

# NATO Library

*BACKGROUNDER*  
**No. 4 - 19<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2009**

**GEORGIA – SOUTH OSSETIA : ONE YEAR  
LATER**  
**GÉORGIE – OSSÉTIE DU SUD : UN AN  
PLUS TARD**

*Document d'information*  
**No. 4 - 19 août 2009**

Bibliothèque de l'OTAN

- **To contact us :**

- NATO Library  
Public Diplomacy Division  
Room Nb123  
1110 Brussels  
Belgium  
Tel. : 32.2.707.44.14  
Fax : 32.2.707.42.49  
E-mail : [library@hq.nato.int](mailto:library@hq.nato.int)
- *Intranet:* <http://hqweb.hq.nato.int/oip/library/>
- *Internet:* <http://www.nato.int/library>

- **How to borrow items from the list below :**

As a member of the NATO HQ staff you can borrow books (Type: M) for one month, journals (Type: ART) and reference works (Type: REF) for one week. Individuals not belonging to NATO staff can borrow books through their local library via the interlibrary loan system.

- **How to obtain the Library publications :**

All Library publications are available both on the NATO Intranet and Internet websites.

---

- **Pour nous contacter :**

- Bibliothèque de l'OTAN  
Division de la Diplomatie Publique  
Bureau Nb123  
1110 Bruxelles  
Belgique  
Tél. : 32.2.707.44.14  
Télécopieur : 32.2.707.42.49  
E-mail : [library@hq.nato.int](mailto:library@hq.nato.int)
- *Intranet:* <http://hqweb.hq.nato.int/oip/library/>
- *Internet:* <http://www.nato.int/library>

- **Comment emprunter les documents cités ci-dessous :**

En tant que membre du personnel de l'OTAN vous pouvez emprunter les livres (Type: M) pour un mois, les revues (Type: ART) et les ouvrages de référence (Type: REF) pour une semaine. Les personnes n'appartenant pas au personnel d l'OTAN peuvent s'adresser à leur bibliothèque locale et emprunter les livres via le système de prêt interbibliothèques.

- **Comment obtenir les publications de la Bibliothèque :**

Toutes les publications de la Bibliothèque sont disponibles sur les sites Intranet et Internet de l'OTAN.

# **JOURNAL ARTICLES**

## **ARTICLES DE REVUES**

### **2009**

No Way to Treat Our Friends : Recasting Recent U.S.-Georgian Relations.  
(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 32, no. 1, January 2009, p. 7-25.)

Author(s):

1. Cooley, Alexander
2. Mitchell, Lincoln A.

Notes:

Two ultimately flawed U.S. policy principles - personalizing the relationship with Georgia and committing to maintain its territorial integrity - helped fail to anticipate or prevent the August 2008 escalation of conflict between Georgia and Russia, and should be reversed.

ID Number: JA025671

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

The Transcaucasus : Problems and Prospects.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 55, no. 1, 2009, p. 42-50.)

Author(s):

1. Dvinianin, Aleksey

ID Number: JA025707

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

Significance of the Georgian-South Ossetian Conflict for Turkish Foreign Policy.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2009, p. 33-41.)

Author(s):

1. Genc, Savas

ID Number: JA025675

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

The Russo-Georgian Five-Day War : The Price to Be Paid and Its Unintended Consequences.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2009, p. 12-22.)

Author(s):

1. Kakachia, Kornely

ID Number: JA025673

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

Intelligence Aspects of the 2008 Conflict Between Russia and Georgia.  
(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 22, no. 1, January - March 2009, p. 4-19.)

Author(s):

1. Lefebvre, Stephane
2. MacDermott, Roger N.

Notes:

This article discusses the status and recent evolution of Georgian intelligence agencies, and in particular how well they have performed with respect to the Russian challenge since President Saakashvili assumed power in 2004. The article also discusses Georgian intelligence with respect to its international engagement, and recommends options for NATO that would assist Georgia in reforming and professionalizing its intelligence agencies along the lines of advanced or more mature democracies.

ID Number: JA025736

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

Russia's Conventional Armed Forces and the Georgian War.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 2009, p. 65-80.)

Author(s):

1. MacDermott, Roger N.

Notes:

The author provides readers with detailed insight regarding the status of the Russian forces that conducted the seemingly successful incursion into the nation of Georgia in August 2008. Although much of the author's analysis is at the tactical and operational levels of warfare, the strategic consequences are blatantly obvious. The author determines that the rapid defeat of Georgia's armed force was more the result of military weakness, poor management, and limited combat capabilities on the part of the Georgians, than anything attributable to the prowess of Russian forces. His thorough survey of Russian weapon systems and tactics supports the assertion that the Georgian war was the last war of the twentieth century for Russia's armed forces; due mainly to the fact it was fought using tactics, formations, and equipment from the last century. The author concludes that the Russian military and political leadership perceive the Georgian war as a setback to their aspirations of projecting an image of a 'resurgent Russia'.

ID Number: JA025910

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

The Kosovo Precedent and the Rhetorical Deployment of Former Yugoslavia Analogies in the Cases of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

(SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 9, nos. 1-2, March - June 2009, p. 171-189.)

Author(s):

1. Nielsen, Christian Axboe

Notes:

During the August 2008 war in South Ossetia and in the subsequent Russian recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states, Russian authorities repeatedly made explicit references to the 'Kosovo precedent' and consciously mimicked the rhetoric of NATO during the 1999 Kosovo war. This article explores precisely how Kosovo was deployed rhetorically in Russian foreign policy in the South Ossetian and Abkhaz cases, as well as the reception of this and other ex-Yugoslav analogies in Serbia. The article points to inconsistencies in both Russian and Western foreign policy and concludes that, notwithstanding numerous similarities in the three cases, Russia's use of the Kosovo precedent was coldly instrumental.

ID Number: JA025971  
Year: 2009  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The August Crisis in the Caucasus and Its Consequences.  
(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2009, p. 22-33.)

Author(s):  
1. Skakov, Alexander  
ID Number: JA025674  
Year: 2009  
Language: English  
Type: ART

It Does Not Take a Prophet : War and Peace in the Caucasus.  
(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2009, p. 7-12.)

Author(s):  
1. Tchantouridze, Lasha  
ID Number: JA025726  
Year: 2009  
Language: English  
Type: ART

The Bear Went Through the Mountain : Russia Appraises its Five-Day War in South Ossetia.  
(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 22, no. 1, January - March 2009, p. 31-67.)

Author(s):  
1. Thomas, Timothy L.

Notes:  
The August 2008 Russian-Georgia conflict was the first Russian full-scale use of force against a former member of the Soviet Union. This paper looks at the August conflict solely from the vantage point of the Russian press, in particular the views of military officers or military journalists. The findings offer insights into the information war conducted in the Russian press, the continued suspicion of Russia about US actions in the area, and the strengths and weaknesses of Russia's armed forces. Russia's rational for supporting South Ossetia, that 'if Georgia can break away from the Soviet Union, why can't South Ossetia break away from Georgia ?' indicates that this may not be the last development of its kind that Russia supports. The Crimea and Transdniestra come immediately to mind.

ID Number: JA025738  
Year: 2009  
Language: English  
Type: ART

L'OSCE et la crise du Caucase de l'ete 2008.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 65e annee, no. 1, janvier 2009, p. 27-35.)

Author(s):  
1. Vinet, Guy

Notes:  
La communauta euro-atlantique a fait face durant l'ete 2008 a une montee en tension brutale de la crise georgienne debouchant sur des affrontements armes entre les forces militaires russes et georgiennes. L'OSCE, impliquee depuis longtemps dans cette crise parfois oubliee, s'est employee avec rigueur a tenir le role devolu par les Etats membres. Elle a du surmonter de nombreuses difficultes et s'est revelee un acteur complementaire de l'Union europeenne.

ID Number: JA025638  
Year: 2009

Language: French

Type: ART

Georgia's Story : Competing Narratives since the War.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 51, no. 4, August - September 2009, p. 87-100.)

Author(s):

1. Mitchell, Lincoln

Notes:

Washington's policy towards Tbilisi needs to draw on evidence and actions rather than competing narratives that lack nuance and lead to decisions that are bad for both countries.

ID Number: JA026055

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

Dilemma of the Georgian Elections : Political Transformations or a Slide Toward Non-Liberal Democracy.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2009, p. 103-115.)

Author(s):

1. Chedia, Beka

Subject(s):

1. ELECTIONS--GEORGIA (REPUBLIC)

2. GEORGIA (REPUBLIC)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

ID Number: JA025725

Year: 2009

Language: English

Type: ART

## 2008

Le conflit d'Ossetie du Sud.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 10, octobre 2008, p. 41-50.)

Author(s):

1. Avioutskii, Viatcheslav

Notes:

L'intervention russe en Géorgie constitue la continuation par d'autres moyens de la rivalité russo-américaine dans les ex-republiques soviétiques. La Russie a mis en déroute l'armée géorgienne, justifiant son action par la volonté de défendre les Sud-Ossetes à proximité immédiate de ses frontières. La reconnaissance de l'Ossetie du Sud et de l'Abkhazie par la Russie a conduit à une nouvelle spirale des tensions russo-occidentales.

ID Number: JA025194

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

Géorgian Losses and Russia's Gain.

(MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 15, no. 4, Winter 2008, p. 81-90.)

Author(s):

1. Bonner, Arthur

ID Number: JA025404

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Georgien und die Folgen.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 57. Jg., Nr. 9, September 2008, S. 10-11.)

Author(s):

1. Clement, Rolf

ID Number: JA025215

Year: 2008

Language: German

Type: ART

War in Georgia, Jitters All Around.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 107, no. 711, October 2008, p. 307-314.)

Author(s):

1. Cornell, Svante E.

Notes:

With the invasion of a small Caucasian neighbor, Moscow declared itself boss once again of its backyard. But how fearsome a boss - and how big is the backyard ?

ID Number: JA025254

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Europe and Russia : A Return to the Past.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 153, no. 5, October 2008, p. 40-47.)

Author(s):

1. Eyal, Jonathan

ID Number: JA025460

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Georgia y el equilibrio del poder.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 22, no. 126, noviembre - diciembre 2008, p. 47-56.)

Author(s):

1. Freidman, George

Notes:

La opcion perfecta. En Osetia del Sur, Rusia ha restablecido la credibilidad de su ejercito y ha mostrada que las garantias de seguridad de Estados Unidos son palabras vacias. Es un mensaje a Occidente, pero sobre todo a Asia Central y a la vecindad rusa en Europa.

ID Number: JA025325

Year: 2008

Language: Spanish

Type: ART

Conflit Georgie-Russie : Internet, l'autre champ de bataille.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 10, octobre 2008, p. 51-56.)

Author(s):

1. Ifrah, Laurence

Notes:

Dans le conflit arme entre la Geogie, l'Ossetie du Sud et la Russie, des attaques informatiques ont ete perpetrees principalement a l'encontre des sites georgiens mais aussi des serveurs russes et ossetes. Suivis de pres par les experts en securite des systemes d'information, ces assauts ont parfois donne lieu a des interpretations fantaisistes dues au fait qu'il est techniquement impossible de prouver quels sont les auteurs de ces mefaits. Certains d'entre eux s'inspirant d'ecrits douteux circulant sur la toile se sont empresses de commenter ces evenements sans malheureusement prendre la peine de verifier leurs sources. Les nombreuses informations publiees sur ce conflit demontront a quel point il est facile de se

laisser manipuler par des personnes que les interets politiques poussent a la desinformation et a la propagande.

ID Number: JA025193

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

L'OTAN et la crise georgienne.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 11, novembre 2008, p. 49-57.)

Author(s):

1. Kempf, Olivier

Notes:

L'OTAN a pati de la guerre de Géorgie, qu'elle a indirectement provoquée et à laquelle n'a apporté aucune solution. Des lors, l'affaiblissement américain et la relecture de l'article 5 ont remis au goût du jour le débat sur le découplage transatlantique, même si le mot a été rarement prononcé. Elle est donc obligée de jouer un jeu en demi-teint, dans lequel elle a finalement peu d'initiatives.

ID Number: JA025307

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

The Five-Day War.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 87, no. 6, November - December 2008, p. 2-11.)

Author(s):

1. King, Charles

Notes:

South Ossetia and Abkhazia were places the world could conveniently ignore until Russia invaded Georgia in August. Now, the two tiny Caucasian enclaves have rekindled a superpower rivalry. The war showed the West that Moscow has lost its faith in multilateral institutions and is willing to impose its will by force.

ID Number: JA025205

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Russie : l'empire contre-attaque.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 121, automne 2008, p. 81-109.)

Author(s):

1. Mandeville, Laure

Notes:

The war between Russia and Georgia in August 2008 reflected a reality that the West has tried hard not to notice. Russia has fallen back to its imperialist ways with regards to its neighbours. The Boris Yeltsin era, when Moscow did not oppose the independence of the former Soviet republics, seems now merely a brief reprieve in that regard. Russia under Putin and Medvedev is determined to regain its lost empire. The country benefits from a highly favourable strategic situation, thanks to the explosion of oil and gas prices, poor decisions by the U.S. and a hesitant European Union. The Kremlin's official recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as sovereign states seems like an initial success, and possibly a harbinger of others to follow. Ukraine can start worrying about its hold on the Crimea. Faced with a Russia prey to its old nationalist demons, the West must speak up.

ID Number: JA025332

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

The Echo of Tskhinval.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 54, no. 6, 2008, p. 67-73.)

Author(s):

1. Orlov, Aleksandr

ID Number: JA025467

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Five Days that Changed the World.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 54, no. 6, 2008, p. 74-83.)

Author(s):

1. Piadysheva, Evgenia

ID Number: JA025468

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Evenements en Geogie : surprise strategique ou defi strategique ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 10, octobre 2008, p. 27-32.)

Author(s):

1. Rosiers, Jacques

Notes:

Quel message retenir apres une premiere analyse des recents evenements en Geogie de debut aout 2008 ? Il ne sera pas le meme, suivant que l'on est Georgien ou Russe, cela parait evident. Comment reagir, en ce debut de XXIe siecle et en tant qu'acteur international, face aux violences et au recours a la force militaire aux marches de l'Europe ? Comment mieux apprehender notre futur, role devolu a la strategie, plutot que reagir et s'enfermer dans les cliches connus de la 'guerre froide' ?

ID Number: JA025196

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

Geogie : le reve brise.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 121, automne 2008, p. 153-172.)

Author(s):

1. Serrano, Silvia

Notes:

By ordering the military takeover of the secessionist region of South Ossetia on August 7, did the Georgian president Mikheil Saakashvili fall into the trap set by the Kremlin ? Was he too confident in the United States, expecting more concrete support ? Did he believe that it would help his country along the road to integration in Europe or NATO ? Whatever the case, the result of this operation is disastrous for Georgia. Its army was swiftly defeated by Russia; many civil infrastructures were destroyed ; and South Ossetia, together with the other secessionist region Abkhazia, seem definitively lost. This episode demonstrates the real power balance in the Caucasus, where Russia reigns supreme. Will Georgia once again find itself under Moscow's control ? It is not totally impossible.

ID Number: JA025333

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

Russia and Georgia.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 64, no. 10, October 2008, p. 8-10.)

Author(s):

1. Sherr, James

Notes:

Dilemmas and dangers abound for the West as it tries to come to terms with the 'new' Russia. There is a mood of defiance and injury, which can only be answered with firmness and prudence.

ID Number: JA025345

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Moscow's Domestic Policy : Russian Roulette.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 64, no. 10, October 2008, p. 11-13.)

Author(s):

1. Shevtsova, Lilia

Notes:

Russia's military action in Georgia was driven by Moscow's domestic agenda. Foreign policy has become a tool of collective control back home. While the 'ruling tandem' has gained popularity, the new consensus does not provide for modernisation. Will the predatory state reform or collapse ?

ID Number: JA025346

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Russie-Georgie : premiere guerre du monde multipolaire.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 10, octobre 2008, p. 34-40.)

Author(s):

1. Thomann, Pierre-Emmanuel

Notes:

L'analyse du conflit russe-georgien suivant l'angle de la geopolitique met en evidence les gains strategiques engrangés par la Russie. Ils mettent un frein à l'élargissement de l'OTAN qui est responsable de la perception d'encerclement de la Russie. À l'échelle mondiale, ce conflit signifie l'entrée dans le monde multipolaire. L'Union européenne est directement concernée par cet affrontement entre la Russie et les Etats-Unis pour la constitution de zones d'influences sur le continent eurasien. Dans l'optique d'une 'Europe politique', les intérêts de sécurité de l'Union européenne sont dictés par la géographie. La renonciation à l'élargissement de l'Union européenne et de l'Alliance atlantique répondrait aux imperatifs de stabilité du continent afin d'ouvrir la voie à un nouveau système de sécurité eurasien.

ID Number: JA025195

Year: 2008

Language: French

Type: ART

Voormalige Sovjetunie : ontbinding van bevroren conflicten.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 62, nr. 7 - 8, juli - augustus 2008, p. 413-417.)

Author(s):

1. Does, Rene

Notes:

The author discusses the remaining ethnic conflicts in the former Soviet Union, especially the so-called 'frozen conflicts' (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria). Nowadays, such conflicts are once more heatedly debated in light of the question whether the independence of Kosovo can be a precedent for their future. On the other hand, the national governments of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Moldova want to bring the regions back under their control. A complicating factor is that the regions are supported by Russia. The author argues that each conflict requires a different solution.

ID Number: JA025136

Year: 2008

Language: Dutch

Type: ART

The 'Frozen Conflict' that Turned Hot : Conflicting State-Building Attempts in South Ossetia.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2008, p. 150-159.)

Author(s):

1. Hebert, Nicolas Lemay

ID Number: JA025498

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

Russia and Georgia : Post Soviet Metamorphoses of Mutual Relations.

(CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2008, p. 145-149.)

Author(s):

1. Matsaberidze, Malkhaz

ID Number: JA025497

Year: 2008

Language: English

Type: ART

# **BOOKS**

# **LIVRES**

**2009**

947 /00072

Histoire de la Géorgie : la clé du Caucase - Paris : Perrin.

400 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

ISBN: 9782262026455

Author(s):

1. Razoux, Pierre

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 381-392. Includes index.

'Enclavée au cœur du Caucase, la Géorgie a conservé de son passé des reflexes claniques qui en font une véritable poudrière, d'autant qu'elle s'impose désormais comme une région stratégique traversée par un oleoduc et un gazoduc indispensables pour les Occidentaux : ainsi s'expliquent en partie les enjeux de la guerre russo-géorgienne de l'été 2008. On comprend mieux alors ce dossier brûlant pour l'Europe et les Etats-Unis, tout en découvrant un peuple attachant, prêt à tout pour défendre un pays magnifique et envoutant.'

ID number: 80022550

Year: 2009

Type: M

323 /01130

Countdown to War in Georgia : Russia's Foreign Policy and Media Coverage of the Conflict in South Ossetia and Abkhazia - Minneapolis, MN : East View Publications.

xxi, 579 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9781879944046

Added entry(s):

1. Niedermaier, Ana K., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This publication covers the period from 1989, when tensions in South Ossetia began to boil over as Gorbachev relaxed the iron fist of Soviet control, to late August of 2008, when the situation degraded to open warfare and an entirely new situation presented itself. The articles in this book come from three different sources. Part One includes newspaper articles published in English in The Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press. Part Two includes articles that were originally translated into English and published in the journals International Affairs and Military Thought. The Appendix to the book includes photographs of key political figures involved in these events, as well as an index.'

ID number: 80022443

Edition: 1st ed.

Year: 2008

Type: M