CAUCASUS UNDER REVIEW* RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

While the Caucasus is a region of enormous diversity and potential, it is also a region about which relatively little is known. However, during the last decade, numerous publications on the region have expanded both regional and international understanding of this diversity and potential. This overview of recent publications provides an up-to-date reading list for anyone interested in the region.



^{*} The Book Review was prepared by Dr. Özgür Tüfekçi Ph.D., Senior Editor of Caucasus International

This issue presents seven books that can improve our understanding of the 25 years of independence of the South Caucasus states, Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the European Neighborhood Policy, the dynamics of Turkish-European Union relations, integration of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey in the energy and transport sectors, along with other key issues.

The first book, Tanks in Paradise: Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict, examines very important issues such as history of Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh region, relocation of the Armenians from Iran and Ottoman Empire to Azerbaijani territories after the Turkmenchay and Adrianople peace treaties, Armenia's territorial claims against Azerbaijan, and the occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent regions of Azerbaijan by Armenia in 1991-1994. The author of the book, Professor of Free University Berlin Michael Reinhard Hess stresses that the return of the occupied territories to Azerbaijan is an immediate condition for the long-awaited solution of this the problem. According to the book, the recent horrible escalation of fighting along the line of contact in April 2016 demonstrated that Nagorno-Karabakh conflict remains an open wound in Europe.

The second book, **25 Years of Independent Azerbaijan through the Eyes of Ambassadors**, is a collection of articles dedicated to the 25th anniversary of independence of Azerbaijan. The collection includes parallel texts in Azerbaijani and English, and consists of articles by the ambassadors from 49 countries, as well as and directors of the representative offices of the United Nations, European Union, TRACEKA, and TURKPA accredited to Azerbaijan Republic. The articles provide insights into the past 25 years of bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relationships, outline the challenges, achievements and perspectives of foreign policy and bilateral relations of Azerbaijan.

In the third book, **Integration in Energy and Transport: Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey,** the author assesses both the achievements of regional integration and their limitations in regard to Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey. The book is a ground-breaking study of integration processes among the aforementioned countries. Alexandros Petersen assesses the surprising degree to which energy and transportation networks contribute to institutional harmonization across participating states. Petersen sets the stage for a stimulating research agenda on the externally-promoted processes of regional integration in

the Black Sea and Caspian region.

The fourth book, **The Eurasian Triangle: Russia, the Caucasus and Japan, 1904-1945**, discusses the unknown history of the relationship between the Caucasus and Japan. The geographical distance between the two is great; Tokyo and Tbilisi are almost 8000 kilometers apart. It is difficult to see any immediate historical or cultural links. Nonetheless, from the beginning of the twentieth century, an area of mutual concern developed between them.

Divergent Pathways: Turkey and the European Union: Re-Thinking the Dynamics of Turkish-European Union Relations, analyzes the process of the European integration in the context of the EU-Turkish relations. This book argues that the limits of integration have been reached, as illustrated by the member states' reactions to the post-2005 crisis, specifically to the financial crisis and the subsequent debt crisis. Based on this reasoning, this book addresses Turkey's relations with the EU from the specific angle of the changing dynamics in Europe. This novel approach to Turkish-EU relations distinguishes this book from other evaluations of the EU and Turkey-EU relations, and represents a valuable contribution to the theoretical debate on EU enlargement.

This sixth book, **Torn between East and West: Europe's Border States,** is enormously valuable, offering expert accounts of what drives the EU and NATO border states, and the economic and political pressured experienced on both sides. This book is essential reading for all international affairs specialists, as it explains the regional impact of the 'tug of war' between the great powers, both in terms of military capacity as well as their 'soft power' potential. To its credit, the book remains impartial, and criticizes the EU and NATO where appropriate, especially for their relentless refusal to accept Russia's reasonable expectations from its history, and its right to act as a regional player.

The next book, **The European Neighborhood Policy in a Comparative Perspective: Models, Challenges, Lessons**, is timely collection of high quality essays. The neighborhood of the European Union, both to the south and the east, has experienced significant changes in recent years, with new conflicts but also new cooperation efforts emerging. In response to these challenges,

the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the European Security Strategy, both launched in 2003, are, in 2015-2016, undergoing broad consultation processes and review. Taking a comparative perspective, the book brings added value to this debate. This book seeks to identify the key models, challenges, and lessons for the ENP.

Tanks in Paradise: Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

By Michael Reinhard Hess

Along with the literature in the German, English and Russian languages, Dr. Hess benefitted from the archive materials on the region in the Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, Turkish, Greek and Persian languages in his study of the topic. The author highlights that after early April escalation on the frontline in 2016, the conflict drew increased attention from the European and German audiences, particularly taking into account that Germany chairs OSCE (Minsk Group of which is tasked with the mediation of peace talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan) in 2016.

Along with the thorough examination of already-mentioned issues, in his book Dr. Hess dedicated a special sub-chapter to Khojaly genocide committed by Armenian army against Azerbaijani civilians in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1992, and stressed that certain members of the current Armenian government, including President Serj Sargsyan, got personally involved in committing this massacre. Moreover, one more novelty of the book is that, the author devoted a part of study to the Westernbased Armenian Diaspora's active contribution to occupation of Azerbaijani territories by the Republic of Armenia, through financial and economic support to Yerevan war efforts, as well as Diaspora members' direct participation in fighting in and around Nagorno-Karabakh during the early 1990s.



25 Years of Independent Azerbaijan through the Eyes of Ambassadors

The main sentiment of this collection is that despite its complex geopolitical location and difficult path of development, Azerbaijan is implementing an independent foreign policy that serves its national interests and is based on multidirectional cooperation equal partnership. The country's post-independence foreign policy concept, developed by National Leader Heydar Aliyev and successfully maintained by President Ilham Aliyev, has helped Azerbaijan to become a regional leader and a key player in regional and global economic projects. Azerbaijan has been accepted as a stable and credible partner in providing regional, global and energy security. This collection is a valuable contribution to the country's 25th anniversary of independence. It was compiled by the Department of Foreign Relations of Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and published by the Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.



Integration in Energy and Transport: Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey

By Alexandros Petersen

The South Caucasus has established itself as a corridor for transporting energy from Azerbaijan to Georgia, Turkey, and on to Europe, symbolized by the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline. This new infrastructure has created an eastwest "Eurasian bridge" in which transnational extra-regional actors, especially the European Union and international financial institutions, have played a critical role. This book offers an original exploration of integration in the energy and transport sectors amongst Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey, and the capacity of this to fundamentally change relations between these countries. In the period studied, from the mid-1990s to 2008, integration in energy and transport did not result in broader political, security, and sociocultural integration in any significant way. The author sets his analysis in a theoretical framework, drawing on theories of integration, but also grounds it in the detailed, empirical knowledge that is the measure of true expertise.

The Eurasian Triangle: Russia, the Caucasus and Japan, 1904-1945

By Hiroaki Kuromiya and Georges Mamoulia

Even the best books on international history are ignorant of the secret war against the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union waged jointly by the Caucasian peoples and Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. This book explores and exposes previously unknown passages in Eurasian international history. Although the secret war ultimately failed in liberating the Caucasian peoples, the lessons of this Eurasian collaboration were not lost on the United States, which after World War II confronted the Soviet Union just as Japan had earlier. Washington copied the strategy of its former enemy and developed it further. The Eurasian triangle of Russia, the Caucasus, and Japan is a forgotten history of cardinal importance that, stretching from the Russo-Japanese War to World War II, influenced Western Cold War strategies. This book is also the story of a friendship rare in international politics between two unlikely partners unspoiled by political vicissitudes.



Divergent Pathways: Turkey and the European Union: Re-Thinking the Dynamics of Turkish-European Union Relations

By Meltem Müftüler-Baç

Should Turkey become a part of the European Union? This heated debate has been going on for many years now, always under the assumption that it is Turkey that must adapt to the EU's demands. This book argues that the Turkish accession needs to be analyzed not only through the lens of the EU's impact on Turkish transformation, but also from an angle that captures the Turkish role in reshaping Europe.

Torn between East and West: Europe's Border States

By Iulian Chifu, Simona Tutuianu

This book is a very timely account of the legal, economic and political consequences for the border states caught in the current tug-of-war between the West and Russia. The Ukraine crisis of 2014 focused policy-makers' attention on a geographical area full of dangers that had gone relatively unnoticed since the breakup of the Soviet Union, namely the security dynamics of the border states of Eastern Europe and the Black Sea. Twentyfive years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a strong Russia returns alternatively threatening and cajoling - but at risk of economic damage through western reprisals, stemming from nostalgia for the Yalta map. That conflict, which escalated over the Ukraine, was soon being played out over Syria and Turkey, while the border states themselves are likely to be drawn into the European refugee crisis and have the potential, after the 2015 Paris atrocities, to become breeding grounds for international terrorists.



The European Neighborhood Policy in a Comparative Perspective: Models, Challenges, Lessons

By Sieglinde Gstohl

The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) has evolved into one of the European Union's major foreign policy instruments and as such has received considerable attention. However, other EU neighborhood policies, and their relevance for the ENP, must also be examined. The Arab uprisings, civil wars in Libya and Syria, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the crisis in Ukraine, and Russia's annexation of the Crimean peninsula have all brought the institutional design and tools of the ENP into question. A comparative perspective is crucial in order to reach a broader understanding of the EU neighborhood policies.

This timely contribution places the ENP into context by exploring the major challenges and key lessons of the EU's other policy frameworks with neighboring countries. Mapping the EU's bilateral and multilateral neighborhood relations in comparison to the ENP and investigating the major challenges, it provides a comprehensive, up-to-date view of the EU's relations with its

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neighbors. With a focus on current affairs and future challenges, the comparison with the ENP and the lessons learned, the book provides novel insights into the EU's immediate external relations.

This book will be of key interest to students and scholars studying European Politics, policies and comparative politics.