemy.”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Clausewitz saw these rebellions as symptomatic of wider changes in contemporary warmaking; that is, these conflicts went hand-in-hand with modern systems of conscription and the employment of militias of the time like the Prussian *Landwehr* and Spanish *guerrillas*. Further, these systems allowed the development of a state’s capacity towards ‘absolute war’, or the absolution of warfare from the constraints of limited resources and political capabilities.

Despite Clausewitz’ continued prominence into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, discourse regarding the nature of conflict has manifested some criticism of his focus on the role of the state in warfare. Citing the failures of nuclear-armed superpowers to contend with sustained insurgencies such as the Americans during the Vietnam War or the Soviet Union during its invasion of Afghanistan, Von Creveld questions the relevance of a state-centric, what he calls ‘trinitarian’ (referring to the distinct separation of the state, military, and people in warmaking) approach to warfare in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Instead, he proposes an alternative framework of analysis which asks five key questions about war: (1) Who fights it? (2) How do the moral and material aspects of war interact? (3) How is war fought in terms of strategy and tactics? (4) What are the objectives of war? (5) Why do individuals fight wars?<sup>15</sup> Von Creveld traces the gradual development of the state’s monopoly on violence, reinforced through the social upheavals of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe into the paradigm that *only* the state could wage something to be considered ‘war’.<sup>16</sup> From this lens, a non-state actor’s participation in conflict against the state was not, in fact “simply another means of war” but instead something criminal, even deserving of reprisal.

This view became increasingly difficult to sustain as technology advanced rapidly through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The advent of the railroad and telegraph drastically eased the difficulty in mobilizing and deploying resources at the outbreak of war by the 1870s.<sup>17</sup> When the wars sustained

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<sup>13</sup> Von Clausewitz, C. 1832. *On War*, 184.

<sup>14</sup> van Creveld, Martin. 1991. *The Transformation of War*. New York: The Free Press.

<sup>15</sup> Van Creveld, M. 1991, *Transformation of War*, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Van Creveld, M. 1991, *Transformation of War*, 53-54.

<sup>17</sup> Van Creveld, M.1991, *Transformation of War*, 55.

by this mobilization threatened to devour the state in its hunger for resources in 1918, it seemed obvious to some that war was not simply a continuation of politics. Among these was Erich Ludendorff, senior member of the German Imperial Army's staff during the First World War. Ludendorff enthusiastically endorsed the concept of 'total war', utterly subordinating all a society's resources towards the preparation for war under a military dictatorship.<sup>18</sup> These ideas would shape how Germany, the Soviet Union, and to a lesser extent its liberal opponents, again went to war with each other in 1939. Van Creveld points to how these experiences over the Second World War once again altered the relationship between people and the state, with the proliferation of popular national liberation movements in Yugoslavia and Poland while state armies, navies, and air forces increasingly blurred the lines between civilian and military targets.<sup>19</sup> All of these developments contradicted the Clausewitzian model of trinitarian war, in which the people, state, and military were separate bodies that did not interact with each other. Accordingly, Van Creveld discards the notion that only states may make war and explores the implications of nontrinitarian war. The view that only states could wage war, he argues, had biased some political scientists and even policymakers towards ignoring budding conflicts waged by largely nonstate actors (namely in Algeria, Vietnam, and Palestine).<sup>20</sup> The increasing frequency of these low-intensity conflicts only emphasized the importance of taking a more expansive view of the relationship of the state and people in war.

Kaldor also took note of the changing nature of warfare by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, whereas Van Creveld points to technological change as driving a transformation of warfare, Kaldor sees changing social relations as the primary factor.<sup>21</sup> Though, even Kaldor admits, technology has its own influence on how these social relations evolve. Instead, it only compounded the true transformation of conflict, which she asserts is that globalization fueled an increasing divide between the 'cosmopolitan', or those benefiting from the increased global interconnectivity brought forth by new communications technology, and the local, who are largely excluded from these global processes.<sup>22</sup> As a result, 'new wars' came to diverge from the old, marked by the degeneration of state authority and resources as identity politics exacerbated internal political cleavages, increasing transnational connectivity of state militaries, as well as growing privatization

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<sup>18</sup> Ludendorff, Erich. 1935. *Der Totale Krieg*. Munich: Ludendorff.

<sup>19</sup> Van Creveld, M. 1991, *Transformation of War*, 61.

<sup>20</sup> Van Creveld, M. 1991, *Transformation of War*, 71.

<sup>21</sup> Kaldor, Mary. 2012. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 4. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>22</sup> Kaldor, M. 2012. 4-5.

of the state. Amidst all this change, the line between combatant and civilian grew increasingly blurred.

According to Kaldor, this change has been accompanied by a more globalized war economy, where “participation is low relative to the population both because of lack of pay and because of lack of legitimacy on the part of the warring parties. There is very little domestic production, so the war effort is heavily dependent on local predation and external support.”<sup>23</sup> So overwhelming are these economic circumstances to the conflict that attempts to resolve wars politically (as in, without addressing this economic dimension) fail almost invariably. Meanwhile, these wars are characterized by the varied nature of participating fighting units. Kaldor identifies five categories: “regular armed forces or remnants thereof; paramilitary groups; self-defense units; foreign mercenaries; and, finally, regular foreign troops, generally under international auspices.”<sup>24</sup> Under these circumstances, paramilitary groups often grow around charismatic individual leaders, often at the behest of governments seeking plausible deniability in extrajudicial violence.<sup>25</sup> Generally, these organizations are less discerning in their choice of recruits, and less consistent in their uniforms and symbols. Further, despite using the term “mercenaries” for simplicity, Kaldor also includes those foreigners not motivated by material gain in this category as well. Regardless of category, the disintegration of the state in conflict leads these groups to generally use lighter, cheaper equipment.<sup>26</sup> These can include small arms like rifles, grenades, machine guns, landmines, and light howitzers and rocket artillery. Other technology such as radio equipment or novel explosives like improvised explosive devices (IEDs) may also be useful. While strained supply lines may restrict their use, the ability to field more heavy weaponry like gunship helicopters and tanks can be decisive for these units in small engagements. As we shall discuss in our case study, the proliferation of small, inexpensive drones on the battlefields of Ukraine also plays a significant role in improving the lethality of these group in combat.

Where both Kaldor and Van Creveld stand in agreement is in regard to the increasingly blurred contours between society and the war. Where once war was considered to be something akin to oil on water, separate entirely from the other pillars of society, in the postwar order this has grown increasingly difficult to maintain. As we shall see, this sometimes-dubious distinction between

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<sup>23</sup> Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 94.

<sup>24</sup> Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 96.

<sup>25</sup> Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 101.

state and nonstate continues today, especially as the state struggles to bring its resources to bear in the face of conflict. Also of relevance is the influence of both technological advances and changing social relations, both of which play an important role in the ability of these smaller paramilitary units to survive and accomplish their objectives on the battlefield in an age of social media crowdfunding and widely available consumer-market drones.

## **2.2: Foreign Fighters**

### **2.2.1: What is a ‘Foreign Fighter’?**

Having placed our actors in their appropriate context, we may now explore their role more properly. It is important to note that the study of foreign fighters over the past several decades has become multidisciplinary, with the subject being explored by scholars and experts in terrorism studies, international security, and military history. Although largely restricted to study within the context of global Islamist terrorism in the early 2000s to 2010s, a reexamination of the field by scholars from the mid-2010s to early 2020s prompted a more expansive view of the subject. Despite this relatively recent scholarly interest, foreign fighters are not a new phenomenon, and have in fact played quite important roles in both interstate and intrastate conflicts of the past several centuries. Scholars of both the first and second wave of studies on the phenomena of foreign fighters have identified a long tradition of individuals volunteering for service with foreign armies, with David Malet’s 2013 book “Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict” offering a comprehensive exploration of the subject, connecting foreign volunteers in the 1835-1836 Texas Revolution to those in the Spanish Civil War, Israeli War of Independence, and Soviet-Afghan War through both the primarily (albeit broad) ideological and identity-based motivations of the fighters and the framing and messaging techniques of the recruiting organizations.<sup>27</sup> Malet surveys 331 civil conflicts from 1816 to 2005 to explore the participation of foreign fighters and the consequences thereof. Ultimately, Malet argues that organizations involved in recruiting foreign fighters emphasize a shared transnational identity which is then painted as under threat and in need of aid, through what he calls ‘framing’.<sup>28</sup> Thus, what may initially be seen as a conflict between local factions is retold as part of a global conflict (such as between liberalism and authoritarianism, Christianity and Islam, or communism and fascism). Additionally, ‘frame bridging’ sees recruiting

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<sup>27</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 208.

<sup>28</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 27.

activists relate issues in their messaging that, while not contradictory, were not necessarily connected; these strategies served to broaden the potential audience of recruits according to the organization's needs.

While pioneering, Malet's approach is problematic in much the same way as many within this first wave of literature on the subject is. "Foreign Fighters" corresponded with what became an explosion of academic interest in the phenomena in the wake of the roughly 53,000 individuals who left their countries of origin to fight alongside (or in some cases against) the Islamic State (IS) during its rapid and performatively bloody conquests in the Middle East during the early 2010s. As De Roy van Zuijdewijn notes, "the number of studies on this topic prior to 2010 was low. A Google Scholar search displays 2,750 hits for the period 1900-2009, compared to 17,100 hits for the decade that followed (2010-20)."<sup>29</sup> Perhaps it is due to this preoccupation that Malet and many of his contemporaries offered a more restricted definition of the "foreign fighter". To them, the term foreign fighter strictly referred to "noncitizens of conflict states who join insurgencies during civil conflicts."<sup>30</sup> Malet justified this by pointing to the increased legal protections typically enjoyed by state-affiliated combatants and greater guarantee of success as state-affiliated recruiters "can make credible offers of payment and victory in a way most insurgencies cannot."<sup>31</sup> This sentiment was echoed by Flores<sup>32</sup>, who deferred to the definition offered by Colgan and Hegghammer that foreign fighters are defined by the qualifications that "(a) they are not overtly state sponsored; (b) they use insurgent tactics to achieve their ends; and (d) their principal motivation is ideological rather than material rewards."<sup>33</sup> Malet, for his part, acknowledged in "Foreign Fighters" historical examples of state-sponsored efforts to recruit foreign fighters.<sup>34</sup> However, he maintained at the time that these fell outside his own definition, and did not include them in his study. At that time, none of these studies offered an alternative classification for this category. This definition will prove increasingly untenable as we delve into our case study.

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<sup>29</sup> de Roy van Zuijdewijn, Jeanine. 2024. "Radicalisation of 'Foreign Fighters'." In *The Routledge Handbook on Radicalisation and Countering Radicalisation*, by Joel Busher, Leena Malkki and Sarah Marsden, 231. New York: Routledge.

<sup>30</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 9.

<sup>31</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Flores, Marcello. 2016. "Foreign Fighters Involvement in National and International Wars: A Historical Survey." In *Foreign Fighters under International Law and Beyond*, by Andrea de Guttry, Francesca Capone and Christophe Paulussen, eds., 27. The Hague: TMC Asser Press, 32.

<sup>33</sup> Colgan, Jeff, and Thomas Hegghammer. 2011. "Islamic Foreign Fighters: Concept and Data." *International Studies Association Annual Convention*. Montreal. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Malet, D. 2013, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflict*, 37

Meanwhile, other scholars entertained more inclusive definitions of a ‘foreign fighter’, such as Mendelsohn, who acknowledged that states may recruit foreign volunteer fighters (and that this may be more common in conflicts which already involve violent non-state actors) but that such a strategy implies some logistical and tactical difficulties for the state.<sup>35</sup> Bakke, while not including state-sponsored foreign fighters in her exploration of ‘transnational insurgents’, did concede that financial motivations may play a part in mobilizing recruits.<sup>36</sup> Bakke’s work is more interesting for her incorporation of social movement theory, which will be discussed further below.

More scholars would join the debate as a second wave of scholarship served to broaden the scope of study and address these gaps by dispensing with the categorical requirement that individuals be involved in insurgent activity. Leading a March 2020 issue of *European Review of History*, O’Connor and Piketty hoped to encourage a greater reevaluation of previous scholarly work on the subject in arguing that the trend of multinational armies was much more common historically than previously acknowledged.<sup>37</sup> Going further, they outline three primary categories for further study of the field to work through: mercenaries, driven primarily by financial gain; foreign ‘fighters’ and ‘volunteers’ driven by personal or ideological motives’; and co-belligerent soldiers fighting under the command of a coalition partner.<sup>38</sup> O’Connor and Piketty’s introduction also highlights the transnational nature of many historical instances of foreign fighters involvement in conflict, arguing that greater attention should be paid in future research to the intercultural experience of both the foreign fighter and the host.<sup>39</sup> The issue’s subsequent articles follow this lead in expanding the scope of consideration in how foreign fighters have participated in conflict over the centuries, and how their activities span a multinational perspective that may often be either overstated or downplayed. Arielli pays particular interest to the latter, examining the shifting public presentation of foreign volunteers and how the mythologizing and romanticization of their role has often obscured the reality of their activities. Of special interest to this thesis is Arielli’s commentary on the *image* of the foreign fighter, that is, their presence in the public consciousness and the power

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<sup>35</sup> Mendelsohn, Barak. 2011. "Foreign Fighters - Recent Trends." In *The Foreign Fighters Problem, Recent Trends and Case Studies: Selected Essays*, by Michael P. Noonan, ed, 12. Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute.

<sup>36</sup> Bakke, Kristen M. 2013. "2 - Copying and learning from outsiders? Assessing diffusion from transnational insurgents in the Chechen Wars." In *Transnational Dynamics of Civil War*, by Jeffrey T. Checkel, 31-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>37</sup> O’Connor, Steven, and Guillaume Piketty. 2020. "Introduction - Foreign fighters and multinational armies: from civil conflicts to coalition wars, 1848-2015." *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 1-11.

<sup>38</sup> O’Connor, S. and G. Piketty, 2020. "Introduction – Foreign fighters and multinational armies: from civil conflicts to coalition wars, 1848-2015", 2-3.

<sup>39</sup> O’Connor, S. and G. Piketty, 2020. "Introduction – Foreign fighters and multinational armies: from civil conflicts to coalition wars, 1848-2015", 3

they convey over memory of a conflict, as well as *how* exactly the international brigades projected their public image.<sup>40</sup> Arielli notes the emphasis placed on the internationalist and multiracial nature of the volunteer brigades of the 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War found in Republican posters and photographs of the time, and the resulting popular perception of these units in spite of the often dangerous and demoralizing reality of their experiences during the war.<sup>41</sup> This suggests a strong moral component to the presence and participation of these fighters, and a value added to the causes for which they fight. The value of popular media in cementing a more romanticized reality, such as Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is also touched upon, with recent policymakers such as the American senator John McCain frequently citing the novel as an inspiration for his own interest in transnational rebel groups in Libya and Syria.<sup>42</sup> Arielli also notes the disproportionate attention paid to foreign fighters by the media and international community. During the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, the presence of approximately 1,000 foreign fighters on the Bosnian side was frequently cited by the Serbs as evidence of a dangerous international mujahedeen intervention, and Belgrade and Zagreb both frequently attempted to connect these groups to wartime atrocities within their respective propaganda.<sup>43</sup> Despite this, Arielli notes, only a negligible number of foreign fighters were ever discussed during the 1995 Dayton Accords, suggesting that their presence in the public consciousness was likely disproportionate to their actual activity during the conflict.

### **2.2.2: How do Foreign Fighters Operate?**

While the push by historians to broaden scholarly perspectives on the topic of foreign fighters served this purpose well, it would be incorrect to say that the previous wave of research was without merit or exclusively focused on the motivations of insurgents. Indeed, Moore and Tumelty in 2008 lent critical insight into the phenomena of foreign fighters in Chechnya, dismantling misconceptions about the role of these combatants which had developed as a result of public relations choices of both the Chechen resistance networks and the wider international community.<sup>44</sup> Moore and Tumelty are not as restrictive as Malet in defining foreign fighters, requiring only that they are “non-indigenous, non-territorialised combatants who, motivated by

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<sup>40</sup> Arielli, Nir. 2020. "Foreign fighters and war volunteers: between myth and reality." *European Review of History* 54-64.

<sup>41</sup> Arielli, N. 2020. "Foreign fighters and war volunteers: between myth and reality." 56.

<sup>42</sup> Arielli, N. 2020. "Foreign fighters and war volunteers: between myth and reality." 54.

<sup>43</sup> Arielli, N. 2020. "Foreign fighters and war volunteers: between myth and reality." 58.

<sup>44</sup> Moore C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment", 413.

religion, kinship, and/or ideology rather than pecuniary reward, enter a conflict to participate in hostilities.”<sup>45</sup> Lamenting the dearth of research at the time regarding foreign fighters, Moore and Tumelty sought to identify the processes by which these individuals were able to operate effectively in such a complicated and difficult environment as Chechnya. Chief among the enabling factors for the Arab-Afghan network of fighters in Chechnya was their strong relationship with the indigenous social networks, built upon credibility earned in previous combat against the Soviets in Afghanistan as well as a careful management of the information space through which their public image and affiliation was presented.<sup>46</sup> Tracing three key themes which made the case of Chechnya unique – those being the Jordanian diaspora’s resistance network, the activities of their more radical hosts in Chechnya, and the changing nature of this relationship over the course of the conflict – Moore and Tumelty explore the personality of Ibn al-Khattab and his nucleus of jihadist fighters in the North Caucasus. Interestingly, the value of propaganda and strategic communications (a concept this paper will explore in greater detail below) by this network is repeatedly illustrated, with their widespread dissemination of jihadist videotapes and CDs extolling their cause in the latter half of the 1990s and boosting their credibility both with local Chechen factions and Gulf State financiers.<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, Moore and Tumelty note, “For young North Caucasians, especially the Chechens, the appeal of the Salafis lay in their financial patronage and the simplicity of the religious appeal they preached.”<sup>48</sup> This was compounded further after Chechen insurgents were erroneously linked to Al Qaeda leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi through an alleged intermediary to a commander of foreign fighters in Chechnya, Abu Hafs al-Urdani, in Colin Powell’s February 2003 speech before the United Nations. According to Moore and Tumelty, the Chechen insurgency “attempted to diversify their sources of funding by exploiting Abu Hafs’ Jordanian nationality and his well-publicized, if indirect and unconfirmed, linkage to Zarqawi in order to draw on the new funding networks emerging around the latter following the invasion of Iraq and his own rise to prominence.”<sup>49</sup> Whereas the Chechen insurgency and its affiliated foreign fighters had previously downplayed any purported connections to Al Qaeda to avoid securitization in Washington (something the early Putin administration had sought to achieve), they rapidly adapted to changing circumstances even as Al Qaeda’s vision of global jihad allegedly clashed

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<sup>45</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 “Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment”, 412.

<sup>46</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 “Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment”, 413

<sup>47</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 “Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment”, 417-418

<sup>48</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 “Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment”, 419

<sup>49</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 “Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment”, 422-423

with al-Khattab's own, more regionally-focused project. The decision was followed shortly thereafter by meticulously choreographed information campaigns via propaganda videos in order to inflate the influence of this contingent of foreign fighters in the conflict for the purposes of attracting foreign donations. As Moore and Tumelty explain, the episode also showcased how these efforts led to the creation of popular figureheads through which a cause can draw more resources through the resulting virtual networks in a "self-fulfilling prophecy."<sup>50</sup>

This flexibility in responding to changing external and internal organizational demands appears to have a common theme, even as the collection of foreign fighters in Chechnya could be more or less fragmented at times. As the Second Chechen War began in 1999, Khattab sought to limit the number of foreign volunteers as rebel forces were not initially short of manpower and could not afford to support a larger number of largely untrained foreign recruits.<sup>51</sup> In addition to requiring stricter vetting of prospective recruits, jihadist websites within Khattab's network encouraged would-be fighters to first gain experience in Afghanistan. While Moore and Tumelty were primarily interested in debunking growing narratives among scholars and policymakers of the allegedly ubiquitous 'Chechen foreign fighter' in other GWOT conflicts and supposed longstanding linkages between the North Caucasus insurgency and the wider Al Qaeda movement, they also highlight the increasing importance of public relations and propaganda campaigns, and the critical role these played in the growth and survival of the foreign fighters in Chechnya.

Additionally, some scholars have also begun research into the activities of foreign fighters not necessarily involved in insurgencies. Josticova and Aliyev (2023) explore the motivations of pro-Kyiv Belarusian volunteers in Ukraine, explicitly seeking to move beyond the aforementioned focus in the study of foreign fighters on political or religious motivations by examining groups which may seek to achieve political objectives in their own homelands.<sup>52</sup> Their study notes that some of the Belarusian formations that formed after Maidan, while active during the more fluid engagements of the initial conflict in 2014, had partly demobilized by 2017 as the war grew more

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<sup>50</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment", 423

<sup>51</sup> Moore, C. and P. Tumelty, 2008 "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment", 421-422

<sup>52</sup> Josticova, Hana, and Huseyn Aliyev. 2024. "There won't be a free Belarus without a free Ukraine: motivations of Belarusian volunteers fighting for Ukraine in the Russo-Ukrainian War." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 204-221.

static and attritional.<sup>53</sup> Foreign fighters interviewed nonetheless hoped to leverage this combat experience towards the liberation of Belarus from the Lukashenka regime.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, Rekawek's 2023 "Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail" finds that many foreign fighters found success among the 'networked' foreigners who made their way to the front lines independent of the official International Legion.<sup>55</sup> From the initial stages of the conflict in 2014 onward, Rekawek's notes, foreign fighters congregated around various 'hubs' like volunteer battalions and popular militias, each with their own distinct character and recruitment criteria. On the pro-Kyiv side, three primary hubs emerged (later being incorporated into the Ukrainian army or National Guard): The Georgian National Legion, The Right Sector (*Pravyi Sektor*), and Azov Battalion.<sup>56</sup> While the case of the Georgian National Legion will be discussed in greater detail in our case selection, it is worth noting at this time the critical value of public relations (and the consequences of failures to manage this subject effectively by these groups) is apparent for all three organizations. Disrepute as a result of, for example, widely publicized extremists recruited into Azov battalion in the past would make more mainstream state backing for such a group more difficult. Meanwhile, the pro-Russian "separatist" foreign fighters were allegedly more successful in attracting more foreigners into their ranks, though through a much more haphazard organizational structure than Ukraine's hubs.<sup>57</sup>

### **2.2.3: Foreign Fighters and Social Media as an Instrument of Communication**

The importance of a foreign fighter group's public image raises the key question as to how this is managed today. Accordingly, the subject of foreign fighters' media relations and their adoption of social media saw increased interest by scholars – particularly in the wake of the Islamic State's theatrically violent livestream of its Spring 2014 offensive. Klausen sought to explore the widespread use of social media by foreign fighters in IS, specifically asking how much control IS had over its online messaging and how new online media influenced IS behavior in terms of the public and symbolic staging of violence. Noting the dependency that such organizations have on media, Klausen emphasizes the benefits of social media for organizations seeking inexpensive

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<sup>53</sup> Josticova, H., and H. Aliyev. 2024. "There won't be a free Belarus without a free Ukraine: motivations of Belarusian volunteers fighting for Ukraine in the Russo-Ukrainian War." 212.

<sup>54</sup> Josticova, Hana, and Huseyn Aliyev. 2024. "There won't be a free Belarus without a free Ukraine: motivations of Belarusian volunteers fighting for Ukraine in the Russo-Ukrainian War." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 213.

<sup>55</sup> Rekawek, K. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail*, 234.

<sup>56</sup> Rekawek, K. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail*, 49-58.

<sup>57</sup> Rekawek, K. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail*, 58.

ways to reach large audiences, with nearly three quarters of surveyed IS-affiliated X accounts having accumulated a disproportionate number of followers to the accounts they followed.<sup>58</sup> These accounts primarily posted references about jihadist religious doctrine purportedly justifying their activities in their own languages (including English, Danish, and German), with a notable consistency in message across the roughly 49 accounts surveyed, suggesting more effective control of messaging than Klausen initially anticipated.<sup>59</sup> In addition, visual media spread by these accounts often served to exaggerate the power of the foreign fighters while dehumanizing the vanquished corpses as without value.<sup>60</sup> Despite the strangely casual nature of other posts by these accounts amidst this activity, including posts about pets and things of general touristic interest in the middle east, these social media networks served a clear propagandistic nature to bring the ‘theater of terror’ into the pockets of audiences from the fighters countries of origin. Klausen draws three main conclusions from her research, chiefly that social media activity from IS accounts displayed a high degree of ideological conformity, that they are subject to strict content control, and that a number of important at-large social media managers based beyond the battlefield exercised played an integral role to the organization’s social media presence.<sup>61</sup> Fritz and Young, meanwhile, return to the problem of defining the ‘foreign fighter’ in order to study the other side of foreign volunteers in this conflict – those who traveled to the middle east to fight IS alongside substate militias such as Kurdish Peshmerga. Considering the fraught debate over the qualifications of a foreign fighter – state or nonstate, paid or unpaid – Fritz and Young point out inconsistencies in the Malet’s justification for his qualification, such as the purported legal protection enjoyed by state-affiliated fighters. They note that, in fact, many individuals faced similar difficulties and dangers – while unpaid – to join nonstate but nominally pro-government militias in the fight against IS.<sup>62</sup> In their study of 34 Americans who had joined such groups, they found that a majority reported being motivated by reasons related to group grievance, with a slightly smaller portion being driven by personal motivations, such as feelings related to their prior military service in the Middle East or yearning for a return to the military lifestyle. Comparatively few expressed an ideological motivation for participating in the conflict, suggesting that personal

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<sup>58</sup> Klausen, J. 2015 “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq”, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Klausen, J. 2015 “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq”, 10-11.

<sup>60</sup> Klausen, J. 2015 “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq”, 13.

<sup>61</sup> Klausen, J. 2015 “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq”, 19.

<sup>62</sup> Fritz, Jason, and Joseph K. Young. 2020. "Transnational Volunteers: American Foreign Fighters Combating the Islamic State." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 449-468.

or group identity are far more tangible mobilizing factors. In any case, the progression of literature since the mid-2010s saw the field move beyond its focus on Islamist foreign fighters in the middle east to gradually consider adjacent categories and theaters of conflict. It is shown that, across well-studied cases of foreign fighter groups, their control over issues of public relations and reputation are crucial to their ability to compete for resources and succeed. As we seek to better understand this aspect of these groups, which we call we should look to the literature on how any organization might actively address these subjects through the use of strategic communications.

### **2.3: Strategic Communications**

Strategic Communications, defined by Hallahan et al (2007) as “the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission”,<sup>63</sup> is a relatively new field of communications studies which draws upon the six disciplines of management, public relations, marketing, political communication, technical communication, and information/social marketing campaigns. Organizations from businesses to governments and activist organizations each engage in strategic communications as a matter of everyday life as they all compete for resources and attention from audiences. From the field’s early development, strategic communications scholars highlighted its multidisciplinary perspective in order to provide more a more comprehensive framework for study.<sup>64</sup> This is a useful approach, as organizations themselves undertake a variety of communication efforts, including management communication, marketing communication, public relations, technical communications, political communication, and information and social marketing campaigns.<sup>65</sup> While these efforts might differ in tactics, the broader strategies employed remain similar, necessitating a further study as to *how* and *why* organizations adopt these strategies and to what effect.

Herein lies the value of strategic communications as a theoretical approach, as it allows for a much broader consideration of communications activities within and around an organization in furtherance of its objectives. As communications technologies and trends have developed rapidly since the turn of the century, theoretical models which can account for this grow increasingly relevant. Accordingly, Hallahan et al identify the critical role that digital technologies such as the

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<sup>63</sup> Hallahan, Kirk, Derina Holtzhausen, Betteke van Ruler, Dejan Verčič, and Krishnamurthy Sriramesh. 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." *International Journal of Strategic Communications* 3.

<sup>64</sup> Hallahan, K. et al., 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." 4.

<sup>65</sup> Hallahan, K. et al., 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." 5-6.

internet and instant messaging would play in blurring the lines between these communications efforts within an organization, especially advertising and publicity.<sup>66</sup> Going further, they endorse two primary models of communication from preexisting communications literature, being the ‘transmission model of communication’ which emphasizes a one-way, top-down approach from the organization; and the ‘interactive model of communication’, in which communication is recognized as two-way process that involves action and reaction.<sup>67</sup> In this model, the communication takes place as a process involving “the creation and exchange of meaning between the parties in a communication activity.”<sup>68</sup> Hallahan et al also relate this to the *ritual model of communication*, wherein communication “is a symbolic process whereby reality is created, maintained, repaired, and transformed” per Carey’s definition.<sup>69</sup> In this model, metaphors are emphasized which involve community and fellowship as opposed to focus on technology, space, travel, or geography. Later scholars, building upon the definition laid out by Hallahan et al, would increasingly apply the models of strategic communication to other disciplines, with a slight majority of published articles surveyed by Werder et al adopting a multidisciplinary focus.<sup>70</sup>

Holtzhausen and Zerfass (2015) explore some of the new opportunities and challenges faced by the nascent field, seeking potential solutions to the ongoing literature gaps regarding Strategic Communications within the existing body of literature. Adopting the definition of Hallahan et al, they make note of the delineation between the public and private spheres and assert the value of explicitly placing the field of strategic communications within the public sphere.<sup>71</sup> While they recognize the expansion of the public space over generations to include more marginalized groups, they emphasize that the overlap of strategic communications practices beyond the public into the private would reduce transparency. As a matter of ethics, they argue that organizations are obligated to submit their communications to the public sphere, rather than take full advantage of the advent of Big Data and algorithms to target their messaging as narrowly as possible to avoid widespread scrutiny.<sup>72</sup> Considering the place of communication within the strategic process, Holtzhausen Zerfass incorporate the ‘constitutive model of communication’ which emphasizes the

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<sup>66</sup> Hallahan, K. et al., 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." 10.

<sup>67</sup> Hallahan, K. et al., 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." 20.

<sup>68</sup> Hallahan, K. et al., 2007. "Defining Strategic Communications." 20.

<sup>69</sup> Carey, James W. 2008. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. New York: Routledge, 19.

<sup>70</sup> Werder, Kelly Page, Howard Nothhaft, Dejan Verčić, and Ansgar Zerfass. 2018. "Strategic Communication as an Emerging Interdisciplinary Paradigm." *International Journal of Strategic Communication* 343.

<sup>71</sup> Holtzhausen, Derina, and Ansgar Zerfass. 2015. "Strategic Communication: Opportunities and Challenges of the Research Area." In *The Routledge Handbook of Strategic Communication*, by Derina Holtzhausen and Ansgar Zerfass, 6. New York: Taylor and Francis.

<sup>72</sup> Holtzhausen, D. and A. Zerfass. 2015. "Strategic Communication: Opportunities and Challenges of the Research Area.", 7.

role of communication in affecting social behavior or change. This model asserts that the strategic communicator is a vector for meaning creation between the organization and its stakeholders, acting over a long process rather than through the individual sharing of messages.<sup>73</sup> Hence, communication becomes more ‘strategic’ than an isolated act. Similarly, they highlight the importance of ‘mediatization’, a term referring to the analysis of “the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other.”<sup>74</sup> Holtzhausen and Zerfass stress that, while in the past mediatization had been seen as something that primarily occurred between institutions, effective strategic communications under the constitutive model of communication can also be used to affect change across a broader social audience. Addressing the difficulty faced by the Strategic Communications field in measuring the outcomes of communication activities, Holtzhausen and Zerfass look to efforts to understand the decision-making process among audiences. They consider Percy and Rosenbaum-Elliott’s (2012) view that brand awareness and attitude maintains a strong relationship with audience behavior and the ultimate decision whether or not to buy a product.<sup>75</sup> The subject of reputation management is also discussed, in which the authors point to Stacks et al.’s (2013) delineation of key factors in reputation outcomes: “visibility, credibility, authenticity, transparency, trust, relationships, and confidence.”<sup>76</sup>

As we have seen, the strategic use of communications by foreign fighters is a multifaceted phenomenon that warrants thorough investigation. The literature reveals that strategic communications are not merely auxiliary tools but central components in the operational and ideological arsenals of groups like the Islamic State and Ibn al-Khattab’s fighters in Chechnya. The integration of digital technologies and social media platforms has exponentially amplified the reach and impact of these communications, enabling foreign fighters to effectively recruit, mobilize, and sustain their efforts in conflict zones. By examining the nuanced applications of framing and branding within these strategic communications, this study aims to fill a critical gap in our understanding of how foreign fighters navigate and manipulate complex information environments to achieve their objectives. As we transition to the theoretical framework, these insights will provide a robust foundation for analyzing the Georgian National Legion's strategic

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<sup>73</sup> Holtzhausen, D. and A. Zerfass. 2015. "Strategic Communication: Opportunities and Challenges of the Research Area.", 8.

<sup>74</sup> Couldry, Nick, and Andreas Hepp. 2013. "Conceptualization Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments." *Communication Theory* 197.

<sup>75</sup> Percy, Larry, and Richard Rosenbaum-Elliott. 2012. *Strategic Advertising Management*. Oxford: Oxford University Publishing.

<sup>76</sup> Stacks, Don W., Melissa D. Dodd, and Linjuan Rita Men. 2013. "Corporate Reputation Measurement and Evaluation." In *The Handbook of Communication and Corporate Reputation*, by Craig E. Carroll, 561-573. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

communication practices, ultimately contributing to a deeper comprehension of their enduring presence and influence in the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian conflict.

As the literature review has demonstrated, the subject of both foreign fighters and the nature of the conflicts they participate in have been the subject of considerable debate. Their reliance on strategic communications to manage their public image and messaging, however, is indisputable, and worthy of closer inspection. In constructing a theoretical framework rooted in the literature above, we move closer to understanding this behavior.

### **Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework**

Clearly, war is changing. The discourse on the nature of warfare has departed from the purely Clausewitzian model holding that the domain was exclusively a concern of the state. Instead, we see that the lines between what is and is not of the state blur, and so we must discard with this same exclusive lens in how we approach the subject of foreign fighters. Malet's definition, requiring their involvement with an insurgency, struggles to remain relevant at a time when tens of thousands of foreign fighters have flooded to participate in interstate conflict, often for little material gain despite backing by the state. Instead, we adopt Moore and Tumelty's more inclusive definition, that they are "non-indigenous, non-territorialised combatants who, motivated by religion, kinship, and/or ideology rather than pecuniary reward, enter a conflict to participate in hostilities." As our review of the Georgian Legion will reveal, the relationship between foreign fighters and the state is often complex, and it is sometimes difficult to discern just how integrated such a group is with a state hierarchy. Hallahan et al's straightforward definition of strategic communication', or the "purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission" will be assumed as well, as it continues to guide the literature within a small but growing field. Given the GNL's primary purpose is as a military organization, its significant use of online communications platforms such as Facebook, Telegram, and X, as well as its commander's frequent media appearances, represent a deliberate behavior intended towards some strategic end for the organization; thus, these represent the GNL's main strategic communications efforts. Lastly, this study makes note of varying models of communication identified by the literature, including the 'transmission model', 'interactive model', and 'ritual model', and acknowledges the contemporary literary consensus that modern public communications are typically conducted as a two-way

endeavor, involving both communicator action and audience reaction. With these terms defined, we may now go over the guiding concepts for our analysis.

### 3.1: Stakeholder Communication and Legitimacy

Strategic Communications scholars Koschmann and Kopczynski (2017) define ‘stakeholder communication’ as referring to “how businesses and commercial firms manage their relationships and responsibilities towards other organizations and relevant parties”<sup>77</sup> Their reference to the commercial world is a consequence of the concept’s roots in managerial studies, from which the concept of stakeholder theory developed into the Strategic Communications field. Importantly, stakeholder theory has been extensively applied to analysis of the public sector as well, including by Casalegno et al (2023) and Fusco and Ricci (2019).<sup>78</sup> Moreover, as we’ve already seen, the line between public and private actor is not always clear in modern conflict, and so this approach is suitable for our purposes here.

In first outlining what would become the foundations to stakeholder theory, Freeman (1984) explained that he sought to design a framework intended for organizational leaders to assess and make decisions within a fluid strategic environment.<sup>79</sup> Freeman argued that the structure by which many business organizations tended to operate in the commercial world had grown more complex, and so the obligations of business managers too grew more complex. Whereas previously these organizations enjoyed a relatively straightforward production focused model (primarily concerned with suppliers and customers), larger firms would also come to contend with employees, owners, and the broader environment around the firm. Ultimately, this required a ‘stakeholder view’ of the firm which was inclusive of its relationships and obligations to a whole host of external entities and forces, such as advocacy groups, governments, civil society, media, and even competitors, in addition to the employee, owner, supplier, and customer.<sup>80</sup>

Thus, ‘stakeholder communication’ is any communication which is made in regard to these identified stakeholders. For an organization of foreign fighters, this might include members of the

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<sup>77</sup> Koschmann, Matthew A., and Jared Kopczynski. 2017. "Stakeholder Communication." *The International Encyclopedia of Organizational Communication* 1.

<sup>78</sup> Casalegno, Cecilia, Chiara Civera, Damiano Cortese, and Alessandro Zardini. 2023. "In search of the enabling factors for public services resilience: A multidisciplinary and configurational approach." *Journal of Knowledge and Innovation* 2 ; Fusco, Floriana, and Paolo Ricci. 2019. "What is the stock of the situation? A bibliometric analysis on social and environmental accounting research in public sector." *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 21-41.

<sup>79</sup> Freeman, R. Edward. 1984. *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Marshfield: Pitman Publishing, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Freeman, R.E. 1984. *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. 25.

nearby community, online donors, the state, other allied or competing groups of foreign fighters, foreign governments, or their communities of origin. In the context of strategic communications, an organization must conduct a sustained pattern of decision-making aimed at accomplishing its goals relative to these stakeholders. According to Allen (2016), great deal of an organization's currency in this is derived from its perceived 'legitimacy'.<sup>81</sup> Allen relies on Ihlen's definition of the term, referring to "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, or definitions."<sup>82</sup> This legitimacy can either come in the form of pragmatic legitimacy (based on the perception of material benefit), moral legitimacy (based on whether the organization is contributing to the common good), and cognitive legitimacy (based on whether the organization's actions are seen as comprehensible). Strong legitimacy is associated with an improved reputation, and greater influence and fewer obstacles to accomplishing organizational goals.

### **3.2: Framing**

If these are the concepts that might guide an organization's strategy, then we must also identify the tools with which they may pursue it. One such tool found in the realm of both strategic communications, and as previously referenced, social movement theory, is that of 'framing'. Framing, according to Kim "generally refers to the ways in which a choice problem is strategically phrased in a message" and may elicit different effects according to the relative presentation of potential gain or loss as a result of the choice.<sup>83</sup> Kim also compares competing theories on framing effects, or the impact of message framing on target audiences. 'Attribute framing' "focuses on the attributes of a choice being promoted in either negative or positive terms", while 'goal framing' emphasizes "either positive or negative behavior outcomes."<sup>84</sup> Typically, emphasis of either positive attributes or negative goal outcomes are most effective in eliciting the desired audience behavior.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Allen, Myria. 2016. "Legitimacy, Stakeholders, and Strategic Communication Efforts." In *Strategic Communication for Sustainable Organizations*, by Myria Allen, 61-1014. New York: Springer.

<sup>82</sup> Suchman, Mark C. 1995. "Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches." *The Academy of Management Review* 574..

<sup>83</sup> Kim, Kenneth E. 2015. "Framing as a Strategic Persuasive Message Tactic." In *The Routledge Handbook of Strategic Communication*, by Derina Holtzhausen and Ansgar Zerfass eds, 285-286. New York: Routledge.

<sup>84</sup> Kim, K.E. 2015, "Framing as a Strategic Persuasive Message Tactic", 289.

<sup>85</sup> Levin, Irwin P., and Gary J. Gaeth. 1998. "All Frames Are Not Created Equal: A Typology and Critical Analysis of Framing Effects." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 149-188.; Nan, Xiaoli. 2007. "Social Distance, Framing, and Judgement: A Construal Level Perspective." *Human Communication Research* 570.

Returning to the subject of foreign fighters, we may recall that framing has also been explored in the context of Social Movement Theory as a means of mobilizing supporters. As Bakke (2013) notes, “Framing implies that the actors define what they are fighting for and what they are fighting against, often in binary us-versus-them terms.”<sup>86</sup> For Bakke, framing goes beyond communication, being part of a wider set of behaviors determining an organization’s relationship with their host environment – their stakeholders – through ‘diffusion’. This can include the creation of new institutions in the host country through which they influence processes, allowing social movements to spread and influence the strategy, tactics, and logistics of the broader cause.<sup>87</sup> Bakke identifies two primary forms of diffusion: ‘mediated’, in which the third-party acts as a broker for goods or parties; and ‘relational’, in which information and resources move through social networks. Both processes work hand-in-hand with framing strategies, delineating the communities for whom an outside actor is for or against and how they work towards their goals; moreover, they grant the outside actor influence over the wider framing of the conflict. We must also consider Malet’s findings on the use of framing by foreign fighters, wherein they transnationalize issues in their communication in order to broaden the salience of their cause and the conflict it is engaged into a wider audience of potential recruits.<sup>88</sup> Considered in the context of strategic communications literature, foreign fighters are more likely to make use of goal framing to highlight the positive attributes of their organization and the negative consequences for the failure of their cause for shared members of a transnational identity (i.e. historical victims of Russian imperialism).

### **3.3: Branding**

A final, essential aspect of an organization’s strategic communications is its ‘branding’. LaBelle and Waldeck identify a *brand* as “a name, term, design, symbol, or other artifact (or a collection of these) used to distinguish an organization from its competition.”<sup>89</sup> ‘Branding’, meanwhile, refers to “the process of creating a brand that will distinguish an organization from others.”<sup>90</sup> Branding serves not only commercial efforts but also government and activist organizations, may also benefit from increased recognizability and attention derived from the brand. The value of this brand, in its ubiquity and easy recognition, is referred to as ‘brand equity’. Scholarship from

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<sup>86</sup> Bakke, K. 2013. "2 - Copying and learning from outsiders? Assessing diffusion from transnational insurgents in the Chechen Wars." 36.

<sup>87</sup> Bakke, K. 2013. "2 - Copying and learning from outsiders? Assessing diffusion from transnational insurgents in the Chechen Wars." 35.

<sup>88</sup> Malet, D. 2015 *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflicts*, 27-28.

<sup>89</sup> LaBelle, Sara, and Jennifer H. Waldeck. 2020. *Strategic Communications for Organizations*, 82. Oakland: University of California Press.

<sup>90</sup> LaBelle, S. and J.H. Waldeck, 2020 *Strategic Communications for Organizations*, 82.

Schivinski and Dabrowski illustrate that user-generated interaction with these brands on social media increase brand equity and popular sentiment towards the brand, ‘brand attitude’.<sup>91</sup> According to Kalpokas, this incentivizes organizations, including states, to work proactively against malign information campaigns intent on reducing brand value.<sup>92</sup> In effect, the existence of a brand requires constant vigilance for attacks against it facilitated through social media. Successful defense of the brand entails resource benefits for organizations who enjoy greater brand equity. For foreign fighters, positive or negative brand equity could spell the difference for foreign support (such as the Chechen Insurgency’s backing from Gulf State financiers) or international suspicion (as in the case of the Azov Battalion in Ukraine). Active attempts by the Kremlin to associate the Ukrainian cause and its international supporters with fascism pose a particular risk to brand equity, evidenced by Azov’s own efforts to rebrand and destigmatize itself.<sup>93</sup>

Also important to account for in our study is the value of ‘brand association’ which, according to Romaniuk and Nencyz-Thiel, “make the brand more likely to be thought of in a choice situation, giving the brand links to potential retrieval cues.”<sup>94</sup> Essentially, brand equity is strongly influenced by what consumers associate a brand’s product with in past encounters. Krishnan’s work also identifies a strong relationship between brand equity and consumer brand associations.<sup>95</sup> Thus, brands can strengthen their equity with customers by ensuring that consumers associate the brand with positive sentiments over time. In our research, this may take the form of juxtaposing brand symbols with battlefield victories or other positive images to reinforce the association of GNL’s brand with things that might encourage their online audience to support them through donations.

Thus we must account for the whole of the GNL’s strategic communications in order to understand how their activities account for potential challenges and opportunities. The concept of stakeholder communication affirms that GNL’s messaging will be targeted towards addressing specific audiences upon whose support their success depends. Given our understanding from foreign fighters scholars such as Tumelty and Moore regarding the importance of maintaining positive

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<sup>91</sup> Schivinski, Bruno, and Dariusz Dabrowski. 2014. "The effect of social media communication on consumer perceptions of brands." *Journal of Marketing Communications* 189-214.

<sup>92</sup> Kalpokas, Ignas. 2017. "Information Warfare on Social Media: A Brand Management Perspective." *Baltic Journal of Law and Politics* 36-62.

<sup>93</sup> Ball, Tom. 2022. "Azov Battalion drops neo-Nazi symbol exploited by Russian propagandists." *The Times*. May 30. Accessed August 12, 2024. <https://www.thetimes.com/world/russia-ukraine-war/article/azov-battalion-drops-neo-nazi-symbol-exploited-by-russian-propagandists-lpjnsp7qg>.

<sup>94</sup> Romaniuk, Jenni, and Magda Nencyz-Thiel. 2013. "Behavioral brand loyalty and consumer brand associations." *Journal of Business Research* 67-72.

<sup>95</sup> Krishnan, H. S. 1996. "Characteristics of memory associations: A consumer-based brand equity perspective." *International Journal of Research in Marketing* 389-405.

relations with local populations and their powerbrokers, much of the messaging should be address either the local Ukrainian population as well as GNL sympathizers in Georgia. Additionally, the Ukrainian cause at large benefits from positive perception in major Western powers such as the United States, and so many communications will seek to uphold the GNL's legitimacy in the eyes of Western stakeholders as well. The GNL will also adopt different framing strategies depending on which stakeholder they are engaging, perhaps engaging in 'frame-bridging' to connect the war in Ukraine to broader conflicts against Russian imperialism or general authoritarianism. GNL will also actively defend its brand, protecting against so-called 'black PR' which may stigmatize the legion and discourage further recruiting or donations.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

In adopting the novel theoretical application of strategic communication concepts of stakeholders, framing, and branding, we may finally move towards their application to our chosen case study. The following section will begin by explaining our research design, case and method selection, and address potential ethical issues and research limitations. We will then provide a brief overview of the Georgian National Legion, tracing its history in the conflict and identifying its key stakeholders according to both the foreign fighter literature and first-hand sources. Following this, we will review the GNL's online presence, before finally reviewing the findings of our study.

### **4.1: Research Design**

This single-case study employs an inductive mixed methods research design occurring in three stages. First, establish a thematic coding framework informed by the theoretical framework to identify key themes relating to the organization's use of framing and branding in their strategic communications. Second, we conduct a broad survey of GNL's 'brand' and online social media presence, including a quantitative content analysis of its Telegram channel from its creation in May 2022 to June 2024. Third, we utilize the qualitative analysis software NVivo to apply our code toward analyzing two primary sets of data: (1) a collection of data from the Georgian National Legion's official Telegram Channel from June 2023 to June 2024, and (2) collected text from 6 public interviews between the GNL's commander and members of the press and policymaking circles. This three-step process will allow us to triangulate results across the whole of GNL's online presence and strategic communications efforts. We illustrate how the Georgian National Legion

makes strategic use of its brand and framing techniques to confer legitimacy unto itself in the eyes of its key stakeholders and meet its organizational needs.

The study utilizes Python scripting to scrape the Telegram account through Telegram's official API. Data collected includes a timestamp, the original text and an automatic translation, and a description of visual content of tweets as well as engagement metrics (the number of replies, forwards, likes, and views) for each account. Inclusion of engagement metrics in the data collection is vital, as Hallahan et al (2007) make clear that strategic communication is an 'interactive' process, rather than a simple transmission of information from an organization. As strategic communications may be multichannel, this study also incorporates data from the online transcripts of 6 public interviews with journalists and think tanks in order to ensure a valid and comprehensive analysis.

The computer-aided text analysis will be conducted through use of the software NVivo, where we can apply a coding framework to draw key insights. Qualitative content analysis, as outlined by Neuendorf (2002), requires the construction of a coding framework through which researchers can identify relationships between themes.<sup>96</sup> A benefit of this method is found in its ability to incorporate multiple sources of data and ensure triangulation of findings, strengthening their validity. Our study adopts an integrative model of content analysis, drawing inferences from the data only in conjunction with the context gained from our interviews. As Neuendorf asserts, studies which draw direct inferences solely from data lack validity, and therefore ought to be triangulated against "other empirical information regarding source, receiver, channel, or other contextual states."<sup>97</sup> The strength of the relationships identified is also bolstered in that the dataset being analyzed is of a first-order linkage to the unit of analysis. That is, the study seeks to understand the strategic communications of the Georgian Legion, and the dataset consists of those very communications in the form of public social media posts and press interviews.

Informed by our theoretical framework, we construct our coding framework based on three themes: (1) Stakeholder communication, (2) Framing, and (3) Branding. Codes related to stakeholder communication are categorized based on explicit appeals to key stakeholders for the GNL. This could include posts mentioning foreign governments supporting the Ukrainian war

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<sup>96</sup> Neuendorf, Kimberly A. 2002. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. London: Sage Publishing, 53.

<sup>97</sup> Neuendorf, K. 2002. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, 61.

effort, recognizing acts of ‘diffusion’ supporting local communities in Ukraine through fundraising or providing services, or upholding the GNL’s ‘legitimacy’ in the eyes of a particular stakeholder. Codes related to framing are categorized based on the use of ‘frame-bridging’ as identified by Malet (2015), in addition to both attribute and goal framing, and also designated in regard to the positive or negative sentiment contained in the text. Lastly, a third set is coded based on the GNL’s branding. This will refer to either the presence of specific brand elements (such as their logo, use of symbols, watermarks, slogans, and general visual identity) as well as instances of communication promoting or defending the GNL’s brand equity. We then integrate these insights with those drawn from coding of public interviews from GNL leadership and analyze them through the lens of our theoretical framework in order to understand how the GNL uses strategic communications to accomplish its goals.

#### **4.2: Ethical Considerations**

While this project’s focus is on a combatant group active in ongoing conflict, it does not investigate sensitive data such as recruitment methods or battlefield tactics. Instead, it focuses its attention on the public communications and branding of the Legion. This being said, its collection of nonstandard data in the form of Telegram posts required submission to the University of Glasgow ethics committee, which was sought and received. This study does not collect any personal data of individual users, and adheres to the terms of services of Telegram’s API, which do not prohibit the collection of data for research purposes. Research data will not be retained longer than one month after the completion of research, and will be destroyed on October 30, 2024. The project also remains aware of the need to maintain data security and therefore stores all data on an encrypted virtual drive, and also relies on two-factor authentication (2FA).

#### **4.3: Research Limitations**

While we strive to maintain a comprehensive approach, several limitations must be acknowledged. First, the scope of the data collection from Telegram is limited to the period following the creation of the Legion’s Telegram account in May 2022, and therefore it may not capture longer-term trends in the Georgian National Legion’s (GNL) communication strategies. Moreover, the findings of this study are specific to the GNL and may not be generalizable to other foreign fighter groups or organizations operating in different contexts. The unique socio-political environment of the GNL’s operations in Ukraine may limit the applicability of the findings to other regions or conflicts. Additionally, potential language barriers or translation issues may impact the coding and

interpretation of non-English content. However, as the GNL communications on Telegram, in addition to its Facebook posts, are accessible to its multilingual audience through the automatic translation services of these platforms, and as the coding method of this research seeks to identify broad trends rather than analyze specific phrases, the data remains valid for the purposes of this study.

To further mitigate these limitations, this study employs triangulation by cross-verifying findings from multiple data sources to enhance reliability. In doing so, this study aims to provide a robust and credible analysis of the GNL's strategic communications, contributing valuable insights into their communication strategies and impacts. Its findings may then provide a basis for further research, such as a comparative study between the GNL and other foreign fighter organizations in Ukraine such as *Kastus Kalinoŭski Regiment* or *International Legion*.

## **Chapter 5: The Georgian National Legion in Ukraine**

### **5.1: Overview of Case Study**

The Georgian National Legion is an organization of volunteer fighters, primarily from Georgia, that has been active in Ukraine since 2014. The GNL is led by Mamuka Mamulashvili, a charismatic career soldier with previous combat experience against pro-Russian forces in Abkhazia and Chechnya during the 1990s. While his role as an element of the GNL brand will be discussed further below, most crucial at this point in our analysis is his establishing of a nucleus of Georgian and later other foreign fighters at the outset of fighting in 2014.

As conflict broke out in eastern Ukraine following the seizure of Crimea by Russian forces in 2014, the capabilities of Ukraine's regular army were sorely lacking after years of widespread corruption. Successive presidential administrations in Ukraine since 1991 had failed to reform what had been inherited as the world's fourth largest army; with public admissions in 2012 that 90% of the military's equipment was obsolete.<sup>98</sup> The army had also been severely underfunded, with more than 80% of its budget going towards maintaining small salaries rather than addressing deficiencies in training and equipment. Thus, Russian-backed separatists in Donetsk and Luhansk faced little initial resistance from official military forces.<sup>99</sup> Consequently, the government in Kyiv

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<sup>98</sup> Käikhö, Ilmari. 2023. "Slava Ukraini": Strategy and the Spirit of Ukrainian Resistance, 2014-2023. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 105-106.

<sup>99</sup> Wood, Garrett Ryan. 2022. "The organization of volunteer battalions in Ukraine." *Constitutional Political Economy* 115.

relied extensively on irregular volunteer battalions, who reportedly contributed to the majority of fighting on behalf of the Ukrainian side for the first six months of fighting.<sup>100</sup> Under these circumstances, a number of conduits emerged through which foreign fighters could be recruited and organized. Chief among these during these initial campaigns, according to Reĳawek (2023), were Right Sector, Azov Battalion, and the Georgian National Legion.<sup>101</sup> Amongst these three, GNL set itself apart in both its status as an organization founded by and for foreign volunteers (Azov and Right Sector were founded by Ukrainians) and one that avoided the ultranationalism and far-right radicalism associated with their two main competitors. This would continue into the post-invasion period, even after an official International Legion of Ukraine was organized by the Ukrainian government.

This last point is particularly important, as foreign fighters are in a constant competition for resources while they are not typically fully integrated to the state and its distribution of resources, and the relative ‘brand equity’ of such an organization can determine its ability to compete for other resources streams (donations, foreign aid packages, etc.) As Kaikho (2023) explains, these non-state actors separation from the state bureaucracy required them to devote significant time and energy to the creation of their forces.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, their separation from the state bureaucracy also endowed them with certain advantages, particularly in the mobilization of recruits that otherwise may have been rejected for issues both irrelevant (such as minor health issues) or concerning (such as a violent criminal background). In the case of Azov and Right Sector, their brand’s association with political extremism, while allowing for less scrutiny into the backgrounds of aspiring recruits, quickly earned them the condemnation of Western legislators and a ban on arms exports and training assistance programs until June 2024.<sup>103</sup> GNL meanwhile was rewarded for its curated reputation with relatively positive coverage in Western media and access

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<sup>100</sup> Gorlov, D. M., and O. A. Korniesky. 2015. "Volunteer movement: world experience and Ukrainian civic practices" Analytical report. *National Institute for Strategic Studies*. February 18. Accessed June 26, 2024. <https://niss.gov.ua/doslidzhennya/gromadyanske-suspilstvo/volonterskiy-ruk-h-svitoviy-dosvid-ta-ukrainski-gromadyanski>.

<sup>101</sup> Reĳawek, Kr. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail*. New York: Routledge, 49.

<sup>102</sup> Kaikho, I. 2023. "Slava Ukraini!": Strategy and the Spirit of Ukrainian Resistance, 2014-2023, 104.

<sup>103</sup> Gigova, Radina, Olga Voitovych, and Rashard Rose. 2024. *US lifts ban on sending weapons to Ukraine's Azov brigade*. June 12. Accessed June 26, 2024. <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/06/12/europe/us-weapons-azov-brigade-ukraine-intl/index.html#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20has%20lifted,but%20had%20a%20controversial%20past>.

to speaking opportunities at institutions including Western think tanks and regional security conferences.<sup>104</sup>

Other key differences set apart more indigenous units like Azov and Right Sector from GNL and smaller foreign fighter units. As groups like Azov were local, they more often had access to local resource networks in the form of oligarchs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (in the case of Azov), the Ministry of Defense, or criminal elements (allegedly, in the case of Right Sector).<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile, units built around a nucleus of foreigners lacking local influence or access to local resource brokers had to adopt different strategies to ensure they remained effective on the battlefield. Chechen foreign fighters in Ukraine under the aegis of the Dudayev Battalion and the Sheik Mansur Battalion, for instance, sought to leverage their battlefield reputation for relationships with militant Islamist groups abroad.<sup>106</sup> This also granted them more geographic independence, as their ability to secure resources depended on a small, dispersed community instead of local frontline communities they might be obliged to continuously patrol and defend. Instead, they could afford to roam at will within the battlespace, undertaking special operations and harassing enemy lines of communication.

The GNL had its own challenges. Compared to its contemporaries, the Legion was tiny: it had grown from six fighters to just twenty fighters by the end of the first year of fighting.<sup>107</sup> It was a relatively closed organization, entirely staffed by Georgians, and open only to those recommended by active members. When in October 2015 the Ukrainian parliament legalized the contracting of foreign fighters into the Armed Forces, the GNL jumped at the opportunity and began to undergo substantial organizational changes.<sup>108</sup> Mamulashvili apparently began a fundraising and public relations campaign in the United States to support the GNL's pivot towards recruitment of non-Georgian fighters, especially those from Anglophone countries with prior combat experience. While the unit would continue to be dominated by Georgian recruits, it soon

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<sup>104</sup> Coffey, Luke, and Mamuka Mamulashvili. 2022. "A Conversation from the Front Lines with Commander of the Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili." *Hudson Institute*. December 15. Accessed June 26, 2024. <https://www.hudson.org/events/conversation-front-lines-commander-georgian-legion-mamuka-mamulashvili>.

<sup>105</sup> Wood, G.R. 2022. "The organization of volunteer battalions in Ukraine." 123.

<sup>106</sup> Wood, G.R. 2022. "The organization of volunteer battalions in Ukraine." 123.

<sup>107</sup> Potočňák, Adam, and Miroslav Mareš. 2019. "Georgian Foreign Fighters in the Conflict in Eastern Ukraine, 2014-2017." *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 165-166.

<sup>108</sup> Potočňák, A. and M. Mareš. 2019. "Georgian Foreign Fighters in the Conflict in Eastern Ukraine, 2014-2017.", 167.

found itself host to foreign fighters from as far away as South Korea and Japan and grew to up to 200 total members.<sup>109</sup>

Independent access to the media space was crucial for GNL to retain its autonomy, apparently maintaining its original command structure and relative operational independence after being integrated into the regular armed forces. Importantly, it granted the GNL a greater public profile with which to weather controversy and disinformation campaigns. When in 2017 Italian far-right media personality Gian Micalessin produced the film *Ukraine: The Hidden Truth* alleging Mamulashvili had joined with a group of mercenaries to fire on protestors at Maidan Square in 2014 and spark the Revolution of Dignity, journalists were quick to debunk many of the claims.<sup>110</sup> Later that year, the GNL would become embroiled in a dispute with its parent unit in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, the 54<sup>th</sup> Mechanized Brigade, where the Legion claimed that the commander, Col. Oleksiy Maystrenko, had engaged been an incompetent leader engaged in illegal activity, which had resulted in several GNL casualties followed shortly by threats of their deportation and confiscation of key infantry kit and vehicles.<sup>111</sup> The scandal coincided with a highly public falling out between then-Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko and former Georgian President and then-governor of Odessa Mikheil Saakashvili, though the degree to which the two disputes are related remains difficult to determine. In any case, the GNL under Mamulashvili sought to remove themselves from Maystrenko's command and were ultimately successful when they were reassigned to another unit in the area in January 2018. Meanwhile, Saakashvili found himself stripped of Ukrainian citizenship and unwelcome in the country for the foreseeable future.<sup>112</sup> The episode illustrates to a remarkable degree of relative independence which Mamulashvili had secured and sought to retain for the GNL from the broader state and military bureaucracy, being able to detach his organization from the apparently problematic relationship with its parent unit. It also undermines Malet's assertion that state-affiliated foreign fighters enjoyed sufficient protections to set them apart from their insurgent counterparts, as GNL's official status with the Ukrainian Army was not enough to shield its members from threats and intimidation by the state

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<sup>109</sup> Rękawek, K. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail*, 50.

<sup>110</sup> Polygraph.info. 2017. *Italian Journalist Claims Georgian Mercenary Snipers Killed Civilians During Ukraine's 2014 Maidan Protests*. November 30. Accessed June 26, 2024. <https://www.polygraph.info/a/journalist-claims-georgian-mercenary-snipers-killed-civilians-during-maidan/6741699.html>; Kurdadze, Dali. 2017. *Fake Documentary on Georgian Snipers' Participation in Maidan Developments*. November 27. Accessed June 26, 2024. <https://mythdetector.ge/en/fake-documentary-on-georgian-snipers-participation-in-maidan-developments/>.

<sup>111</sup> Potočňák, A. and M. Mareš. 2019. "Georgian Foreign Fighters in the Conflict in Eastern Ukraine, 2014-2017.", 170.

<sup>112</sup> Anderson, Emma. 2018. "Ex-Georgian President Saakashvili deported from Ukraine." Politico. February 12. Accessed August 20, 2024. <https://www.politico.eu/article/mikheil-saakashvili-deported-ukraine/>.

in the way a regular army unit may have been, even if not ultimately disarmed or deported. In any case, much like the aforementioned Chechen battalions, the GNL would shift to independent special operations including reconnaissance and sabotage missions across the frontlines thereafter.<sup>113</sup>

## **5.2: The Georgian National Legion and Social Media**

The GNL maintained the aforementioned autonomy on into February 2022, when Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The increased international attention in the invasion's wake carried with it a drastic expansion of the Legion's manpower, growing from 250 to nearly 2,000 fighters according to press interviews with Mamulashvili in March 2022.<sup>114</sup> Importantly, these figures have never been confirmed, and may instead represent a strategic claim on Mamulashvili's part. Such a massive growth in manpower would imply an equally large growth in required armaments and supplies. While arms would primarily remain a commodity supplied by the state, equipment which could more readily be purchased on the open market such as vehicles, FPV drones, radios, small arms ammunition, or optics could still be acquired through crowdfunding.

In any case, the GNL would initiate a significant growth in its social media presence, in addition to making use of crowdfunding campaigns similar to other Ukrainian Armed Forces units. While the GNL had previously maintained a presence on Facebook as far back as September 2015 and Instagram from August 2017, the full-scale invasion saw the creation of new accounts on X and Telegram in May 2022. The GNL rounded out its social media presence with the creation of a sleek new website in May 2023 (See Figures 1-3).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Rękawek, K. 2023. *Foreign Fighters in Ukraine: The Brown-Red Cocktail.*, 52.

<sup>114</sup> Shamsian, Jacob. 2022. "A Georgian commander fighting Russian forces in Ukraine says more international support will help defeat Putin." *Business Insider*. March 8. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://www.businessinsider.com/georgian-legion-commander-ukraine-army-russia-war-mamuka-mamulashvili-2022-3>.

<sup>115</sup> The Georgian National Legion. 2023. *The Georgian National Legion Website*. May 10. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://georgianlegion.ge/en>.

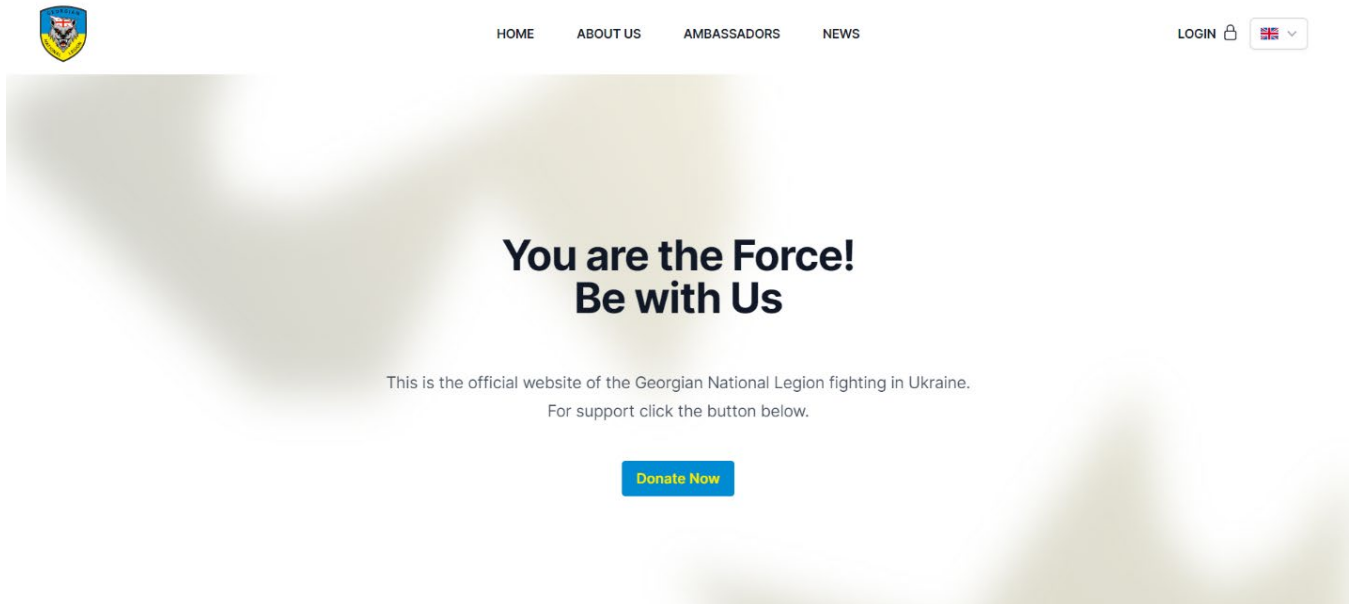


Figure 1: Main Website of the GNL

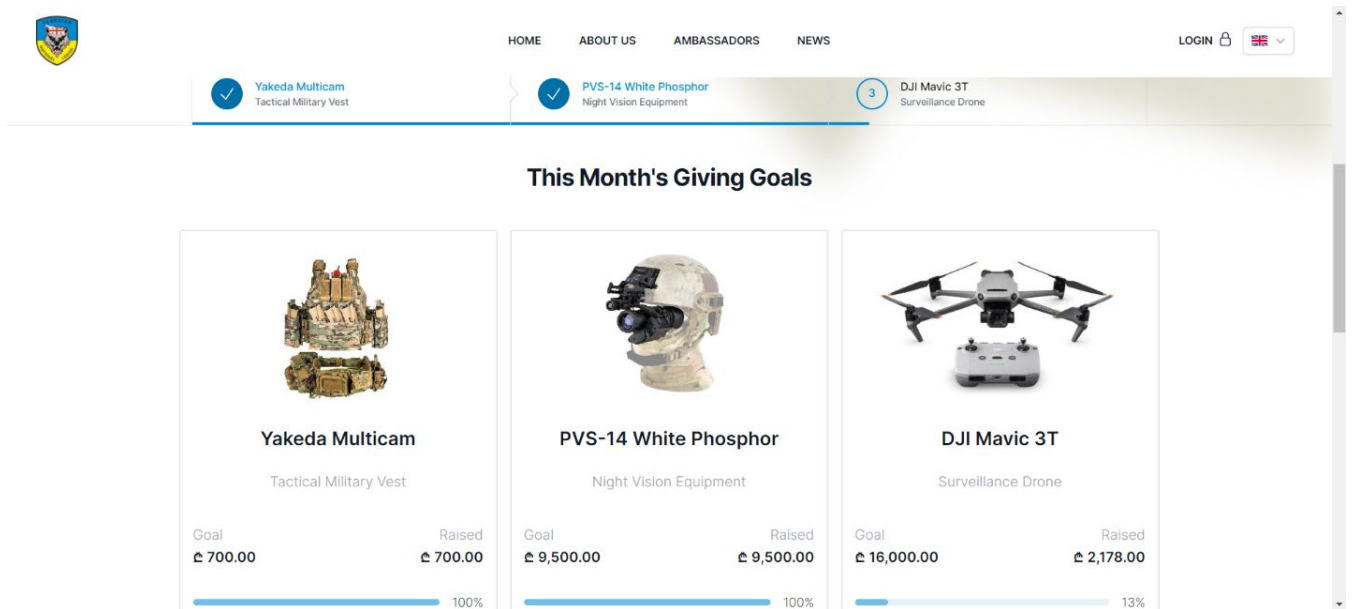


Figure 2: Fundraising Goals on the GNL Website



## About Us

The Georgian National Legion is a military volunteer formation created in 2014 at the beginning of Russian aggression in Ukraine. This is the largest foreign contingent in the Armed Forces of the country.

The main goal of the Georgian Legion is to help our Ukrainian brothers and sisters with the defence of their independence and territorial integrity from Russian occupiers.

The founder and commander of the Georgian National Legion is Mamuka Mamulashvili. The deputy commander is Levan Pipia.

You can support us from anywhere by transferring money to the account of the Foundation for Support of the Georgian Legion in Ukraine.



Figure 3: 'About Us' Page on the GNL Website

The GNL's oldest social media page, its Facebook community page, has accrued a total of 28,000 likes and 31,000 followers as of June 27, 2024.<sup>116</sup> Open to the public, the page features the GNL logo prominently in both its profile imagery and posts. Posts are exclusively in the Georgian and Ukrainian languages, although are accessible to viewers of all languages through Facebook's auto-translate feature. The page does not run ads through the platform's official advertising system, but does occasionally feature the GNL's own crowdfunding campaigns. It makes substantial use of visual media, including photographs, videos, and short-form 'reels'. Across the top banner of the community page can be seen the GNL's most recent fundraising slogan (also visible alongside its logo in many of its recent videos: "You are the force! Be with us!") alongside a link to their website. The GNL's Instagram and Telegram post identical content to their Facebook, albeit to a much smaller audience: their Instagram page claims 8,184 followers while the Telegram claims 984 subscribers. This content, as the study will show, is marked heavily by themes of brand construction and frame bridging. The GNL logo is featured prominently alongside imagery of its fighters in the field and its prolific commander, Mamuka Mamulashvili. Posts frequently connect the conflict in Ukraine to Georgia's historical enmity with Russia and a larger, global conflict between liberal democracy and authoritarianism. Posts also frequently feature Mamulashvili's

<sup>116</sup> The Georgian National Legion. 2024. *Georgian Legion Facebook Page*. Jun 27. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://www.facebook.com/GeorgianNationalLegion>.

press interviews in the Ukrainian, Georgian, and English Languages. The content of these interviews will also be discussed further below.

After its Facebook and Telegram, GNL's X page is perhaps its most interesting public communications platform. The GNL X page, claiming 1,353 followers as of June 27<sup>th</sup>, 2024, also posts to a substantially smaller audience than the GNL Facebook page.<sup>117</sup> However, it is also party to a much more interconnected social media communications strategy. The page's profile biography links to two other official accounts: Mamulashvili's page (@Mamulashvili\_M, created September 2022) and a dedicated fundraising page (@help\_mgeli, created October 2023).<sup>118</sup> Interestingly, despite GNL's larger overall presence on Facebook, Mamulashvili maintains a much larger following on X (72,736 followers) than on Facebook (5,200 followers). GNL's X presence is also notable for its connection to another strategic communications phenomenon in the wake of Russia's invasion, #NAFO. NAFO, or the North Atlantic Organization of Fellas, emerged in May 2022 as a fundraising and public opinion campaign spreading campaign on X reportedly responsible for collecting more than \$1 million for pro-Ukrainian causes in fundraisers frequently accompanied by pro-Western memes and cartoon dogs in snarky replies to pro-Moscow accounts.<sup>119</sup> Described by the Economist as "a remarkably successful form of information warfare" NAFO served to ensure the online information space remained contested at scale against Russian information warfare efforts, an area Russia had enjoyed some success during the outbreak of conflict in 2014.<sup>120</sup> Accounts which had originated the NAFO meme in May 2022 began fundraising off of the phenomenon, donating their first collection to GNL, whose X page frequently featured the meme thereafter.

### **5.3: What is the Georgian National Legion's Brand?**

Consistent across all of these platforms are recurring symbols, themes, and message that collectively constitute the GNL's branding. Chief among these is the GNL's own logo, which depicts a snarling wolf with a map of an undivided Georgia (including the territories controlled by the *de facto* Republic of Abkhazia and Republic of South Ossetia) over the Ukrainian Flag (see

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<sup>117</sup> The Georgian National Legion. 2024. *Georgian Legion's Public X Page*. June 4. Accessed June 4, 2024. [https://x.com/georgian\\_legion](https://x.com/georgian_legion).

<sup>118</sup> Mamulashvili, Mamuka. 2024. *Mamuka Mamulashvili's Public X Page*. June 27. Accessed June 27, 2024. [https://x.com/Mamulashvili\\_M](https://x.com/Mamulashvili_M); —. 2024. *Georgian Legion's Official Fundraising Account, Public X Page*. June 27. Accessed June 27, 2024. [https://x.com/help\\_mgeli](https://x.com/help_mgeli).

<sup>119</sup> Michaels, Daniel. 2022. "Ukraine's Internet Army of 'NAFO Fellas' Fights Russian Trolls and Rewards Donors with Dogs." *The Wall Street Journal*. September 27. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/ukraines-internet-army-of-nafo-fellas-fights-russian-trolls-and-rewards-donors-with-dogs-11664271002>.

<sup>120</sup> The Economist. 2022. "A virtual army of impish cartoon pooches is waging war on Russia." *The Economist*. August 31. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://www.economist.com/europe/2022/08/31/a-virtual-army-of-impish-cartoon-pooches-is-waging-war-on-russia>.

Figure 4). Also a prominent part of GNL's branding is its commander, Mamuka Mamulashvili. His own personal story, having fought against Russian forces since the age of 14, is a compelling narrative that meshes well with the purported ferocity of GNL's fighters. His status as a central aspect of GNL's brand is supported by his near-monthly appearances at international speaking conferences, interviews in multiple languages, and frequent appearances in all manner of GNL media. At the very least, he is an important part of the GNL's representation to the public, especially to potential recruits. Volunteer battalions often drew new members based on the reputation and notoriety of their leadership, and Mamulashvili's extensive combat history dating back to the 1990s could prove attractive to those wishing to serve under a commander with experience.<sup>121</sup>



*Figure 4: GNL Logo*

Another important aspect of the GNL's branding is its representation as a professional, and importantly *not radical*, organization. While other foreign fighter hubs such as Azov and Right Sector were more willing to ask fewer questions of their prospective recruits, Mamulashvili is quick to stress the measures taken by GNL to screen out unprofessional or unsavory recruits. Other potential threats to brand equity have been similarly countered in public statements made directly by GNL leadership, such as their response to accusations by the Georgian State Security Service (SBG) that they were preparing a coup to overthrow the government of Georgia.<sup>122</sup> Mamulashvili categorically denied the accusation, and argued that SBG was acting in Russia's interests because

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<sup>121</sup> Käikhö, Ilmari. 2023. "Slava Ukraini": Strategy and the Spirit of Ukrainian Resistance, 2014-2023. 119.

<sup>122</sup> JAM News. 2023. ""Georgian Security Service statement is written in Russian and is related to our activities" - Georgian Legion leader." *JAM News*. September 18. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://jam-news.net/georgian-security-service-statement-is-written-in-russian-and-is-related-to-our-activities-georgian-legion-leader/>.

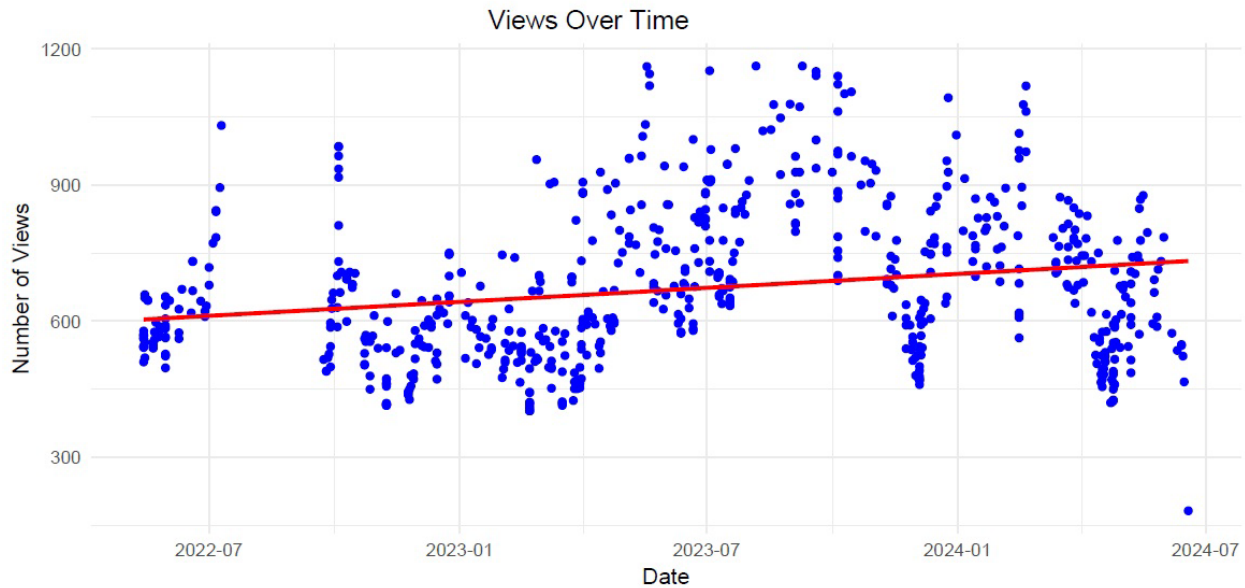
“The Legion is the largest foreign unit in Ukraine, and this is, of course, a very big ‘alarming’ factor, because many Russians die at the hands of Georgian Legion fighters.”<sup>123</sup> Again, we see emphasis that the GNL is not a radical organization, but a fierce and effective one. Foreign fighter groups in Ukraine are competing for international recruits and seek to position themselves as the best conduit for them to get involved; in GNL’s case, it also seeks to avoid the stigma attached to other groups which are better funded locally but less particular about the backgrounds of their members. Lastly, as the largest contingent of GNL’s fighters has historically been recruits from Georgia, recurring motifs showcasing Georgian cultural symbols such as the image of the wolf, Georgian cuisine and products, and the Georgian language alongside the persistent ‘frame bridging’ that connects the War in Ukraine to Georgia’s conflict with Russia, serve to motivate potential recruits within Georgia or its diaspora to join up or donate.

#### **5.4: The Georgian National Legion on Telegram**

The data from the GNL’s Telegram channel offers us clearer insight into the deployment of their post-invasion communications strategy. Early posts were relatively frequent but saw a low rate of viewership until July 2022, when posts sharing Mamulashvili’s interviews with Ukrainian state news agency Ukrinform, as well as Freedom Ukraine, and Channel 5, received nearly double the average viewership to that point (see Figure 5). Strangely, the legion briefly stopped using their Telegram altogether between July 13<sup>th</sup> and September 23<sup>rd</sup> of that year; they continued to post updates to their other platforms, such as Facebook. One possibility is that they intended to consolidate their efforts to communication channels which were seeing greater success, as their Telegram audience was dwarfed by their followers on Facebook and X. It is also probable that the success of the NAFO hashtag on the X platform during this period necessitated a greater focus by the GNL here; many of the GNL’s posts on X during their hiatus on Telegram reference the NAFO meme. This also highlights one of the drawbacks of Telegram as a platform for organizational communications, as it requires users to search and join channels whereas Facebook and X make use of algorithms to organically match users with page content that accordingly flows into their content feed. For the GNL, this allows the organization to reach new audiences based on likes, preferences, or in this case, interaction with a social media campaign.

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<sup>123</sup> JAM News. 2023. ""Georgian Security Service statement is written in Russian and is related to our activities" - Georgian Legion leader." *JAM News*. September 18. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://jam-news.net/georgian-security-service-statement-is-written-in-russian-and-is-related-to-our-activities-georgian-legion-leader/>.



*Figure 5: GNL Telegram Post Views*

The Telegram data also suggests an increasing professionalization of the GNL’s strategic communications efforts, especially in response to threats to their brand’s equity. GNL posts increasingly featured elements of branding through logos, motifs, and symbols, particularly from October 2023 onwards (see Figure 6). It also suggests increasing brand equity, as the GNL is host to a larger audience of followers who engage with their content (which frequently includes calls to action such as fundraising campaigns) at greater rates.

Interestingly, this follows the most recent case of the Legion facing some risk to their brand reputation as the SBG accused them of plotting to overthrow the government of Georgia. These accusations, while never substantiated, could undermine the GNL’s messaging, which we will see frequently frames their activities in Ukraine as part of a larger fight against Russian imperialism that also takes place in Georgia. GNL takes great pains to emphasize that, unlike other large foreign fighter units in Ukraine, they are reliably moderate and unburdened by problematic political aspirations or connections to the criminal underworld. By increasingly featuring their logo on media emphasizing the positive attributes of their brand (their active participation in the conflict, their ferocity against Russia, and their professionalism) they can attempt to reassert influence over the public discourse regarding their organization.

Moreover, they can leverage the controversy to their advantage among their strongest backers by highlighting opportunities to donate and support their efforts in the face of perceived persecution. GNL's response to SBG's coup accusations also mirrors their response to an earlier controversy which also threatened their brand equity. Little more than a month before the creation of GNL's Telegram and X accounts, GNL fighters were accused of summarily executing Russian prisoners in the Kyiv region as Ukrainian forces battled to protect the capital.<sup>124</sup> Mamulashvili categorically rejected GNL's responsibility in a number of public interviews.<sup>125</sup>

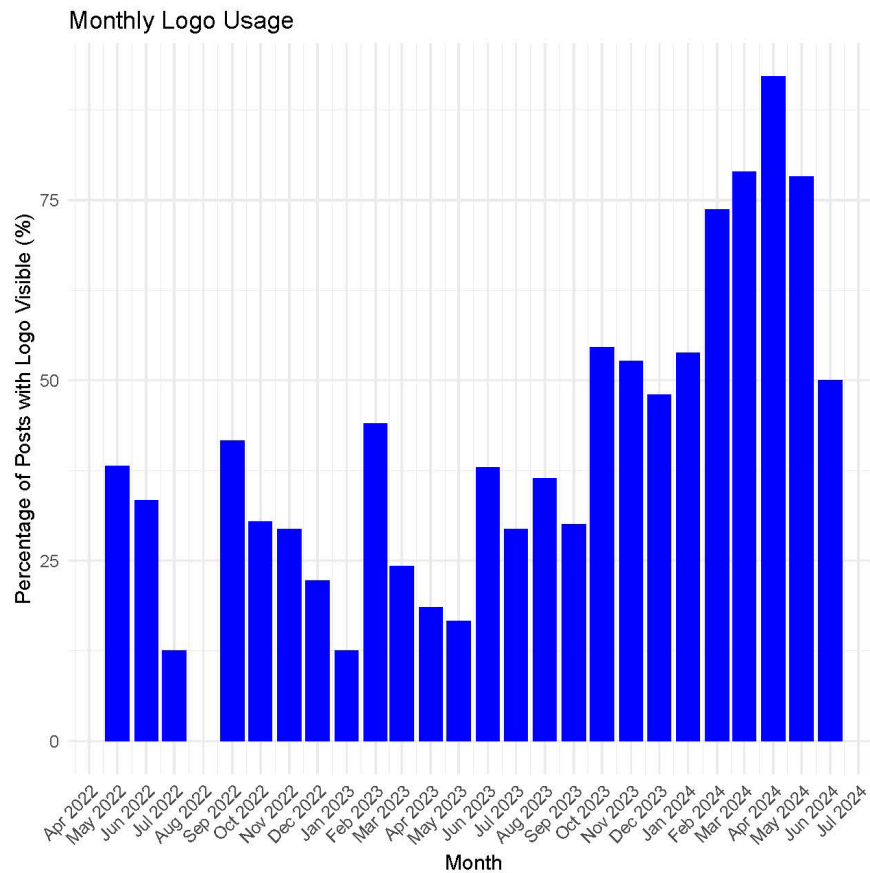


Figure 6: Monthly Percentage of Posts with Logo

By expanding their social media presence and increasing their brand's attachment to more positive themes, they can crowd out negative or misinformative narratives on social media and in search

<sup>124</sup> Hodge, Nathan, Eoin McSweeney, and Niamh Kennedy. 2022. "Video appears to show execution of Russian prisoners by Ukrainian forces." *CNN*. April 8. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/04/07/europe/ukraine-execution-russian-prisoner-intl/index.html>.

<sup>125</sup> Civil.ge. 2022. "Georgian Legion Commander Denies Involvement in Russian PoW Incident." *Civil Georgia*. November 23. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://civil.ge/archives/516002>.

engine results. Strategic Communications scholar Coombs (2015) identifies this as one of a number of useful strategies for organizations navigating a crisis.<sup>126</sup> Specifically, the GNL makes use of denial as a means of ‘reputation repair’, perhaps obviously favored over identified alternatives such as ‘adjusting information’ techniques (such as offering sympathy to the victims of the killings) because these strategies are dependent on an organizations’ primary stakeholders, which of course do not include the Russian military. For the GNL, as for any foreign fighter group, these stakeholders are primarily their local and international supporters, the Ukrainian government, active members, and potential recruits.

#### **5.4.1: Qualitative Analysis**

The following example quotes from the Georgian National Legion’s Telegram demonstrates a number of key insights into their strategic communications practices, particularly in regard to their process of brand construction and use of framing techniques. The posts also illustrate how the GNL upholds its brand equity and stakeholder legitimacy through publicizing its activities under certain contexts in order to emphasize their reputation as fierce and reliable partners towards ensuring the security and well-being of Ukrainians. While these quotes provide us the strongest examples for explanation of our research findings, the whole of our analysis can be found in the Appendix B.

Our first quote provides the clearest example of what Malet describes as ‘frame-bridging.’ The posts accompany Spanish-language news segment documenting two Spanish nationals who volunteered with the GNL.

*“These soldiers [of ours] are from Spain. All units of the Georgian Legion will participate in the de-occupation of Abkhazia and Samachablo”*

(from a post on July 1, 2023)

Although the Legion grew increasingly international following the full-scale invasion in 2022, the organization itself remains staffed by a plurality of Georgian fighters. The issue of the occupied territories of *de facto* Abkhazia and South Ossetia remains highly salient in Georgia, with 73% of Georgians seeing Russian aggression towards the country as an ongoing issue, and 42% holding the view that Russian citizens should not even be permitted into the country until these territories

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<sup>126</sup> Coombs, W. Timothy. 2015. "The value of communication during a crisis: Insights from strategic communication research." *Business Horizons* 141-148.

are returned.<sup>127</sup> The GNL's continued commitment to the issue remains a selling point for potential recruits in Georgia, especially those whose lives or families have been personally affected by the Georgian-Russian conflict as Mamulashvili has, himself. Most revealing is the original language(s) of the quote; while "These soldiers are from Spain" is in Ukrainian, only the second part, "All units of the Georgian Legion will participate in the de-occupation of Abkhazia and Samachablo" is *only* in the Georgian language. This is especially interesting, as a majority of posts on the Telegram are in *both* the Ukrainian and Georgian languages, and are fully legible to both audiences (in addition to those making use of translation features, like on other platforms). The distinction clarifies the intended stakeholder for these messages, for whom the GNL seeks to uphold its legitimacy as a steward of the nation's territorial integrity and security through their activities in Ukraine: Georgians. We can also see, as in this next quote, how the GNL's connection of the conflicts in Ukraine and Georgia often explicitly overlaps with brand motifs and appeals for support.

“ 🐺 GEUA "The realization that we are defending Georgia by fighting in Ukraine gives additional motivation to the fighters of the Georgian Legion", - Mamuka Mamulashvili • Support Georgian Legion: <http://gl.ge>”

(from a post on June 10, 2024)

The prominence of the wolf in GNL's brand is obvious from a simple glance at their logo, and frequently appears in 'emoji' and image form throughout GNLs posts; indeed, social media communications frequently refer to GNL fighters themselves as 'wolves.' Interestingly, the wolf iconography appears most frequently in the coded data alongside links to GNL donation pages and appeals for donations, alluding to the importance of the motif in the organization's brand. Much like the recognizable Coca Cola logo is to be found directly on the bottles and cans one might purchase, the images and symbols most associated with GNL's brand should be expected to be found close to vectors of desired audience behaviors. This quote also informs Georgian audiences that they can contribute to the defense of their homeland through their service in Ukraine through the GNL. This has potential to be an especially salient tactic here, given the 77% of Georgians that see Russia as the greatest political threat to their country.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Center for Insights in Survey Research. 2023. *Georgian Survey of Public Opinion: September - October 2023*. Public Opinion Poll, Tbilisi: International Republican Institute.

<sup>128</sup> Center for Insights in Survey Research. 2023. *Georgian Survey of Public Opinion: September - October 2023*. Public Opinion Poll, Tbilisi: International Republican Institute.



*Figure 7: GNL Branding on Mamulashvili Interview and Outro*

The media accompanying the post includes an interview with Mamulashvili accompanied prominently by prominent display of the GNL logo with appeals to “support the legion” and visit their website in both the video and outro. This particular production style, with the logo-bearing overlay and outro only began in November 2023, initially under a similar style that evolved into the format seen above upon initial release of the interview on April 29, 2024. While this study can only speculate as to the reasons for this intensification of the brand’s presence in GNL communications, it is highly plausible that this campaign comes in response to the allegations levied by the Georgian State Security Service in October 2023 that the GNL had planned on launching a coup against the country’s ruling party. As stated before, these accusations, while of highly questionable veracity, risked undermining GNL’s brand as a moderate and reliable actor in Ukraine to one which was increasingly securitized by a regional partner the West may have been hesitant to offend; this is particularly true given the timing of these accusations relevant to announcements on Georgia’s EU candidacy and similar accusations levied against USAID at the time.<sup>129</sup> The increased use presence of logos and branding in the aftermath could serve to uphold GNL’s brand equity by ensuring its symbols are associated more with their preferred themes as

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<sup>129</sup> Lomsadze, Giorgi. 2023. "Georgia claims US contributes funds to coup preparations." *Eurasianet*. October 3. Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://eurasianet.org/georgia-claims-us-contributes-funds-to-coup-preparations>.

opposed to those potentially damaging to the organization. The inclusion of the logo at important political events in Georgia over the following months, especially at the ‘No To Russian Law’ protests from April 2024 onward, also could serve to shore up GNL’s sense of legitimacy with its stakeholders in Georgia – those who are similarly opposed to Russia’s role in the region and accept GNL’s premise regarding the connection between the two nation’s conflicts. Other examples of this from the GNL Telegram can be seen below (see Figure 8).



Figure 8: GNL logo at anti-foreign agent law protests in Spring 2024

The GNL has not hesitated to embrace its proscription in Russia, however. Indeed, the Legion portrays the degree to which Russian security officials have sought to prosecute Georgians for participation on the Ukrainian side of the conflict as indicative of their commitment to the cause.

*" The most criminal cases in Russia for service in the Ukrainian army are initiated against Georgian citizens. They recognize our effectiveness. 😊 GEUA 🐺 Support Georgian Legion: <http://gl.ge>"*

(from a post on February 14, 2024)

Positive attribute framing of the GNL brand such as this is commonplace throughout its Telegram communications, and frequently overlaps with other brand symbols and imagery such as the wolf emoji. These serve to reinforce the positive association audiences may have with the brand and traits such as its effectiveness as a fighting force, its commitment to the Ukrainian cause, or its moderation in comparison to other potential foreign fighter units with greater brand equity, GNL can more effectively compete for donations and recruits with other ‘hubs’ including Azov Regiment and the International Legion. This has not kept GNL from emphasizing its proscription



in Russia for alleged “terrorism” as a form of bona fides, a charge that might damage their brand equity if it came from anywhere else.

*“Mamuka Mamulashvili: "Today is an important day for us, the Georgian Legion is celebrating recognition by Russia as a terrorist group"”*

(from a post June 14, 2024)

Their comfort in highlighting this development suggests a degree of comfort with their current perception as a moderate force. This is notable, given that the Russian proscription included accusations that the Legion had been involved in the torture of Russian prisoners of war and, critically, the carrying out of covert attacks on installations within Russian borders.<sup>130</sup> While Western anxieties about potential conflict escalation resulting from such strikes has been well documented, this is apparently not enough to dissuade such declarations from GNL’s social media team.

The GNL has made considerable efforts to emphasize their relationship with another key stakeholder for the organization: the Ukrainian public. Most often this has involved publicizing charity efforts since the invasion, such as the example below.

*“  Kindness is important. New Year's gift of the Georgian Legion to the Department of Children's Cardio-Oncology and Onco-Hematology. Good job, it's important. Support the Georgian Legion: <http://gl.ge>”*

(from a post December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2023)

Accompanying this post were pictures of a uniformed GNL fighter delivering holiday sweets to children in a Ukrainian hospital’s cardio-oncology department. These posts serve to enhance the GNL’s perceived legitimacy as a group interested in more than just the present conflict but in sincerely giving back to Ukraine. This is a sentiment that is frequently echoed in Mamulashvili’s own narrative of how he came to be involved in the conflict. While the content of Mamulashvili’s press interviews will be discussed in further detail below, it bears mentioning how readily he attributes his support for the Ukrainian cause as a sort of debt repaid for the service of Ukrainian foreign fighters that fought against Russian-backed separatist forces in Abkhazia during Georgia’s

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<sup>130</sup> TASS Russian News Agency. 2024. "Russia recognizes Georgian National Legion as terrorist organization." *TASS Russian News Agency*. June 14. Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://tass.com/society/1803239>.

conflicts in the 1990s.<sup>131</sup> In any case, GNL’s provision of aid to Ukrainian civilians is a recurring theme in its Telegram channel, amounting at times to a form of ‘mediated diffusion’ as explored by Bakke in their work as a broker for self-defense training services for children and the elderly.

*“Memories of good deeds from the Georgian Legion - the Georgian Legion of its combat commander Mamuka Mamulashvili. Legion fighters conducted a two-day training course for students of the Chernivtsi Trade and Economic Institute of KNTEU on first aid and the ability to use firearms and cold weapons. They also visited the boarding house and handed over volunteer help to the elderly. GEUA”*

(from a post October 5, 2023)

Posts such as these emphasize the GNL’s commitment to the Ukrainian people, but also draw attention to a set of projects undertaken by the Legion to provide self-defense courses to Ukrainian civilians under the GNL brand. Both the GNL website and Facebook posts showcase the “Academy of the Georgian Legion” as provider of self-defense and first-aid training for various cohorts of schoolchildren (see Figure 9).



News

### Academy of the Georgian Legion Held Training for Schoolchildren

08 Apr 2024

Instructors from the Academy of the Georgian Legion held another training session for students of the Lyceum "Naukova Zmina".

*Figure 9: Announcement of the self-defense academy from the GNL website*

<sup>131</sup> Musaeva, Sevgil, and Yevhen Buderatskyi. 2022. "Mamuka Mamulashvili, Commander of the Georgian Legion: Ukraine is the only country to take on the challenge of the barbaric terrorist state that is Russia." *Ukrainska Pravda*. July 10. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/articles/2022/07/10/7357256/>.

With this, the Legion not only improves its brand equity in showcasing their provision of services to the vulnerable, but also – as Bakke suggests – grants them some influence in the framing of the conflict by showing their cause, much as Ukrainian fighters in 1990s Georgia had, as one that was truly in solidarity with them. Equipped with a positive brand equity, GNL is free to conduct fundraising campaigns that can seek an edge over the competition, as we in the post below.

*"This day has come! Absolutely not borrowed 🍷 idea for the bank: "Wolf supporters 🐺" We are collecting for the repair of our large fleet and the urgent needs of the legion. Goal: 400K send.monobank.ua/jar/6DwN6EdP3N p.s. you and I have been together since 2014 and until the end 🍷 Glory to Ukraine!"*

(from a post July 22, 2023)

The use of the word “supporters” is extremely interesting, as it comes from the Ukrainian word “тиловики,” which is a slang word referring to rear-echelon fundraisers and supporting charities for combat organizations in Ukraine. Azov Regiment in particular promotes their own equipment fundraisers through social media accounts self-style as “tylovyky.” GNL’s adoption of the term shows the group engaging in at least friendly competition for space within the Ukrainian fundraising scene. As we will see in Mamulashvili’s interviews, this has sometimes extended further into more negative comparisons between characteristics of GNL and Azov. Such callouts may be of increasing strategic importance as Azov has enjoyed a substantial growth in influence within the Ukrainian armed forces since the start of the war.<sup>132</sup>

### **5.5: Qualitative Analysis of Public Interviews**

In comparison to their activity on Telegram, GNL’s communications through public interviews are typically much more targeted in their intentions and stakeholder audiences. Mamulashvili frequently makes clear in English-language publications that the GNL screens its recruits to keep extremists from joining the organization, unlike some other larger foreign fighter groups. This prevents the Legion from being securitized in the way that Azov has by Western stakeholders, while also presenting potential recruits with less controversial leanings an attractive organization through which they can become involved in the conflict.

*“Mamulashvili said he speaks with every person joining his unit personally and makes sure they're fighting for the right reasons. He won't accept extremists or "bloodthirsty guys that are coming and saying, 'let's kill somebody,'" he said. Mamulashvili also drew a distinction between*

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<sup>132</sup> Kyiv Post. 2024. "Zelensky Replaces AFU Joint Forces Commander Amid Criticism and Military Failures." Kyiv Post. June 25. Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://www.kyivpost.com/post/34784>

*his group and the Azov Battalion, another segment of the Ukrainian army, which has welcomed neo-Nazis and other white supremacists and has also cultivated international ties. "I have to exclude the radical views. I have to exclude some religious fanatics or extremism or Nazis or racism or whatever," he said."*

(from an interview with Business Insider on March 8, 2022)

*"We never accepted in Georgian Legion, Nazis or any radical views, so we had to sort them out and we accepted only combat experienced soldiers."*

(from an interview with the Hudson Institute on December 16, 2022)<sup>133</sup>

The emphasis on the combat experience of GNL fighters also emphasizes their efficacy, a case of positive attribute framing that improves brand equity. While the Georgian legion has, according to Rekawek, recruited a small number of individuals who were later identified as extremists, the impact of these individuals on the GNL brand has been negligible precisely because of the efforts made by the GNL to stress, as in the quotes above, that these are the exception and not the rule.

Mamulashvili's efforts to screen recruits also bear fruit to the other sort of framing we've explored, frame-bridging. As also identified in the GNL's activities on Telegram, here we see examples of the Legion connecting the war in Ukraine to the conflict between Georgia and Russia.

*"I often spoke with my comrades to understand their motivation to join the Georgian Legion. They realise that they are protecting Georgia in Ukraine. They know that if Ukraine loses the war, Georgia will be completely occupied."*

(from an interview with Online.ua on April 30, 2024)<sup>134</sup>

Not only does this quote provide an example of the GNLs use of frame-bridging, but it also shows the GNL making use of negative goal outcome framing as identified by Levin et al (1998). This framing, that "if Ukraine loses the war, Georgia will be completely occupied" is found in the literature to be far more effective than its positive alternative, "if Ukraine wins". Part of this may be due to the disparate motivations for those mobilizing to support or join the GNL, who likely have some variety of perceived outcomes if Ukraine succeeds in defeating Russian aggression. In any case, we can confirm that the Legion makes use of a variety of framing techniques identified in

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<sup>133</sup> Hudson Institute. 2022. "A Conversation from the Front Lines with Commander of the Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili." Hudson Institute. December 15. Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://www.hudson.org/events/conversation-front-lines-commander-georgian-legion-mamuka-mamulashvili>.

<sup>134</sup> Online.ua. 2024. "Russia will occupy Georgia if Ukraine loses the war, Georgian Legion Commander Mamulashvili says." Online.ua. April 30. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://news.online.ua/en/russia-will-occupy-georgia-if-ukraine-loses-the-war-georgian-legion-commander-mamulashvili-says-877602/>.

the literature. We can also see how the Legion even shifts their frame-bridging depending on the stakeholder in question. That is, messages connecting the conflicts in Ukraine and Georgia are primed for audiences in Georgia. Messages like the one below are more targeted towards Western stakeholders, be they potential recruits or foreign backers of the Ukrainian cause at large.

*“But the main cause is the fight for independence and democracy. Everyone understands that defending democracy is a common cause”*

(from an interview with Svidomi on July 4, 2023)<sup>135</sup>

*“Ukraine is the only country today physically fighting for freedom and democratic ideals,” Mamulashvili told Insider. “Everybody should get more engaged, because it is the only place now where you can see the real fighting for real freedom.”*

(from an interview with Business Insider on March 8, 2022)<sup>136</sup>

Here, the conflict is framed much more broadly, as a conflict over defending democracy. This dual frame-bridging is not unique, having been used readily by Republican forces recruiting from foreign liberal and leftist audiences in during the Spanish Civil War. That ‘democracy’ framed messages are more apparent in English language media points further towards GNL’s flexible communication strategy, which they appear to use to great effect. We also see that this frame-bridging can be used to target more than one stakeholder, as in the example below.

*“Ukraine has taken on the role of protecting all European countries and democratic values - not only its own, but also those of the entire Western world. And the West needs to really understand this, because this is costing Ukrainians their lives.”*

(from an interview with Ukrainska Pravda on July 10, 2022)<sup>137</sup>

This interview as a whole is quite revealing, given its medium. Ukrainska Pravda is a primarily Ukrainian-language newspaper that publishes select articles in the English. That this particular article, entitled “Mamuka Mamulashvili, Commander of the Georgian Legion: Ukraine is the only country to take on the challenge of the barbaric terrorist state that is Russia” is in English tells us that, while Mamulashvili is lauding the efforts of his Ukrainian hosts, his statement that “the West needs to really understand this, because this is costing Ukrainians their lives” is really meant to

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<sup>135</sup> Kondrat, Anastasiia. 2023. “The main motivation is the fight for democracy”: How do foreigners fight for Ukraine? Svidomi. July 4. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://svidomi.in.ua/en/page/the-main-motivation-is-the-fight-for-democracy-how-do-foreigners-fight-for-ukraine>.

<sup>136</sup> Shamsian, Jacob. 2022. “A Georgian commander fighting Russian forces in Ukraine says more international support will help defeat Putin.” Business Insider. March 8. Accessed June 27, 2024. <https://www.businessinsider.com/georgian-legion-commander-ukraine-army-russia-war-mamuka-mamulashvili-2022-3>.

<sup>137</sup> Musaeva, Sevgil, and Yevhen Buderatskyi. 2022. “Mamuka Mamulashvili, Commander of the Georgian Legion: Ukraine is the only country to take on the challenge of the barbaric terrorist state that is Russia.” Ukrainska Pravda. July 10. Accessed June 29, 2024. <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/articles/2022/07/10/7357256/>.

elicit a behavioral change from Ukraine's supporters in the West. It also provides another example of the GNL relying on negative goal outcome framing; that is, the West's continued failure to provide appropriate support to Ukrainian forces is causing and will continue to cause undue suffering for Ukrainians. Upon later invitation from the interviewer, Mamulashvili takes the opportunity to make clear requests for specific weapons systems that relate to his framing of the war. In order to prevent Ukraine's suffering, he suggests, the West should provide "air defence systems that can protect our skies so that we won't see civilian buildings being bombed." This quote itself marks an example of negative goal outcome framing; that is, if the West doesn't want to see more civilians get killed, they should provide these weapons systems. Coupled with this suggestion is a request for long-range rocket artillery systems such as HIMARS and ATACMS munitions later provided by Western aid packages. Asked of his discussions with American officials, Mamulashvili states that his consultations with them emphasize the importance of timely delivery of aid, and that the success or failure of this effort is a matter of life and death.

*"We are dealing with human lives. I made a video (which I really hate doing) of the civilians who died in one day. And I have to show it to every person on whom the transfer of arms to Ukraine depends."*

(from an interview with Ukrainska Pravda on July 10, 2022)

Once again, we can confirm reliance on negative goal framing; if arms transfers do not make it through, these civilian casualties will continue to be killed. The push for Western aid is a subject GNL's commander has devoted considerable amount of his strategic communications efforts towards. This is unsurprising, given the GNL's overall survival is as dependent on the broader success of the Ukrainian cause as it is on its own battlefield victories.

## **5.6: Discussion of Findings**

Our research has revealed crucial insights that bring us closer towards answering our initial research question, that is: how do foreign fighter groups use strategic communications to accomplish their organizational goals? Our framework identified three main lenses through which we can analyze these efforts. Firstly, we need to consider the stakeholders of a foreign fighter group, and observe how they use communications to uphold a sense of legitimacy to those stakeholders. Secondly, Foreign fighter groups will make use of different framing techniques in order to both broaden the scope of the conflict in which they're participating and uphold the positive image of their organization. Lastly, they will cultivate a unique branding through which

they can mediate support and build their audience. Throughout our survey of Georgian National Legion Telegram messages as well as in public interviews with the GNL commander, we can see how the organization specifically addresses each of these aspects of strategic communication.

The Georgian National Legion, throughout its messages, made regular efforts to uphold its legitimacy with stakeholders. Chief among these stakeholders is the Ukrainian public and state, as well as its supporters therein, for whom the GNL frequently highlight aid and civil defense initiatives such as self-defense and first-aid training. This is sensible for a foreign fighter organization, as we have observed in the literature. Moore and Tumelty's assessment of Khattab's Chechen insurgents highlighted the importance of their relationship with the local population. For the GNL, the establishing of these local training programs first signals benign intentions to locals but also conduct 'mediated diffusion' wherein GNL is acting as a broker for civil defense skills to locals, and through which the GNL can secure legitimacy in the eyes of the Ukrainian state and public. GNL's marking of Ukrainian holidays, and indeed its use of the Ukrainian language in its Telegram posts, serve to cement the impression upon their audience that the GNL is an organization primarily intended for the defense and service of the Ukrainian people. The value of GNL's establishing of 'legitimacy' with its hosts is not to be understated; the importance of legitimacy – especially among the local population – for such state-parallel organizations are, as Aliyev (2016) notes, a critical factor in their success<sup>138</sup> and continued autonomy from the state bureaucracy.<sup>139</sup> As Aliyev defines them, these state-parallel paramilitaries, in contrast to state-manipulated paramilitaries, are those which operate in parallel to a weak (but not necessarily 'failed') state, typically in response to the outbreak of conflict to which the state itself cannot immediately respond. Their legitimacy is a two-way street: the state must itself project an image of control over its state-parallel forces which these forces must then reciprocate in order to maintain the benefits of affiliation and recognition by the state.

This coincides with their stakeholder communications to the Georgian public and their Georgian base of support, for whom they also share their messages in the Georgian language and mark holidays of political and cultural significance. The most interesting example of this dynamic at play is their sharing on Telegram on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2023 a Spanish language news segment covering

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<sup>139</sup> Aliyev, Huseyn. 2016. "Strong militias, weak states and armed violence: Towards a theory of 'state-parallel' paramilitaries." *Security Dialogue* 504.

Hispanic volunteers in the GNL. While the first sentence of the message, “these soldiers of ours are from Spain” is written in Ukrainian, the second sentence, “All units of the Georgian Legion will participate in the de-occupation of Abkhazia and Samachablo” is only written in Georgian, and refers to occupied South Ossetia by its official, historical Georgian name. These are intentional, targeted communications which connect the war in Ukraine to Georgia’s occupation by Russia through frame-bridging rhetoric. Thus, the Georgian audience is assured that by supporting the Legion, they are ultimately contributing towards processes that may lead to the recovery of Georgia’s occupied lands. The GNL has also expressed its solidarity with pro-Western Georgian protestors in 2023 and 2024 who mobilized in opposition to increasingly pro-Russian legislation and rhetoric from the government. GNL Telegram posts used this opportunity to once again connect Georgia’s struggle with Ukraine’s, noting that their initial call to action in 2014 followed the mass protests which broke out in Kyiv’s Maidan square against the repudiation of the country’s European trajectory.

The third stakeholder for whom the GNL assures its legitimacy through public communications is its own member fighters and network of supporters. GNL’s Telegram frequently showcases the awarding of medals to its forces and commemorates of those fallen in battle. These messages serve as a recognition of the contribution made by individual combatants in the organization, which is important to balance as GNL commander Mamulashvili is featured so prominently in the unit’s branding and communications. They also indicate to GNL’s audience the cost of their participation in the conflict, and that the unit is actually engaged in combat along the front lines as promised. In this sense, GNL’s brand equity is also protected from accusations of grifting or nonparticipation – a charge which has befallen other international units in the press.<sup>140</sup>

The Georgian National Legion makes targeted communications towards Western partners as well, though this more often takes place in the form of press interviews and speaking at Western institutions and security conferences, with GNL commander Mamulashvili serving as a representative figurehead for the group. Mamulashvili’s statements in these interviews implore the Western public to support their cause, referring to the conflict as fighting on the West’s behalf in a true conflict of good against imperialistic evil. Mamulashvili uses these opportunities to advocate

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<sup>140</sup> Scheck, Justin, and Thomas Gibbons-Neff. 2023. "Stolen Valor: The U.S. Volunteers in Ukraine Who Lie, Waste and Bicker." *The New York Times*. March 23. Accessed August 4, 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/25/world/europe/volunteers-us-ukraine-lies.html>.

for increased material support, indicating the particular weapons systems needed by Kyiv such as air defense systems. These communications are rarer, and emphasize the positive attributes of the GNL and Ukraine's cause as democratic and just. GNL's very inclusion in Western institutions such as the Hudson Foundation illustrates some degree of success in establishing its own legitimacy with these stakeholders, and speaks to the efficacy of their broader communication strategy. Part of this may be the result of GNL's relatively depoliticized nature within Ukraine, as it lacks any professed political goals within the country nor shared history with political parties as Azov does with its former political wing, the National Corps. Moreover, support for the GNL by the West does not imply agreement to the overthrow of pro-Russian regimes in Belarus, the North Caucasus, or other polities from which foreign fighters have organized units on behalf of Ukraine. GNL's lack of political objectives within Ukraine also make it a more attractive partner for the Ukrainian state, which can benefit from the organization bringing foreign recruits and privately funded equipment to bear as the state deals with its own complex dilemmas with mobilization. Even the GNL's professed desire to end Russia's occupation in Abkhazia and South Ossetia requires only a commitment to what is already internationally recognized as Georgia's lawful territory – a position shared by the United States and European Union (albeit one that has not included military action, in these cases). This grants the GNL an advantage in its messaging to Western stakeholders, as it has no broader objectives to which the West must buy in to.

Broadly, these communications efforts are buoyed by the effective use of framing techniques, especially the highlighting of positive group attributes and connections between the conflict in Ukraine and (depending on the intended audience) Georgia's own struggle against Russian domination or a global struggle against authoritarian imperialism. Other efforts to frame are similarly targeted. In the wake of Hamas' October 7<sup>th</sup> attacks against Israel, Mamulashvili emphasized their shared battle against terrorism (though, of course, terrorism from different sources). Israel, notably, has been an outlier among Western partners in its failure to adopt sanctions against Russia in the wake of the 2022 invasion and thereafter refused to supply arms to Ukrainian forces. While Mamulashvili's messaging might have had scant hopes of altering Israel's policy on the war, or even the attitudes of an Israeli public now preoccupied with their own conflict, the statements represent GNL's alignment with the broader rhetoric of the Ukrainian government

to draw comparisons between both states' conflicts.<sup>141</sup> As discussed above, GNL's frame bridging is accompanied by positive attribute framing which highlights the organizations' benign intentions and efficacy in the conflict. The GNL never directly disparages other foreign fighter groups by name, instead highlighting its own value added to the Ukrainian cause through its own charitable work and lethality on the battlefield. This is not only sensible between co-combatants but also more effective in eliciting the desired audience behavior (for example, donations) according to previous scholarship on framing.<sup>142</sup>

The starkest aspect of the Georgian National Legion's strategic communications is by far its gradual construction and proliferation of branding since the onset of the 2022 full-scale invasion. Indeed, the escalation of Russia's aggression against Ukraine created a number of new challenges for volunteer fighter organizations in Ukraine for which the consistent use of branding offers some solutions. A greatly increased operational tempo in response to Russian offensives implies an increased use of munitions, first aid equipment, and first-person view (FPV) drones used as indirect fire munitions, much of which could be quickly secured with the assistance of private donations. Effective use of branding allowed GNL to market itself to potential donors, mediated through Mamulashvili's charismatic media presence and cooperation with the #NAFO community on social media. Indeed, Mamulashvili's role within GNL's brand is not dissimilar to the construction of the Chechen insurgency's popular figureheads which Moore and Tumelty note greatly assisted in the construction of support networks and securing of resources.<sup>143</sup> Equally crucial to GNL's brand is its logo, which is practically ubiquitous throughout its social media posts in the two years since the full-scale invasion. The logo is also highly visible on the GNL Telegram channel's regularly posted graphics tracking Russian casualty figures, also subtly associating the unit with battlefield success against the invaders. Use of the logo frequently accompanies photos and videos of GNL fighters in the field, serving the dual purpose of enhancing brand equity through associating the brand with real activity on the battlefield and preventing other, competing volunteer fighter groups from claiming credit for FPV drone strike and combat footage. Positive brand association is further reinforced through its frequent presence at protests in Georgia and humanitarian aid projects in Ukraine.

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<sup>141</sup> Peleschuk, Dan, and Nick Starkov. 2023. "Ukraine's Zelenskiy calls for world solidarity with Israel." *Reuters*. October 8. Accessed August 20, 2024. <https://www.reuters.com/world/ukraines-zelenskiy-condemns-terrorist-attack-israel-2023-10-07/>.

<sup>142</sup> Levin, I. P. and G. J. Gaeth. 1998. "All Frames Are Not Created Equal: A Typology and Critical Analysis of Framing Effects." 149-188.

<sup>143</sup> Moore and Tumelty, 2008 "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment", 423

Some of these conclusions are difficult to extrapolate beyond the present conflict in Ukraine, where foreign fighters are not only able to effectively organize into independent units of relatively large size but are also not generally prohibited from using mainstream fundraising platforms to openly call for resources from their supporters. Two avenues of comparative study could prove useful in future research on the use of strategic communication by foreign fighters group: (1) between GNL and other foreign fighter groups on both sides of the Russo-Ukrainian War, and (2) between GNL and foreign fighter groups in other armed conflicts beyond Ukraine, such as in Syria, Chechnya. Nevertheless, the trends identified in our study, namely that GNL strategic communication efforts grew as the conflict became more intense and the GNL organization grew larger and more complex. The existence of a dedicated press team within GNL, an organization that began informally as a tiny group of Georgian veterans roughly a decade ago, is illustrative of the way in which the conflict in Ukraine has driven paramilitary groups to grow more sophisticated in their capabilities outside the battlefield. It also emphasizes the increasing breakdown of the barrier between state and nonstate institutions identified by Kaldor and Van Creveld. Kaldor herself comments on this in her later writings analyzing the invasion of Ukraine. Noting that ‘new wars’ are “wars in which the aim is not winning or losing but rather creating a situation in which numerous armed groups both (state and nonstate) can establish local fiefdoms often associated with ethnic or religious identities and financed through revenue generated from violence” Kaldor assesses that, while the war does not yet fit this category, the longer it continues the more likely it will.<sup>144</sup> Paradoxically, it may be that as GNL and similar organizations’ communications capabilities grow more sophisticated, the conflict in which they are embroiled may only grow further from a decisive victory for Kyiv. On the other hand, the lack of any apparent local political objectives for the GNL (other than a Ukrainian victory in the war) does present the organization with fewer venues to exert any influence gained as a result of the conflict’s prolonging. They are not affiliated with any particular parliamentary bloc, nor reportedly with any particular oligarch. Nevertheless, both the advantages offered by state-parallel, foreign military volunteers *and* the relative accessibility of the critical tool which is online communication for these semi-official actors within the conflict serves to exacerbate a sort of de-etatisation of sovereignty as understood

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<sup>144</sup> Kaldor, Mary. 2023. "Commentary on Kögler: Analysing the Ukraine war through a 'new wars' perspective." *European Journal of Social Theory* 480-481.

by Fisun (2021), wherein critical functions of the nation-state are increasingly assumed by private or otherwise nonstate actors.<sup>145</sup>

These challenges notwithstanding, we can reasonably conclude from our research that foreign fighter groups may increasingly make use of branding and framing techniques while targeting communications efforts towards key stakeholders in order to accomplish organizational objectives. Among these objectives is not only to acquire the resources necessary to wage war, but also to establish and protect an organizational brand with which they can secure donations and recruits. These efforts may grow more sophisticated as organizations and the challenges they face grow more complex.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusions**

Communication is an invaluable human tool through which we interact with others and define ourselves and our material needs. This is no less true of groups of people, and the adoption of strategic communications techniques by organizations is a natural consequence of this. Our research illustrates the clear value strategic communications holds for foreign fighter groups such as the GNL, manifest in their near-daily messages across a variety of social media platforms, often in multiple languages, and accompanied by slick websites and digital media. GNL branding solidified with the intensification of the war following Russia's 2022 invasion, which may reflect increasing requirements for both resources as well as competition with other foreign fighter groups. GNL's strategic communications was marked by clear stakeholder communication, shaped to uphold stakeholder legitimacy and brand equity through clever framing techniques which emphasize positive aspects of the GNL brand as well drawing connections between the conflict in Ukraine and Russo-Georgian conflict over Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as with a broader global confrontation between liberal democracy and authoritarian imperialism. Through these rhetorical connections, foreign fighter groups can increase the persuasive power of their communications and more effectively secure the resources they require. For GNL, the continued salience of Georgia's occupation by Russia proves a potent well to which they can appeal for support.

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<sup>145</sup> Fisun, Oleksandr, and Nataliya Vinnykova. 2021. "De-Etatization of State Sovereignty and the Formation of a Global Maidan." *The Ideology and Politics Journal* 72-86.

Further research, both into the GNL's own strategic communications efforts, and those of other foreign fighter groups within Ukraine and in other conflicts around the world, would benefit from interviews with organizational leadership and communications officers who could elaborate on internal processes which led to the development of these efforts. Additionally, study of smaller foreign fighter groups with a less sophisticated strategic communications effort may reveal divergent outcomes for these groups which more concretely illustrates the value of these activities. Such research would do well to determine whether these efforts are unique to the contours of the conflict in Ukraine or truly generalizable to foreign fighters in general. Further research would also benefit from delineating the extent to which these trends are unique to foreign fighter groups from broader trends regarding the behavior of paramilitary organizations.

Previous scholarship explored in our literature review affirms that historical foreign fighter organizations such as Khattab's Chechen insurgency and the Islamic State make clear that communication has long been a valuable tool to secure funding and new recruits for these groups. Moreover, the relative ease with which massive online crowdfunding and community building platforms allow organizations like the GNL to build an audience and accrue resources suggest that the trends identified by this study may only grow more uniform. This may bear serious implications for the state's monopoly on force, as private and semi-private actors which can more efficiently generate manpower and equipment balance both their legitimacy with the local state and population with their own agendas.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Thematic Codebook

Themes	Subthemes	Definitions	Examples
<b>Stakeholder Communication</b>	To Foreign Governments	Commentary on issues of importance to foreign governments	Appeals for foreign aid; naming and shaming of states unsufficiently offering support to Ukraine, mentions of meetings with foreign dignitaries
	To Potential Recruits and Donors	Commentary on issues of importance to potential recruits and donors	Explicit calls for recruits; calls to action for donations
	To Member Fighters and Supporters	Commentary on issues of importance to member fighters	Recognition of individual fighters for bravery, recognition of fallen fighters
	To the Georgian Public	Commentary on issues of importance to Georgian public	Celebration of Georgian holidays, Commentary on political developments in Georgia
	To the Ukrainian Public	Commentary on issues of importance to Ukrainian public	Showcasing of aid efforts to Ukrainian public; celebration of Ukrainian holidays
<b>Framing</b>	Negative Outcome	Statements highlighting consequences of audience inaction	statements highlighting atrocities in occupied areas
	Positive Attribute	Statements emphasizing positive aspects of brand	Statements highlighting bravery or efficacy of the GNL
	Frame Bridging	Statements connecting this conflicts to other conflicts through rhetoric, broadening interested audience	Framing Ukraine War as part of Georgia's conflict with Georgia; framing war as part of wider conflict between liberalism and authoritarianism
<b>Branding</b>	Use of Logos	Explicit presence of brand symbols	Presence of GNL logo, patches, etc
	Prominent Featuring of Mamuka Mamulashvili	Highlighting of Mamulashvili in interviews and public statements; highlighting of Mamulashvili's reputation or background	Featuring of Mamulashvili quotes from interview

	Prominence of Georgian Cultural Symbols	Presence of Georgian cultural symbols and artifacts such as cuisine or flags or symbols	Incorporation of Georgian cuisine like Khinkali
	Plugging of Social Media and fundraising	Insertion of links to GNL donation page, website, or social media pages	Statements like "support the GNL here" followed by links to donation and social media pages
	Protecting Brand Equity	Statements refuting attacks on brand image or upholding desired brand of GNL as moderate and effective	State refuting accusation of misconduct against GNL

## Appendix B: Coded Telegram Data

Themes (Subthemes)	date	Text	Translated Text	Logo Visible?	Media Context
N/A	6/19/2024 2:10	Найголовніше ви почули)	The most important thing you heard)	No	Video of Georgian National Soccer Team at Euros
Branding (Mamuka); Branding (Logo)	6/15/2024 17:06	ქართული ლეგიონის მეთაურმა, მამუკა მამუკაშვილმა ოდესაში გამართულ, შავი ზღვის რეგიონში უსაფრთხოების საკითხებისადმი მიძღვნილ 2-დღიან საერთაშორისო პოლიტიკურ ფორუმში მიიღო მონაწილეობა. Командир Грузинського легіону Мамука Мамулашвілі взяв участь у 2-денному міжнародному політичному форумі, присвяченому питанням безпеки в Чорноморському регіоні, який пройшов в Одесі.	Mamuka Mamukashvili, head of the Georgian Legion, participated in the 2-day International Political Forum dedicated to security issues in Odessa.	Yes	Video of Mamulas hvili speaking at forum
Branding (Brand Equity); Branding (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute)	6/14/2024 14:55	გეოა მამუკა მამულაშვილი: "დღეს ჩვენთვის მნიშვნელოვანი დღეა, ქართული ლეგიონი აღნიშნავს რუსეთის მიერ ტერორისტებად აღიარებას 🤔🤔🤔" Мамука Мамулашвілі: "Сьогодні для нас важливий день, Грузинський легіон святкує визнання росією терористами 🤔🤔🤔"	Mamuka Mamulashvili: "Today is an important day for us, the Georgian Legion is celebrating recognition by Russia as a terrorist group"	Yes	Picture of article describing GNL designation as terror organization
Branding (Mamuka)	6/13/2024 15:36	ქართული ლეგიონის მეთაური, მამუკა მამულაშვილი რამდენიმე ტოქსიკური ნივთიერებით იყო მოწამლული. ახლა მისი ჯანმრთელობის მდგომარეობა დამაკმაყოფილებელია და ის ჩვეულ რეჟიმში განაგრძობს საქმიანობას. Мамука Мамулашвілі, командир "Грузинського Легіону", був отруєний кількома отруйними речовинами. На зараз стан його здоров'я задовільний і він продовжує свою діяльність у звичайному режимі	Mamuka Mamulashvili, commander of the "Georgian Legion", was poisoned with several poisonous substances. At the moment, his health is satisfactory and he continues his activities as usual	No	Picture of Mamulas hvili in good health after poison reports



Framing (Bridging); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	6/10/2024 21:38	☞ GEUA "Усвідомлення захисту Грузії в Україні, мотивує бійців Грузинського Легіону" - Мамука Мамулашвілі "іміс гачнобієრება, რომ უკრაїნაში ბრძოლით საქართველოს ვიცავთ, ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოლებს დამატებით მოტივაციას აძლევს", - მამუკა მამულაშვილი მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	☞ GEUA "The realization that we are defending Georgia by fighting in Ukraine gives additional motivation to the fighters of the Georgian Legion", - Mamuka Mamulashvili Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Screenshot of Mamulashvili in interview
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Branding (Social Media)	6/6/2024 16:34	☞ საქართველოსა და უკრაინის თავისუფლებისთვის ბრძოლას შეწირული ზვენი გმირები. Наши герои, які втратили своє життя за українську та грузинську незалежність. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> ☞ Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	☞ Our heroes who sacrificed themselves in the fight for the freedom of Georgia and Ukraine. Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> ☞ Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	No	Picture of shrine to fallen Legion fighters
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	5/31/2024 14:50	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загалні бойові втрати противника мхარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Total enemy combat losses • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> ☞ Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Russian casualty figures
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	5/29/2024 21:51	☞ GEUA მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> ☞ Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	☞ GEUA Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> ☞ Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Video of GNL fighter
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo); Stakeholder Communications (Member Fighters and Supporters)	5/27/2024 15:11	GE ნინო ქათამაძეს მადლობას ვუხდით მხარდაჭერისთვის და ვუსურვებთ წარმატებებს! • Дякуємо Ніно Катамадзе за підтримку, та бажаємо успіху! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GE We thank Nino Katamadze for his support and wish him success! Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Video of Georgian musician performing in support of GNL
Branding (Mamuka); Branding (Social Media)	5/26/2024 16:47	GE "პირველ რიგში, მიხდა, მიულოვო იმ ქართველებს, ვინც დღეს ქუჩებში დგას და საქართველოს ღირსებას იცავს!" - მამუკა მამულაშვილი «Перш за все хочу привітати тих грузинів, які сьогодні вийшли на вулиці і захищають честь Грузії!» - Мамука Мамулашвілі მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GE "First of all, I want to congratulate those Georgians who took to the streets today and defend the honor of Georgia!" - Mamuka Mamulashvili • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	No	Video of Mamulashvili speaking
Stakeholder Communication (Georgia in Public)	5/26/2024 14:48	GEილოცავთ საქართველოს დამოუკიდებლობის დღეს! • 3 Днем Незалежності Грузії!	GE Congratulations on Georgia's Independence Day!	No	Picture congratulating Georgia on Independence Day

Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo); Stakeholder Communications (Member Fighters and Supporters)	5/24/2024 19:38	გეუა Були раді зустрічі з Ніно Катамазде! • მხარულეგეონს შებენდრით მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	გეუა We were glad to meet Nino Katamazde! • Support the Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Group of GNL fighters meeting with Georgian singer
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	5/24/2024 18:24	🇯🇲 UAGე ჩვენი ჩოტირილანი ჩლენი ლეგიონის ოთხთათა წევრი მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	🇯🇲 UAGე Our four-legged members of the Legion • Support the Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Picture of dog with GNL regalia
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo); Stakeholder Communications (Member Fighters and Supporters)	5/23/2024 19:41	UAGე Боримось до перемоги! ვიბრძვით გამარჯვებამდე! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	UAGე Let's fight for victory! • Support the Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Video of GNL supporters
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	5/19/2024 16:52	Вітаємо з перемогою! Боксер став абсолютним чемпіоном світу! Олександр показав приклад і став мотиватором для всіх українців, щоб народ не зупинявся, а йшов до перемоги! 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Congratulations on the victory! The boxer has become an absolute world champion! Alexander showed an example and became a motivator for all Ukrainians so that the people do not stop but go to victory! 🇯🇲 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	No	Picture congratulating Ukrainian boxer on victory
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	5/16/2024 17:19	UAGე Вітаємо українців з Днем Вишиванки! • ვულოცავთ უკრაინელებს ეროვნული სამოსის - ვიშვიანკის დღეს! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge	UAGე We congratulate Ukrainians on the day of the national dress - Vyshivanki! Support the Georgian Legion: http://gl.ge	Yes	Picture congratulating Ukrainians on Day of National Dress
Branding (Georgia Cultural Symbols); Branding (Logo); Stakeholder	5/14/2024 18:28	🇯🇲 GE EU 🇯🇲	🇯🇲 GE EU 🇯🇲	Yes	Picture of GNL cape worn by Tbilisi protestor







<p>Branding (Brand Equity); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo); Stakeholder Communications (Potential Recruits and Donors)</p>	<p>4/27/2024 17:16</p>	<p>!!!!!!Дорогі наші читачі, від імені ГРУЗИНСЬКОГО ЛЕГІОНУ хочемо до ВАС звернутися з проханням! Наразі в Україні воюють інші підрозділи грузинів, які не відносяться до грузинського легіону та які проводять збори на свої потреби. Ми вас дуже просимо звертайте увагу, якщо ми офіційно не викладаємо збір на наших офіційних соціальних мережах, тоді ці грошові та інші збори до нас ніякого відношення не мають. Якщо ви бажаєте допомогти ГРУЗИНСЬКОМУ ЛЕГІОНУ у нас є відкриті рахунки: <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPIX">Монобанк</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Монобанк-ит</a>: <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPIX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPIX</a> Сайт   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">саїт</a>дан: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">https://georgianlegion.ge</a> Bank of Georgia   საქართველოს ბანკი: : <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">GE83BG000000549916663</a> TBC Bank   TBC ბანკი: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">GE40TB7183336080100006</a> PayPal: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">help.mgeli@proton.me</a> БМК: <a href="https://buymeacoffee.com/georgianlegion">https://buymeacoffee.com/georgianlegion</a> Будь ласка перевіряйте всю інформацію. Дякуємо вам за розуміння.   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">მადლობა თანადგომისთვის!</a></p>	<p>Dear friends, on behalf of the Georgian Legion, we would like to address you with a request! Other Georgian units are also fighting in Ukraine, which do not represent the Georgian Legion and which collect funds for their own needs. Please note that if the fundraising announcement is not published on our official social networks, such an initiative has no connection with the Georgian Legion. If you want to support the Georgian Legion, our accounts are: Monobank   with <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPIX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPIX</a> Сайт   From the site: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">https://georgianlegion.ge</a> Bank of Georgia   Bank of Georgia: : <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">GE83BG000000549916663</a> TBC Bank   TBC Bank: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">GE40TB7183336080100006</a> PayPal: <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">help.mgeli@proton.me</a> БМК: <a href="https://buymeacoffee.com/georgianlegion">https://buymeacoffee.com/georgianlegion</a> Please check all information Thank you for your understanding.   Thanks for your support!</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Picture of logo attached to explicit request for donations</p>
<p>Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)</p>	<p>4/26/2024 16:53</p>	<p>GEUA დღეს, საერთაშორისო ვოლონტორული ფონდის Atlas Global Aid მხარდაჭერით, ტაქტიკურ მედიცინაში მორიგი სწავლება გაიმართა. Сьогодні відбулися чергові навчання з тактичної медицини завдяки іноземному волонтерському фонду Atlas Global Aid. Підтримка іноземних партнерів завжди доречна. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a></p>	<p>GEUA Another tactical medicine training took place today thanks to the foreign volunteer fund Atlas Global Aid. The support of foreign partners is always appropriate. • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a></p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Video, beginning with shot of logo patch, which shows GNL support of international aid efforts</p>
<p>Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo)</p>	<p>4/26/2024 14:52</p>	<p>GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>  <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Monobank</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Facebook</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Instagram</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Twitter</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Telegram</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">TikTok</a></p>	<p>GEUA Official data on enemy losses • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>  <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Monobank</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Facebook</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Instagram</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Twitter</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">Telegram</a>   <a href="https://georgianlegion.ge">TikTok</a></p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Russian casualty figures</p>





Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	4/18/2024 17:35	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника мѡარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 📍 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	GEUA Official data on enemy losses • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 📍 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	Russian casualty figures
Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	4/17/2024 20:33	🇬🇪 GEUA 🇬🇪 მზარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 📍 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	🇬🇪 GEUA 🇬🇪 Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 📍 Monobank   Facebook   Instagram   Twitter   Telegram   TikTok	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	4/17/2024 14:16	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника мѡარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	GEUA Official data on enemy losses Support Georgian Legion • Facebook, Instagram, Twitter Telegram, tiktok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	Russian casualty figures
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/16/2024 21:56	🇬🇪 GEUA სრულყოფილებას არ აქვს საზღვრები • Досконалости немає меж მზარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	🇬🇪 GEUA Perfection has no limits • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in training
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	4/16/2024 13:27	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника мѡარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	GEUA Official data on enemy losses Support Georgian Legion • Facebook, Instagram, Twitter Telegram, tiktok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	Russian casualty figures
Branding (Logo); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Branding (Social Media)	4/15/2024 23:13	🇬🇪 GEUA ეწვიეთ ჩვენს ტელეგრამ არხს • Дивіться більше у нашому телеграм каналі - <a href="https://t.me/GeorgianNationalLegion">https://t.me/GeorgianNationalLegion</a> მზარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	🇬🇪 GEUA See more in our Telegram channel- <a href="https://t.me/georgiannationallegion">https://t.me/georgiannationallegion</a> • support Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook, Instagram, Twitter Telegram, Tiktok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9Cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9Cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	4/15/2024 14:01	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника мѡარი დაუქირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	GEUA Official data on enemy losses Support Georgian Legion • Facebook, Instagram, Twitter Telegram, tiktok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	Russian casualty figures

Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/14/2024 23:02	☞ GEUA ახალწვეული ქართული ლეგიონის დაზვერვის ჯგუფში • Новобранець групи розвідки Грузинського Легіону მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA Recruit of the intelligence group of the Georgian Legion • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL regalia on cat vest
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/13/2024 23:24	☞ GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის ახალი ჯგუფის მზადება ტაქტიკურ მედიცინაში - დღე II • Підготовка нової групи Грузинського Легіону у тактичній медицині - День II მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA Training of a new group of the Georgian Legion in tactical medicine - Day II • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in training
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/12/2024 23:59	☞ GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის ახალი ჯგუფის მზადება ტაქტიკურ მედიცინაში • Підготовка нової групи Грузинського Легіону у тактичній медицині разом з MunVartaIrpin მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok	☞ GEUA Training of a new group of the Georgian Legion in tactical medicine together with MunVartaIrpin • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Facebook , Instagram , Twitter Telegram , TikTok	Yes	GNL fighters in training
Branding (Social Media); Branding (Logo)	4/12/2024 17:02	GEUA ოფიციალური მონაცემები მტრის დანაკარგების შესახებ • Загальні бойові втрати противника мхარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Total combat losses of the enemy • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Russian casualty figures
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/11/2024 20:46	☞ GEUA ყველაფერი იქნება კარგად. ერთად გამარჯვებისკენ! • Все буде добре. Разом йдемо до перемоги! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA Everything will be fine. Let's go to victory together! Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Stakeholder Communication (Member)	4/11/2024 3:24	☞ GEUA ჩვენ და ჩვენი პრესცენტრი • Ми і наш пресс-центр მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA We and our press center • Support Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL press officers







Fighters and Supporters)					
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukraine); Framing (Positive Attribute)	4/9/2024 1:20	GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოლები ორგანიზაციასთან Party в Інтернати ერთად კოროსტიშის №4 სკოლა-ინტერნატს ესტუმრნენ. მადლობა საქველმოქმედო ღონისძიების ორგანიზატორებს და მონაწილეებს. სხვისი ბავშვები არ არსებობენ! დიდება საქართველოს! დიდება უკრაინას! Сьогодні бійці Грузинського Легіону разом з Організацією Party V Internati відвідали Коростишівський спеціальний ЗОШ-інтернат №4. Дякуємо організаторам та учасникам цього благодійного заходу. Чужих дітей не буває! Слава Україні! Слава Грузії. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	GEUA Today, the fighters of the Georgian Legion together with the Party V Internati Organization visited the Korostysh Special Secondary School Boarding No. 4. We thank the organizers and participants of this charity event. There are no other people's children! Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Georgia. Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL making community visits to local schools for charitable events
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	4/8/2024 20:04	ვიდეო არქივიდან. ბახმუტი. 2023 წლის აპრილიUAGE Архівне відео. Бахмут. Квітень 2023 рокуUAGE მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Archive video. Bakhmut. April 2023 UAGE • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field; specifies Bakhmut
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukraine); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Framing (Positive Attribute)	4/5/2024 23:02	☞ GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის აკადემიის მიერ ჩატარებული წვრთნის შემდეგ, კიევის ლიცეუმის მოსწავლეებმა ქართულ ლეგიონს უკრაინის დაცვისთვის მადლობა გადაუხადეს • Сьогодні під час навчання Academy Georgian Legion, учні ліцею «Наукова зміна» подякували Грузинському Легіону за захист України ეწვიეთ აკადემიის ფეხვრედს • Переходьте на сторінку Академії Грузинського Легіону за посиланням - <a href="https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61557796690774">https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61557796690774</a> მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	☞ GEUA Today, during the training of the Academy Georgian Legion, students of the Lyceum "Scientific Change" thanked the Georgian Legion for the protection of Ukraine • Go to the page of the Academy of the Georgian Legion via the link - <a href="https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61557796690774">https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61557796690774</a> • Support Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL displaying "Georgian Legion Academy", apparently cohort of Kyiv students who underwent training course with GNL
Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukraine); Framing (Positive Attribute)	4/4/2024 22:00	UAGE♥ Сьогодні дітки з Гірського ЗДО "Берізка", Гірської сільської ради Бориспільського району Київської області передали бійцям Грузинського Легіону солодощі, чай та листівки. Дякуємо за увагу та підтримку! Слава Україні! Слава Грузії! კიევის ოლქის ბორისპილის რაიონის დასახლება გირსკის საბავშვო ბაღის აღსაზრდელებმა ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოლებს საკუთარი ნახატები და და სხვა საჩუქრები გადასცეს. მადლობა ყურადღებისა და მხარდაჭერისთვის! დიდება უკრაინას! დიდება საქართველოს! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	UAGE♥ Today, children from the Biryzka mountain village council, Boryspil district of Kyiv region gave sweets, tea and postcards to the soldiers of the Georgian Legion. Thank you for your attention and support! Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Georgia! • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	No	Picture of cards from Ukrainian Kindergarten students; village specified

Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Framing (Positive Attribute)	4/3/20 24 21:18	☞ GEUA ოუმორის გრძნობას ვეღვაზე რთულ ვითარებაშიც კი არ ვკარგავთ • Не втрачаємо почуття гумору навіть у найважчих ситуаціях მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA We do not lose sense even in the most difficult situation • Support Georgian Legion • <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	4/2/20 24 21:19	☞ GEUA მოკითხვა ქართული ლეგიონისგან • Привіт Вам від Грузинського Леґіону მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA Greetings from the Georgian Legion • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	4/1/20 24 19:18	GEUAვიდეო არქივიდან. კუპიანსკის მიმართულება GEUAვიდეო з архіву. Куп'янський напрямок. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	GEUA Video from the archive. Kupyansk direction. • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field; specified Kupiansk area
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (To Potential Recruits and Donors)	3/30/20 18:35	UAДорогі підписники, будемо вам вдячні , якщо до нашого каналу ви запросите ваших друзів. Дякуємо, що ви нас підтримуєте! Слава Україні та Грузії! Разом до перемоги! СЕმვირფასო გამომწერებო, მადლობელი ვიქნებით, თუ ჩვენს არხს თქვენს მეგობრებს გაუზიარებთ. მადლობა მხარდაჭერისთვის! დიდება საქართველოს და უკრაინას! ერთად გამარჯვებისკენ! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	UA Dear subscribers, we will be grateful if you invite your friends to our channel. Thank you for supporting us! Glory to Ukraine and Georgia! Together to victory! GE • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	Video of Russian tank being destroyed by Kamikaze drone
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	3/29/20 024 22:38	მტრის განადგურება 🇭🇺 Знищення ворога 🇭🇺 მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Destroy the enemy 🇭🇺 Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Yes	Video of Russian soldier killed by drone
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media)	3/29/20 024 16:58	☞ GEUA მზურვალე მოკითხვა ოკუპანტებს • Пекельний привіт окупантам მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	Furious greetings to occupants • Support Georgian Legion • <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	Picture of GNL fighter with rocket launcher
Branding (Logo); Branding (Social Media);	3/28/20 024 21:56	☞ GEUA მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9CR3RGPPiX</a>	☞ GEUA Support Georgian Legion • <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/9cr3rgppix</a>	Yes	Video of GNL fighter training

Branding (Georgian Cultural Symbols)					with RPG
Brand (Mamuka)	3/27/2024 20:34	<a href="https://youtu.be/HbYwFr6cFXc?si=wQ_fRbRusAk5Flx0">https://youtu.be/HbYwFr6cFXc?si=wQ_fRbRusAk5Flx0</a> Політичний керівник Росії зрозумів, що зламати українців не вдасться і Захід буде допомагати Україні до кінця», — інтерв'ю Мамуки Мамулашвілі	<a href="https://youtu.be/hbywfr6cfxc?si=wq_frbrusak5flx0">https://youtu.be/hbywfr6cfxc?si=wq_frbrusak5flx0</a> "The political leader of Russia realized that it will not be possible to break Ukrainians and the event will help Ukraine to the end". - the interview of Mamuka Mamulashvili	No	Youtube video with Mamulashvili interview
Stakeholder Communication (Georgian Public); Brand (Logo)	3/27/2024 20:16	UAGE ვულოცავთ საქართველოს და უკრაინის საფეხბურთო ნაკრებებს ევროპის ჩემპიონატზე გასვლას! Вітаємо збірні Грузії та України з виходом на Чемпіонат Європи!	UAGE We congratulate the football teams of Georgia and Ukraine on their participation in the European Championship!	Yes	GNL fighters celebrating Georgian National Football Team win
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	3/26/2024 11:34	JP 🇯🇵 GE Японські добровольці у Грузинському Національному Легіоні. Разом до перемоги! იაპონელი მხალისეები ქართულ ლეგიონში. ერთად გამარჯვებისკენ! მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	JP 🇯🇵 GE Japanese volunteers in the Georgian National Legion. Together to victory! • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Japanese GNL fighters
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	3/22/2024 23:23	🇯🇵 🇬🇪 ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოლები: ზურაბ ჯიბუტი, კაბა ბასილია, ბაკურ ბულისკერია და მირო ვანაძე "მამაცობისა და უკრაინისადმი ერთგულების" მედლით დაჯილდოვდნენ. Сьогодні відбулося нагородження бійців з Грузинського Національного Легіону. Від Національної Нагородної Ради України медалі «За відвагу і вірність Україні» отримали: Басіліа Каха, Джибуті Зураб, Буліскерія Бакур та Ванадзе Міро. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	🇯🇵 🇬🇪 Today was the awarding of soldiers from the Georgian National Legion. Basilia Kaha, Djibouti Zurab, Buliskeriya Bakur and Vanadze Miro received the medals "For Courage and Loyalty to Ukraine" from the National Award Council of Ukraine. • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters
Brand (Logo)	3/22/2024 13:41	Ми повернемося, як казка в книжці, написаній ним, або ми повернемося, як джерела, або ми оживемо в усмішці дитини UAGE	We will return like a fairy tale in a book written by it or we will return as a source or we will come to life in a child's smile UAGE	Yes	GNL fighters

Brand (Logo)	3/21/2024 23:56			Yes	GNL fighters feeding dogs
Brand (Logo); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Brand (Social Media)	3/19/2024 1:24	☸ GEUA მუშაობისას, დონბასის ველებში • На роботі, деє в полях Донбасу • მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	☸ GEUA While working in the fields of Donbas • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field, Donbas specified
Brand (Mamuka)	3/16/2024 13:12	<a href="https://youtu.be/JEnEDnzoYGI?si=7ZPH_L_6dEMF3Nc3">https://youtu.be/JEnEDnzoYGI?si=7ZPH_L_6dEMF3Nc3</a>	<a href="https://youtu.be/JEnEDnzoYGI?si=7ZPH_L_6dEMF3Nc3">https://youtu.be/JEnEDnzoYGI?si=7ZPH_L_6dEMF3Nc3</a>	No	Link to youtube interview of Mamulas hvili
Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbol); Brand (Logo)	3/15/2024 20:01	GEUA	GEUA	Yes	Borjomi drink with destroyed tank in field
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols)	3/14/2024 22:38	☸ GEUA Від імені Грузинського Леґіону вітаємо з Днем українського добровольця • ქართული ლეგიონის სახელით გილოცავთ უკრაინელი მხალისის დღეს • მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	☸ GEUA On behalf of the Georgian Legion, we congratulate you on the Day of the Ukrainian Volunteer • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	3/13/2024 12:37	Мужність та Віра 🇯🇵 🇬🇪 Грузинський леґіон GEUA	Courage and Faith 🇯🇵 🇬🇪 Georgian Legion GEUA	Yes	Mamulas hvili with GNL ambassador Nun
Framing (Positive Attribute)	3/13/2024 12:31	Кожен по собі особистість, а разом ми – Сила 🇯🇵 🇬🇪 Грузинський леґіон GEUA	Each personality is, and together we are a forceful legion.	No	GNL fighters in the field

N/A	3/13/2024 12:18	მომხრევიერ  GEUA	Warrior  GEUA	No	Video of fallen GNL fighter
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Branding (Logo);	3/11/2024 21:49	ქართული ლეგიონის დაღუპულ მებრძოლებთან, ნოდარ ნასიროვთან და გიორგი გოგიაშვილთან გამომშვიდობება შედგება სამშაბათს 12 მარტს, 12:00 საათზე, ქართული ლეგიონის ბაზიდან. კვიცი, ჩისტაკივსკა 20 ნოდარ ნასიროვის დაკრძალვა გამომშვიდობება 14:00 - ზელენი ბორი. ვასილკივსკი რაიონი (კიევის ოლქი) ეკლესია: სოფელი კრუშინკა, ვასილკივსკი რაიონი (კიევის ოლქი) სასაფლაო: სოფელი კრუშინკა, ვასილკივსკი რაიონი (კიევის ოლქი) Прощання с полеглими Воїнами Грузинського Легіону, Нодаром Насіровим и Гіоргі Гогіашвілі відбудеться в вівторок, 12-го березня, о 12:00 годині, з бази ГЛ. вул. Чистяківська 20 Похорони Нодара Насірова Прощання о 14:00 - Зелений Бір. Васильківський район (Київська область) Церква: Село Крушинка. Васильківський район (Київська область) Кладовище: Село Крушинка. Васильківський район (Київська область)	Farewell to the fallen soldiers of the Georgian Legion, Nodar Nasirov and Giorgi Hogiashvili, will take place on Tuesday, March 12, at 12:00, from the base of GL. St. Chistyakivska 20 Funeral of Nodar Nasirov Farewell at 14:00 - Green Beer. Vasytkivskiyi district (Kyiv region) Church: Krushinka village. Vasytkivskiyi district (Kyiv region) Cemetery: Krushinka village. Vasytkivskiyi district (Kyiv region)	Yes	Logo over commemoration of fallen fighter
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Branding (Logo);	3/9/2024 21:28	ფრონტის ხაზზე საბრძოლო დავალების შესრულების დროს ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოები, ნოდარ ნასიროვი და გიორგი გოგიაშვილი დაიღუპნენ. ქართული ლეგიონი სამხმარს უცხადებს გარდაცვლილთა ოჯახებს. დიდება გმირებს! Під час виконання бойових завдань на передовій загинули бійці Грузинського Легіону - Нодар Насіров та Георгій Гогіашвілі. Грузинський Легіон висловлює співчуття родинам загиблих. Героям слава! GEUA	Nodar Nasirov and Giorgi Gogiashvili, soldiers of the Georgian Legion, died while performing combat duties on the front line. The Georgian Legion expresses its condolences to the families of the deceased. Glory to the heroes! GEUA	Yes	Commemoration of fallen fighters
N/A	2/29/2024 22:38	Дивитися в очі ворогу вирушив новий підрозділ Грузинського легіону GEUA	A new unit of the Georgian Legion set out to look into the eyes of the enemy GEUA	No	GNL fighters moving to the front
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Mamuka)	2/25/2024 23:53	<a href="https://youtu.be/yCOViUgReqM?si=EIDbwd1pGRplhZcN">https://youtu.be/yCOViUgReqM?si=EIDbwd1pGRplhZcN</a> Щороку, 15 лютого в Україні відзначають День воїнів-інтернаціоналістів. Командир "Грузинського національного легіону" Мамука Мамулашвілі розповів про роботу інтернаціоналістів в умовах сучасної війни Більше "Подобиць": <a href="http://podrobnosti.ua/">http://podrobnosti.ua/</a> Telegram: <a href="https://t.me/podrobnosti_ua">https://t.me/podrobnosti_ua</a> Facebook: /podrobnosti Twitter: /podrobnosti Подобиці YouTube: /podrobnosti Україномовний YouTube «Подобиць»:	<a href="https://youtu.be/yCOViUgReqM?si=EIDbwd1pGRplhZcN">https://youtu.be/yCOViUgReqM?si=EIDbwd1pGRplhZcN</a> Every year, on February 15, Ukraine celebrates the Day of Internationalist Warriors. The commander of the "Georgian National Legion" Mamuka Mamulashvili talked about the work of internationalists in the conditions of modern war More "Details": <a href="http://podrobnosti.ua/">http://podrobnosti.ua/</a> Telegram: <a href="https://t.me/podrobnosti_ua">https://t.me/podrobnosti_ua</a> Facebook: /details Twitter: /details Details YouTube : /podrobnosti Ukrainian-language YouTube "Details":	No	Link to youtube interview of Mamulashvili
Brand (Georgia Cultural Symbol); Brand (Logo)	2/22/2024 17:09			Yes	GNL fighters cooking Georgian traditional foods

Brand (Georgia Cultural Symbol); Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	2/20/2024 14:24	 <p>GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის მებრძოლები: პარმენ შულაია, ზურაბ დოლუაშვილი, ილიას კახაძე, გიგა ფაცაცია და ლადო დიდებულძე ვეტერანის მედალითა და უკრაინისთვის ბრძოლის მონაწილის მოწმობით დაჯილდოვდნენ Бійці Грузинського легіону: Пармен Шулаїя, Зураб Долуашвілі, Іліас Кахадзе, Гіга Пацація та Ладі Дідебулідзе нагороджені ветеранською медаллю та посвідченням Учасника битви за Україну მზარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a></p>	 <p>GEUA Fighters of the Georgian Legion: Parmen Shchulia, Zurab Doluashvili, Ilias Kakhadze, Giga Patsatsia and Lado Didebulidze were awarded a veteran's medal and a certificate of Participant of the Battle for Ukraine • Support the Georgian Legion • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a></p>	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters
Brand (Georgia Cultural Symbol); Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	2/19/2024 0:29	 <p>GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის კიდევ ერთი გამორჩეული წევრი გვინდა გაგაცნოთ - გვანცა. სანიმუშო სამხედრო სამსახურისთვის მას ვეტერანის მედალი და უკრაინისთვის ბრძოლის მონაწილის მოწმობა გადაეცა. Знаємо мимомо вас із ще однією чарівною представницею Грузинського легіону - Гванца. За свою віддану службу вона нагороджена ветеранською медаллю та посвідченням учасника битви за Україну.</p>	 <p>GEUA Let us introduce you to another charming representative of the Georgian Legion - Gvantsa. For her devoted service, she was awarded a veteran's medal and a certificate of participation in the battle for Ukraine.</p>	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters
Brand (Georgia Cultural Symbol); Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	2/17/2024 23:25	 <p>«Від імені Грузинського легіону хочу побажати успіху Ілії Топурії та Мерабу Двалішвілі в майбутній битві. Боротьба не тільки на полі бою, це і боротьба на рингу, і грузинський прапор повинен бути піднятий. Пишаюся вами, хлопці!» Мамука Мамулашвілі Мераб «Машина» Двалішвілі Ілія Топурія</p>	 <p>"On behalf of the Georgian Legion, I would like to wish success to Iliia Topuria and Merab Dvalishvili in the upcoming battle. The fight is not only on the battlefield, it is also a fight in the ring, and the Georgian flag GE must be raised. Proud of you guys!" Mamuka Mamulashvili Merab "Machine" Dvalishvili Ilya Topuria</p>	Yes	Video of Mamulas hvili
N/A	2/17/2024 16:06	GEUA	GEUA	No	Video of GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 23:46			Yes	GNL fighters in the field

Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 23:40	GEUA Бійці Грузинського легіону: Джонні Поіларашвілі, Георгій Тарашвілі, Ерекле Аміранашвілі, Леван Фіфія, Пармен Шулая, Іване Хавміашвілі, Гоча Жванія (помертньо) та Зура Циклаурі (помертньо) нагороджені орденами «Честь і Гідність»	GEUA Fighters of the Georgian Legion: Johnny Poilarashvili, Giorgii Tarashvili, Erekle Amiranashvili, Levan Fifia, Parmen Shulaya, Ivane Havmiashvili, Gocha Zhvania (posthumously) and Zura Tsiklauri (posthumously) awarded the Order of "Honor and Dignity"	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds mentioned
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 23:26	За отримане в бою поранення Долуашвілі, син Зураба Роланді, був нагороджений медаллю «Бойова зброя», GEUA	For the wound received in battle, Doluashvili, son of Zurab Rolandi, was awarded the medal "Combat weapon", GEUA	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds mentioned
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 23:24	За отримане в бою поранення Нікачадзе, син Нікі Шалви, нагороджений медаллю «Бойова зброя», GEUA	Nikachadze, the son of Nika Shalva, was awarded the "Combat Weapons" medal for the wound received in battle	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds mentioned
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 23:22	За отримане в бою поранення Катамадзе Романі Гоча був нагороджений медаллю «Бойова зброя» GEUA	For the wound received in battle, the son of Bakura Nugzari Buliskeria was awarded the medal "Combat weapon" GEUA	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds mentioned
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 19:29	Гіга Малхазі нагороджен медаллю „ Бойова зброя,, за поранення, отримане в бою UAGE	Giga Malkhazi was awarded the Combat Weapons medal for a wound received in battle UAGE	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds mentioned
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/15/2024 19:21	За отримане в бою поранення син Бакура Нугзарі Буліскерія був нагороджений медаллю «Бойова зброя» GEUA	For the wound received in battle, the son of Bakura Nugzari Buliskeria was awarded the medal "Combat weapon" GEUA	Yes	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters, wounds

Supporters); Brand (Logo)					mentioned
Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	2/14/2024 13:47	უკრაინის არმიამ სამსახურის გამო, რუსეთში ყველაზე მეტი სისხლის სამართლის საქმე საქართველოს მოქალაქეებზე აღძრული. აღიარებენ ჩვენს ეფექტურობას 🇸🇪 GEUA 🇸🇪 За службу в ЗСУ найбільше кримінальних справ у росії порушили проти громадян Грузії. Визнають нашу ефективність 🇸🇪 GEUA 🇸🇪 მზარი დაუკირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	" The most criminal cases in Russia for service in the Ukrainian army are initiated against Georgian citizens. They recognize our effectiveness. 🇸🇪 GEUA 🇸🇪 Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> "	Yes	Chart highlighting criminal cases against Georgians related to the War in Russia
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	2/5/2024 19:20	7 лютого о 4:00 ранку за тбіліським часом придуть тіла почесних грузин, невтомних борців і відданих Грузії синів Зуріко Циклаური та Гочі Жванії. У багатьох нерівних боях з ворогом вони не раз здобували перемоги, не раз обмановали смерть і рятували чужі життя. Сьогодні ми проводжаємо в останню дорогу їхні безсмертні душі та стражденні тіла. Герої не вмирають! Героям слава!GEUA P.S. Аеропорт Тбілісі, "Ласаре" 7 лютого, 4:00. Шануймо наших героїв GE	On February 7, at 4:00 a.m. Tbilisi time, the bodies of honorable Georgians, tireless fighters and sons devoted to Georgia, Zuriko Tsiklauri and Gochi Zhvania, will arrive. In many unequal battles with the enemy, they more than once won victories, more than once cheated death and saved other people's lives. Today we send their immortal souls and suffering bodies on their last journey. Heroes do not die! Glory to the heroes! GEUA P.S. Tbilisi Airport, "Lasare" February 7, 4:00. Let's honor our heroes GE	No	Video of return of bodies of fallen GNL fighters
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/4/2024 12:36	რუს ოკუპანტებთან ბრძოლაში დაღუპულ გოჩა ჟვანიას და ზურა წიკლაურს საქართველოში ჩამოსვენებენ ოთხშაბათს, 7 თებერვალს, თბილისის დროით 04:00 საათზე, კომინიოვი-თბილისის რეისით. დიდება გმირებს! Тіла загиблих у бою з російськими окупантами, Гочі Жванії та Зури Циклаური, будуть доставлені до Грузії в середу, 7 лютого, о 04:00 за Тбіліським часом рейсом Кишинів-Тбілісі. Героям слава!	The bodies of Gochi Zhvania and Zura Tsiklauri, who died in the battle with the Russian invaders, will be delivered to Georgia on Wednesday, February 7, at 04:00 Tbilisi time on the Chisinau-Tbilisi flight. Glory to heroes!	Yes	Commemoration of fallen fighters
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	2/3/2024 0:40	У неділю о 13:00 відбудеться прощання із Зурою Циклаური та Гочею Жванія, які загинули в бою з російськими окупантами. Адреса: Київ, вул. Чистяківська 20. Героям Слава! რუს ოკუპანტებთან ბრძოლაში დაღუპულ მეომრებთან, ზურა წიკლაურთან და გოჩა ჟვანიასთან დამშვიდობება შედგება კვირას, 13:00 საათზე. მისამართი: ქ. კიევი, ჩისტიაკივსკა #20. დიდება გმირებს!	On Sunday, at 1:00 p.m., a farewell will be held for Zura Tsiklauri and Gocha Zhvania, who died in the battle with the Russian invaders. Address: Kyiv, str. Chistyakivska 20. Glory to the heroes!	Yes	Commemoration of fallen fighters
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	2/1/2024 20:36	Зура і Гоча ви назавжди залишитеся в наших серцях ❤️ Світла пам'ять вам.GEUA	Zura and Gocha, you will forever remain in our hearts ❤️ Bright memory to you. GEUA	No	Commemoration of fallen fighters

Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Mamuka)	1/31/2024 2:07	☩ GEUA ქართული ლეგიონის მეთაურს, მამუკა მამულაშვილს უკრაინის საპატიო ჯილდო "რკინის ჯვარი" გადაეცა • Командир Грузинського Легіону Мамука Мамулашвілі, отримав почесну відзнаку "Залізний Хрест" მზარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს • Підтримай Грузинський Легіон • Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	☩ GEUA Commander of the Georgian Legion, Mamuka Mamulashvili, was awarded the Iron Cross • Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	No	Presentation of award by Ukraine to Mamulashvili
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Mamuka)	1/29/2024 1:49	Вітасмо 4 бійців Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი та його командира Mamuka Mamulashvili ,які отримали почесні нагороди за підтримку українського народу у війні проти російських окупантів. Слава Україні!!! Слава Грузії GEGEGE !!!	Congratulations to 4 Georgian Legion fighters and their commander Mamuka Mamulashvili, who received honorary awards for supporting the Ukrainian people in the war against the Russian invaders. Glory to Ukraine!!! Glory to Georgia GEGEGE !!!	No	Video of news coverage of GNL
N/A	1/25/2024 17:03	Єдине, що має значення – людяність і простотаUAGE	The only thing that matters is humanity and simplicityUAGE	No	GNL fighter
Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	1/22/2024 19:56	☩ GEUA Грузинський Легіон вітає із Днем Соборності України!   ქართული ლეგიონი გილოცავთ უკრაინის ერთიანობის დღეს!	☩ GEUA Georgian Legion congratulates you on the Unity Day of Ukraine!	Yes	Celebration of National Day of Ukraine
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	1/22/2024 19:53	Nene ვიტасмо з нагородоюGEUA	Congratulations to Nene on the award GEUA	Yes	Presentation of award to GNL fighter
Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	1/21/2024 21:30	Сьогодні день народження 95-річчя патріарха України Філарета, Від Грузинського Легіону ми передали в подарунок Україні ікону святого Георгія, написану в Грузії для України, "покровитель воїнів", Ікона буде назавжди розміщена в Кафедральному Володимирському соборіGEUA	Today is the 95th birthday of the Patriarch of Ukraine Philaret. From the Georgian Legion, we gave Ukraine an icon of St. George, written in Georgia for Ukraine, "patron of warriors", the icon will be permanently placed in the Volodymyr Cathedral GEUA	Yes	Celebration of birthday of Ukrainian Patriarch
Brand (Mamuka)	1/16/2024 20:21	Mamuka Mamulashvili Georgian Legion GEUA	Mamuka Mamulashvili Georgian Legion GEUA	No	Interview of Mamulashvili
N/A	1/14/2024 20:13			No	GNL fighter speaking

Brand (Logo); Brand (Mamuka)	1/14/2024 20:09			Yes	Mamuka Mamulas hvili in traditional Ukrainian garb
Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Georgia n Public)	1/14/2024 19:47	День прапора Грузії !!!	Georgia Flag Day !!!	Yes	GNL logo with Georgian flag
Branding (Logo)	1/12/2024 19:49			Yes	GNL-branded lighter
Branding (Logo)	1/12/2024 19:49			Yes	GNL fighters in the field
N/A	1/6/2024 0:49	Який то був час, робота велася іржавою зброєю, головне, щоб на серці було тепло ❤️ UAGE	What a time it was, work was carried out with rusty weapons, the main thing is to have warmth in the heart ❤️ UAGE	No	GNL fighters in the field
Branding (Mamuka); Brand (Social Media)	12/31/2023 19:01	გე გრუიზიის ლეგიონი ზე ნოვამ როკომ! პიძტრიმაიგე გრუიზიის ლეგიონი: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	გე Georgian Legion Happy New Year! Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Mamuka Mamulas hvili wishing happy new year
N/A	12/25/2023 14:09	GEUA	GEUA	No	GNL fighters in the field
N/A	12/25/2023 14:07	3 Rіздвом Христовим UAGE	Merry Christmas UAGE	No	GNL fighters in the field
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainia n Public); Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo)	12/24/2023 19:39	❤️👉 სიკეთე მნიშვნელოვანია. ქართული ლეგიონის საახალწლო საჩუქარი ბავშვთა კარდიოონკოლოგიისა და ონკოჰემატოლოგიის განყოფილებას. Добрі справи, це важливо. Новорічні подарунки від Грузинського Леґіону для дитячого відділення кардіоонкології та онкогематології. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> პიძტრიმაი გრუიზიის ლეგიონი: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	❤️👉 Kindness is important. New Year's gift of the Georgian Legion to the Department of Children's Cardio-Oncology and Onco-Hematology. Good job, it's important. Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters visiting children in local hospitals
N/A	12/23/2023 15:40	🇺🇦 🇪🇺 GEUA	🇺🇦 🇪🇺 GEUA	No	Stockpile of anti-tank weapons in the field

	12/18/2023 0:53	გე 🐺 ჩვენი მგლები   Наші вовки მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	გე 🐺 our wolves   Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
	12/16/2023 20:18			Yes	GNL fighters in the field
	12/15/2023 13:54	გილოცავ საქართველო ევროკავშირის კანდიდატის სტატუსის მონიჭებას! Вітаю Грузію з отриманням статусу кандидата в Європейський Союз! Командир Грузинського леґіону Mamuka Mamulashvili	congratulate Georgia on receiving the status of a candidate for the European Union! I Commander of the Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili	Yes	Congratulations to Georgia on being awarded EU candidate status
	12/12/2023 18:16	🇺🇦 UAGE	🇺🇦 UAGE	No	GNL fighters in the field
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo)	12/12/2023 18:13	Медичні ліжка для дитячих лікарень та солодкі подарунки для малечі із інтернату. Підтримай Грузинський Леґіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> საწოლები საბავშვო საავადმყოფოებისთვის და საჩუქრები ინტერნატის აღსაზრდელებისთვის. მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Beds for children's hospitals and gifts for boarding school children. Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL provision of medical supplies to local Ukrainian children's hospital
Brand (Mamuka); Brand (Social Media); Framing (Frame Bridging)	12/12/2023 18:12	გე❤️UA მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	გე❤️UA Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Interview of Mamuka Mamulashvili, emphasizes support of Georgian people for Ukrainian refugees
Brand (Logo); Brand Social Media	12/8/2023 21:56	♥გე 🇺🇦 მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	♥გე 🇺🇦 Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters gathered in uniform
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Framing (Positive)	12/8/2023 15:20	GEUA	GEUA	Yes	GNL self-defense training of Ukrainian civilians

Attribute (Logo)					
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	12/7/2023 18:47	Сьогодні день народження нашого померлого друга Рамаза Фетелава, RIP нехай його душа спочиває з миром! 𐄂	Today is the birthday of our deceased friend Ramaz Fetel, RIP May his soul rest in peace! 𐄂	No	Commemoration of fallen fighters
N/A	12/7/2023 13:42	🇺🇦 🇸🇰 🇷🇺 🇬🇪	🇺🇦 🇸🇰 🇷🇺 🇬🇪	No	Letters from children to GNL
Brand (Mamuka)	12/6/2023 18:31	Командир Грузинського легіону Mamuka Mamulashvili GEUA 🇺🇦 🇸🇰	Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili Legion Commander	No	Statement of Mamuka Mamulashvili
Brand (Mamuka)	12/6/2023 1:12	Фрагмент цікавого інтерв'ю від командира Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი Mamuka Mamulashvili про знущання росіян над полоненими. А російського майора Ігорька таки догнав бумеранг помсти під номером 200!!!	A fragment of an interesting interview from the commander of the Georgian Legion	No	Interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Branding (Brand Equity)	12/6/2023 1:08			No	Chart showing Georgians as largest group of casualties of foreign fighters on Ukrainian side
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Logo)	12/5/2023 22:06	Національний музей-заповідник української військової звитяги продовжує збирати матеріали, які пов'язані з обороною Києва та Київської області навесні 2022 року, задля збереження історії про ці події. Окрім трофеїв, здобутих нашими хлопцями під час бойових дій, ми також проводимо збір предметів, що мають відношення до бригад та підрозділів Сил оборони, які приймали безпосередню участь у цих боях. Сьогодні в рамках нашого проєкту отримали прапор Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი з особистим підписом легендарного командира Mamuka Mamulashvili. Мамука, дякуємо тобі друже за прапор! Тепер він стане експонатом майбутньої експозиції "Битва за Київ у 2022 році". 🇺🇦 🇸🇰 🇬🇪 <a href="https://zname.com.ua/ua/flags/fvd452.html">https://zname.com.ua/ua/flags/fvd452.html</a>	The National Museum-Reserve of Ukrainian Military Achievements continues to collect materials related to the defense of Kyiv and the Kyiv region in the spring of 2022, in order to preserve the history of these events. In addition to the trophies won by our boys during the fighting, we are also collecting items related to the brigades and units of the Defense Forces that took a direct part in these battles. Today, as part of our project, we received the flag of the Georgian Legion with the personal signature of the legendary commander Mamuka Mamulashvili. Mom, thank you friend for the flag! Now it will become an exhibit of the future exposition "Battle for Kyiv in 2022". 🇺🇦 🇸🇰 🇬🇪 <a href="https://zname.com.ua/ua/flags/fvd452.html">https://zname.com.ua/ua/flags/fvd452.html</a>	Yes	Donation of GNL artifacts related to defense of Kyiv to Ukrainian military museum

Brand (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	12/4/2023 22:45	გეამტრისგან დაგვასთან ერთად, ყველაფერს ვაკეთებთ იმისთვის, რომ ბავშვებს ბავშვობა ვაგრძნობინოთ მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Ми готови не лише сховати дітей за своєю спиною перед лицем ворога, але й допомогати їм мати дитинство Підтримай Грузинський легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA We are ready not only to hide children behind our backs in the face of the enemy, but also to help them have a childhood Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	Highlighting provision of aid and self-defense training to children
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	12/4/2023 22:38	День народження Рамаза Фетелавა 7 грудня. Будь ласка, запаліть одну свічкуGEUA 🕯️	Ramaz Fetelav's birthday is December 7. Please light one candleGEUA 🕯️	No	Celebrating birthday of GNL fighter
Stakeholder Communication (To Potential Recruits and Donors);	12/4/2023 15:27	Наші Патрік (зліва) та Жавелін (справа) стали батьками 11x 🐶👶🏻 які шукають люблячі домівки в Україні🇺🇦 🇺🇦 Вакциновані 🟢 Паспорт 🇺🇦 Вік: 2 місяці 🚩 виручені кошти підуть на FPV дрони для нашого легіону Дзвоніть в WhatsApp/Signal +3809336382181 або в ДМ.	Our Patrick (left) and Zhavelin (right) became parents 11x 🐶👶🏻 who are looking for loving homes in Ukraine🇺🇦 🇺🇦 vaccinated 🟢 passport 🇺🇦 Age: 2 months 🚩 Ir projected funds will go to FPV drones for our Legion Call in WhatsApp/Signal +***** or DM.	No	Facilitating adoption of rescued dogs for fundraising of FPV drones
N/A	12/3/2023 20:08	ხე ეგრუა ეს GEUA	This is a tree GEUA	No	GNL fighter in camouflage
Brand (Logo)	12/2/2023 0:01	გეუა ალფას ცხოვრების ერთი დღე - სამსახურში და სამსახურის შემდეგ. Один день із життя, чотиригодинного члена Грузинського Легіону - Альфи მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Підтримай Грузинський Легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA One day in the life of an alpha - at work and after work	Yes	GNL fighters with pet dog
N/A	12/1/2023 23:58	Фізична підготовка є однією з найважливіших складових поряд зі знаннями GEUA	Physical training is one of the most important components along with knowledge GEUA	No	GNL fighters in training
Brand (Social Media); Brand (Logo)	11/30/2023 2:39	გეუა მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Підтримай Грузинський легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
N/A	11/29/2023 14:39	UAGE 🟡	UAGE 🟡	No	GNL fighters in the field
	11/29/2023 14:35	სისხლი სისხლის წილ ✂️ Кров за кров 🟡 UAGE	Blood for blood ✂️ 🟡 UAGE	Yes	GNL fighters in the field,

					reference to Wolf motif
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	11/28/2023 12:54	GEUA ალფა - ქართული ლეგიონის ოთხფეხა წევრი მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Альфа - чотирилапий член Грузинського Легіону Підтримай Грузинський Легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Alpha - four-legged member of the Georgian Legion Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL fighter with K9
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	11/27/2023 5:24	GEUA მხარი დაუჭირე ქართულ ლეგიონს: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Support Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Підтримай Грузинський легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL soldiers
Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media)	11/24/2023 19:20	GEUA 24 ნოემბერი სნაიერთა პროფესიული დღეა. ყველა გასროლა ზუსტად მიზანში! ეწვიეთ ქართული ლეგიონის ვებგვერდს • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 24 листопада професійний день снайпера. Усі постріли точно в ціль!	GEUA November 24 is the professional day of snipers. All shots hit the target! Visit the website of the Georgian Legion • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	View from GNL sniper scope
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Georgian Public)	11/24/2023 13:43	GEUA «Для бійців Юр'єв день є дуже символічним. Це день перемоги добра над злом». Мамука Мамулашвілі Командир грузинського легіону, що воює в Україні GEUA "გიორგობის დღესასწაული არის ძალიან სიმბოლური მებრძოლებისთვის. ეს არის ბორტეტაზე სიკეთის გამარჯვების დღე". მამუკა მამულაშვილი უკრაინაში მებრძოლი ქართული ლეგიონის მეთაური	GEUA "St. George's Day is very symbolic for fighters. It is a day of victory of good over evil." Mamuka Mamulashvili, commander of the Georgian Legion fighting in Ukraine	No	Mamuka Mamulashvili speech
Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	11/24/2023 12:51	GEUA ქართულმა ლეგიონმა პროგრამის "გაიარე წვრთნა, როგორც სამხედრო" ფარგლებში უკრაინელი უფროსკლასელთათვის მორიგი სწავლება ჩაატარა ეწვიეთ ქართული ლეგიონის ვებგვერდს • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> Грузинський Легіон провів чергові навчання для українських учнів та учениць старшої школи у рамках програми «Тренуйся як військовий»	GEUA The Georgian Legion conducted another training for Ukrainian high school students within the framework of the program "Train like a soldier" Visit the website of the Georgian Legion • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	Yes	GNL provision of self-defense training to Ukrainian children
N/A	11/24/2023 12:43			No	GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	11/17/2023 12:23	<a href="https://youtu.be/JTXx9icLPos?si=tzR2f7Enh11MW2QC">https://youtu.be/JTXx9icLPos?si=tzR2f7Enh11MW2QC</a> Мамука Мамулашвілі - На жаль, в Україні загинули двоє бійців, кількість поранених зросла - 11 осіб	<a href="https://youtu.be/JTXx9icLPos?si=tzR2f7Enh11MW2QC">https://youtu.be/JTXx9icLPos?si=tzR2f7Enh11MW2QC</a> Mamuka Mamulashvili - Unfortunately, two soldiers were killed in Ukraine, like the number of injured increased - 11 people	No	Interview of Mamulashvili, mention of fallen soldiers

N/A	11/17/2023 12:19	<a href="https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3787734-v-ukraini-zaginuli-se-dvoe-gruzinskih-bijciv.html?fbclid=IwAR3E4CIdN2J4K-01Kop6kdnNa6mPoWhn-8YKwHQekXeh-2ZcXPNU4i-Vvz8">https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3787734-v-ukraini-zaginuli-se-dvoe-gruzinskih-bijciv.html?fbclid=IwAR3E4CIdN2J4K-01Kop6kdnNa6mPoWhn-8YKwHQekXeh-2ZcXPNU4i-Vvz8</a>	<a href="https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3787734-v-ukraini-zaginuli-se-dvoe-gruzinskih-bijciv.html?fbclid=IwAR3E4CIdN2J4K-01Kop6kdnNa6mPoWhn-8YKwHQekXeh-2ZcXPNU4i-Vvz8">https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3787734-v-ukraini-zaginuli-se-dvoe-gruzinskih-bijciv.html?fbclid=IwAR3E4CIdN2J4K-01Kop6kdnNa6mPoWhn-8YKwHQekXeh-2ZcXPNU4i-Vvz8</a>	No	Link to news article
N/A	11/16/2023 11:27	<a href="https://www.irishtimes.com/world/europe/2023/11/13/the-georgian-siblings-who-are-fighting-russian-influence-on-two-different-fronts/?fbclid=IwAR05Uf0pT0bJsqbzUICNQ6V8UU-agAP2vFVfr5c-a70lZytP27KpBF51As">https://www.irishtimes.com/world/europe/2023/11/13/the-georgian-siblings-who-are-fighting-russian-influence-on-two-different-fronts/?fbclid=IwAR05Uf0pT0bJsqbzUICNQ6V8UU-agAP2vFVfr5c-a70lZytP27KpBF51As</a> Нона Мамулашвілі є співзасновницею громадської групи для боротьби за майбутнє Грузії в Європі, а її брат Мамука очолює Грузинський легіон проти російських військ в Україні GEUA	<a href="https://www.irishtimes.com/world/europe/2023/11/13/the-georghansiblings-who-re-re-fighting-russian-influence">https://www.irishtimes.com/world/europe/2023/11/13/the-georghansiblings-who-re-re-fighting-russian-influence</a> NQ6V8U-AGAP2VFFVFR5C-a7olzytp27kpbf5ias Nona Mamulashvili is a co-founder of a public group to fight for the future of Georgia in Europe, and her brother Mamuka heads the Georgian Legion against Russian troops in Ukraine GEUA GEUA	No	Link to news article
Brand (Logo)	11/16/2023 0:39	GEUA გაიგანით ალფა, ქართული ლეგიონის ოთხგუნა წევრი Meet Alfa, service dog from Georgian National Legion Зустрічайте Альфу, службову собаку Грузинського Легіону ქვეყნის ქართული ლეგიონის ვებგვერდს • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Meet Alfa, service dog from Georgian National Legion	Yes	Picture of GNL service dog
Brand (Logo)	11/15/2023 1:57	GEUA ქართული ლეგიონი • Грузинський легіон • Georgian National Legion ქვეყნის ქართული ლეგიონის ვებგვერდს • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	GEUA Georgian Legion	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Logo); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	11/13/2023 20:33	GEUA Подарунок Грузинського Легіону дитячому табору, розташованому в Чернівецькій області. Тут мешкає близько сотні дітей, що були евакуйовані із Харкова, в наслідок бойових дій. Підтримайте Грузинський Легіон: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 🇬🇪 Сергій Качмарський	GEUA A gift of the Georgian Legion to a children's camp located in the Chernivtsi region. About a hundred children who were evacuated from Kharkiv as a result of hostilities live here. Support the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a> 🇬🇪 Serhii Kachmarskyi	Yes	GNL provision of self-defense training to Ukrainian children
Brand (Social Media)	11/11/2023 1:36	GEUA Georgian Legion 🇬🇪 🇬🇪 Ruslan Maslovskiy	Visit the website of the Georgian Legion • Visit: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	No	GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Mamuka)	11/11/2023 1:28			Yes	Interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Brand (Mamuka); Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	11/3/2023 1:22	Маленький воїн Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი.Цей хлопчик бореться із важкою хворобою і він її переможе я впевнений в цьому на сто відсотків.Він особистий товариш командира легіону Mamuka Mamulashvili.Все буде добре малий,тримайся ми з тобою!!!UA GE	A little warrior of the Georgian Legion - Горжинский Легион мужинский легиони. This boy is fighting a serious illness and he will overcome it, I'm sure of it one hundred percent. He is a personal friend of the legion commander Mamuka Mamulashvili. Everything will be fine little one, stay with you!!!UA GE	No	GNL provision of self-defense training to Ukrainian children

Stakeholder Communication (Potential Recruits and Donors)	11/3/2023 1:16	Друзі, ТЕРМІНОВИЙ збір на Ремонт Автомобілів 🚗 🎯 Ціль: 87 000 ₾ <a href="#">Посилання</a> на банку <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/APRzJ2vT48">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/APRzJ2vT48</a> <a href="#">Номер</a> картки банку 5375 4112 1003 1089 Дякуємо за поширення! GE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦 😊	Friends, URGENT collection for Car Repair 🚗 🎯 Goal: 87,000 ₾ <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/APRzJ2vT48">Link to the bank</a> <a href="https://send.monobank.ua/jar/APRzJ2vT48">https://send.monobank.ua/jar/APRzJ2vT48</a> Bank card number **** * Thank you for sharing! GE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦 😊	No	Direct appeal for donation related to vehicle repair
Brand (Logo)	10/30/2023 22:20	UAGE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	UAGE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	Yes	GNL patch on soldier
Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	10/29/2023 14:07	<a href="https://georgianlegion.ge/ka/news/presentation-of-the-foundation-for-support-of-the-georgian-legion?fbclid=IwAR3dxdtHEgVK9RAH1Z7AtXgXjnIQ2z4ZGgcEWnTiHVEiNR65RTbt97MwFo">https://georgianlegion.ge/ka/news/presentation-of-the-foundation-for-support-of-the-georgian-legion?fbclid=IwAR3dxdtHEgVK9RAH1Z7AtXgXjnIQ2z4ZGgcEWnTiHVEiNR65RTbt97MwFo</a> GEUA У Тбілісі відбулася презентація Фонду підтримки грузинського легіону → Відвідайте сайт Легіону: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	<a href="https://georgianlegion.ge/ka/news/presentation-of-the-foundation-for-support-of-7mwfo-geua-tbilisi">https://georgianlegion.ge/ka/news/presentation-of-the-foundation-for-support-of-7mwfo-geua-tbilisi</a> Presentation of the Georgian Legion Support Foundation → Visit the Legion Site: <a href="http://gl.ge">http://gl.ge</a>	No	Link to presentation to Foundation for support of the Georgian Legion in Tbilisi
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	10/25/2023 13:59	Мамука Мамулашвілі на презентації фонду Грузинського легіону. Відвідайте сайт Legion: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a> Виступ Мамуки Мамулашвілі на презентації Фонду Грузинського легіону. Відвідайте сайт Грузинського легіону: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a>	Mamuka Mamulashvili at the presentation of the Georgian Legion fund. Visit the Legion website: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a> Mamuka Mamulashvili's speech at the presentation of the Georgian Legion Foundation.	Yes	Link to website related to presentation to Foundation for support of the Georgian Legion in Tbilisi
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	10/25/2023 13:58	მამუკა მამულაშვილი ქართული ლეგიონის ფონდის პრეზენტაციაზე. ეწვიეთ ლეგიონის ვებგვერდს: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a> Mamuka Mamulashvili's speech at the presentation of the Foundation of the Georgian Legion. Visit website of the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a>	Mamuka Mamulashvili's speech at the presentation of the Foundation of the Georgian Legion. Visit website of the Georgian Legion: <a href="http://georgianlegion.ge">http://georgianlegion.ge</a>	Yes	Video of Mamuka Mamulashvili for presentation to Foundation for support of the Georgian Legion in Tbilisi
Brand (Mamuka)	10/22/2023 13:34	<a href="https://youtu.be/KkcBQoIYDMc?si=j2F_g0M30m4BCJG8">https://youtu.be/KkcBQoIYDMc?si=j2F_g0M30m4BCJG8</a>	<a href="https://youtu.be/KkcBQoIYDMc?si=j2F_g0M30m4BCJG8">https://youtu.be/KkcBQoIYDMc?si=j2F_g0M30m4BCJG8</a>	No	Interview of Mamuka Mamulashvili
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters)	10/15/2023 23:11	Дякую кожному з 4340 хто поставив підпис 🇬🇪 <a href="https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154">https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154</a> Закро був кращим з нас GEUA	Thanks to each of the 4340 who signed 🇬🇪 <a href="https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154">https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154</a> Zakro was the best of us GEUA	No	Thanks to supporters who petitioned for

and Supporters)					award of medal to fallen GNL fighter
Brand (Logo)	10/15/2023 19:23	UAGE	UAGE	Yes	GNL fighters posing in field, Kupiansk specified
Framing (Bridging); Brand (Mamuka)	10/10/2023 15:22	<a href="https://youtu.be/M-DiTO2s0w?si=TlkBBp50QaRUfoUG">https://youtu.be/M-DiTO2s0w?si=TlkBBp50QaRUfoUG</a> Мамука Мамулашвілі, командир Грузинського легіону України, записав відеозвернення до ізраїльтян. Він висловив свої співчуття сім'ям загиблих від рук терористів і зазначив, що як Ізраїль – проти ХАМАСу, так і Україна бореться з такими ж терористами, але російськими. Запис звернення було передано редакції «Деталі».LGEUA	<a href="https://youtu.be/m-ditto2s0w?si=tIKBBP50qarufoug">https://youtu.be/m-ditto2s0w?si=tIKBBP50qarufoug</a> Mamuk Mammulak, commander of the Georgian Legion of Ukraine, recorded a video address to the Israelites. He expressed his condolences to the families of dead terrorists and noted that both Israel - against Hamas, and Ukraine fights the same terrorists but Russian. The entry was submitted by the editorial board "Details".LGEUA	No	Interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Brand (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	10/5/2023 11:34			Yes	GNL provision of training
Brand (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	10/5/2023 11:34	Спогади про хороші справи від Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი його бойового командира Mamuka Mamulashvili. Бійці легіону провели навчальні дводенні курси для студентів Чернівецького торговельно економічного інституту КНТЕУ ,по наданню першої медичної допомоги та вмінню користуватися вогнепальною та холодною зброєю. Завітали також в пансіонат та передали людям похилого віку волонтерську допомогу. GEUA	Memories of good deeds from the Georgian Legion and its combat commander Mamuka Mamulashvili. Legion fighters conducted a two-day training course for students of the Chernivtsi Trade and Economic Institute of KNTEU on first aid and the ability to use firearms and cold weapons. They also visited the boarding house and handed it over to the elderly volunteer help. GEUA	Yes	GNL provision of training and volunteer work to college students and elderly in Ukraine
N/A	10/1/2023 16:35			No	Artistic poster of Georgian and Ukrainian troops
Framing (Bridging); Stakeholder Communication (Georgian Public)	9/27/2023 15:35	День окупації Абхазії рашистами	The day of the occupation of Abkhazia by the Rashists	No	Commemoration of Russia's occupation of Abkhazia
Stakeholder Communication	9/20/2023 22:45	Прощання з нашим бійцем Закро Шубітідзе відбудеться завтра 21 вересня за адресою вул. Чистяківська 20 . В 13:00	Farewell With our fighter Zakro Shubitidze will be held tomorrow, September 21, at the address of st. Chistyakivska 20. At 13:00	No	Commemoration of fallen

ication (Member Fighters and Supporte rs)					GNL fighter
Brand (Logo); Brand (Mamuka ); Brand (Social Media); Stakehol der Communi cation (Member Fighters and Supporte rs)	9/20/2 023 10:12	Mamuka Mamulashvili: Максимальний репост 🇬🇪🇺🇦🇷❤️ Герої не вмирають ... Друзі підпишіть будь-ласка петицію присвоєння звання Героя України ( посмертно) Нашому Закро... <a href="https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154">https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154</a>	Mamuka Mamulashvili: Maximum repost 🇬🇪🇺🇦🇷❤️ Heroes do not die... Friends, please sign the petition to award the title of Hero of Ukraine (posthumously) to Our Zakro... <a href="https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154">https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/206154</a>	Yes	Pro-GNL graffiti, presumab ly in Tbilisi
Brand (Logo); Stakehol der Communi cation (Member Fighters and Supporte rs)	9/19/2 023 15:37	В УКРАЇНІ ЗАГИНУ ГРУЗИНСЬКИЙ ВОЄН ЗАКРО ШУБІТІДЗЕ Ще один грузинський борець, 30-річний Закро Шубітідзе, загинув на війні проти Росії в Україні. Був командиром 4-ї групи «Грузинського легіону», що діяла в Україні. Шубітідзе загинув у бою біля селища Нескучне Донецької області. "Найдобріша людина, яку я зустрів на цій війні", - написав у соцмережі командир "Грузинського легіону" Мамука Мамулашвілі. Після 24 лютого 2022 року у роз'язаній Росією війні в Україні загинуло вже 49 грузинських та українських бійців грузинського походженняUAGE	GEORGIAN WAR ZAKRO SHUBITIDZE DIED IN UKRAINE Another Georgian fighter, 30-year-old Zakro Shubitidze, died in the war against Russia in Ukraine. He was the commander of the 4th group of the "Georgian Legion" operating in Ukraine. Shubitidze died in battle near the village of Neskuchne, Donetsk region. "The kindest person I met in this war!" Mamuka Mamulashvili, commander of the "Georgian Legion", wrote on the social network. After February 24, 2022, 49 Georgian and Ukrainian soldiers of Georgian origin died in the war started by Russia in Ukraine UAGE	Yes	Comme moration of fallen GNL fighter
Brand (Brand Equity)	9/19/2 023 10:16	"Директивы Кремля". Глава "Грузинского легиона", который воюет в Украине, ответил на обвинения грузинской власти в подготовке мятежа <a href="https://gordonua.com/news/worldnews/direktiviy-kremlja-hlava-hruzinskoho-lehiona-kotoryj-vojuet-v-ukraine-otvetil-na-obvinieniya-hruzinskoj-vlasti-v-podhotovke-mjatezha-1681411.html">https://gordonua.com/news/worldnews/direktiviy-kremlja-hlava-hruzinskoho-lehiona-kotoryj-vojuet-v-ukraine-otvetil-na-obvinieniya-hruzinskoj-vlasti-v-podhotovke-mjatezha-1681411.html</a>	Kremlin Directives. The head of the Georgian Legion, which is fighting in Ukraine, responded to accusations by the Georgian authorities of preparing a rebellion <a href="https://gordonua.com/news/worldnews/direktiviy-kremlja-hlava-hruzinskoho-lehiona-kotoryj-vojuet-v-ukraine-otvetil-na-obvinieniya-hruzinskoj-vlasti-v-podhotovke-mjatezha-1681411.html">https://gordonua.com/news/worldnews/direktiviy-kremlja-hlava-hruzinskoho-lehiona-kotoryj-vojuet-v-ukraine-otvetil-na-obvinieniya-hruzinskoj-vlasti-v-podhotovke-mjatezha-1681411.html</a>	No	Link to news article
Brand (Mamuka ); Brand (Logo)	9/9/20 23 16:57	<a href="https://youtu.be/1irTmgsyg9M?si=NMH_H6ol0xToqROj">https://youtu.be/1irTmgsyg9M?si=NMH_H6ol0xToqROj</a> На каналі Зе Інтерв'юєр — ексклюзивне інтерв'ю з головою Грузинського легіону Мамука Мамулашвілі. Він розповів, що його прізвище Мамулашвілі - це не його справжнє, його прадіду прийшлося змінити. Справжнє прізвище Мамукі - Бакрадзе. Також поговорили про його батька та дитинство, яке він провів на війні. Мамука розповів про перший бій у Гостомелі та коли закінчиться війна.	<a href="https://youtu.be/1irTmgsyg9M?si=NMH_H6ol0xToqROj">https://youtu.be/1irTmgsyg9M?si=NMH_H6ol0xToqROj</a> On Ze Interviewer channel, there is an exclusive interview with the head of the Georgian Legion, Mamuk Mamulashvili. He said that his surname Mamulashvili is not his real one, his great-grandfather had to change it. Mamuki's real name is Bakradze. They also talked about his father and his childhood spent in the war. Mamuka talked about the first battle in Gostomel and when the war will end.	Yes	Link to youtube interview of Mamulas hvili
N/A	9/7/20 23 16:48	UAGE ✖️	UAGE ✖️	No	GNL fighters in the field
N/A	9/7/20 23 13:41	GEUA	GEUA	No	GNL fighteers in the field

Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	9/7/20 23 13:22	З Днем військової розвідки України! GEUA	Happy Military Intelligence Day of Ukraine! GEUA	No	Congratulations of military intelligence day
Brand (Mamuka)	9/4/20 23 12:38	Гарячі дні від Грузинського легіону та Мамуки Мамулашвілі. Слава УкраїніUA! Слава ГрузіїGE! 🇺🇦	Hot days from the Georgian Legion and Mamuka Mamulashvili. Glory to UkraineUA! Glory to GeorgiaGE! 🇺🇦	No	GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Mamuka)	8/31/2023 19:10	<a href="https://www.rsi.ch/rete-uno/programmi/informazione/seidisera/SEIDISERA-del-08.08.2023-Legionari-georgiani-e-stranieri-in-Ucraina-16455034.html?f=podcast-xml&amp;popup=html&amp;fbclid=IwAR3i6iXZqF2DCPQ9Vy-3o9IHVrZEm51vp2L8UzsT86CUk9_ohU1P2b5OlcE">https://www.rsi.ch/rete-uno/programmi/informazione/seidisera/SEIDISERA-del-08.08.2023-Legionari-georgiani-e-stranieri-in-Ucraina-16455034.html?f=podcast-xml&amp;popup=html&amp;fbclid=IwAR3i6iXZqF2DCPQ9Vy-3o9IHVrZEm51vp2L8UzsT86CUk9_ohU1P2b5OlcE</a>	<a href="https://www.rsi.ch/rete-uno/programmi/informazione/seidisera/SEIDISERA-del-08.08.2023-Legionari-georgiani-e-stranieri-in-Ucraina-16455034.html?f=podcast-xml&amp;popup=html&amp;fbclid=IwAR3i6iXZqF2DCPQ9Vy-3o9IHVrZEm51vp2L8UzsT86CUk9_ohU1P2b5OlcE">https://www.rsi.ch/rete-uno/programmi/informazione/seidisera/SEIDISERA-del-08.08.2023-Legionari-georgiani-e-stranieri-in-Ucraina-16455034.html?f=podcast-xml&amp;popup=html&amp;fbclid=IwAR3i6iXZqF2DCPQ9Vy-3o9IHVrZEm51vp2L8UzsT86CUk9_ohU1P2b5OlcE</a>	No	Link to interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Brand (Mamuka)	8/31/2023 19:10	Ось мій радіорепортаж про Грузинський національний легіон. Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართველი ლეგიონი. Я познайомився з ними в гуманітарному відрядженні в Херсоні, потім на Запорізькому фронті. SEIDISERA Грузинські та іноземні легіонери в Україні Швейцарське радіо та телебачення (RSI)	Here is my radio report about the Georgian National Legion. I got to know them on a humanitarian mission in Kherson, then on the Zaporizhia front. SEIDISERA Georgian and foreign legionnaires in Ukraine Swiss Radio and Television (RSI)	No	Link to Interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Brand (Mamuka)	8/26/2023 15:57	<a href="https://youtu.be/7P2oRfhN8kU?si=vMpPh_uHJBDzh-Dv">https://youtu.be/7P2oRfhN8kU?si=vMpPh_uHJBDzh-Dv</a>		No	Link to Interview with Mamuka Mamulashvili
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	8/24/2023 13:28	Грузинський легіон привітав русню з Днем Незалежності України! 🇺🇦 GE 🇷🇺	The Georgian Legion congratulated the Russians on the Independence Day of Ukraine! 🇺🇦 GE 🇷🇺	No	GNL taunting of Russia
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Logo)	8/24/2023 10:31	З Днем Незалежності України.UAGE	Happy Independence Day of Ukraine.UAGE	Yes	GNL congratulating Ukraine on Independence day
Stakeholder Communication (Foreign Governments); Brand (Logo)	8/19/2023 21:59			Yes	Picture of former UK PM Boris Johnson with GNL patch
N/A	8/17/2023 16:44	<a href="https://youtu.be/Q1wlg1gB3R0">https://youtu.be/Q1wlg1gB3R0</a> Багато грузинів в Україні воюють проти спільного ворога. Усі вони мають свою історію, але цінності та мета спільні. Вони вважають, що таким чином захищають честь своєї Батьківщини. У співпраці з Громадянською радою з питань оборони та безпеки та Фондом Фрідріха Еберта режисер Георгій Цвітава підготував документальний фільм про грузинів, які воюють в Україні.	<a href="https://youtu.be/O1wlg1gB3R0">https://youtu.be/O1wlg1gB3R0</a> Many Georgians in Ukraine are fighting against a common enemy. They all have their own history, but they share the same values and purpose. They believe that in this way they protect the honor of their Motherland. In cooperation with the Civic Council on Defense and Security and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, director Giorgii Tsvitava prepared a documentary film about Georgians fighting in Ukraine.	No	Link to youtube coverage of GNL

Brand (Mamuka)	8/11/2023 17:10	<a href="https://youtu.be/NZ2ZPsPC-rA">https://youtu.be/NZ2ZPsPC-rA</a>	<a href="https://youtu.be/NZ2ZPsPC-rA">https://youtu.be/NZ2ZPsPC-rA</a>	No	Link to youtube interview of Mamulas hvili
Stakeholder Communication (Georgia n Public)	8/7/2023 0:30	Велике лихо обрушилося на Грузію, наразі із зони лиха евакуювали понад 200 людей. На жаль Підтверджено загибель 18 осіб, у тому числі маленької дитини. Серед загиблих українська журналістка Аліна Поліковська. Його дружина та троє дітей досі вважаються зниклими безвісти. Рятувальники розшукують ще 18 осіб. Курорт Шові повністю зруйнований Наші герої-рятувальники самовіддано працюють у зоні лиха, часто ризикуючи власним життям, а до пошуково-рятувальних робіт залучено понад 200 бійців. Рятувальникам допомагають місцеві жителі та волонтери, які прийшли на допомогу. Грузинський Легіон - Грузинский Легион Грузинський Легион Розділяємо скорботу рідних загиблих, разом з ними молимося за душі загиблих.	A great calamity has befallen Georgia, so far more than 200 people have been evacuated from the calamity zone. Unfortunately, the death of 18 people, including a small child, has been confirmed. Ukrainian journalist Alina Polikovska was among the dead. His wife and three children are still missing. Rescuers are looking for 18 more people. The Shovi resort is completely destroyed. Our rescue heroes work selflessly in the disaster zone, often risking their own lives, and more than 200 soldiers are involved in search and rescue operations. Rescuers are helped by local residents and volunteers who came to help. The Georgian Legion - The Georgian Legion The Georgian Legion We share the grief of our relatives who died, together with them we pray for the souls of the dead.	No	Message of solidarity with Georgians impacted by natural disaster
Stakeholder Communication (Georgia n Public); Brand (Logo)	8/1/2023 18:42	У той час, коли ваш уряд Грузії пускає в Грузію російську агентуру і "туристів", їхні діти, батьки і брати розстрілюють найкращих солдатів Грузії, це фото, зроблене сьогодні в Грузинському легіоні. Наші поранені хлопці. Ми нічого не забудемо!UAGE 🇺🇦 🇸🇰	At a time when your Georgian government is letting Russian agents and "tourists" into Georgia, their children, fathers and brothers are shooting Georgia's best soldiers, this photo was taken today at the Georgian Legion. Our wounded boys. We will not forget anything!UAGE 🇺🇦 🇸🇰	Yes	Criticism of Georgian GD government for appeasement of Russia, contrast with GNL fighting in Ukraine
Brand (Logo); Brand (Mamuka)	8/1/2023 18:08	<a href="https://youtu.be/s4PBMxTA3z0">https://youtu.be/s4PBMxTA3z0</a>	<a href="https://youtu.be/s4PBMxTA3z0">https://youtu.be/s4PBMxTA3z0</a>	Yes	Link to youtube interview of Mamulas hvili
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	7/30/2023 22:42	Іраклій та його помічник Яків з військовими здібностями. UAGEUS	Iraklius and his assistant Jacob with military skills.UAGEUS	No	GNL fighters in the field
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	7/29/2023 23:03	<a href="https://tass.ru/proisshestiya/18392049">https://tass.ru/proisshestiya/18392049</a>	<a href="https://tass.ru/proisshestiya/18392049">https://tass.ru/proisshestiya/18392049</a>	No	Screenshot of Russian TASS news story showcasing prosecuting

					on of captured Georgian fighters
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Logo)	7/27/2023 18:46	„Wounds may leave scars, but they also serve as reminders of your incredible bravery.” 🇺🇦 „Рани можуть залишати шрами, але вони також служать нагадуванням про вашу неймовірну хоробрість».UAGE	„ Wounds May Leave Scars, But They Also Serve As Reminders of Your Incredible Bravery.” 🇺🇦	Yes	Wounded GNL fighter
Brand (Mamuka)	7/26/2023 10:40	Боротьба, яку ви ведете сьогодні, допоможе вам набрати сили, яка вам потрібна завтра, тому ніколи не здавайтесь. 🇺🇦	The fight you fight today will give you the strength you need tomorrow, so never give up. 🇺🇦	No	Picture of Mamuka Mamulas hvli in fatigues
Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Brand Equity)	7/25/2023 23:29	Грузинські бійці з "Грузинського легіону" 🇺🇦 Грузія посідає перше місце серед іноземних держав, чії добровольці воюють проти Росії 🇺🇦 #ВесьвремєниГрузинська знімальна група на Південно-Східному фронті 🇺🇦 Дві країни - одна мета! – Що думають грузинські воїни про російсько-українську війну? #Служу Грузії	Georgian fighters from the "Georgian Legion" 🇺🇦 Georgia ranks first among foreign countries whose volunteers fight against Russia 🇺🇦 #Alltime Georgian film crew on the South-Eastern Front 🇺🇦 Two countries - one goal! - What do Georgian soldiers think about the Russian-Ukrainian war? #I serve Georgia	No	20 minute documentary on GNL fighters with interviews, south eastern front specified
N/A	7/22/2023 17:03	Нічне полювання на дронівGEUA	Night hunting for dronesGEUA	No	GNL fighters in the field
Stakeholder Communication (Potential Recruits and Donors); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Brand (Georgian Cultural Symbols); Brand (Social Media)	7/22/2023 9:51	Цей день настав! Абсолютно не запозичена 🇺🇦 ідея для банки: «Тиловики вовки 🇺🇦» Ми збираємо на ремонт нашого невеличкого автопарку та нагальні потреби легіону. Ціль: 400K send.monobank.ua/jar/6DwN6EdP3N p.s. ми з вами з 2014 року разом і до кінця 🇺🇦 Слава Україні!	This day has come! Absolutely not borrowed 🇺🇦 Idea for the jar: “Tilovik Wolves 🇺🇦” We collect for the repair of our considerable fleet and the urgent needs of the legion. Target: 400k Send.monobank.ua/jar/6dwn6edp3n P.S.We are with you since 2014 together and by the end 🇺🇦 Glory to Ukraine!	No	Childrens drawings of traditional Ukrainian Cossack and Georgian person, emphasis of solidarity with fundraiser appeal

Brand (Logo)	7/21/2023 22:26	Грузинський легіон це не тільки бойовий підрозділ, але це і допомога у важкі хвилини 🇬🇪🇺🇦	Georgian Legion is not only a combat unit, but it is also the help in the difficult moments 🇬🇪🇺🇦	Yes	Wounded GNL fighter
Stakeholder (Member Fighters and Supporters)	7/20/2023 14:09	🇬🇪🇺🇦	🇬🇪🇺🇦	No	GNL fighter showcasing donated body armor
Brand (Mamuka); Brand (Logo)	7/20/2023 11:57	У перервах між зустрічами в #Естонія, @Mamulashvili_M & @the_reshet і ми знайшли час залишити @georgian_legion прапор перед #російським RU посольством у Таллінні 🇪🇪! До скорої зустрічі в Москві, написане Мамукою, буде гарним нагадуванням для працівників RU посольства! #OneTeamOneFight 🇬🇪	In breaks between meetings in #Estonia, @Mamulashvili_m & @the_reshet and we found time to leave @georgian_legion Flag before #Russian Embassy in Tallinn 🇪🇪!Before a short meeting in Moscow, written by Mamuka, it will be a good reminder for employees of the Embassy! #Oneteamonefight 🇬🇪	Yes	N/A
Brand (Mamuka); Brand (Logo)	7/20/2023 11:57	<a href="https://twitter.com/Harri_Est/status/1681215993085935618?t=IGJc3NcfB_bvH-HUVcuWpA&amp;s=04&amp;fbclid=IwAR1GsiR0veYflmTEdN9ciGmjY_8yAMsvBoCffVVKQw_0DpleuciC6glvDE4">https://twitter.com/Harri_Est/status/1681215993085935618?t=IGJc3NcfB_bvH-HUVcuWpA&amp;s=04&amp;fbclid=IwAR1GsiR0veYflmTEdN9ciGmjY_8yAMsvBoCffVVKQw_0DpleuciC6glvDE4</a>	<a href="https://twitter.com/Harri_Est/status/1681215993085935618?t=IGJc3NcfB_bvH-HUVcuWpA&amp;s=04&amp;fbclid=IwAR1GsiR0veYflmTEdN9ciGmjY_8yAMsvBoCffVVKQw_0DpleuciC6glvDE4">https://twitter.com/Harri_Est/status/1681215993085935618?t=IGJc3NcfB_bvH-HUVcuWpA&amp;s=04&amp;fbclid=IwAR1GsiR0veYflmTEdN9ciGmjY_8yAMsvBoCffVVKQw_0DpleuciC6glvDE4</a>	Yes	N/A
Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Brand (Mamuka)	7/18/2023 23:21	Добрі справи від представників Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართველი ლეგიონი в Чернівецькій області тривають.Завітали з гостинцями до малечі із дитячого спеціалізованого інтернату з міста Харків,які в зв'язку із постійними обстрілами російських окупантів переїхали до нас на Буковину.Це вже четверта волонтерська акція допомоги ,яку організував та допоміг втілити в життя лідер легіону Mamuka Mamulashvili.	Good deeds from representatives of Georgian Legion in the Chernivtsi region continue. They called with hotels to a baby from a children's specialized boarding school from Kharkiv, who, in connection with constant shellingHe organized and helped to bring to life Leader Mamuka Mamulashvili.	No	GNL provision of volunteer work with Children, Kharkiv specified
N/A	7/18/2023 16:35	Легендарний підрозділ і легендарні люди 🇬🇪 Грузинський легіон🇺🇦	Legendary unit and legendary people	No	GNL fighters in the field
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	7/17/2023 0:14	За особистий героїзм нагороджено заступника командира Грузинського легіону Левана Фіфію 🇬🇪🇬🇪🇬🇪 Вітаємо пана Левана з черговою нагородою 🇬🇪🇬🇪🇬🇪 Бажаємо здоров'я та перемоги над нашим спільним ворогом 🇬🇪🇬🇪🇬🇪 АУА Героям слава!🇬🇪🇺🇦 Героям слава! 🇺🇦🇬🇪🇺🇦 Леван Фіфія Грузинський Легіон - Грузинский Легион	For personal heroism awarded the Deputy Commander of the Georgian Levan Levan Fifia 🇬🇪🇬🇪🇬🇪 We congratulate Mr. Levan on the next award 🇬🇪🇬🇪🇬🇪 We wish health and victory over our common enemy AUA AUA AUA GEGEU GEGEU Heroes Glory! GEGENCE Glory to heroes!UA🇬🇪🇺🇦asant Levan Fyofia Georgian Legion - Georgian Legion	No	Presentat ion of award to GNL fighter
Brand (Logo)	7/14/2023 2:36	Хто сказав, що українці не люто заздять? 🇬🇪🇺🇦	Who said the Ukrainians would not be jealous? 🇬🇪🇺🇦	Yes	GNL fighters in the field
N/A	7/14/2023 2:30	Грузинський легіон просто відпочиває 🇬🇪🇺🇦	Georgian Legion is just resting.	No	GNL fighters in the field, with drone equipment

Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public); Framing (Positive Attribute)	7/14/2023 2:23	Бійці Georgian Legion - Грузинський Леґіон ქართველი ლეგიონი допомагають мешканцям Херсонщини боротися із наслідками військових дій російських окупантів. Гуманітарна місія це також один із важливих напрямків дій бійців леґіону. GEUA 🇸🇰	The soldiers of the Georgian Legion help the residents of Kherson region to fight the consequences of the military actions of the Russian occupiers. The humanitarian mission is also one of the important directions of the actions of the soldiers of the legion. GEUA 🇸🇰	Yes	GNL fighters provide aid to liberated Ukrainian civilians in Kherson; Kherson specified
Brand (Mamuka)	7/12/2023 11:47	Командир грузинського леґіону Мамука Мамулашвілі та його заступник Леван Фіфія GEUEGEUE є національними героями України UAUUA 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 Крім того, вони отримали багато бойових нагород та медалей за бойову відвагу. операції GEUEUA Героям слава! GEUA 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 Грузинський Леґіон - Грузинский Леґіон Грузинський Леґіон Мамука Мамулашвілі Леван Фіфія	The commander of the Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili and his deputy Levan Fifiya GEUEGEUE are national heroes of Ukraine UAUUA 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 In addition, they received many combat awards and medals for combat bravery. operations GEUEUA A Glory to the heroes! GEUA 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 Georgian Legion - Georgian Legion Georgian Legion Mamuka Mamulashvili Levan Fifiya	No	Mamuka Mamulashvili and deputy commander Levan Fifiya
Brand (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	7/12/2023 11:41			Yes	GNL provides self-defense training to Civilians
N/A	7/10/2023 22:57	Слава нашим героям Слава Україні Слава Грузії GEUA	Glory to our heroes Glory to Ukraine Glory of Georgia GEUA	No	Slideshow of GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Logo); Framing (Bridging)	7/10/2023 22:52	Захисти Батьківщину в Україні та Грузії 🇸🇰 UAGE Грузинський Леґіон - Грузинский Леґіон Georgian Legion 🇸🇰	Protect the Motherland in Ukraine and Georgia 🇸🇰 UAGE Georgian Legion 🇸🇰	Yes	GNL fighter outside combat
Brand (Mamuka); Stakeholder Communication (Foreign Government)	7/10/2023 11:11	Італійські діти міланської громади передали війнам Грузинського леґіону грузинський прапор та написані ними листи! ITGEUA	Italian children of the Milan community handed over the Georgian flag and letters written by them to the soldiers of the Georgian Legion! ITGEUA	No	Presentation of flag by Italian schoolchildren to Mamuka Mamulashvili
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	7/9/2023 10:46	Грузинский Леґіон Вам, брати, присвячується 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 Дякуємо Лексені Ертадерт UAGE	The Georgian Legion is dedicated to you, brothers 🇸🇰 🇸🇰 Thank you Lexena Ertadert UAGE	Yes	Fundraising rave





N/A	6/30/2023 19:30	GEUA 🇯🇵	GEUA 🇯🇵	No	GNL fighters outside of combat
Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	6/30/2023 9:41	5 бійців Грузинського легіону нагороджено медаллю «Захисника Запоріжжя» Міністерства оборони, за що ми їм дуже вдячні. GEUA	5 soldiers of the Georgian Legion were awarded the "Defender of Zaporozhye" medal of the Ministry of Defense, for which we are very grateful. GEUA	No	Presentation of awards to GNL fighters
Brand (Logo); Brand (Georgia Cultural Symbols)	6/27/2023 17:14	🇯🇵 GEUA 🇯🇵	🇯🇵 GEUA 🇯🇵	Yes	Georgian flag, presumably after combat
Brand (Mamuka)	6/26/2023 11:19			No	News coverage of GNL fighters with interview of Mamulas hvili
N/A	6/25/2023 17:43	Одна зі спецгруп Грузинського легіону відпочиває після повернення з місії, і вони знімають порох зі своїх глок-17, призначених для ближнього бою та різної штурмової снайперської зброї, і розглядають Грузію і особливо Самегрело 🇯🇵 GEUA	One of the special forces of the Georgian Legion is resting after returning from a mission, and they are removing powder from their glock-17s, designed for close combat and various assault sniper weapons, and looking at Georgia and especially Samegrelo 🇯🇵 GEUA	No	GNL fighters after combat, showcasing weapons
N/A	6/25/2023 17:36	Артилерійська частина Грузинського легіону...GEUA	Artillery unit of the Georgian Legion...GEUA	No	GNL fighters with HUMV WW
N/A	6/22/2023 14:08	🇯🇵 🇯🇵 GEUA	🇯🇵 🇯🇵 GEUA	No	GNL fighters outside of combat
Brand (Logo); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	6/22/2023 14:05	🇯🇵 Лікарі це добре, але брати з легіону швидше вилікують. 🇯🇵 GEUA 🇯🇵	🇯🇵 Doctors are good, but brothers from the legion will heal faster. 🇯🇵 GEUA 🇯🇵	Yes	Wounded GNL fighter
N/A	6/22/2023 12:19	<a href="https://youtu.be/jOzQqsPe-o8">https://youtu.be/jOzQqsPe-o8</a>	<a href="https://youtu.be/jOzQqsPe-o8">https://youtu.be/jOzQqsPe-o8</a>	No	Link to youtube video

					[unavailable]
Brand (Logo); Brand (Mamuka); Brand (Social Media); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters); Framing (Positive Attribute); Brand (Brand Equity)	6/21/2023 10:43	Georgian Legion - Грузинський Легіон ქართული ლეგიონი GEUA — найчисельніший іноземний контингент у складі Збройних сил України. Дякуємо брати, що вже 9 років допомагаєте виборювати незалежність у розв'язанні росією війни. 🇺🇦 Створений 2014 із 10 чоловіків, розрісся до 2-х тисяч захисників - боронив аеропорт у Гостомелі, звільняв Київщину та Харківщину, і нині виконує завдання по всій лінії фронту. Командир Мамука Мамулашвілі потрапив до російського полону ще підлітком, і вже тоді зрозумів, на які звірства здатні росіяни. Він упевнений у поразці росії, що чекає на країну-агресорку після перемоги України — про це засновник і командир легіону в ексклюзивному інтерв'ю Факти ICTV розповів про контраст наступ ЗСУ, росіян та кадирівців. Авторка відео: журналістка Тетяна Доцяк.	Georgian Legion is the largest foreign contingent in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Thank you, brothers, for helping to fight for independence in the war started by Russia for 9 years. 🇺🇦 Created in 2014 from 10 men, grew to 2,000 defenders - defended the airport in Gostomel, liberated Kyiv region and Kharkiv region, and now performs tasks along the entire front line. Commander Mamuk Mamulashvili was captured by the Russians as a teenager, and even then he understood what atrocities the Russians were capable of. He is sure of the defeat of Russia, which awaits the aggressor country after the victory of Ukraine - this is what the founder and commander of the legion told in an exclusive interview with Fakty ICTV about the counteroffensive of the Armed Forces, the Russians and the Kadyrovs. Author of the video: journalist Tetyana Dotsiak.	Yes	News coverage of GNL
N/A	6/21/2023 10:38	Грузинський легіон поспішає на допомогу. Мужність та людяність це характер бійців легіону.ge	The Georgian Legion rushes to help. Courage and humanity are the character of legion fighters. ge	No	GNL fighters in the field
Brand (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Potential Recruits and Donors); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)	6/21/2023 10:34	Грузини, японці, американці, українці, німці, французи, представники майже всіх країн, ми зібрали разом військовослужбовців Грузинського легіону і надали людям гуманітарну допомогу, немає мовного бар'єру, вони все одно розуміють один одного. Сумно, що народ російська злоба довела до цього, але присягнувши добру справу, об'єднавшись, все вийде, війна за війною, але бачити щасливі очі бідної людини велика насолода. GEUA 🇺🇦 🇯🇵	Georgians, Japanese, Americans, Ukrainians, Germans, French, representatives of almost all countries, we gathered together servicemen of the Georgian Legion and provided humanitarian aid to people, there is no language barrier, they still understand each other. It is sad that Russian malice has brought the people to this, but it is nice to do a good deed, united, everything will work out, war after war, but seeing the happy eyes of a poor person is a great pleasure. GEUA 🇺🇦 🇯🇵	Yes	GNL fighters holding up unit banner at Heroes monument and separate video of unloading of equipment
Brand (Logo); Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Potential Recruits and Donors)	6/19/2023 1:55	Згадка про відкриття проєкту „ Академія Грузинського легіону,, у Києві GEUA	Mention of the opening of the Georgian Legion Academy project in Kyiv GEUA	Yes	GNL provision of self-defense training to Ukrainian civilians

Recruits and Donors); Stakeholder Communication (Member Fighters and Supporters)					
N/A	6/18/2023 12:25	GEUA	GEUA	No	GNL fighters outside of combat
Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	6/15/2023 20:27	Українські військовослужбовці Грузинського легіону мають велику повагу, це дуже вдячні хлопціUA 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	Ukrainian servicemen of the Georgian Legion have great respect, they are very grateful guysUA 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	No	Ukrainian GNL fighters outside of combat
Brand (Logo)	6/15/2023 0:22	GE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	GE 🇬🇪 🇺🇦	Yes	GNL flag flying over private home
N/A	6/14/2023 23:12	Американский оscarоносный актер, режиссер и сценарист Шон Пенн снимет документальный фильм про «Грузинский легион», воюющий на стороне вооруженных сил Украины.GEUA	American Oscar-winning actor, director and screenwriter Sean Penn will make a documentary about the Georgian Legion, fighting on the side of the Ukrainian armed forces.GEUA	No	News coverage of GNL, announcement of Sean Penn documentary
Brand (Logo); Brand (Mamuka)	6/12/2023 15:45	GEUA ❤️	GEUA ❤️	Yes	Mamuka Mamulas hvili in fatigues
Brand (Logo)	6/12/2023 10:28			Yes	GNL fighter with banner
Brand (Logo)	6/12/2023 10:26			Yes	GNL fighter with gear and patches
Framing (Positive Attribute); Stakeholder Communication (Ukrainian Public)	6/12/2023 10:24	Херсон.Грузинський легион допомагає у евакуації мирних жителів. GEUA 🇬🇪 ❤️	Kherson. The Georgian Legion helps in the evacuation of civilians. GEUA 🇬🇪 ❤️	No	Video related to GNL evacuation of civilians in Kherson

N/A	6/11/2 023 3:12	Воїни добра. GEUA 🇺🇦	Warriors of good.GEUA 🇺🇦	No	GNL fighters
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