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Can these men bring peace to Nagorno-Karabakh?





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This publication is funded by the European Union as part of the EPNK initiative. The European Union is however not responsible for the views contained in this publication.

Published by

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Press Release by the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group

Vienna, 19 November 2013

The Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group (the Russian Federation, France, and the United States of America) welcomed President Ilham Aliyev of the Republic of Azerbaijan and President Serzh Sargsian of the Republic of Armenia to Vienna to advance discussions on the peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, accompanied by their Foreign Ministers. They were joined by the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson in Office. This was the Presidents' first meeting since their January 2012 summit in Sochi. During their private one-on-one meeting and the working session afterward with the Co-Chairs and the Ministers, the Presidents discussed a broad range of issues related to the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

The Presidents agreed to advance negotiations toward a peaceful settlement. They instructed their Foreign Ministers to continue to cooperate with the Co-Chairs to build on the work to date with the aim of intensifying the peace process. They agreed to meet again in the months ahead.

As a next step, the Co-Chairs are organizing working sessions with the Ministers on the margins of the OSCE Ministerial Council, which will take place on December 5-6 in Kyiv. The Co-Chairs plan to visit the region before the end of this year.

Source: osce.org

Statement by the Spokesperson of EU High Representative Catherine Ashton on the Meeting on 19 November in Vienna of the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan through the mediation of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs.

Brussels, 21 November 2013

The spokesperson of Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the Commission, issued the following statement today:

"The High Representative welcomes the meeting between President of the Republic of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan and President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliev held in Vienna on 19 November and commends the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs and their efforts in facilitating the resumption of top level meetings. The Presidents' agreement to advance negotiations and meet again in the months ahead is encouraging.

The European Union is ready to engage in renewed efforts towards political settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and to further contribute to peace-building efforts, in support of and in full complementarity with the OSCE Minsk Group."

Source: eeas@europe.eu

Joint Statement by Heads of Delegation of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair Countries and the Foreign Ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia

Kiev, 5 December 2013

On the occasion of the OSCE Ministerial Council Meeting in Kyiv, the Heads of Delegation of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair countries (Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Sergei Lavrov, Minister for European Affairs of France Thierry Repentin, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland) and the Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Foreign Minister of Armenia Edward Nalbandian agreed to continue working together on a just and peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the basis what has been already achieved.

The Co-Chair Heads of Delegation welcomed the recent resumption of high-level dialogue between the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia, and expressed their hope that upcoming meetings will advance the peace process. They encouraged the sides to consider measures that would reduce tensions in the region.

The Foreign Ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia agreed to meet again in early 2014 under the auspices of the Minsk Group Co-Chairs, in order to facilitate further talks at the highest level. The Ministers noted that the people of the region expect and deserve progress in settlement of the conflict that has endured far too long, and expressed their appreciation for the mediation role of the Co-Chair countries.

Source: osce.org

Presidents and diplomats have another go at trying to resolve the Karabakh conflict. Can they succeed?

After a long break of twenty two months the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan met in Vienna on Tuesday, 19 November in a new effort to try to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The last time that President Serzh Sargsyan of Armenia and President Ilham Aliev of Azerbaijan had been together in a face to face meeting was in January 2012 in Sochi.

In the interim period no progress was achieved in the efforts to resolve the conflict. Indeed the feeling was that the situation was sliding into a dangerous stand-off, with regular incidents on the line of contact separating the two sides. The efforts of the international mediators, spearheaded by diplomats from the co-Chair countries of the OSCE Minsk Process was in this period directed at trying to stop the situation from escalating, and trying to maintain lines of communication between the two sides open.

What caused this hiatus, and why have the two Presidents agreed to meet now? The reason most often cited is the fact that elections were taking place in both countries. Armenia had parliamentary elections in May 2012 and Presidential elections in February 2013; Azerbaijan had Presidential elections in October 2013. Even in the tightly controlled political environment that exists in the two countries elections do have to be factored in. Karabakh is probably the only issue that can seriously derail the established political order and prudence would have suggested marking time and retiring to the comfort zone of hard line rhetoric that the two sides have perfected. They certainly did that. Statements by the two sides over the summer became increasingly bellicose, and the Presidents joined the chorus for good measure. According to this reasoning, once the long election season was over, the two sides could return to the serious business of negotiations, and they promptly did.

This explanation is somewhat simplistic. Yes elections had to be factored into the equation, but the political systems are rigidly controlled, the discourse on Karabakh even more so, and the negotiations in any case held in such utmost secrecy, that continuing the dialogue would hardly have impacted the situation.

The wider context

A more precise understanding needs to take into account the international context in which the negotiations take place. Both sides are keen to exploit any changes in the international system that may give them an advantage. Equally they need to be careful of changes that somehow puts them in a disadvantage. The approach of the international community so far has been that they cannot force the process – if one or both sides ask for time out, and they often do, than there is no option but to oblige them. This time round it seems it was the Azerbaijani side that dragged its feet most, and it was only when Baku finally gave the green light that the Vienna meeting could take place. For Azerbaijan the variable quantity in the Karabakh equation is Russia. Russia has given Baku the hot and cold over the years, and perhaps never more so than this year. President Aliev was most likely reassured enough after the visit of President Putin to Baku in September, to agree to the Vienna meeting. Quite what he has made of the visit of President Putin to Yerevan on 2 December is not clear. Armenia, following the last minute decision not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union, is now more dependent on Russia than ever. Putin promised to sell arms, gas and oil to Armenia at domestic prices. Armenia, already a member of the Russian led military alliance, the Collective Security Treaty organisation (CSTO) is on a fast track to join the Russia-led Customs Union and in the future the Eurasian Economic Union. An Azerbaijani military onslaught on Armenia was never a realistic option given the Russian factor; economic stranglehold which has been Baku's plan B, now seems impossible also since Russia has now, for better or for worse, agreed to underwrite the Armenian economy. It is not a coincidence that after emerging from a difficult meeting with President Putin on 2 September, President Sargsyan explained his decision to join the Customs Union as a decision that took into account Armenia's security.

At this point negotiations have become Baku's best option again, and President Aliev has agreed to engage. The Armenian leader also, may have decided that this is a good time to negotiate, with Russia being so committed now to Armenia's security and economic prosperity.

What Mr Putin would like to see in Karabakh is a Russian Peace. It is true Russia is one of the co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Process, and indeed it has often been said that in this process Russia is a good team

continued on page 4...

player. Yet from 2009-2012 Russia emerged as the primus inter pares amongst the co-Chair. It was president Medvedev who acted as host to eleven meetings of the two presidents. The presence of the other two countries France and the United States often looked not much more than symbolic.

At this point a Russian peace is not convenient for either side. Yerevan knows that Russia does not want to lose Baku completely, and is concerned that it may be asked to make one concession too many. Baku on the other hand does not trust Russia and does not think that a Russian brokered deal will satisfy its demands.

This explains perhaps why the meeting on 19 November had a different feel to it. The choice of Vienna, the symbolic neutral capital of Europe and headquarters of the OSCE as the venue was of course practical, but equally politically convenient. The largely ceremonial Austrian president acted as the host. Thanks largely to the new American co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk process, Ambassador James Warlick, we also got a better sense of the meeting than has been the case in the past (see box on page 5).

The content

Whilst there are reasons why the two sides may have found it convenient to return to the negotiating table now, the nitty-gritty details of a peace arrangement remain equally challenging as they have been before. There has not been any change of policy, if anything the past two years have served to deepen even further some well entrenched positions. The so called Madrid Principles remain the guiding force, but there has been little reference to them lately, so perhaps more pragmatic steps are now the priority.

The problem is that the negotiations now have something of a credibility problem. So many times a deal seemed to be just round the corner, but each time it has eluded those who worked for it. The cynics have always been proven right, and so there must be a breakthrough that will prove them wrong. This must entail change on the ground: withdrawal of Armenia from some of the Azerbaijani territory it occupies; securing the safety of the communities that live on the front line; easing of the economic blockade of Karabakh and of Armenia; some demilitarisation of the line of contact. A series of such measures will signal to everybody that the sides are now serious in seeking peace.

Can the present leaders and mediators deliver a Karabakh peace?

This question is often asked, but largely in private. Here again the problem is neither the individuals – in the case of the presidents, or the individuals and their countries, in the case of the mediators.

The two presidents are well entrenched and well experienced. In different ways. They also carry enough moral authority to take their respective countries with them if they decide to forge ahead. Aliev can point at his achievements, and those of his father before him, in forging Azerbaijani statehood. Sargsyan hails from Karabakh itself – probably the last Armenian president to be so. As some Armenians say he has to solve the conflict because nobody who will come after him will have the same moral authority to do so.

Equally, the mediation of Russia, France and the United States has assured a direct role by three permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and kept the negotiating process in the focus of world attention. The diplomats that have represented the three countries in the OSCE Minsk process have invariably been professional in their work, even if sometimes a bit boring.

Yet this configuration has been in place, largely unchanged, for nearly twenty years. So far it has not worked. A view is emerging that the process needs to be managed differently even if the actors involved remain the same. The main criticism of the OSCE Co-Chair countries diplomats has always been that they allowed the sides too much leeway, and failed to call them to account. There was always the fear that one or other of the sides may walk away from the negotiations, yet with hindsight one can say that this was most of the time unlikely. Indeed neither Armenia nor Azerbaijan wants to be seen as a spoiler. They have spent too much time and effort trying to occupy the moral high ground for that to happen.

A different configuration in the negotiating format that would introduce more transparency and more accountability is therefore necessary and also possible. It is no longer acceptable to just endorse the process as it is, and there should be more space for debating other options. The grey areas of how the OSCE interacts with the Minsk process, and with the Minsk Process co-Chair, should provide the space for new ideas and new design that can make this new effort to find a peaceful solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict a success.





Cautious welcome for "a step forward".

After Vienna there was a cautious welcome by the international community. The US State Department said

"We commend the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan for this first step, and are encouraged they have agreed to a follow-up meeting in the months ahead. Their first meeting in almost two years, this summit is an important step toward restarting dialogue and demonstrates the leaders' shared commitment to bring an end to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group along with Russia and France, the United States urges both presidents to work actively towards a peaceful resolution to the conflict, which has taken a heavy toll on the people on all sides."

The meeting was also welcomed by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe the European Union and the governments of a number of countries.

Awkward moment seems to have been overcome.

Reporting the meeting, the Russian News Agency RIA Novosti said that the tete-a-tete meeting between the two Presidents lasted for two hours and was followed by a brief meeting attended by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries and diplomats from the OSCE Minsk Process. The agency quoting other media sources said that the Presidents did not shake hands at any point during the meeting. The only comment was made by the Armenian President who described the meeting as "normal". The Press Offices of both Presidents carried pictures of the meeting on their websites with a short one sentence report saying that the meeting had taken place. None of the pictures of the meetings released by the two sides show the two Presidents looking at each other, let alone shaking hands.

Sargsyan speaks of "new beginning"

The Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan commented on the Vienna meeting a few days later during a visit to the Ministry of Culture in Yerevan. Asked by journalists if he thought there was movement in the negotiations, he said that it was difficult to say if there was, but that he assessed the meeting as a new beginning.

"It is difficult to speak of movement in the talks, but after the meeting when I was asked about my assessments, I replied briefly "Normal". I really think it was normal. Normal in the sense that this meeting actually means, in all likelihood, a new round of negotiations and a new beginning. We have not met for almost two year and this means that high-level talks were stopped," the President said.

Serzh Sargsyan said he saw the Azerbaijani President's desire to solve the problem, but this is not enough.

"We have the same desire. I personally wish that the problem was resolved as quickly as possible However, the conditions under which the President of Azerbaijan wants to solve the problem and on what terms I do are different - that is the issue," said President Sargsyan.

President Sargsyan assessed the meeting as a positive one, adding that the presidents had already instructed their foreign ministers to start talks in early December, which could form the basis for a future meeting between the two Presidents. He added that he co-chair of the OSCE Minsk process will visit the region soon after.

President Aliev has so far not commented on the meeting, but the overall reaction amongst commentators in Baku has been cautiously positive.

The scene is therefore now set for much work that needs to be done in 2014.

James Warlick takes the Minsk Process on twitter.



The new American co-Chair of the Minsk Group may be a novice to the region, but he has certainly got one thing right.

Ambassador James Warlick took up his position as US co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Process on Nagorno-Karabakh in September

2013. He is a career diplomat who held several key positions in the US diplomatic service. He recently served as Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan and lead negotiator for the Bilateral Security Agreement with Afghanistan. He served as Ambassador to Bulgaria from 2009-2012, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs from 2006 to 2009, and Director of the Office of European Security and Political Affairs from 2005 to 2006.

Ambassador Warlick is a graduate of Stanford University (1977), holds a Master of Letters in Politics from Wadham College (1979), Oxford University, and a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (1980) from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Warlick is a novice to the Caucasus. On the one hand some of the people who met him on his first visit to the region during which he was familiarising himself with the issues and the personalities involved, described him as somewhat naive. Others however were impressed by his willingness to listen, and with the fresh approach he was bringing to many of the issues.

In one area he certainly made his mark instantly. The OSCE Minsk Group co-Chair have developed over the last two decades a collective reputation for lack of communication with different stakeholders, adding to the impression of the process as secretive and non-transparent. A couple of other American co-chair, including Ambassadors Kavanagh and Bryza had recognised this and in their different ways tried to reach out to the media and civil society. Warlick has however now taken this task a significant step further, using his twitter account to give first impression of meetings, and even sharing pictures, as he did during the recent meeting with the Armenian and Azerbaijani Foreign Ministers on 5 December. Most of Warlick's tweets are innocent and inconsequential. But they are still very much appreciated by those who follow the process and want to support it. Warlick has also given a number of short interviews.

He has however made two points that are important – the first that the time to resolve the Karabakh problem is now, and that procrastination will not help anyone. The other, more recently, after the meeting of the two presidents in Vienna, that he sensed that the two sides are now genuinely committed to moving the process forward beyond the current stalemate.

You can follow Ambassador Warlick on twitter at @AmbJamesWarlick

Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius a wake-up call for Europe



The summit of the European Union's Eastern Partnership took place in Vilnius, Lithuania on 28 and 29 November 2013. Much work was done to prepare the summit that brought together the leaders of the twenty eight member states of the European Union and the six Eastern partnership countries - Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The Lithuanian Presidency of the European Union had made the summit the highlight of its six month rotating Chairmanship of the Union and put huge efforts for its success. In the summer everything seemed set for the EU to make in Vilnius important steps forward in its relations with its Eastern neighbours. An Association Agreement was due to be signed with Ukraine, and initialled with a view to be signed soon afterwards, with Georgia, Armenia and Moldova.

However starting from late August things started to happen, and a lot of the work that had been done started to unravel. Russia, it seems, had decided it did not like the new arrangements, and set about trying to undermine them. Soon Armenia made a dramatic change of direction, after president Sargsyan was summoned to Moscow where he made a decision on the spot not to pursue the arrangement with the EU, and instead to join the Russia-led Customs Union. Then Ukraine at the last minute announced that it will not sign the Association Agreement too, triggering massive disturbances on the streets of Kiev.

This left a sense amongst those attending the Vilnius Summit that Russia had been allowed to re-affirm its hold on the former Soviet republics. Polina Ivanova who was in Vilnius reporting on the summit for commonspace.eu said that "though the Summit displayed numerous achievements, there wasn't a press conference or interview that went by without a noticeable echo of the word 'disappointment' in the room."

Ivanova added that however, the overriding message was not one of defeat, but of indignation. "The times of limited sovereignty are over in Europe," declared European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, while European Council President Herman van Rompuy candidly condemned Russia's return to an obsolete era of "zero sum games".

In particular, it was Russia's offer of trilateral discussions with Ukraine and the EU that most riled the Summit's leaders. "What we cannot accept," said an unusually animated Barroso, "is a condition on a bilateral agreement to have a kind of possible veto of a third country. This is contrary to all principles of international law." Successfully placing themselves above these "geopolitical shenanigans", as Radosław Sikorski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, described them the day before at the parallel Civil Society Conference, the EU left with head held high and with a self-described "ambitious agenda for the way ahead" delineated in its Joint Declaration.

"For the EU, the summit will offer meager results, with a litany of disappointment and despair among the other Eastern Partnership countries. But the clear lesson from Vilnius is the danger to underestimate Russia. And the current challenge is how to counter, if not contain this resurgence of Russian power. This also means that the EU will need to devise new ways to bolster these weakened states, whose only crime was to challenge Moscow by looking Westward, beyond the confines of Russia's enforcement of its "near abroad" as its exclusive sphere of influence."

Richard Giragosian, Director of the Regional Studies Centre in Yerevan, Armenia in a comment to commonspace.eu on 27 November 2013.

The Eastern Partnership "was never an imposition, but rather a proposition," stated Barroso, hinting that the inverse was true of Russia's dealings with its neighbouring, ex-Soviet states. What the EU saw as a mutually beneficial economic process, which established a "win-win" situation for both the members of the Eastern Partnership and their large imperious neighbour, the Kremlin saw as a battle over spheres of influence, and reacted accordingly. Pat Cox, former President of the European Parliament and leading member of an EU monitoring mission in Ukraine, described this reaction. It took the form of economic intimidation, he explained, of a "deliberate targeting of commercial enterprises" which caused "great distress", and of an application by Russia of "pressure that was real, visible, determined and deliberate".

Commonspace.eu Polina Ivanova noted in her despatches from Vilnius that the question that was raised most frequently in the discussions on the margins of the Summit was whether the Eastern Partnership structure is actually flexible and innovative enough to help countries through difficult processes of change, the cost of the reforms required to adapt institutions to EU standards and, most crucially, to deal with the pressure applied by Russia.

This debate has now moved on from the realm of journalists, commentators and civil society, to the corridors of power.

On 10 December EU Enlargement Commissioner Stefan Fule, who oversees the Eastern Partnership program addressed the European Parliament in candid terms on this very matter. In a thinly veiled rebuke to member states for failing to offer Eastern Partners the prospect of full membership sometime in the future Fule told MEPs, "Could we have done more than repeating that we welcome the European aspiration? I think, the time has come for us to be more strategic, and if we are saying "A" and we want to transform that

part of Europe, then we should be ultimately ready to say "B", that we are ready to use the most appropriate instrument we have for

transformation. The light at the end of the tunnel is missing."

Fule, also admitted that Vilnius was a wake-up call, "our Eastern Partnership agenda is not directed against anyone, quite to the contrary – all stand to gain. Any threats – of any form – from Russia linked to the signing of agreements with the European Union are unacceptable. The Vilnius summit proved to be an important "reality check" in this regard, one that was not of the European Union's choosing. And we have drawn the necessary conclusions."

Fule ended his speech to MEPs with a warning, "We need to be more strategic and resolute –history will judge us not by the promises we made in Vilnius, but by the promises we keep."

"To a considerable extent, the ball is in the European court, in that at Vilnius, and in the direct aftermath, the EU will have to be more consistent and flexible, juggling several balls. In all six countries, albeit to a different extent, Europe is viewed as a repository of hopes and aspirations for a better future and normally functioning states. Moldova and Georgia have both made it to Vilnius braving a whole range of hostile moves and threats on the part of a revisionist Russia hell-bent to drag the post-Soviet states into the past. So, Europe should reward this commitment and reciprocate. Which is a big question, given the EU's and its individual member state's past record of appeasing Moscow."

George Mchedlishvili, fellow at London's Chatham House and an Associate Professor at the University of Georgia in a comment to commonspace.eu on 28 November 2013.

Source: Compiled by the editorial team of commonspace.eu, with Polina Ivanova in Vilnius and other staff members.

Congratulations Georgia!

On 29 November 2013 in Vilnius, Georgia initialed an Association Agreement with the European Union taking its relations with Europe to a new level.





The Association Agreement is a concrete way to take advantage of the very positive dynamics in EU-Georgia relations. It focuses

on support for core reforms, economic recovery, governance, sectoral cooperation and the far-reaching liberalisation of Georgia's trade with the EU.

The Association Agreement aims to deepen political and economic relations between Georgia and the EU, and to gradually integrate Georgia into the EU Internal Market. It includes the creation of a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), which is a core part of the Agreement.

The main areas of co-operation are:

Core reforms: reforms are foreseen in a number of key areas, including security policy, economic recovery and growth, governance and sector cooperation in areas such as energy, transport, environmental protection, industrial cooperation, social development and protection, equal rights, consumer protection education, and youth and cultural cooperation.

Values: The Agreement places great emphasis on democracy and the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, good governance, a market economy and sustainable development.

Trade: The Agreement will offer Georgia a framework for enhancing its trade and for economic growth by the removal of customs tariffs and quotas, and by a comprehensive approximation of laws, norms and regulations in various traderelated sectors. This will facilitate Georgia's progressive integration with the EU economy.

Source: commonspace.eu with the EU Delegation to Georgia



"Your efforts, your determination, your courage and political will have brought us here today, to initial the most far-reaching agreements ever negotiated by the European Union with partner countries. Congratulations are due to the authorities in Georgia and the Republic of

Moldova, and to the civil society contributors who have supported these efforts.

This negotiation process has once again confirmed Georgia and Moldova's historic ties with the countries of the European Union. We share culture and we share values. I trust that together we will continue to promote democracy, and respect for human rights and the rule of law.

From the outset the European Union's countries and institutions have respected the sovereign choice of our partners and not exerted undue pressure. I am glad that the societies of Georgia and Moldova have responded positively to the European Union's continued commitment to engagement, and to our invitation to develop deeper political and economic relations. I have no doubt that this will bring many benefits to all sides. I am pleased to see that we are well on our way."

Herman Van Rompuy, the President of the European Council at the ceremony of the initialling of the Association Agreement between the EU and Georgia and Moldova.

Cover picture: President Ilham Aliev of Azerbaijan and President Serzh Sargsyan of Armenia, together with their Foreign Ministers and the co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Process at the start of their meeting in Vienna on 19 November 2013 (picture courtesy of the OSCE)

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