

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Faculty of Social and Political Science

and

Institute for Georgia's Neighbourhood Studies

IV International Scientific Conference

POLITICS AROUND THE CAUCASUS

November 16, 2018

Venue: 14, Ilya Chavchavadze Avenue, TSU, Tbilisi, Georgia

Auditorium N 104

Conference agenda

Registration

10:30-11:00

Opening of the Conference and Speeches

11:00– 11:30

Tamar Dolbaia, Associate Professor, Dean
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Professor **Revaz Gachechiladze**, Director of IGNS

11: 30

P u b l i c L e c t u r e

Revaz Gachechiladze, Professor of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

T h e C a u c a s i a n G e o p o l i t i c a l K n o t

P r e s e n t a t i o n s

12:00 – Nika Chitadze, Professor of International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
New Silk Road and Geopolitical Role and Place of Georgia.

12.15 - Carolin Funke, Master of Science, Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany.
Local Cooperation across the Conflict Divide with Abkhazia.

12:30 - Birgit Wetzel, Institute for Communication, Germany.
The Caucasus and the Caspian - new perspectives with Aktau Agreement.

13:45 - Ulviyye Aydin, Associate Professor of Manisa Celal Bayar University, Manisa, Turkey.
Southern Gas corridor: The importance of Turkmen natural Gas.

14:00 – Aynur Seidyusif, Professor of University of Bath, Istanbul, Turkey.
Leadership Trait Analysis: The case of Georgia.

14:15 - Ana Anushidze, Nika Qitoshvili, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
The specific aspects of the economy of the republic of Azerbaijan.

14:30 – Lela Mamaladze, PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Bilateral Trade Relations Between Georgia and Armenia in the context of Economic Globalization.

14:45 – Giorgi Omsarashvili, PhD student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi,

Georgia.

The modern threats of terrorism in Georgia.

15:00 – Tengiz Verulava, MD PhD, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Challenges of Primary Health Care Reforms in Georgia (1995-2018).

15:15 – Khatuna Tabagari, PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Impact of Georgia-Iran cooperation in energy sector on Russian economic-political interests in Caucasus region.

15:30 – Nino Samkharadze, MA and Invited lecturer of International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Georgian Nationalism in the Context of Soviet Nationalities Policy in the Years of 1960-1980s.

15:45 – Davit Dzneldze, PhD student of Georgian Technical University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Chances of peaceful coexistence of Georgia and Russia

16:00 – Maia Manchkhvili, PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Influence of August war 2008 to South Caucasus

16:15 – 16:30

Certificate handing ceremony and closing of the Conference

P r e s e n t a t i o n s u m m a r i e s

Revaz Gachechiladze

Professor of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

The Caucasian Geopolitical Knot

If observed from the Caucasus the three states of the South Caucasus – Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and the neighbouring three regional superpowers – Iran, Russia and Turkey, form a sort of a “Megaregion” with a lot of internal ties and quiet often – an absence of ties.

During their monarchic histories Iran, Russia, and Turkey predominantly used to be bitter enemies. At the moment, all three being republics with different levels of democratic development, they maintain more or less normal relations with each other.

The three states of the South Caucasus, which emerged as republics for the first time in 1918, during XXI, and which returned to the world political map at the end of 1991, have rather different attitudes to each other and the neighbouring regional superpowers.

The interrelations of the states of the “Megaregion” are mixed. Iran is the only one which has diplomatic relations with the other five states. Turkey and Armenia have no diplomatic relations with each other, the same is true in the case of Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as Georgia and Russia.

Underlying factors are to be discussed in the report.

Nika Chitadze

Professor, International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia

New Silk Road and Geopolitical Role and Place of Georgia

Georgia is a small country on the crossroads connecting Europe and Asia, which has centuries of geopolitical location and great challenges and at the same time, It is the same as that of Georgia on the big silk road - together with the economic benefits of the country, there were frequent confrontations, even though there was no major branch of the Great Silk Road. After the collapse of Constantinople in 1453, the Silk Road lost its function, and Georgia was in a very difficult situation, that spanned within centuries. By the end of the 20th century, after the end of the Cold War, the issue of Silk Road acquired a special significance, especially in 2013 after the Chinese President's Xi Jinping initiative, the new life of the historic Silk Road, during the project- "One Belt, One Way". The project envisages the restoration and development of trade and transport routes in China from Europe, the economic progress of the countries engaged in it. Consequently, it began to take an active step towards Georgia to become a significant player in the new project, as one of the historic part of the great Silk Road, a country that is comprising Europe and Asia, becoming a major player in the new project. This will be an important factor for our country's development.

Georgia is the country on the crossroads of civilizations. In the research, it is reviewed the stages of development and formation of the historical Silk Road, as well as the perspectives of Georgian participation in it, also, the following part of the research paper refers to modern tendencies of silk road restoration.

Thus, main goal of the paper is to research the Foreign Policy priorities of Georgia in the framework of Silk Road project, to study the role and function of the country as a transit state and plenipotentiary part of the project, to outline possible perspectives and analysis of them. Based on relevant literature and using different methods, together with historical analysis on the above mentioned issues.

Carolin Funke

Master of Science, Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, Ruhr-University
Bochum, Germany

Local Cooperation across the Conflict Divide with Abkhazia

This paper explores the role of international and national actors in facilitating mutual exchange across the conflict divide between Abkhazia and Georgia proper. Instead of looking purely at the political dimension of the conflict, it first and foremost considers practical interventions and mechanisms which actors implement to ease ongoing tensions.

The Georgian government is eager to promote cross border contacts, for instance, by implementing a medical assistance program which allows Abkhazians to receive medical assistance in Georgia proper free of charge. UNHCR maintains a shuttle bus over the Inguri Bridge for particularly vulnerable groups. The Incident Prevention and Response Mechanism (IPRM), is another well-established tool to keep the border permeable for those who need to cross back and forth into Abkhazia. It consists of regular meetings between representatives of the UN, Abkhazia, Georgia, Russia, and the EUMM, and of a telephone hotline, which operates twenty-four hours and seven days a week.

Despite these positive initiatives and programs, this paper shows that overcoming the conflict dynamics and hence facilitating cross border contacts remains a difficult endeavour. First, the conflict with Abkhazia has been put on the backburner in international affairs and would require high-level political involvement to ease tensions. Second, the role of international organizations addressing the conflict dynamics is confined to solving concrete practicalities. Their action is constrained either because they themselves take a clear stance in the conflict, like the EUMM, or they have to practice utmost caution to appear as neutral and impartial if they want to continue serving and assisting the local population in Abkhazia. Otherwise, they risk their own presence on the ground. Hence, they avoid any activities, which could be interpreted as having a political dimension by the ruling authorities in Abkhazia.

This paper builds on six months of field research in Zugdidi in 2017 and largely relies on expert interviews with representatives of international organizations working on both sides of the conflict divide.

Birgit Wetzel

Institute for Comunication, Germany

The Caucasus and the Caspian - new perspectives with Aktau Agreement

The Caucasus is in the focus of attention, due to new developments in and around the Caspian Sea.

Since the end of the Sovjet Union the status of the Caspian was a much debated issue, but an unsolved issue. The Caspian, rich with gas and oil, is important as a ressource of carbohydrates, and a transit corridor for gas and oil from Central Asia to Western Markets.

During earlier times, there was no need to discuss borders in the Caspian. But since former Soviet States around the Caspian, such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, have become independent, it was an open question how the Sea or Lake should be divided. As a Sea, with a 12 miles zone before each national shore line, or divided as an international water. At the Aktau Conference, held on August 12, 2018 in Kazakhstan, an agreement was reached between all neighbors of the Caspian, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Azerbaijan. The agreement reached is a milestone. It took 20 years of diplomacy to get it signed.

Why is the agreement so important? There are two important topics: With the new agreement, energy resources in the Caspian Sea can be clearly marked as to what country they belong to. Another important issues that now it will be possible to build pipelines through the Caspian, which can connect Central Asian and Caucasus pipeline systems.

The Agreement about the Caspian Sea was be a missing link for ensuring transports between the Caucasus and the emerging markets in Central Asia and China. For Georgia, the newly reached agreement means that very likely there will be more transports of carbohydrates

through the Caucasus to Western Markets, bringing more transport fees, which means more money to the States budgets.

Within the new Silk Road, or One Belt One Road Initiative, this will mean that the Southern Caucasus will be on the route of international trade, giving the region high importance and more security.

Ulviyye Aydin

Associate Professor of Manisa Celal Bayar University, Manisa, Turkey

Southern Gas corridor: The importance of Turkmen natural Gas

Increasing economic and trade relations between countries since 1960's have transformed the general field of International Relations and a scope of a concept of "security" had been widened to include issues beyond military and defence. In this context energy was involved in security agenda of developed economies of the Europe that lack of it. The collapse of Soviet Union created a new alternative for the European countries in terms of energy supply.

An emergence of independent states in the Caspian basin with rich oil and natural gas resources such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan has promised a positive option for Europe to diversify its energy providers. Successful operation of Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan petroleum pipeline raised a question about the similar project for the Caspian natural gas resources. Repeated Russian-Ukrainian natural gas crises revealed the urgency of this issue. The idea of the Southern Gas Corridor (SGC) emerged under these conditions, which is a term used to describe planned infrastructure projects aimed at bringing natural gas from the Caspian region to Europe. In order to organize reliable gas supplies to the European market, which would allow not only to the full diversification of energy supply of the EU, but also to recover economies of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey, it is necessary to connect gas from Central Asia, and above all, Turkmenistan to the SGC.

Turkmenistan is one of the countries with the richest gas reserves in the world, however, geographical location of the country prevents to export its energy resources to Europe. In the light of background above, the aim of this paper to discuss the possibilities for connection of Turkmenistan to the SGC, evaluating the potential options.

Ana Anushidze, Nika Qitoshvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Georgian National University, Tbilisi, Georgia

The specific aspects of the economy of the republic of Azerbaijan

The purpose of this essay is to identify special aspects in the sphere of the economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan. We will use several methods for our purpose.

1. Therefore, first of all, we will present a brief description of the economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 2003 - 2013.
2. Secondly, we will analyze all current processes in the economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan as a former Soviet country
3. Finally, we will use economic and IR theories, as well as other examples of post-Soviet countries in the economy, in order to summarize the results and make an objective conclusion about special aspects of the economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan

As for our goal, the article raises two key questions:

- First, what are the special aspects of the economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan?
- Secondly, are there similarities between the post-Soviet countries, in the sphere of the economy, or are they too different from each other to generalize our results?

Keywords: economic policy, post – soviet republics, energy sector.

“The post – Soviet republics represent a very diverse group of countries. One unifying feature is their shares history, with most of the countries having been either part of Tsarist Russia

and subsequently the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or having ties to Tsarist Russia. Individual states differ in terms of population, area, religion and geographical position.

The economies of the countries looked at display a high level of connection and synchronization of their economic cycles. There is a marked potential for economic co – operation between individual countries, and this can be deepened significantly if a number of tensions and conflicts in terms of politics and power which exist between the countries looked at can be solved. The countries have a population of more than a quarter of a billion available to them and their GDPs have also reached significant values. If working regional economic integration can be achieved within the region, then there is very high potential for further growth in the region’s economy.

Many of the former Soviet states are still going through a painful metamorphosis on a confusing path toward acceptance of freedom and democratic values. The idea we wish to highlight there is the impact of the Soviet moral and psychological legacy on the socioeconomic transition now under way in the East European countries that once were republics of the Soviet Union. It is important to shed light on the reasons why, after 20 years of formal independence, the region is still struggling to find its way forward.

Why do all post – Soviet countries not share the same economic conditions and problems now?

The Soviet mentality which evolved over generations, represents a promising area of research for the field of behavioral economics. Many economic decisions should be described as irrational from the point of view of classic economic theory. However taking into consideration the specific post – Soviet conditions, predominant mentality, and shared values, these choices were logical and easy to comprehend.

There are many factors that can potentially influence the direction of a country’s development after liberation from an imperial dictatorship. In fact the important question of modern economic theory is how to predict, understand and explain numerous preconditions and social behavior under these circumstances.

Similar processes are occurring in the post – Soviet countries after two decades of independence. Their experience provides grounds for ascribing the delay in development to commonly shared Soviet – style values and assumptions. The logical conclusion is that to break through and reemerge in a viable form, it is necessary not only to improve the economic indicators but also to abandon the old mentality and change the old mindset. It is a long and difficult social process, but one that is of vital importance in bringing about a better future for these fledgling nation.

Lela Mamaladze

PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Bilateral Trade Relations Between Georgia and Armenia in the context of Economic Globalization

Development of trade relations with other countries and especially with neighboring countries is one of the key elements of economic development of a country, as well as for overall regional development. Georgia and Armenia are two of the countries in the South Caucasus region which gained their integration and globalization trend develops, the economic and business activities become more dynamic and complex. So, This paper analyses the bilateraleconomic relationship between Georgia and Armenia in the context of the liberalization policies enacted by both countries during 1998-2018.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the relations between these two countries became even deeper in the early 1990s. Then in 90s they both walked through transition and stepped into global economy. Since 1998, Armenia and Georgia have enforced a free trade agreement (FTA) which eliminate tariffs, customs duties and quantitative restrictions on export and import of goods originating in the territory of Georgia. It was an important decision because a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is an agreement between two or more countries that outlines certain obligations with respect to trade in goods and services and provides protections for investors.

This paper consists of three thematic parts and a part dedicated to conclusions and recommendations: First one provides to analyze specific issues related to the legal bases of trade relations, trade regimes and investment issues between Georgia and Armenia. Part II examines trade concentration, trade structure and volumes, as well as other related issues. As well, the paper provides to review and analyze current trade and investment relations. This paper is to consider the impact of trade globalization and liberalization on economic growth. Finally, the paper consists conclusion and policy recommendations for addressing challenges created by the problem discussed in this paper. The study includes short and long term recommendations, which are possible solutions for intensification of trade relation between Georgia and Armenia.

Giorgi Omsarashvili

PhD student, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

The modern threats of terrorism in Georgia

In November 2017 the counter-terrorist operation against the influential members of the terrorist organization ISIL - Akhmed Chatayev and his group - was held in the capital of Georgia. According to the SSSG (State Security Agency of Georgia), A. Chatayev (blew up himself during the Special operation) and his accomplices illegally crossed the Turkish-Georgian border and planned to carry out the terrorist attacks at the diplomatic missions in Georgia and Turkey.

This event was preceded by the joining of dozens of Georgian citizens (including school children) to the conflict in Syria and Iraq, where the majority of them died; also by the arrests of the members, supporters, representatives and Jihadist fighter of ISIL at the territory of Georgia. In 2015 Georgian citizens (ethnic Georgians) from Syria threatened the Georgian State. In the same year, media spread information according to which Chatayev demanded the release of the persons accused of terrorism, otherwise he threatened to the security of Georgia.

After the incident with Chatayev and his group in Tbilisi, state has to investigate the case and intense the border control to prevent further illegal border crossings. The state should be ready to prevent creation of terrorist and extremist cells after the Georgian Jihadists would come

back to their homeland. At the same time, the geographical location of Georgia should be taken into consideration - there is a threat that members of the terrorist organization can use Georgian territory as the transit corridor. As following, it is necessary to deeply explore the issue and study the modern threats.

As Georgia is an important contributor of coalition authorities, it is directly engaged in combating terrorism, and this may serve as a reason for Georgia to get into the circumstances posing the threat from the terrorist organizations.

Also Russian Federation tries to use the cases of terrorist activities in Georgia to exercise the diplomatic suppression and conduct the possibility for direct intervention or airstrike at the territory of Georgia (the policy Russia used during the Crisis in the Pankisi Gorge). The Russian Federation constantly accuses Georgia for giving asylum to terrorists and providing transit corridors for them in their territory. The officials of the Russian Federation speak permanently about the threats emerging from the Pankisi Gorge.

After the GSSA special operations in 2014-2018 there were jailed Jihadists and persons convicted in terrorism in Georgian Penitentiary System. In the different states Islamists are actively engaged in radicalization process after the imprisonment. As following, Georgia could face the same. Georgian state does not have an appropriate experience with this respect and also this issue could be taken into the consideration.

Based on these facts, the state has to support social, economical, educational and cultural development at the problem regions, solve the issues of unemployment and Islamic education, because all of these factors create the environment for radicalization and popularization of Jihadist ideology.

Establishing close cooperation between security services, retraining staff, creating relevant platforms for exchanging information and developing appropriate contingency plans are essential for the prevention of terrorism activities in Georgia.

Tengiz Verulava

MD PhD, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Challenges of Primary Health Care Reforms in Georgia (1995-2018)

Primary Health Care (PHC) reforms have been an integral part of health sector reforms in Georgia. These reforms can be divided into four distinct periods: 1994–1999, 2000–2006, 2007–2012 and from 2013 to the present.

In 1994/1995, the government issued policies that led to the decentralization of the health system, introduced new payment mechanisms for services, removed health personnel from the State payroll and opened up space to privatize health facilities.

In 1997 the government defined a basic benefits package that included a range of primary care services. Due to economic reasons, the majority of local municipalities, which were responsible for financing primary care services for the local population, were unable to allocate adequate funding.

A new period in PHC reform began in 2000. Responding to inadequate access to PHC services primarily for rural residents the Rural Health Programme was launched in 2001. Family medicine training programmes were started with the support of the United Kingdom Department for International Development.

After the Rose Revolution in 2007, the government launched an ambitious health financing reform with the overall goal of improving equity and financial access to essential services for the poor. The government contracted out the delivery of benefits to private insurance companies, which assumed responsibility for programme administration.

In March 2007, the government introduced a revised vision for PHC reform, which differentiated between urban and rural models of PHC provision. The government intended to sell PHC buildings to rural doctors for a nominal price. All rural doctors were given the basic medical equipment that was necessary for their practice. Rural primary care doctors acquired a new legal status as individual entrepreneurs and were authorized to manage their own PHC budgets.

The next phase of PHC reforms started in 2013. The newly elected government initiated the Universal Health Coverage Programme for the whole population. The administration of all

State-funded programmes became the responsibility of the Social Service Agency. In mid-2017 the government introduced a differentiated approach for Universal Health Coverage Programme benefits, including improved drug benefits for chronic disease management among the poor population.

Khatuna Tabagari

PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Tbilisi, Georgia

Impact of Georgia-Iran cooperation in energy sector on Russian economic-political interests in Caucasus region

Russia represents one of the key players in Caucasus region and the world as well. Russian Federation has always had its political and economic interests in the very place. This refers the wars of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali regions in Georgia. Here must be highlighted that in the last time the term of the Karsi Agreement is being expired. The last one was formed between Russia and Turkey approximately a century ago. These conflicts derived from Russia is very significant for Georgia. Despite, Georgia is wildly trying to integrate in EU, there Russia still attempts to strengthen its position. Recent war's experience shows that Russia wanted to damage Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline to become a monopolist in natural gas market of EU. As Russia's main aim is to influence on Europe.

Iran has always had good relationship with Georgia. Iran tries to keep Georgia as a stable transitional country. It is interested to supply alternative gas to EU and become a competitor of Russian Federation. Despite the fact that Russia and Iran are somehow politically interconnected there may be arise some discontent between them. Though, Europe also has positive attitude toward Iran.

According to the abovementioned, the main goal of the recent work is to show possible problems and negative influences of Russia on Georgia-Iran cooperation in energy sector. There

will be discussed the Russian and Iranian interests in Caucasus region deeper, political and economic development perspectives of Georgia-Iran cooperation in future.

Nino Samkharadze

MA and Invited lecturer of International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Georgian Nationalism in the Context of Soviet Nationalities Policy in the Years of 1960-1980s

The nationality issues played a critical role in fueling the Soviet collapse (Beissinger, 2013). Soviet Nationalities Policy constructed by Lenin and developed by Stalin played a big role in shaping the national identities of the composing nations of the USSR which shaped perfect background for fueling local nationalisms. Essence of the SNP was the state programs directed at preservation and development of national cultures within the USSR metaphorically called „communal apartment“ (Suny and Martin, 2001; Martin, 2001; Slezkine, 1994). On one hand the policy was directed to maintain the legitimation from the diverse peoples to the Party but as a result the USSR was finally collapsed. Awakening the nationalism(s) in different republics of the Soviet Union is frequently named among the core reasons of its dissolution.

Article aims at account for the main goals of introducing encouraging cultural policy while constructing the nationalities policy by Soviet elites. The issue will be discussed upon reviewing the case of Georgia. In 1960-1980s local culture, literature, folklore and the set of an antique exotic traditions were promoted as the markers of ethnic particularism of the Georgian nation within the Soviet Union. But surprisingly for the Party bureaucracy members this kind of approach was resulted in announcing the independence in March, 1991 not in enduring loyalty towards the Union. In the framework of the research it will be measured the elite-rhetorical dynamics towards the linguistic and football politics in Georgian SSR since 1960s. Thus, the

focus of the research is the cultural dimension of SNP and its positive and negative impacts on building the politically loyal multi-ethnic society.

To sum the idea of the article, it will be oriented on the role of SNP in reinforcing the self-consciousness and rising nationalistic attitudes in Georgian SSR through 1960-1980s. The main areas and the outcomes of this interrelation will be deeply explored through building the relevant theoretical framework and applying efficient research methodology for data analysis accordingly.

Davit Dzeladze

PhD student of Georgian Technical University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Chances of peaceful coexistence of Georgia and Russia

This study explored chances of peaceful coexistence of Georgia and Russia. The goal is to find out what the world may expect from Russia and Georgia in conflict which started after Russians invasion to Caucasus region. In what condition can Russia retreat or Georgia give up fighting for its sovereignty. Is a giving up the best solution for Georgia or there exist better ways. The problem is extremely significant because it is an issue for both countries and whole western civilization, since it lasts almost three centuries.

For the result in research is compared Russia's National Security Strategy and Georgia's foreign interests. Besides, political power of both countries and types of the power in International Relations.

The research shows what type of political power do Georgia and Russia Posses and what do they lack. The political power and solving model are well explained by using examples of Israel, Japan, Iraq and Kuwait.

The study concludes that the world should expect more military conflict between Russia and Georgia. There is low expectancy that Russia will retreat in near future and will change its

national foreign strategy against Georgia. As well as Georgia might not give up fighting for its sovereignty and territorial integrity which is guaranteed by International Law.

Maia Manchkhshvili

PhD student of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

Influence of August war 2008 to South Caucasus

After 90 years of the last century, the bipolar world order destroyed and appeared the signs of the multi polar formation. In new world order the successor of Soviet Union Russia did not have the resources and influence that to have a look from the old glory to the world. But could not adapt the losing of the glory and started new fight for the renovation “Derjava”.

On the route of this fight one stage was planning and implementation of the 5 days war on the territory of Georgia;

The meaning of South Caucasus was so important for Russia due to its strategic location, line of transit corridor, exit on sea and Russian military elite started preparing for military intervention. With the military intervention Russia wanted not only to increase the control on region but also wanted to answer the enlargement policy of USA and NATO which step by step got closer to the borders of Russia.

Russia prepared for this war for a long period; it is proved by the announcements of the president of Russian Federation Mr. Vladimir Putin: “It is not secret that we had plan. Russia acted in the frame of it...”

The results of the war made heavy results not only for Georgia but for the whole region of South Caucasus; For Azerbaijan and Armenia it was message of threat; For Europe and USA it was indication that they have to be more constructive, when it causes to the interest area of

Russia; For other regional actors who had interests in South Caucasus, such as Turkey and Iran, it was demonstration that despite of destroy of Soviet union former soviet states cannot go out of the control of Russia.

The fight for power demarcating passed to the new stage and delivered more challenges for the region.

Aynur Seidyusif

Professor of University of Bath, Istanbul, Turkey

Leadership Trait Analysis: The case of Georgia

The current paper is based on a single case study and examines the proximate causes of the 2008 war in Georgia. It is a theory-guided research aimed at enriching the thematic literature on Georgia and broadening the scholarship on the post-Soviet states.

By integrating literature on political psychology, the current paper suggests that the role of agency is embedded in both structural determinants and personal traits of a leader and that together they shape the policy-making process. Contrary to the established literature, which exhibits a shift from meta-theories to the internal weaknesses of new states regarding the source of regional and international security, the current study suggests that in the absence of broader frameworks, middle-range theories are rather constraining than expanding one's knowledge of any case study.

Moreover, unlike the scholarship that focuses on instrumentalist approach, this thesis argues that applying Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) provides a better insight into the proximate causes of conflicts and war in the new states.

Finally, different to a strictly structuralist approach according to which contextual factors do not matter regarding the foreign policy behavior of the new states as they are shaped to a large extent under international structural pressures, the current paper has engaged in a meticulous

agency analysis which accounts for the variation in the new states' response to structural pressures.