



Helsinki Citizens'  
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# Vector4Peace

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## Adam Michnik: the diagnosis of the sick Europe – "a political cannibalism"

On December 1, by the invitation of the Georgian Movie center together with delegation of Institute of Adam Mickiewicz, the influential public figure of Europe, the patriarch of the European democracy – former and, perhaps, future dissident of Poland and the editor of the Wyborcza newspaper which is one of the most famous newspapers in the countries of Europe, gave lecture at Tbilisi State University. I consciously don't name the subject of his performance as I know Michnik's style. Adam – the missionary.

*As a settled tradition Adam Michnik visited also our "Underground".*

For him it does not matter on what subject he is invited. The declared subject is a political environment. His main task – to tell what can help those who need help.

It is necessary to listen / read Michnik "between lines" and then to compare the read and to draw the conclusion. And those who



will hear him and will understand, can recover and cure society. On it, Michnik, in my perception – first of all is a doctor.

Adam didn't tell it, but I understood that he wants to tell us that Europe is very strongly sick. And the diagnosis of an illness is "A political cannibalism"

As it seemed to me, Adam brought a big pain and bitterness in heart with himself. First of all, it is pain for his homeland – for Poland in which political hostility reached such apogee that for expression from political institutes of supporters of political minority, these democratic institutes simply - are liquidated. However, radicalization of society in Poland is only part of development of political extremism in many countries of Europe. And this process is actively supported by certain forces. The era of "velvet revolutions" is replaced by an era of "velvet dictators". And the most terrible misfortune for the countries of Europe – "democracy of cannibals". As a result of democratic elections, come to the power, start eating "political minorities".

Adam goes to the USA soon, to give lectures at Yale University. Also leaves for some months. But it seemed to me that its transcontinental expedition is connected also with other motive. He wants to find the answer to a question there, – how to cure this "old cow". How to leave a condition of chaos and to return to a natural order.

***Tost - parable from Adam (Michnik) – Rustaveli movie theater (2.12.2015)***

- "The shepherd drank chacha and fell asleep. The eagle snatched a ram out from herd and uplifted it in the sky. The shepherd jumped on feet, charged the gun and shot at an eagle..."

- "So let all eagles fly in the sky, and all rams walk on the ground" - told the tamada Michnik.

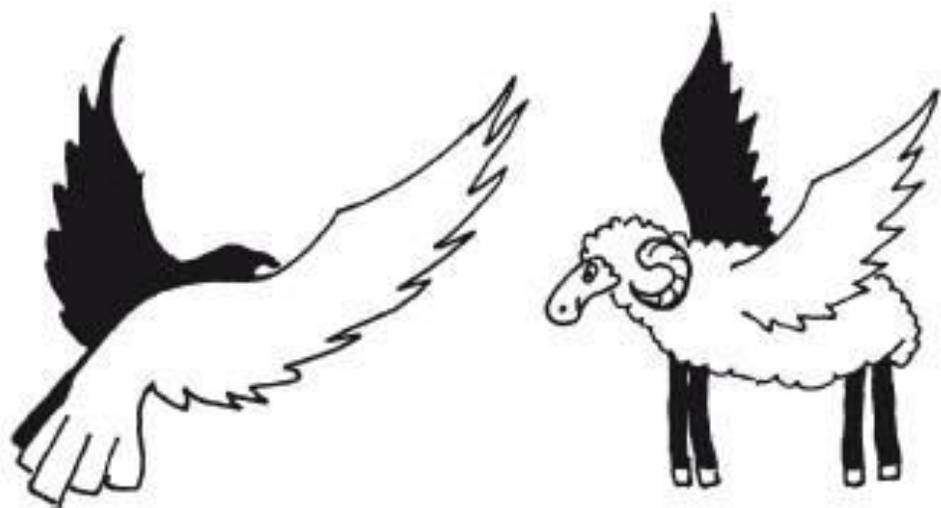
### ***Interpretation of Rusetsky:***

Adam warned an eagle that because of greed and desire to eat what doesn't belong to you, it can lose the main thing – life. Also will deprive of its life – the simple shepherd. Also there is no difference – you are single-headed eagle or an eagle two-headed. And there is no difference – what your colors are: white-red or black-and-white.

He advised a sheep that she didn't suffer from arrogance, otherwise it can be gone together with an eagle. And dead hulks of both will be pecked by crows.

He warned the shepherd that if he will drink further that much and badly protect the herd entrusted to him by God, he will lose everything that has.

So it can be calculated – whether the shepherd shot down the eagle or after all he missed. The shepherd's nationality doesn't raise doubts.



## Here we publish positions of some countries, in relation to the Syrian conflict. Materials are printed with reductions

### Ukraine is ready to assist the coalition in the fight against “Islamic state” in Syria

The Ukrainian side, based on own experience in the struggle against terrorism, is ready to support the coalition operations in Syria, said the president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko at a joint briefing with US Vice President Joseph Biden. "I reiterated to Mr Vice-President of our willingness and readiness to provide the maximum support to coalition forces in Syria. Ukraine is and will be shoulder to shoulder with the anti-terrorist coalition," - he said.

The president said that Ukraine has already managed to prevent more than 200 terrorist acts, which were prepared in Kiev, Zaporozhye, Odessa, Kharkiv, Lviv and other Ukrainian cities. "Key position - we did not scare the terrorist threat," - said Poroshenko.

At the same time, he emphasized that the Russian's intention of creating an international anti-terrorist coalition in Syria, cannot clean the supporting of the terrorism in Ukraine.



"We made it clear that those states that support terrorism are not eligible to participate in the fight against terrorism. There are no bad terrorists and acceptable terrorists - they are all terrorists, and should not be under the banner of the fight against terrorism be cleansed of violations of international law or to obtain International indulgence. This is our clear position ", - stated Poroshenko.

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## Turkish outflow: Strain of relations between Russia and Turkey raises many questions

Strain of relations between Russia and Turkey raises many political and economic questions for our country. Today many statements that Kazakhstan should make a choice sound, however probably right now our country had

an opportunity to show the peacekeeping abilities for reconciliation of the parties.

**Economic aspect of the issue**The Russian-Turkish conflict led to that the Federal agency of tourism Russia recommended to operators

not to sell rounds to Turkey in connection with threat of terrorism. Such decision will unambiguously lead to decrease in a flow of the Russian tourists on the Turkish beaches, however for the Kazakhstan tour operators in this situation can open additional opportunities. As told "Kapital.kz" Murat Abenov, the chairman of the board of directors of JSC NTsPK Orleu, it is obvious that political decisions won't affect in any way desire of Kazakhstan citizens to buy the Turkish goods and to have a rest in hotels of this country. "Kazakhstan citizens aren't involved in this conflict, and nobody will refuse the plans to have a rest in Turkey. That part of tourists which planned to go through the Russian travel agencies, are reoriented on Kazakhstan", – noted Murat Abenov, having added that in this case the domestic companies need to become more active and offer the services, having occupied a niche of the Russian. Moreover, they could offer Russians of service in transportation them to Turkey. "As we saw on the example of sanctions after the Ukrainian events, interests of business and the population not always coincide with what politicians want. If it is favorable to business, it will work further in this direction and will keep the relations with the Turkish partners", – explained Murat Abenov.

Denis Krivosheyev, the official representative of the Association of Travel Agencies of Kazakhstan (ATAK), in return noted that communications with Turkey and Kazakhstan are enormous and concern they not only tourism, but also the industry, construction, an import and export. "If the Russian operators leave, it will be chance for repartition of the tourist market and increase in a share of the

domestic companies", – he noted. Besides, Denis Krivosheyev explained, the other day at a meeting the Turkish partners stated options of reduction of prices for the Kazakhstan tourists because know that there was devaluation and there are problems in economy in the country.

Aydarkhan Kusainov, the director of the consulting company Almagest, considers that the Russian-Turkish conflict if will affect economy of Kazakhstan, indirectly. "Perhaps, some Kazakhstan tourists will refuse to depart to Turkey, however you shouldn't expect essential deterioration of the external economic and political relations between our countries", – Aydarkhan Kusainov believes.

Eduard Poletayev, the political scientist, the head of OF "World of Eurasia", noted that at Kazakhstan commodity turnover with Turkey because of crisis decreased and in 2014 made \$3,5 billion "However, when the president of the republic Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the spring of this year was in Astana within the state visit, the parties stated intentions to increase it to \$10 billion, but these so far are only intentions", – the political scientist told. However he reminded that with Russia commodity turnover also decreased, but it is significantly more – last year its volume made



\$18,9 billion. "And Russia with Turkey has a commodity turnover even more – \$31 billion in 2014. On a game serious money behind which there is a work and destinies of hundreds of thousands of people. What will win: geopolitics or economy, it is unclear so far", – Eduard Poletayev emphasized.

"The Kazakh-Turkish economic relations in a certain degree are rescued with that the history of relationship between the countries is enough a complementary. And that in general the external economy of Kazakhstan will only worsen was clear also without the Syrian events. To some extent it will affect the Kazakhstan-Turkish economic relations as well. I think that you shouldn't expect cardinal changes in them", – the political scientist explained, having added that as took the Turkish fast food from the street of the Kazakhstan cities, will continue to do it. And the Turkish resorts won't become empty Kazakhstan citizens have not so many options for alternative rest.

"I am disturbed more that deterioration of the Russian-Turkish relationship caused the line of a break in the relation to events in activists on social networks. Some support Russia, and some Turkey. And we shouldn't swear now at all. Eventually terrorists achieve the objectives, bringing dissonance between people and the countries", – the political scientist noted.

### **Political aspect of the issue**

"For Kazakhstan the situation which arose after the brought-down SU-24 doesn't bear a positive", – Eduard Poletayev emphasized. Now, according to him, the weighed, reserved position is necessary.

"Kazakhstan, both with Russia, and with Turkey has relations are at the high levels. Our

country essentially chose multivector policy and isn't going to refuse it. And such situation – a call for this multivectorism. What is the complexity? Both Kazakhstan, and Russia, and Turkey fight and support fight against terrorism, but two countries seriously fueled the tension, and put the third in a situation where they ask to choose of them? Nobody will rush about actually. Astana once again had a chance to show the peacekeeping efforts, to call the parties for dialogue and tranquility that actually already does the Kazakhstan Ministry of Foreign Affairs", – the political scientist noted. He remembered the Russian-Georgian armed conflict of 2008 in which Kazakhstan, the ally of Russia, at the same time kept the relations with Georgia where investments were enclosed, didn't recognize independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as a result having kept relationship with partners. "I think, approximately in such waterway today's Kazakhstan behavior will move ahead", – the political scientist predicted.

Besides, according to Murat Abenov, in this case is serious danger to worsen an image of the Eurasian economic union which already is in a criticism zone. "Kazakhstan never confirmed that this union is political, and, on the contrary, claimed that it's economic. In case business sustains economic losses, it will strengthen criticism. And EEU is being watched not only in Kazakhstan, but also from the outside", – the chairman of the board of directors of JSC NTsPK Orleu noted. According to him, Kazakhstan can both take a neutral position, and to mediate for reconciliation of the parties – "to become a peculiar bridge that economic relations of these countries didn't interrupt".

*<http://kapital.kz/gosudarstvo/45789/tureckij-ottok.html>*

## Ankara intends to replace the Russian gas with Turkmen

The president of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan will visit 11-12 Turkmenistan on December. At negotiations with the Turkmen colleague Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov he will discuss questions of bilateral cooperation, including in the sphere of power. The head of Turkey will also take part in the celebrations devoted to the 20 anniversary of adoption of the neutral status of Turkmenistan. Ankara will play "the Turkmen card" these days – Turkey is interested in strengthening of positions in this state, as well as in all Turkic Central Asia. Turkmenistan will become the third country which Erdogan will visit after victorious parliamentary elections. Before he has visited Azerbaijan and Qatar. "The choice of Turkmenistan as the priority country among allies of Turkey from among the former states of the USSR isn't casual. Erdogan addresses to the head of the Turkmen people Berdimuhamedov by default, meaning blood relations of Turks with the Turkmen who once created the Ottoman Empire and participating in formation of the Turkish nation", – told "NG" the doctor of historical sciences, the leading researcher of Institute of oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences Shokhrat Kadyrov. According to him, from the 15-million nation of Turkmen abroad lives much more, than in Turkmenistan. It not only Turkey, but also almost all countries of the Middle East which are once subdued by the Turkmen-seldzhuks, who came there from Turkmenistan. Not the last place in the list of these countries is taken by Syria where the chain of military settlements of Turkmen was created at that time. The descendants of the Syrian Turkmen supported by Turkey became nearly responsible for the inflaming conflict between Moscow and Ankara.

"The main country of foreign migratory communications of Turkmenistan after collapse of the USSR is Turkey where Turkmen feel comfortable", – Kadyrov noted. However, also in Turkmenistan conditions for development of business, distribution of the Turkish education and even ideas of a panturkism were provided to Turkey.

Today the economy of Turkmenistan is built thoroughly in the Turkish business. And though Turkmen gain the main income in the state budget from sale of oil and gas, cash circulates in business projects of the Turkmen and Turkish elite more intensively. According to official figures, in two last decades Turkey invested 24 billion dollars in economy of Turkmenistan. During this time it was realized more than 900 investment projects. Thus only in the last two years Turkey invested more than 10 billion dollars in Turkmenistan. The trade turnover between two countries made 6 billion dollars.

Against the Turkmen-Turkish economic relations of communication of Ashgabat with Moscow look more modest. Especially after reduction in 2009 of purchases by the Russian side of the Turkmen gas. For example, by 2011 only 180 investment projects for the total amount of 2 billion dollars were realized. The trade turnover between Russia and Turkmenistan, according to FCS of Russia for March, 2015, made only 910 million dollars. And the tendency of reduction of the Russian economic presence in Turkmenistan and, on the contrary, expansion of Turkish remains.

However, for an assessment of a position of official Turkmenistan, according to Kadyrov, it is important to note that, despite the international humanitarian association

"Turkmens of the World" created right after collapse of the USSR, Ashgabat never used it as the tool of political games from one of the countries where the Turkmen diasporas is concentrated. "The same happened and in a case to the shot-down Russian Su-24 plane pilots of which were shot by the Syrian Turkmen, – Ashgabat took a break. Already this fact forces to assume that we by results of Erdogan's visit won't hear any serious declarations of priority of the Turkmen-Turkish relations before the Russian-Turkmen relations", – Shokhrat Kadyrov told. In his opinion to involve Turkmenistan in big-time politics in the Middle East and furthermore in games against Russia it is almost impossible at the moment. Turkmenistan will continue to bend the line, in every way trying to balance between western (including Turkish) the economic help and cooperation, on the one hand, and preservation of safety of a personal authority with assistance of Russia in Ashgabat – with another. The important issue which will be resolved at Erdogan's

negotiations with Berdimuhamedov, concerns supply of gas to Turkey. As the Turkish president the other day declared, Turkey will find replacement to the Russian gas in case of the termination of import of energy carriers from Russia. The other day the memorandum of import of the liquefied natural gas Ankara signed with Qatar. Turkmenistan is also considered by Turkey as the supplier of gas. The private Turkish companies agreed to buy 2 billion cubic meters of the Turkmen gas through Iran. The Minister of Energy of Turkey Taner Yildyz reported about it recently. Ankara wants to increase purchases to 10 billion cubic meters. The speech can go about swap deliveries as it isn't enough available infrastructures for transfer of large volumes so far. It isn't excluded that Erdogan and Berdimuhamedov will discuss agreement details during negotiations in Ashgabat.

<http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1449464100>

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## Azerbaijan tries to play on the Russian-Turkish conflict

**Other regional players already try to actively exploit the conflict of Russia and Turkey. In particular, Azerbaijan, on the one hand, offers itself as a platform for negotiations, and on the other – rejoices to support of Turkey in the conflict round Nagorno-Karabakh. What card Baku tries to play?**

"Turkey will do everything possible that occupied territories of Azerbaijan were freed", – the prime minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu declared the day before. These words were heard on the eve of the meeting of the Turkish foreign minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu with the leadership of

Azerbaijan, including with the president Ilham Aliyev which took place on Friday in Baku.



By occupied territories of premieres means the unrecognized Nagorno-Karabakh republic which appeared as result of the Armenian-Azerbaijani war of twenty-year prescription. The reminder on the oldest and "frozen" conflict in the former Soviet Union – Karabakh – at the time of strain of relations between Moscow and Ankara will hardly add stability in already restless region of South Caucasus. "We repeatedly declared if Turkey wants to help the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement, let stay him clear from the process", – the press secretary declared on Friday to "Interfax" the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia Tigran Balayan.

It should be noted that the president of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliev, accepting the Turkish delegation led by Chavushoglu, not only declared that deterioration of the relations between Moscow and Ankara causes regret in Baku, but also offered Azerbaijan as the

intermediary. "The Azerbaijani party is ready to assist decrease and elimination of intensity in the Russian-Turkish relations", – Aliev declared, having reminded that his country has close historical links to Russia and Turkey. Territories which are occupied by modern Azerbaijan, in due time Russia actually won from the Ottoman Empire.

The day before Novruz Mamedov, the deputy administrator of administration of Aliev declared through social networks determination of Baku to become the peacekeeper. "Turkey is our close ally. Russia too is the country, close and friendly for us. Azerbaijan is united by historical links to both countries. Communications with both states are at the highest level", – the politician declared.

<http://www.vz.ru/politics/2015/11/27/780690.html>

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## Russian-Turkish relations and interests of Armenia

During 2008-2011 Russia at various stages conducted negotiations with Turkey concerning interests of both states in South Caucasus, including Armenia. Turkey, thus, made the following proposals: the termination of a construction of the railroad Akhalkalaki – Kars in exchange for delivery of two areas in Karabakh; initiatives of unblocking of the Turkish-Armenian border, out of plans and efforts of the USA, on condition of pressure of Russia upon Armenia on a problem of curtailment of the international recognition of genocide; influence of Russia on Armenians of the Southern Georgia on the issue of trouble-free repatriation of Meskhetian Turks; joint efforts of Turkey and Russia on a distancing Armenia from Iran; pressure of Russia on the ruling authorities in Armenia; restriction of deliveries of arms to Armenia; denunciation of the statement of the State

Duma for recognition of genocide. Most likely, there were also other offers of Turkey, involving the Karabakh problem.

Attempts of Russia in 2008 to enter agreements with Turkey concerning the Karabakh problem, on condition of



development of the economic and political relations, and also to deliveries of arms, are recognized wrong in the MFA of Russia and now Russia appeal to the USA in connection with impossibility of participation of Turkey in any process on the Karabakh subject.

Turkey very quickly showed the activity and intentions to take continuous part in consideration of this problem.

Russia intends to adhere to the reached agreements with France and the USA regarding the Karabakh subject which are consolidated to change of "ideology" of negotiations, refusal of "settlement" as the purposes and achievements of "safety" as the purposes of negotiations, that is, outer interested parties don't intend to radicalize the decision.

This approach doesn't suit Turkey any way which thereby loses access to this subject. It should be noted that a certain strengthening of control of the USA over foreign policy of Turkey which is reached in recent years, works for reserved behavior of Turkey concerning South Caucasus, first of all, on the issue of possible renewal of military operations. It also suits Russia.

Research work led to understanding of two important circumstances. First, the USA dumped responsibility for political design regarding the conflicts of South Caucasus to France; having reserved questions of strategic planning that can't quite satisfy Russia which showed inability to settle the Karabakh problem within three years. But for Russia projects of France are more acceptable, than former initiatives of the USA.

Secondly, it is absolutely clear that one of the purposes of this "French" project is restriction of activity of Turkey, both on the Karabakh subject, and in South Caucasus, in general. In this regard, Russia to some extent appears in "sheaf" with the USA and France in their

large-scale policy on "control" of strengthening of influence of Turkey in the regional directions.

The experts close to the Russian President Administration try to express interests of Russia in a close context with the western partners, but offer other stylistics. These experts close more to V. Putin, consider that the best way to ensure safety in South Caucasus and to keep present positions of Russia in the region is the approval of the status quo.

The leading Russian geopolitician Alexander Dugin tries to formulate this concept as "refusal of Azerbaijan and Armenia from power and strokes of policy of change of current situation". Along with it, probably, the political leadership of Russia is very anxious with possibility of the international recognition of NKR and, first of all, from the USA.

It would be a political disaster for Russia, and the Russian analysts consider that this prospect is quite real. That is, long time Russia preferred to pretend that on this matter it takes a neutral position. Now, when the problem of a vassalization of Armenia is mainly carried out, and Azerbaijan became the important partner of Russia which quite created park of arms of the Azerbaijani army, the problem with image isn't present, and Russia is able to afford to pursue frankly policy of elimination of the Armenian statehood, thereby having conceded to Azerbaijan the Karabakh lands.

In Moscow showed general concern in connection with signs of attempts of rapprochement of Armenia with the USA, NATO and the European Union within the project of "Eastern Partnership". This subject became ubiquitous in Moscow, all experts at various institutes and the centers, and also analysts of intelligence services are interested in it, literally.

Approximately in the middle of September for the Russian President Administration the report on Armenia where external and internal aspects of policy are considered is prepared. In this report conclusions that, anyway, Armenia is interested in more active development of the relations with the USA, NATO and the European Union are drawn as its external interests become wider and can't be limited only to the relations with Russia and the states of Eurasia.

Russia needs to try to limit foreign policy of Armenia, and in a bigger measure to use its opportunities in the West, for control of claims of military and political property. The conclusion is drawn that S. Sargsyan showed ability to make radical steps in external and in domestic policy and by that is apprehended by Americans as the politician capable to make courageous decisions. The USA began to stake more and more on Armenia as regional partner.

According to some signs, this report is executed not in Moscow, and generally in Embassy of Russia in Armenia. The Russian experts considered that participation of the Russian military personnel in military parade in Yerevan is only an outrageous action, and actually the president of Armenia conducts quite certain course of rapprochement with the West.

It should be noted that during some period "specific weight" of the president S. Sargsyan in opinion of the Russian experts and politicians, increased that, is undoubted, connected with some motions of Armenia in rapprochement with the West. It is remarkable that from the visits of S. Sargsyan to capitals - Washington – Paris – Warsaw - Moscow was mostly concerned with the visit to Warsaw, for participation in the summit of heads of the participating states of the Eastern Partnership project.

Now the Russian mass media were given an order in more critical foreshortening to consider policy of Armenia. In particular military cooperation of Armenia with NATO and the USA excites Moscow. In Moscow try to define and come to conclusion of agreements with experts in Armenia in carrying out development and analyses, and it is visible, this work is successfully conducted. Russia used all possible levers of pressure and blackmail and liquidated Armenia as the sovereign state pursuing independent foreign policy.

The analysts representing the Russian intelligence services are interested in the following questions:

1. the general foreign policy intentions and S. Sargsyan's priorities and armed forces of Armenia, views of the political leadership of Armenia concerning development of the relations with the USA, NATO and the European Union;
2. as internal political changes in Armenia contact adjustments in foreign policy, possible results of parliamentary elections, the purposes of rotation of political elite;
3. views and positions of the Minister of Defense and generals, mood in armed forces, whether are available the distinctive moments in positions and opinions from policy of the president;
4. the processes happening in political elite, a role and the purpose of the leading politicians in that
5. number of oppositional politicians and political parties, R. Kocharyan, L. Ter Petrosyan, R. Ovannisyan's role, opportunities of pro-American focused political parties and groups.

In the Middle East and certain arrangements between the USA and Turkey led involvement

of Turkey in events to decrease intensity in South Caucasus and in the Black Sea and at the same time to a certain extent distanced Russia and Turkey. Russia with big mistrust treats Turkey, and the relations between them endure some cooling because of events in Syria and in the Crimea.

The leading states participating in consideration of the Karabakh problem, keeping distinctions in interests, came to a conclusion about "freezing" of the Karabakh conflict. It caused more favorable conditions for Armenia though the Karabakh subject demands the additional analysis.

That in these conditions when the USA, perhaps, are ready to reconsider the partnership with the State Parties of the CSTO and, first of all, with Russia, there are expectations in formation of the new relations in Eurasia, it isn't excluded. It can be connected with cooperation of the USA and NATO with the CSTO, and also revision of value and a role of the Russian base in Gyumri.

The USA is interested in cooperation with the CSTO and Russia in connection with the arising new threats in Central Asia, including Afghanistan where the USA intends to reduce military presence. The Russian experts consider that the USA will try to offer, shortly, to Russia and its partners in the CSTO "to rake the conflicts and problems their hands, remaining in position of the conductor". Thus, it is reminded that during the conflict in Kyrgyzstan the USA suggested Russia to use its power opportunities in a zone of this conflict, promising the help and support, allegedly, being afraid of undesirable reaction of China. Actually the USA was afraid of joint actions of member countries of SCO in the region.

Along with it, Armenia will take more important place in policy of the USA as a factor of the politics "control" of Turkey. Due to these conditions, Armenia could intensify cooperation with the USA and NATO, without limiting cooperation with Russia and the CSTO.

Armenia appears in some "the combined field" of interests of the USA, NATO and Russia. Armenia could become the first country from among "allies" of Russia which would become at the same time the partner both the CSTO, and NATO (though the certain experience has also Kazakhstan), thereby having appeared in more preferable situation, than, for example, Georgia.

Anyway, continuation of rapprochement with the West leads to increase of a role of Armenia for Russia. Despite some concern of Moscow in connection with demonstration by S. Sargsyan of readiness of rapprochement with the USA and the West, he as the politician is so connected with Russia that his any discharge from close relations with Moscow is represented absolutely impossible.

Signing by S. Sargsyan of the contract on participation "the Eurasian block" led Armenia to political capitulation, to strong international isolation. Russia won't refuse idea of bringing a vassalization of Armenia to the end and will try to destroy independence of its armed forces. These processes can't but be taken into consideration in development of the Russian-Turkish relations.

*See more at:*

<http://www.lragir.am/index/rus/0/comments/view/39445#sthash.HLFV3oX4.dpuf>