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Professional Experience

- 10/2019 - **Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Jena (Germany)**
Research Fellow & Lecturer
- 10/2017 - **Ilia State University, Tbilisi (Georgia)**
Associate Professor
- 10/2017 - 09/2019 **University of Bremen, Bremen (Germany)**
Lecturer
- 09/2016 - 09/2017 **Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Freiburg (Germany)**
Research Associate
- 03/2016 – **Georgian Institute of Politics, Tbilisi (Georgia)**
Senior Analyst [Non-Resident]
- 05/2014 – 06/2016 **Free University Berlin, Berlin (Germany)**
Doctoral Researcher
- 09/2011 – 09/2012 **Ilia State University, Tbilisi (Georgia)**
Doctoral Researcher
- 01/2008 – 04/2011 **Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Tbilisi (Georgia)**
Regional Program Political Dialogue South Caucasus
Project Coordinator, Scientific Officer

Major International Research Projects

- 04/2021 – **JENA-CAUC (Resilience in the South Caucasus: prospects and challenges of a new EU foreign policy concept)**, <https://www.kaukasiologie.uni-jena.de/jena-cauc>
Financed by: the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).
Friedrich Schiller University Jena, (Germany)
Project Leader & Principal investigator
- 12/2020 – **D.RAD (De-Radicalisation in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Re-integrate)**,
<https://dradproject.com>
Financed by: HORIZON 2020, European Union research and innovation program;
Georgian Institute of Politics, Tbilisi, Georgia
Principal investigator
- 03/2018 – 05/2021 **EU-LISTCO (Europe's External Action and the Dual Challenges of Limited Statehood and Contested Orders)**, <https://www.eu-listco.net/>
Financed by: HORIZON 2020, European Union research and innovation program;
Georgian Institute of Politics, Tbilisi, Georgia
Researcher
- 05/2014 – 06/2016 **MAXCAP (Maximizing the Integration Capacity of the European Union)**,
<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/kfgeu/maxcap/index.html>

Financed by: FP7, Seventh Framework Programme, European Union research and development funding programme;
Free University Berlin, Berlin (Germany)
Researcher

Teaching experience

- 10/2019 – **Friedrich Schiller University Jena, (Germany)**
MA, BA Political Science, Social Science
Lecturer
- Competitive Regionalism and Order Contestation in Eastern Europe and Eurasia
 - EU External Governance in the EaP Countries
 - Europäische Außen und Sicherheitspolitik und Konflikte in der EU-Nachbarschaft
 - Politik von Westeros: Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen und Popkultur
 - Populism and Foreign Policy
 - Foreign Policy of Small States
- 10/2017 – **University of Bremen, Bremen (Germany)**
MA, BA Political Science, Social Science
Lecturer
- International Political Economy
 - Global Economic Governance
 - Political Economy of Welfare State
 - Political Economy of Post-Soviet Transformation
 - Foreign Policy of the European Union
 - European Integration
 - Populism and Foreign Policy
 - The Politics of Game of Thrones: Understanding International Politics through Popular Culture
 - International Relations
 - Qualitative Methods in Social Science Research
 - Introduction to Political Philosophy
 - Film and Philosophy
- 09/2016 – 09/2017 **Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Freiburg (Germany)**
MA, BA Political Science, Social Science
Lecturer
- The role of the European Union in a multipolar world
 - Foreign Policy of the European Union
 - International Relations in the 21st Century: Theory and Practice
 - International Politics
 - Research Colloquium
- 04/2016 – 08/2016 **Berlin School of Economics and Law, Berlin (Germany)**
MA Political Economy of European Integration
Lecturer
- The role of the European Union in a multipolar world

Education

- 04/2011 – 02/2016 **Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin (Germany)**
Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies
Ph.D. Political Science
- 09/2005 – 08/2007 **Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi (Georgia)**
M.A. International Relations
- 03/2007 – 08/2007 **Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin (Germany)**
Exchange student, International Relations
- 03/2007 – 08/2007 **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin (Germany)**

09/2001 – 08/2005

Ilia State University, Tbilisi (Georgia)
B.A. International Relations

Memberships

International Studies Association (ISA)
International Political Studies Association (IPSA)
European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)
Council for European Studies (CES)
PONARS Eurasia
OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions

Peer Reviews

Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of European Public Policy
Journal of European Integration
East European Politics
Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies
Europe-Asia Studies
Caucasus Survey

Languages

<i>Georgian:</i>	C2/Native
<i>German:</i>	C2
<i>English:</i>	C2
<i>Russian:</i>	C1

References

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List of selected publications

Monographs and edited volumes

1. (2022) 'Black Sea Geopolitics after the Russia-Ukraine War: Perspectives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine.' Special Issue. *Caucasus Analytical Digest* (CAD) 130.
2. (2022) 'Ambitious Agenda–Limited Substance? Critical Examinations of the EU's Resilience Turn in the South Caucasus.' Special Issue. *Caucasus Analytical Digest* (CAD) 127. Co-edited with Diana Forker.
3. (2019) 'Russia, EU and the post-Soviet democratic Failure.' Wiesbaden: Springer.
4. (2012) 'Political Elites, Ideas and Foreign Policy: Explaining and Understanding the International Behavior of Small States in the Former Soviet Union'. Co-authored with G. Gvalia and Z. Iashvili. Tbilisi: Iliia State University Press.

Refereed articles and book chapters

1. (2023) 'Bandwagoning by Stealth? Explaining Georgia's Appeasement Policy on Russia.' *European Security*, 1–20. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
2. (2023) 'Spoiler or Facilitator? Radicalization of the Georgian Orthodox Church and Its Impact on Societal Resilience in Georgia.' *Religions* 14 (2): 272. Co-authored with Shota Kakabadze.
3. (2022) 'Security, Solidarity, Specialization: Understanding Baltic and Polish Support for Georgia's Euro-Atlantic Integration.' In 'Georgia's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century
Challenges for a Small State', edited by Tracey German, Kornely Kakachia, Stephen F. Jones, L.B. Tauris. Co-authored with Renata Skardžiūtė-Kereselidze.
5. (2021) 'Can the EU's New Global Strategy Make a Difference? Strengthening Resilience in the Eastern Partnership Countries.' *Democratization*, 1–19. Co-authored with Kakachia, Kornely, Agnieszka Legucka.
6. (2021) 'The transformative power of Europe' beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood.' In 'The European Union and Its Eastern Neighbourhood Whither 'Eastern Partnership?', edited by Andriy Tyushka, Tobias Schumacher, Routledge. Co-authored with Tanja Börzel.
7. (2019) 'Defying marginality: Explaining Ukraine's and Georgia's drive towards Europe.' *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 27 (4). Co-authored with Volodymyr Dubovyk and Kornely Kakachia.
8. (2019) 'Neoclassical Realism and the Small States: Systemic Constraints and Domestic Filters in Georgia's Foreign Policy.' *East European Politics* 35 (1). Co-authored with Giorgi Gvalia and David Siroky.
9. (2018) 'Geopolitics and Modernization: Understanding Georgia's Pro-Western Assertiveness since the Rose Revolution.' In 'Modernization in Georgia: History, Paradoxes, Prospects', edited by Zedania, Giga, Peter Lang Academic Publishers. Co-authored with Giorgi Gvalia.
10. (2018) 'The transformative power of Europe' beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighborhood.' In 'The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing Performance', edited by Papadimitriou, Dimitris, Dorina Baltag, and Neculai-Cristian Surubaru, Routledge. Co-authored with Tanja Börzel.
11. (2017) 'Informal Governance & Electorate Perceptions in Hybrid Regimes: The 2016 Parliamentary Elections in Georgia.' *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 25 (1): 529–549. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
12. (2017) 'Cohesiveness, Coherence, and Consistency in the ENP', In 'The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy', edited by Thomas Demmelhuber, Andreas Marchetti and Tobias Schumacher, Routledge. Co-authored with Tanja Börzel.

13. (2017) 'The transformative power of Europe' beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood.' *East European Politics* 33 (1): 17–35. Co-authored with Tanja Börzel.
14. (2016) 'Civil society and party politics in Georgia - transformational crisis', in 'Unfinished Project: Achievements and Failures of Georgia's Transformation', edited by David Aprasidze, Tbilisi, Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
15. (2016) 'Building a Security Community in the EU's Neighbourhood? Experiences from Georgia', In 'External governance as security community building – The limits and potential of the European Neighbourhood Policy', edited by Pernille Rieker, Houndmills: Palgrave. Co-authored with Ketii Bolkvadze. 79-105
16. (2015) 'European Neighbourhood Policy at the Cross-Roads: Evaluating the Past to Shape the Future.' MAXCAP Working Paper No. 12, "Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons of and prospects for enlargement and beyond" (MAXCAP), Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin. Co-authored with Tanja Börzel.
17. (2014) 'What Makes Authoritarian Regimes Sweat? Linkage, Leverage and Democratization in post-Soviet South Caucasus', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 14(2): 199-218
18. (2013) 'Thinking Outside the Bloc: Explaining the Foreign Policies of Small States', *Security Studies*, 22(1): 98-131. Co-authored with G. Gvalia, D. Siroky and Z. Iashvili.

Policy briefs, policy papers and op-eds

1. (2023) 'Global Radicalization Report.' Policy Paper. D.RaD Consortium. Co-authored with Shota Kakabadze.
2. (2023) 'Tbilisi's Transactional Foreign Policy Leads Georgians Astray.' PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 844. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
3. (2023) 'Georgia's Slide to Authoritarianism.' Op-ed. Carnegie Europe. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
4. (2023) 'Мечта не для всех. Почему Грузия дрейфует к авторитаризму.' Op-ed. Carnegie politika. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
5. (2022) 'Is Germany spoiling the resilience of the liberal world order?' Blog Article. *Across the Caucasus Blog*. The Institute for Caucasus Studies, Jena. Co-authored with Irena Gonashvili
6. (2022) 'Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine - the case for granting EU candidacy.' Op-ed. *EUobserver*. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
7. (2022) 'National Resilience Strategy for Georgia: Lessons From NATO, EU and Beyond.' Policy Paper N. 33. GIP. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia and Salome Kandelaki.
8. (2022) 'Black Sea Security after the Russian invasion of Ukraine: Views from Ukraine, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.' Policy Brief No. 31. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia, Anar Valiyev, Hanna Shelest, Maksym Khylyko, Ahmad Alili, Salome Kandelaki.
9. (2022) 'Russia's war in Ukraine: perspectives from the South Caucasus.' *New Eastern Europe*. Issue 3. Co-authored with Veronika Pfeilschifter and Irena Gonashvili.
10. (2022) 'The Resilience-Security Nexus in the South Caucasus: Can the EU Promote Resilience without Engaging in Geopolitics?' *Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD)* 127. Co-authored with Ashot Aleksanyan and Irena Gonashvili.
11. (2022) 'Georgia's Crossroad after Crossroad: Paths of Risk and Resilience.' PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 792. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
12. (2021) 'Why Biden's Democracy Agenda Matters: the View from a Small State.' Op-ed. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.10763.41761
13. (2021) 'From Top to Flop: Why Georgia Failed at Pandemic Resilience.' Policy Paper No. 28, December 2021. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Salome Kandelaki.

14. (2021) 'Associated Trio: Eastern Partnership's Visegrád Group?' Blog Article. Across the Caucasus Blog. The Institute for Caucasus Studies, Jena. Co-authored with Irena Gonashvili
15. (2021) 'The European Union in Georgia: Challenges and Priorities.' Commentary. In: 'Views on the Future of Europe from the EU's Neighbouring Countries,' edited by Ana-Maria Andreea Anghelescu Ionuț-Mircea Marcu. Working Paper Series, No. 40. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.11335.21929
16. (2021) 'The post-Merkel Germany and the Eastern Partnership: 5 Take-aways from Germany's parliamentary elections.' Blog Article. Georgian Institute of Politics. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.23317.65766
17. (2021) 'Stakeholders of (De-) Radicalisation in Georgia.' D3.1 Country Report, April 2021. D.RaD Consortium. Co-authored with Shota Kakabadze. Available at: <https://dradproject.com/?publications=stakeholders-of-de-radicalisation-in-georgia>
18. (2021) 'De-radicalization and Integration Legal & Policy Framework in Georgia.' D4.1 Country Report, November 2021. D.RaD Consortium. Co-authored with Shota Kakabadze. Available at: <https://dradproject.com/?publications=de-radicalisation-and-integration-legal-policy-framework-in-georgia>
19. (2021) 'From poster child to problem child: Georgia's democratic crisis threatens its European future.' Op-ed. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.23090.32962
20. (2021) 'Spoiler or ambivalent partner: the GOC and the fate of Georgia's European future.' Blog Article. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Shota Kakabadze. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.34371.53280
21. (2021) 'Georgia on EU's mind? Brussels' reinvention as crisis Manager.' Op-ed. EUobserver. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.14363.59681
22. (2021) 'Time to Push for Consensus- based Politics in Georgia.' Op-ed. Civil Georgia. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.21619.04643
23. (2020) 'Can Georgia Deliver Democratic Elections?' PONARS Eurasia Commentary. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27954.63686
24. (2020) 'A Region lost? In the South Caucasus: The West is out, Turkey is in, and Russia is stronger than ever.' Op-ed. Georgian Institute of Politics. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.36810.90568
25. (2020) 'Rethinking EU responses to global and diffuse risks.' Policy Paper No. 5. EU-LISTCO Policy Paper Series. Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB).
26. (2020) 'Resilience and democracy: Can a pragmatic EU still promote democracy in Georgia?' Policy Brief No. 21, Georgian Institute of Politics.
27. (2019) 'Georgia's Dangerous Slide Away from Democracy.' Op-ed. Carnegie Europe.
28. (2019) 'Does EU have role in stopping backsliding in Georgia?' Op-ed. EUobserver.
29. (2019) 'Georgian-German Relations in the Context of Euro-Atlantic Integration - How to Align Expectations.' Policy Paper, Georgian Institute of Politics & Institut für Europäische Politik. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia, Katrin Böttger, Viktoria Palm and Mikheil Sarjveladze.
30. (2019) 'Georgian Dream Meets Georgia's Nightmare.' Op-ed, Foreign Policy. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
31. (2019) 'Foreign policy and domestic constraints: what political regimes can and cannot do in Georgia.' Op-ed, Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
32. (2019) 'Rise of Nationalist Populism in Georgia: Implications for European Integration.' Policy Brief No. 18, Georgian Institute of Politics.
33. (2018) 'Georgia: Nations in Transit 2018 Country Report.' Country Report. Freedom House.
34. (2018) 'GIP Commentary: When an Election Damages Democracy: Lessons from the 2018 Georgia's Presidential Election.' Op-ed, Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
35. (2018) 'When Elections Damage Democracy: Lessons from Georgia's Presidential Polls.' Op-ed, Civil Georgia. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia.
36. (2018) 'Not EU's world? Putting Georgia's European Integration in Context.' GIP Report, Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Mariam Grigalashvili.

37. (2018) 'Avoiding Gridlock: A Strategy for Georgia to Engage with Eurosceptic Europe.' Policy Paper, Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Elene Panchulidze.
38. (2018) 'NATO and Georgia: Waiting the Winter Out.' Commentary, Italian Institute for International Political Studies (IPSI).
39. (2018) 'Making Georgia's democracy work: Western political conditionality and domestic agendas of Georgian political parties.' Policy Brief No. 10, Georgian Institute of Politics.
40. (2017) 'Popular Oligarchy: Why the Public Still Supports Georgian Dream.' Georgian Institute of Politics. Available at: <http://gip.ge/popular-oligarchy-public-still-supports-georgian-dream/>
41. (2017) 'Life Without EU Membership: The Case for a Multi-Speed EaP.' Policy Memo No. 24, Georgian Institute of Politics.
42. (2017) 'Between Trust and Cooperation: developing confidence building in Georgia's protracted conflict zones.' Paper prepared for the OSCE workshop "Confidence-Building Measures in the OSCE Economic and Environmental Dimension." University of Birmingham, UK.
43. (2017) 'Georgia's European Integration: What comes after the Eastern Partnership?' Policy Paper No. 3. Georgian Institute of Politics.
44. (2017) 'Human Security and Security Sector Reform in Georgia: A critical reflection.' In 'Human Security and Security Sector Reform in Eastern Europe,' edited by Maksym Khylyk and Oleksandr Tytarchuk, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Kyiv, Ukraine. 31-35.
45. (2017) 'Безпека людини і реформування безпекового сектору Грузії: критичний погл.' In 'Питання безпеки людини в контексті реформування безпекового сектору країн Східної Європи,' edited by Maksym Khylyk and Oleksandr Tytarchuk, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Kyiv, Ukraine. 31-35.
46. (2017) 'Surviving Apocalypso: A case for GD's pragmatic foreign policy.' Commentary No. 4. Georgian Institute of Politics.
47. (2017) 'Who should elect the president? Myths about the parliamentary system.' Commentary No. 3. Georgian Institute of Politics.
48. (2017) '100 days of new Georgian Government: Reality Check.' Country Report 2017. Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Kornely Kakachia, Joseph Larsen and Mariam Grigalashvili.
49. (2016) 'Single Party Rule Returns to Georgia.' Commentary No. 3, Georgian Institute of Politics. Co-authored with Joseph Larsen.
50. (2016) 'Georgia's democratic dilemma.' Commentary No. 1, Georgian Institute of Politics.
51. (2016) 'Protracted Conflicts in the OSCE Area Innovative Approaches for Co-operation in the Conflict Zones.' Working Group Report. OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions: Hamburg. Co-authored with Philip Remler (Principal Drafter), Atanas Dimitrov, Samuel Goda, Konstanze Jüngling, Nino Kemoklidze, Ida Manton, Sergey Rastoltsev, Sebastian Relitz, Raymond Saner, Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Tanja Tamminen, Oleksandr Tytarchuk, Tony van der Togt, Stefan Wolff and Wolfgang Zellner.
52. (2016) 'Economic engagement and its spillover effect on conflict management.' Paper prepared for the OSCE Network Workshop on Innovative Approaches to Protracted Conflicts. Vienna, Austria.
53. (2016) 'Democracy under Stress: Western Fatigue, Russian Resurgence, and Their Implications for Democratic Processes in Georgia,' Policy Brief No. 2, Georgian Institute of Politics.
54. (2014) '10 Years of the ENP - The Way Forward with the EaP,' MAXCAP Policy Brief No. 1, August 2015, "Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons of and prospects for enlargement and beyond" (MAXCAP).

Interviews and appearances in international media

1. 2023. „Queere Community würde Deutschland als zuverlässigen Partner verlieren“, warnen die Grünen. Interview. Die Welt. Available at: <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/plus246606192/Asyl-Gruene-warnen-Queere-Community-wuerde-Deutschland-als-zuverlaessigen-Partner-verlieren.html>
2. 2023. "Georgia risks EU candidacy by restoring Russia flights." Interview. Deutsche Welle. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/georgia-risks-eu-candidacy-by-restoring-russia-flights/a-65677502>

3. 2023. "Why the Kremlin's sabre rattling over Georgia makes little sense." Interview. Emerging Europe. Available at: <https://emerging-europe.com/news/why-the-kremlins-sabre-rattling-over-georgia-makes-little-sense/>
4. 2023. "Lifting of Russia Flight, Visa Restrictions Deepens Georgia's Geopolitical Dilemma". Interview. The Moscow Times. Available at: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2023/05/16/lifting-of-russia-flight-visa-restrictions-deepens-georgias-geopolitical-dilemma-a81163>
5. 2023. "Worum geht es beim Protest in Georgien?." Interview. Die Zeit. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2023-03/georgien-proteste-agentengesetz-tbilissi-faq>
6. 2023. "NGOs at risk as Georgia takes another step back from EU values." Interview. Emerging Europe. Available at: <https://emerging-europe.com/news/ngos-at-risk-as-georgia-takes-another-step-back-from-eu-values/>
7. 2023. "Евроинтеграция или сближение с Россией? Что ждет Грузию после протестов из-за законопроекта об иноагентах." RTVI. Available at: <https://rtvi.com/stories/evrointegraciya-ili-sblizhenie-s-rossiej-cto-zhdet-gruziyu-posle-protestov-iz-za-zakonoproekta-ob-inoagentah/>
8. 2022. "Georgien und der Ukrainekrieg: Auf einem Tiefpunkt." Interview. Die Tageszeitung. Available at: <https://taz.de/Georgien-und-der-Ukrainekrieg/!5848855/>
9. 2022. "EU demands to reduce polarization and "deoligarchize" spark debate in Georgia." Interview. Eurasianet. Available at: <https://eurasianet.org/eu-demands-to-reduce-polarization-and-deoligarchize-spark-debate-in-georgia>
10. 2021. "Kein anderes europäisches Land ist so polarisiert wie Georgien." Interview. Die Zeit. Available at: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2021-07/georgien-lgbtq-demonstration-journalisten-tod-demokratie-bidzina-lebanidze>
11. 2021. "Virtual Discussion: Germany and the EaP countries after the 2021 German parliamentary elections." Round Table. Georgian Institute of Politics. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7FKs8nk_ra8
12. 2020. "Der Corona-Musterschüler." Interview. Die Welt. Available at: <https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/plus207661887/Georgien-Der-Corona-Musterschueler.html>
13. 2020. "Der Demokratisierungsprozess in postsowjetischen Staaten." Online Public Discussion. Friedrich Naumann Stiftung für die Freiheit. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ARp2aBEQBpw>
14. 2020. "Russlands Stacheldraht in Georgien." Weltzeit. Deutschlandfunk Kultur. Available at: <https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/abtruenniges-suedossetien-russlands-stacheldraht-in-georgien-100.html>
15. 2020. "Krieg um Bergkarabach -„Die Leute haben Angst." Podcast Fussnoten. M94.5. Available at: <https://fussnoten.podigee.io/15-fussnoten15>
16. 2020. "Бидзина Лебанидзе: «Не стоит забывать, что Грузия – не до конца состоявшаяся демократия...»" Гость недели. Эхо Кавказа © 2023 RFE/RL. Available at: <https://www.ekhokavkaza.com/a/31019315.html>