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bkhaz alliance

"Voice of the Abkhaz majority"

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| TO: Peace & Revival of ABCHAZIA | DATE: Sep 21/00     |
| PAGE: 1 OF 10 pages             |                     |
| FROM: DR. Y. KAZAN              | FAX#: (73) 942-0523 |

MESSAGE:

BEST REGARDS

To My Fellow ABKHAZIAN'S

*[Handwritten signature]*

DR. Y. KAZAN

**CONFIDENTIAL**



Voice of the Abkhaz majority

September 20, 2000

Peace and Revival of Abkhazia-Foundation  
380008 Rustaveli Ave. 29  
Tbilisi, Georgia

Dear Members:

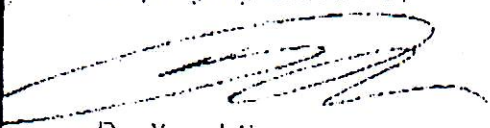
Thank you for your correspondence of September 17, 2000 that was delivered to me in person by Minister Malkhaz Kakabadze during my recent meeting with President Shevardnadze in New York. Our meeting was fruitful, constructive and will likely lead to further face to face sessions.

I share many of the thoughts and opinions in your letter. Abkhazia's future must be debated and decided by its people including the Diaspora. The present leadership is incapable of providing the much-needed vision to chart our future course of action. Regrettably it has failed the rest of time.

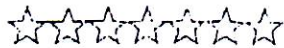
I am enclosing a recent article submitted to the Georgian President in person and members of the United Nations and State department.

I look forward to meeting with all of you at a time, place and date of our mutual convenience. Please advise me of your availability.

Respectfully Submitted,



Dr. Yanal Karan



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"Voice of the Abkhaz majority"

Abkhazia and Georgia hard choices and bold measures for peace.

Abkhazia and Georgia have a unique historical opportunity to end the political crisis and economic devastation. It is incumbent upon the leadership of both countries to boldly chart a new course in the peace process.

From a historical prospective the Georgians in their quest for independence adopted their constitution of 1921. Concurrently, in their quest for their inalienable right to a homeland and sovereignty, the Abkhazians adopted the constitution of 1925. Ironically, the Georgian leadership viewed this measure as secessionist while Abkhazia was seeking nothing less than a degree of political sovereignty, cultural identity and repatriation of its refugees.

The Abkhaz Diaspora previously has failed to effectively communicate its outrage with the status quo and economic deprivation that is currently taking place in Sukhum. Our actions in negotiating for Abkhazia not only are morally right but politically correct. We cannot turn the clock backward; we must be committed to democratic ideals and progressive reforms as we debate the issues among each other and our Georgian counterparts.

In the process, the role of the Diaspora will be elevated to an important one, i.e. put it in a position to define both what is good and bad in Abkhaz politics. It will help redefine its role giving it a permanent quality. Presently we react instead of pro-act and that is detrimental to the future health status of our nation.

Abkhazians and Georgians can no longer afford to conduct their business in a manner that is full of sentiment, emotion and irrational thinking. We must convince the world community that we appreciate and believe in the rule of law, and the principles of territorial integrity even within a federative Georgia. Abkhazia must be receptive to alternative forms of unity with the Georgian Republic including a federative union within Georgia that does not compromise Abkhaz sovereignty and international guarantees. The principles of territorial integrity and the program to right the wrongs of Stalin are in fact politically and morally imperative. We should demand nothing less at the bargaining table

with our Georgian counterparts. The time has come for the Georgian leadership to recognize Abkhazia's inalienable right to a homeland, sovereignty and security.

The continuance of the Status quo between our respective nations is unacceptable. Abkhazia and Georgia are locked into political positions, which make the prospects for peace unachievable. In particular, the leadership in both countries continues to promise peace without any concrete agenda or unrealistic agendas. Both sides must negotiate in earnest instead of pretending to negotiate.

To the present date, President Shevardnadze and the Georgian Parliament are committed to an approach for peace with Abkhazia that has proven untenable. The reality is that Georgia no longer controls Abkhazia. Hence, the Georgian agenda for peace must acknowledge this reality and reasonably accommodate Abkhazia's right to sovereignty and a homeland for its people. The alternative is another round of hostilities for which the Georgians cannot prevail. A new war will destabilize Georgia and hamper its quest for economic development and further prolong the hardship of its people.

Furthermore, it is long overdue that the leadership in Georgia respects the rights of the Abkhaz people. Concurrently, the Abkhazians must respect the rights of the Georgian people. Bitter memories of brutal fighting makes future co-existence quite problematic but still achievable. Peaceful coexistence will require both parties to find an honorable and dignified solution and permit the healing process and confidence building to take place. In order to eradicate the sins of the past, a confederative union state or a federative relationship are the only two viable solutions to the conflict if it is tailored to the needs of both peoples. In either scenario, Abkhaz sovereignty and security must be respected. The name of the future Abkhaz-Georgian State is irrelevant. The critical issue is the rights and privileges that the Abkhaz people enjoy within that framework.

Fundamental concessions by the Georgia Republic are essential if the Abkhaz people are to consider a future relationship with it. Once Georgia guarantees Abkhazia sovereignty, security, and economic autonomy then Abkhazia must be willing to accept Georgian leadership and its representation internationally. Concomitantly, Abkhazia will recognize the rights of the Georgian population in the Gal region to self-rule within the Abkhaz State.

The essential principles for a peaceful, honorable and dignified solution to the conflict with the Georgian Republic are readily identifiable, yet somehow overlooked and ignored by the existing leadership. These components are as follows:

- First** The inalienable right of all refugees be it Abkhaz or Georgian to return to their homeland.
- Second** Abkhazia's right to control, promote and develop its culture, language, customs, educational systems and identity within the Abkhaz State.
- Third** Meaningful not cosmetic democracy in Abkhazia.
- Fourth** An absolute Abkhaz veto power over Georgian legislation as regards Abkhazia.
- Fifth** Abkhazia's right to maintain its own militia
- Sixth** Abkhazia right to control its economic destiny.
- Seventh** Comprehensive economic reform and planning including reparations paid to Abkhazia for war damages.
- Eighth** Preserving the territorial integrity of the Georgian Republic.
- Ninth** Georgian preeminence in international relations.
- Tenth** Georgian Republic right to levy reasonable tax revenues from Abkhazia.
- Eleventh** A joint Georgian- Abkhaz customs/immigration policy.
- Twelfth** Georgian population self-rule and veto power within the Abkhaz State. (Precise formula to be determined)

The above listed principals represent the critical guarantees required in the evolution of a new Abkhaz-Georgian State relationship. This list is not exhaustive and may be modified and supplemented between the respective parties.

The role of the Abkhaz Diaspora to the present date and time has remained an untapped resource for change and implementation for the above principles. It has been ignored by the leadership in Abkhazia despite the fact that it represents an absolute majority of the Abkhaz people worldwide. The inherent distrust of the leadership in Abkhazia is part of Stalin's legacy, which regrettably plagues all people living in the former Soviet Union including the Abkhaz living in exile today and it can no longer be overlooked by the Georgian leadership. In contrast

The Abkhaz Diaspora should be embraced as a counter balance to the existing ruling elite in Sukhum to force change of the status quo for the benefit of Abkhazians and Georgians alike.

The time has come for both nations to seize this historic and unique opportunity to overcome past hostilities and build bridges for national reconciliation, political harmony and economic prosperity.



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Dr. Y. Kazan

Dated: 8/15/00