Emerging Limited Intensity and Sub-Tactical Threats

RUSSIA, GEORGIA, SOUTH OSSETIA

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State-based Threats
Asymmetric

- Russian reassertion
- Limited intensity, sub-tactical aggression
- Unconventional, sub-critical threats
- Fast changing situation
Sub-Tactical State Based Threats

- Russian civil and military over flights, incursions and exercises
  - Fast jets, LR bombers, pax aircraft, aircraft carriers
- Baltic States, Finland, UK, Norway, US Eastern Seaboard
GEORGIA
Elephant in the Room
RUSSIAN STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES
“Collapse of the Soviet Union was greatest geopolitical catastrophe of 20th century”

Vladimir Putin April 2006
Russian Established Military “Doctrine”

1. Speed, surprise and momentum
2. Force and firepower
3. Manoeuvrability, agility and lightweight
4. Coordinated and carried out simultaneously throughout enemy depth

* By definition integrated, ‘Combined Arms’
Incorporation of Additional 21st Century 'Combined Arms’ Elements

Disinformation Warfare and Long Term Media and Web Conditioning:
- As Sudetenland 1939 even locals unable distinguish fact, fiction, ½ truth

Cyber Attack:
- Especially sub-critical against banks, media and telecomm companies

Economic Warfare:
- Bans, blockades and boycotts against goods, transport, freight and on visas
Russian Military Reform

- Sufficient rapidly deployable and projectable units
- Able to use limited forces and assets effectively and flexibly
- New effective conventional firepower technology
- Probable secret, new technology weapons programmes
Unwritten Russian Destabilisation Doctrine
Asymmetric Effects

Seem aware, capable of exploitation of non-critical, sub-tactical threats:

- Infliction of near military effects
- On non-defence targets
- By non-military means
- Often countered most effectively using national defence resources
Georgia
SEQUENCE OF EVENTS
Sequence of Events
'Time of Tension’ Build Up and Precursors Summer 2008

- 16 July 08 “Kavkaz 08” Russian deployment exercise to North Caucasus
  - 76th AB Div, Pskov and 98th AB Div Moscow MD
- 1 Aug 2008
  - Serious cross-border fire from South Ossetia
  - Russian media briefed times and places to be
  - DDoS Cyber Attacks begin against Georgia
  - 'Russian forces preparing to reinforce South Ossetia’
  - Civilians evacuated from South Ossetia border areas
- 5 Aug 2008
  - KZ 'Red Star’ reports Georgians going to attack
War
Opening of Hostilities

- 7 Aug 08 Georgian forces enter South Ossetia
  - Alleged attacks on civilian population
- 8 August 2008 Russian counter-attacks, first air raids on Georgia
- 9 August 2008 Russian Forces take most of South Ossetia
  - 76th, 96th AB Divs, 45th Spetsnaz Regt airlifted to Tskhinvali
CIS Centre

Georgian SITREPS

Map

Bolnisi Bombing: 16:30 08.08.2008
Variani, Kareli: District Bombing 10.30 08.08.2008
Gori: Bombing 16:30 08.08.2008

Marneuli: Russian troops attacking Tskhinvali 18.44 08.08.2008
Gori: Bombing 16.30 08.08.2008

Poti: Bombing 00.12 09.08.2008
Poti: Bombing 01.00 09.08.2008

Senaki: Bombing 00.17 09.08.2008

Kopitnari Airport, 10:00, 09.08.08
Kopitnari Airport 12:40 09.08.08

Russian Planes Bombard Oni 16:35, 09.08.08

Four Russian Jets Flying over Upper Abkhazia 16:05c

Russian Planes passing over Ambrolauri 19.20 08.08.2008

Flying over Djava 16.03 08.08.08

SU 24 Flying over Tskhinvali 12.05 08.08.08

Russian Planes Bombing Oni 16.35, 09.08.08

Russian troops attacking Tskhinvali 18.44 08.08.2008

Variani, Karleli: District Bombing 10.30 08.08.2008
Gori: Bombing 10.57 08.08.2008

Village Shavshvebi: Bombing 09.45 08.08.08
Gori: Bombing 18.45 08.08.08

With the increasing tension along the Russia-Georgian border, the situation remains fraught with danger and uncertainty.

In the early hours of 08.08.2008, Russian troops attacked the village of Tskhinvali, causing significant damage to infrastructure and civilian property. The attack was swift and devastating, leading to widespread恐慌 among the local population.

The subsequent bombings in various locations across the region reflect the escalation of conflict. The map above highlights the key sites of activity, with bombings at Bolnisi and Variani, Kareli, as well as the Russian Planes' passage over Ambrolauri.

As the situation continues to unfold, it is crucial for all parties involved to engage in peaceful negotiations to prevent further escalation and ensure the safety and sovereignty of the region.

The following is a summary of key events:

- 16:30 08.08.2008: Bolnisi Bombing
- 10:30 08.08.2008: Variani, Kareli Bombing
- 10.30 08.08.2008: Gori Bombing
- 18.44 08.08.2008: Russian troops attacking Tskhinvali
- 01.00 09.08.2008: Poti Bombing
- 00.12 09.08.2008: Senaki Bombing
- 12.40 09.08.08: Russian Planes Bombing
- 16.35 09.08.08: Russian Planes Bombard Oni
- 18.45 08.08.08: Russian Planes Bombing

These events highlight the intensifying conflict and the urgent need for diplomatic efforts to prevent further deterioration.
AIR SERIALS ONLY

Government of Georgia
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Timeline of Events in the
Russians Invasion & Occupation of Georgia

The information below is accurate to the best of our knowledge, but is subject to verification.
Index

Red = Defence and Infrastructure Targets e.g. “Radar”
Yellow = Aircraft Type e.g. “Su-24”
Green = Downed Aircraft e.g. “Crashed”
09:45  Russian jet bombs Georgian military radar base 30 kms outside conflict zone
09.45  Russian fighter bombs military radar 30 kilometres outside conflict zone
11:45  Civil Aviation reports Russian fighter signal crashed near Iuri range 17 kms S of Gori
10.30  Civilians injured by Su-24 bombs at Variani village 20 kms outside conflict zone
10.50  Six Russian Su-24 fighter jets enter Georgia from the Russian Federation
10:57  Russian aircraft drop three bombs on Gori, outside conflict zone
11.45  Four Su-24 Russian fighter jets enter Georgia
12.05  Russian Su-24 enters Georgian air space from Russia and remain over Tskhinvali
Friday 08 August 2008 (2)

15:05  Russian airplane bombs Vaziani airfield on outskirts of Tbilisi
16.30  Russia bombs Georgian airfields S of Tbilisi
17:00  Marneuli airbase 20 kms from Tbilisi outside conflict zone, bombed again, casualties
17:35  Marneuli airbase bomb for a third time
18:32  Georgian villages come under Russian aerial fire
18:45  Five Russian airplanes bomb Georgian artillery brigade in Gori
19:18  Georgian forces near Tskhinvali down one of five jet during day
19:20  Russian jets pass over Ambrolauri, outside conflict zone 170 kms NW of Tbilisi
22:40  According to Georgian MoD Russian air space violated 22 times during day
Russians bomb vital port of Poti
00:12

Russian air force attacks railway station and base in Senaki
00:17

Russia bombs airfield on outskirts of Tbilisi
00:20

Russian jets continue bombing Poti port
01:00

Russian jets drop bombs close to BTC pipeline
01:20

Russian jets bomb Georgian airfields
10:00

Russian jet shot down over Gori
10:20

Russian air force continues to bomb Gori
10:22

Russia bombs airfield near Kutaisi W Georgia
12:40

Russian aviation attacks Georgian airfield in Upper Abkhazia
14:00

Four Russian jets over fly Upper Abkazia
16:05

Town of Oni, N of Georgia, outside conflict zone, bombed
16:35

Russian air force bombs Chkhalta, administrative centre of Upper Abkhazia
22:30
05:45 Tbilisi airplane factory bombed
07:40 Russian jets bomb village of Urta in Zugdidi district
08:45 Ten Russian jets attack Upper Abkhazia. One jet downed by Georgian troops
15:00 Russian airplanes bomb Knolevi village in N Kareli district
16:05 Gori bombed by Russian aviation
16:10 Russia bombs bridge on main east-west highway
18:00 Russian airplanes bomb Black Sea town of Anaklia in Zugdidi district
19:10 Second bombing of Tbilisi “Tbilaviamsheni” aviation factory
Monday 11 August 2008

00:30  Russian aviation bombs radar station near Tbilisi-Poti highway
03:05  Villages near Batumi bombed by Russian planes
04:37  Civilian radar destroyed
05:00  Russian aviation bombs Shiraki airfield in Kakheti Region, E of Tbilisi
06:10  Gori was bombed. Civilian apartment building destroyed
07:15  Senaki main W Georgia airport 230 kms from Tbilisi bombed
12:05  Russian Aviation attacks Georgian positions in Kodori Gorge
14:30  Senaki base bombed by Russian aviation
17:30  Russian Aviation bombs village Kere, Gori District
Tuesday 12 August 2008

02:05 Russia bombs Kaspi, city outside conflict zone
07:00 Russian airplanes bomb village of Tkviavi near Tskhinvali
10:15 Russians bomb Gori, civilians killed, including one journalist
12:25 Oil pipeline 5 km from city of Rustavi bombed by Russian jets. No damage
12:30 Vaziani base close to Tbilisi bombed by Russian planes
13:25 Three Russian airplanes drop bombs on the village of Orchosani near Gori
14:00 An ambulance vehicle targeted by Russian military bombs in village Agara
14:50 Village Sakoritno in Kaspi region and village Ruisi in Kareli region bombed by jets
18:00 Kulevi Oil Terminal shareholders threatened with possible bombing by Russian troops
18:00 Russian plane drops 4 bombs on Tkotsa village. None explode
Wednesday 13 August 2008

06:50  Bombing of Saqasheti in Gori district
Sophisticated Air Campaign Planning and Strategy: Bringing Strategic Success
Based Israel 1982 Syria, US Gulf War, Serbia, Afghanistan and OIF

- As US Air Supremacy - Dominance prerequisite
  - Faster than US - NATO Serbia, Afghanistan, Iraq?
- Cyber Attack and Active EW used effectively against Georgian AD and C4I
- Blind radar network surprise and freedom of manoeuvre throughout AOR
- Strategic 'target set' - Tu-22s and Su-24s - bases, airports, ports, bridges
- 24/7 Close Air Support Su-25s and Mi-24 Hind opportunity targets
- Mi-8/17 transport helos troops, commanders and casualties
- Georgia AOR reinforced from squadron bases throughout Russia
- Massive airlift 14,000 paras Sukhumi, Vladikavkaz, An-124s and Il-76s
Russian Aircraft Systems Comparatively Obsolescent

Lack:

- Defensive aid systems against MANPAD SAMs
  - Losses to few hundred Georgian MANPADs (SA-7, 11s, etc)
  - NB: Present lack of pilot tactical manoeuvre autonomy
- Precision guided munitions
- Real time ISTAR
Russian Offensive Air Operations Doctrine

- Deficiencies could be made up temporarily by tactics and procedures
- Willingness to take risks
- What is successor to local air dominance – supremacy?
Resulting Russian Programmes and Upgrades Approved
(Secondary Sources)

- Sukhoi Su-24M bomber and Su-25 ground-attack upgrades
- New Su-24M2 and Su-25SM night attack capability, navigation and PGMs
- Reduce Su-25 close air support vulnerability - three shot down
- Restart Ulan-Ude production, parts naval Su-25UTG trainer and Su-39
- Enhanced Su-39 already required for carrier Admiral Kuznetsov
- Tu-22M3-R downed Gori 9 Aug radar-guided GB missile
  - Probably 9K37 Buk (SA-11) possibly from Ukraine
- Modernisation Tu-22M3, navigation, EW, extended range
- May renege on 1970s Tu-22Ms in-flight refuelling capability agreement
- Upgrades approved Tu-95MS and 16 Tu-160 LR bombers
Conclusions on War Performance
Russian Conventional Military “Doctrine”
Demonstrated Well, Performed Effectively

Does what says on packet:
1. Speed, surprise and momentum
2. Force and firepower
3. Manoeuvrability, agility and lightweight
4. Coordinated and carried out simultaneously throughout enemy depth

* By definition integrated, ‘Combined Arms’
How independent, credible and defendable will Georgia be in 2-3 years with:

- Economic decay
- Continued draining diplomatic disputes, incidents and wrangling
- Corrosive effect of tens of thousands of displaced citizens
- Its territorial integrity broken by unilateral seizure
  - Military occupation of South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Poti and “buffer zone”
WHAT NOW?
“The Russian language is a living space for millions of people in the world that goes far beyond Russia itself”

Vladimir Putin
Federal Assembly April 2007
Likely Future Patterns
Combination

- 19th Century 'Great Game' destabilisation and vying for power in
  - Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia, Black Sea, Baltic and Arctic
- 19th Century 'Pan-Slavism'
- Elements of the 'Cold War'
- To characterise as 'Second Cold War' counterproductive 'Red Herring'.
Russia preparing to release the “Dogs of War”
Punch cartoon 17th June 1876
NOT THE END!

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