

**Georgia's Integration  
into the EU:  
After the Riga Summit**  
Sarah Lain

**Georgia's European Quest:  
The Challenge of the  
Meskhetian Turks**  
Galina Yemelyanova



# **CAUCASUS** **International**

*Challenging conventional thinking in the Caucasus*

Vol. 5 • No: 3 • Winter 2015

## **Georgia's Future: From Regional and Global Cooperation to Conflict Resolution**

**Bringing Russian  
and Iranian Gas to the Georgian Market:  
Technically Challenging, Economically  
Unfeasible and Politically Costly?**  
Bartosz Mendyk

**Georgia in Search of Restoring  
Its Territorial Integrity**  
Nana Gegelashvili

**NATO on Its Mind: Will Georgia's  
Aspirations be Fulfilled?**  
Brendan Cole

**Importance of NATO's Engagement in  
Critical Energy Infrastructure Protection  
in the South Caucasus**  
Ilgar Gurbanov

**Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey Triangle:  
The Main Features of Cooperation**  
Javid Valiyev

**Samtskhe-Javakheti as a Potential Flash  
Point in Georgia: Ethnic-Confessional  
Composition and Integration Challenges**  
Nika Chitadze

**The Foreign Policy of Post-Soviet  
Georgia: Strategic Idealism  
and the Russian Challenge**  
Vasif Huseynov

**Book Review**  
David Milne, *Worldmaking: The Art and  
Science of American Diplomacy*

**Caucasus Under Review**  
Recently Published Books



**Vol. 5 • No: 3 • Winter 2015**

Georgia's Future: From Regional and  
Global Cooperation to Conflict Resolution

# CAUCASUS INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 5 • No: 3 • Winter 2015

---

## Georgia's Future: From Regional and Global Cooperation to Conflict Resolution



**Yayıncı:** Avrasya Bilim Adamları Derneği

**İmtiyaz Sahibi:** Cavit Abdullahzade

**Sorumlu Yazı İşleri Müdürü:** Gözde Kılıç Yaşın

**Yayın Türü:** Süreli Yayın

**Görsel Yönetmen:** Ufuk Ergun

**Baskı Organizasyon:** Moda Ofset Basım Yayın San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.

Cihangir Mah. Guvercin Cad. Baha İş Merkezi A Blok No.3/1

Haramidere-Avcılar-İstanbul [www.modaofset.com.tr](http://www.modaofset.com.tr)

**Caucasus International** is a Baku & Ankara-based academic journal that discusses policymaking in and on the Caucasus as well as the region's role in the global context. Each issue of the journal will focus on a global or regional theme and includes perspectives from authors from different countries and backgrounds. The journal focuses largely on the Caucasus neighborhood, but does so with a global outlook.



## Editorial Team

---

**Executive Editor:** Hüsrev Tabak

**Senior Editor:** Özgür Tüfekçi

**Editor:** Azad Garibov

**Assistant Editor:** Jamila Mammadova

**Designer:** Ufuk Ergun



## Publisher

---

Caucasus International is published by the Ankara-based Eurasian Association of Scientists in collaboration with the Center for Strategic Studies (SAM) in Baku. Since 2007, SAM has provided an impartial forum for discussion and debate on current international issues. SAM is a government-funded non-profit think tank and is academically independent.



## **Publishing House**

---

Moda Ofset Basım Yayın San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.  
Cihangir Mah. Güvercin Cad. Baha İş Merkezi A Blok  
No.3/1 Haramidere-Avcılar-İstanbul  
www.modaofset.com.tr



## **Editorial Offices**

---

### **Ankara Office:**

Eurasian Association of Scientists  
Necatibey Caddesi, 47/13 Kızılay Ankara / Turkey  
E-mail: editor@cjournal.az

### **Baku Office:**

Center for Strategic Studies (CSS),  
8 M. Ibrahimov Street, Baku, AZ 1005, Azerbaijan  
Tel: +994 12 596 82 41 • Fax: +994 12 437 34 58  
E-mail: editor@cjournal.az

**NOTICE:** The content of articles published in Caucasus International does not represent any institutional viewpoint. The analysis and opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Publishers and Editors. The Publishers and Editors accept only the responsibility of giving authors a chance to express differing analyses to engage in intellectual debate.

## BOARD OF ADVISERS

---

**Ramiz Mehdiyev**, Head of the Administration of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan

**Bülent Aras**, Professor, Sabancı University

**Brenda Shaffer**, Senior Lecturer, School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa

**Elmar Mammadyarov**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Farhad Mammadov**, Director, Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Frederick Starr**, Professor, Chairman, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Johns Hopkins University

**Glen E. Howard**, President of the Jamestown Foundation

**Ibrahim Kalin**, Special Adviser to the President of Turkey, Deputy Secretary-General, Presidency of Turkey

**Neil MacFarlane**, Professor, Oxford University

**Novruz Mammadov**, Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration, Head of the Department of Foreign Relations, Administration of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Svante Cornell**, Research Director, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Silk Road Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University

**Zalmay Khalilzad**, former US Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, and the United Nations, President of Gryphon Partners

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

Vol. 5 • No: 3 • Winter 2015

<b>EDITORS' NOTE</b>	8
<b>SARAH LAIN</b> Georgia's Integration into the EU: After the Riga Summit	11
<b>JAVID VALIYEV</b> Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey Triangle: The Main Features of Cooperation	27
<b>BARTOSZ MENDYK</b> Bringing Russian and Iranian Gas to the Georgian Market: Technically Challenging, Economically Unfeasible and Politically Costly?	45
<b>NANA GEGELASHVILI</b> Georgia in Search of Restoring Its Territorial Integrity	55
<b>BRENDAN COLE</b> NATO on Its Mind: Will Georgia's Aspirations be Fulfilled?	67
<b>GALINA YEMELYANOVA</b> Georgia's European Quest: The Challenge of the Meskhetian Turks	77

**ILGAR GURBANOV**

Importance of NATO's Engagement in Critical Energy  
Infrastructure Protection in the South Caucasus 89

**NIKA CHITADZE**

Samtskhe-Javakheti as a Potential Flash Point in Georgia:  
Ethnic-Confessional Composition and Integration Challenges 101

**VASIF HUSEYNOV**

The Foreign Policy of Post-Soviet Georgia: Strategic  
Idealism and the Russian Challenge 117

**BOOK REVIEW**

David Milne,  
Worldmaking: The Art and Science of  
American Diplomacy 133

**CAUCASUS UNDER REVIEW:**

**RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS** 137

# **Book Review\***

## Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy

---

David Milne



---

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



**David Milne**

*Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy*

Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 2015, 609 pp.

*Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy* is a different book to admire. It is more academically substantial than Henry Kissinger's latest book *World Order*. David Milne is a senior lecturer in modern history at the University of East Anglia. In his new intellectual history of American Diplomacy, Milne presents some of the most important figures in modern American diplomacy and statecraft, including Alfred Thayer Mahan, Woodrow Wilson, Charles Beard, Walter Lippmann, George Kennan, Paul Nitze, Henry Kissinger, Paul Wolfowitz, and Barack Obama.

The book starts with the ideas that Alfred Thayer Mahan set forth in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, which have resonated through the ages. In this section, Milne focuses on Mahan's views on national interest, naval bases, firepower, and lines of communication. Through an analysis of Mahan's principal argument - that the United States must abandon the small satisfactions of regional hegemony and any hope of attaining economic self-sufficiency - Milne gives an account of the disagreement between Woodrow Wilson and Mahan. According to Milne, Wilson drew little instruction from Mahan's hardheaded realism and incessant lobbying for greater naval "preparedness". (p. 22)

Unlike Mahan, Wilson was worryingly dogmatic in his approach to domestic and foreign affairs. Milne presents Mahan's understanding through Wilson's vision, which was informed by his own belief that democratization was the key to creating a more peaceful world, on the basis that democracies are far less likely to resort to war with each other.

In the next section, Milne delves into historian and political scientist Charles Beard's understanding of American power and American moral rectitude. Milne points out that Charles Beard was unimpressed by Woodrow Wilson's efforts to avoid involvement in the European conflict from 1914 to 1916. He supported early American entry into the First World War. The main cause of Beard's celebrity was a book reviled by millions of patriotic Americans: *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* was a provocative reinterpretation of the founding of America. Beard's main argument was that while

most political actors are driven to some degree by economic self-interest, the Founding Fathers had elevated this imperative to a fine art (p. 123).

Milne also examines Walter Lippmann, an American writer, columnist, an political commentator. Lippmann is included because he was the man to coin the term “the Cold War”. Through this term he defined the age that would shape the strategic thinking of his successors. In addition, Milne quotes Beard on Lippmann: “Lippmann is a man of agile mind and great natural gifts ... He thumps his tub as if he were God. He is handicapped only by his inability to emit fire and brimstone through the printer’s ink of his column.” (p. 168).

In section five, Milne depicts George Kennan, a diplomat and historian, as an elitist. He describes him as “fluent in Russian and German, a voracious reader of Chekhov and Tolstoy, conservative in diplomatic sensibility and modus operandi, Kennan doubted whether elected politicians could behave intelligently and responsibly between politicians and civil servants. Professional diplomats with linguistic and historical skills should cultivate America’s external relations.” (p. 217). From this perspective on foreign policy, Milne categorizes Kennan as one of the artists of American diplomacy.

In introducing another significant figure in American diplomacy, Milne notes that he was one of the first Americans to visit the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. That man was Paul Nitze, a government official who helped shape the Cold War defense policy. Nitze recommended that the United States devote a far higher proportion of its GDP to military spending in order to deter Soviet aggression. He recognized that this course would prove a hard political sell, but he believed that the American people were willing to pay higher taxes, and sacrifice a little material comfort, in order to better safeguard their nation.

The last three heroes of American diplomacy presented in Milne’s book are Henry Kissinger, Paul Wolfowitz, and Barack Obama. Milne suggests that Kissinger viewed liberal idealism as his main ideological adversary. Kissinger supported policies that emulated his hero, and arch-exponent of balance-of-power diplomacy, Prince Metternich. From this point of view, Milne emphasizes that Kissinger shaped American diplomacy through his belief in the balance of power and the domino theory. On Wolfowitz, Milne points out that like Wilson, his world view is founded on a single principle: substantive geopolitical stability is

contingent upon the spread of democracy. Wolfowitz begins by imagining what a peaceful world looks like, and works backward in order to realize that utopian aspiration. Milne states that of all the individuals this book has surveyed, Barack Obama is the most intuitive and averse to ideology. In concluding, he observes that: “The insight that the incumbent president drew from the Second Iraq War is similar to that which Oliver Wendell Holmes drew from the Civil War: ‘certitude leads to violence.’” (p. 523)

The ideas set forth in this book have transcended their historical moments, some more obviously than others. There is useful instruction to be drawn from the range of actual and aspiring diplomatic leaders discussed herein. If there is something to criticize, it is Milne’s choice of political personae; his list is questionable. The fact that not a single woman features on the list is also regrettable. Aside from those issues, it is a solid read that delivers a good general overview of American diplomacy from Mahan to Obama.