



Language

Anable, David, [The Role of Georgia's Media – and Western Aid – in Georgia's Rose Revolution](#) [1], The Harvard Journal of Press/Politics, Vol. 11, no. 3, 2006, pp. 7-43

Also available online as Joan Shorenstein Center Working Paper no. 3, 2006.

Boers, Laurence, ["After the Revolution": Civil society and the challenges of consolidating democracy in Georgia](#) [2], Central Asian Survey, Vol. 24, no. 3, 2005, pp. 335-350

Analysis of the 'revolution' including some mention of role of nonviolence.

Brock, Hannah, [The Return of Conscription?](#) [3], War Resisters' International, 2018

The author, a full time worker at War Resisters' International with a focus on support for conscientious objectors to military service, discusses whether the previous trend towards the abolition of conscription around the world is being reversed. She notes that it has been reintroduced in Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania and Kuwait (after a short period when it was not in force) and introduced for the first time by Qatar and the United Arab Emirates; in total over 100 states practice, responding with varying degrees of harshness to objectors. Most states impose conscription for men, but both Norway and Sweden (where it had been reintroduced) extend it to women. The article discusses the varying regional security situations, which influence states to use conscription and carrying rounds for exemption.

Brock, Hannah, [The Return of Conscription?](#) [4], War Resisters' International, 2018

Brock assesses the changing context of her work for War Resisters' International since she began in 2012, when conscription had ended or been suspended in 22 states. She notes how regional fears of Russian aggression have influenced the reintroduction of conscription in former Soviet states (Ukraine, Georgia and Lithuania) and in Western Europe, where Sweden had reintroduced it. She also comments on Gulf States introducing or reintroducing conscription (as in Kuwait). The extension of conscription to women in both Norway and Sweden, opposed by some feminists but supported by women politicians, raises wider questions, which Brock considers, about the extent of social diversity in the armed forces. The article is extensively annotated, including references to protests against conscription and against the major military exercise 'Aurora' mounted by neutral Sweden in 2017, which incorporated NATO troops.

Bunce, Valerie J. ; McFaul, Michael ; Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn, [Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World](#) [5], ed. [Bunce, Valerie J.](#) [6], [McFaul, Michael](#) [7], [Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn](#) [8], New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 360

Examines waves of change in 11 former communist nations, from 1989-1992, and the electoral defeat of authoritarian rulers from 1996 to 2005 in Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine. This volume looks in particular at issues of transmission and the role of transnational and international actors, with a particular focus on the role of the EU. The final section discusses the conundrum posed by political developments in Russia, and also Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. Individual chapters are also cited under particular countries.

Bunce, Valerie J. ; Wolchik, Sharon L., [Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries](#) [9], New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 364

Discusses electoral defeats of authoritarian leaders from 1998 to 2005 (Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine



and Kyrgyzstan), but also unsuccessful movements in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus. Analyses local and international actors and draws comparisons with other parts of the world.

Collin, Matthew, [The Time of the Rebels: Youth Resistance Movements and 21st Century Revolutions](#) [10], London, Serpent's Trail, 2007, pp. 224

Interviews activists from Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Belarus, as well as Serbia.

Coppierters, Bruno ; Levgold, Robert, [Statehood and Security: Georgia After the Rose Revolution](#) [11], ed. [Coppierters, Bruno](#) [12], [Levgold, Robert](#) [13], Cambridge MA, MIT, 2005, pp. 406

Fairbanks, Charles H., [Georgia's Rose Revolution](#) [14], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15, no. April, 2004, pp. 110-134

Explains background to the demonstrations, and elaborates on role of the US government in relation to the elections, and of the George Soros Open Society Foundation in funding opposition and promoting nonviolent protest. Comments also on the role of TV stations owned by private entrepreneurs.

Forbrig, Joerg ; Demes, Pavol, [Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe](#) [15], ed. [Forbrig, Joerg](#) [16], [Demes, Pavol](#) [17], Washington DC, German Marshall Fund of USA, 2007, pp. 254

First section includes contributions from Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Georgia and the Ukraine. Second section is comparative discussion on range of issues by authors including Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, Taras Kuzio and Vitali Silitski.

Hale, Henry E., [Democracy, autocracy and revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia](#) [18], World Politics, Vol. 68, no. 1 (October), 2005, pp. 133-155

Includes references to Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine.

Hale, Henry E., [Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolution as normal dynamics of patrimonial presidentialism](#) [19], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Special Issue 'Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States', ed. Taras Kuzio), 2006, pp. 305-329

Argues that the 'color revolutions' 2003-2005 were fundamentally succession struggles in 'patrimonial presidential' regimes, rather than democratic breakthroughs, and therefore can result in retreat from democratic principles, as in Georgia.

Hash-Gonzales, Kelli, [Popular Mobilization and Empowerment in Georgia's Rose Revolution](#) [20], Lanham MA, Lexington, 2012, pp. 180

Jawad, Pamela, [Democratic Consolidation in Georgia after the "Rose Revolution"? \[21\]](#), PRIF Reports No. 73, Frankfurt Main, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, 2005, pp. 48

Jones, Stephen, [The Rose Revolution: A Revolution without Revolutionaries?](#) [22], Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 9, no. 1, 2006, pp. 33-48

Argues that the role of civil society bodies was important, but not vital. He suggests that key factors were popular attitudes to the ideal of Europe, the impact of the global economy, the appeal of western models and the



implications of the soviet legacy. See also Jones, Stephen , [Georgia's 'Rose Revolution' of 2003: Enforcing Peaceful Change](#) [23] In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [24] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [25])New York, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 317-334 .

Jones, Stephen, [Georgia's 'Rose Revolution' of 2003: Enforcing Peaceful Change](#) [23], In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [24] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [25]), New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 317-334

Kandelaki, Giorgi, [Georgia's Rose Revolution: A Participant's Perspective](#) [26], Special Report no. 167, Washington DC, US Institute of Peace, 2006, pp. 12

Account by student leader and founder of Kmara. Discusses background of Shevardnadze regime, comments on why protesters and the government avoided violence, assesses role of internal media (especially Rustavi-2) and argues that the role of foreign support was limited by lack of information and by caution. Summary and full report available online.

Karumidze, Zurab ; Wertsch, James V., [Enough! The Rose Revolution in the Republic of Georgia](#) [27], ed. [Karumidze, Zurab](#) [28], [Wertsch, James V.](#) [29], New York, Nova Science Publishers, 2005, pp. 143

Features interviews with a number of Georgian political figures. Most of the contents are reproduced from the Spring 2004 issue of Caucasus Context.

Kuzio, Taras, [Civil society, youth and societal mobilization](#) [30], Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Special Issue 'Democratic Revolutions in Post-Communist States', ed. Taras Kuzio), 2006, pp. 365-368

Examines the leading role of youth organizations – Otpor in Serbia (2000), Kmara in Georgia (2003) and Pora in Ukraine (2004) – and conditions for success, including training, western technical and financial assistance, choice of strategies and response of authorities.

Lansky, Miriam ; Areshidze, Giorgi, [Georgia's Year of Turmoil](#) [31], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 19, no. 4, 2008, pp. 154-168

Argues there was domestic crisis in Georgia before the war with Russia. Flawed elections, a 'superpresidency' and arbitrariness towards the constitution marked politics after the Rose Revolution.

Nikolayenko, Olena, [Youth Movements in Post-Communist Societies: A Model of Nonviolent Resistance](#) [32], Working Paper No 114, June, Stanford CA, Center on Democracy and the Rule of Law (Stanford University), 2009, pp. 50

O'Beachain, Donnacha, [Roses and Tulips: Dynamics of regime change in Georgia and Kyrgyzstan](#) [33], Journal of Communist and Transition Studies, Vol. 25, no. 2/3, 2009, pp. 199-206

Pinckney, Jonathan, [Making or Breaking Nonviolent Discipline in Civil Resistance Movements](#) [34], Washington, D.C., International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC Monograph Series), 2016, pp. 102

The book discusses what factors encourage or undermine nonviolent discipline, including the reactions of the government and the way the movement is itself organised.

Welt, Cory, [Regime Vulnerability and Popular Mobilization in Georgia's Rose Revolution](#) [35], Working Paper No 67, September, Stanford CA, Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (Stanford University),



2006, pp. 60

Discusses US involvement and assesses the 'Serbian factor' in diffusing strategic ideas. See also: Welt, Cory, [Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime collapse](#) [36] In Bunce; McFaul; Stoner-Weiss, [Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World](#) [5] (D. II.1. Comparative Assessments [37]) New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 155-188 .

Welt, Cory, [Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime collapse](#) [36], In Bunce; McFaul; Stoner-Weiss, [Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World](#) [5] (D. II.1. Comparative Assessments [37]), New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 155-188

Wheatley, Jonathan, [Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution](#) [38], London, Ashgate, 2005, pp. 252

Mostly on the period 1989-2002 and the nature of the Shevardnadze regime, but chapter 6 covers 'pressure from below' and chapter 7 the 'Rose Revolution'.

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