

"Большинство в ПАСЕ хочет наказать Россию"

Блицинтервью

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На открывающейся сегодня сессии ПАСЕ делегацию РФ могут лишить права голоса или полномочий. Что это означает для отношений России и Совета Европы, корреспонденту "Ъ" МАРИИ Ъ-ЕФИМОВОЙ рассказал докладчик ПАСЕ по РФ АНДРЕАС ГРОСС.

Как вы будете голосовать по санкциям в отношении России?

Я не поддерживаю ни один из вариантов. Я не хочу становиться на сторону тех кругов в России, которые считают, что вступление в Совет Европы было проявлением слабости и что сейчас нужно выйти из организации. Символический акт наказания России в форме приостановки парламентских полномочий делегации в ПАСЕ не решит реальных проблем и не произведет никакого впечатления на Кремль. Я намерен предложить на сессии создать парламентский комитет по расследованию, куда вошли бы представители РФ и Украины. Он занялся бы анализом событий во взаимоотношениях Москвы и Киева за последний год, которые привели к нынешнему кризису. Но мне еще придется собрать необходимое для реализации этой инициативы большинство. Пока же большинство в ПАСЕ хочет наказать Россию.

До исключения РФ из Совета Европы может дойти?

Это может решить только Комитет министров Совета Европы. Я знаю, что некоторые депутаты ПАСЕ будут добиваться этого. Но не думаю, что исполнительная власть примет такое решение, ведь европейские правительства понимают: ни процветания, ни мира в Европе без России не будет. Хотя, безусловно, то, что она сделала с Крымом, непростительно.

Нынешний кризис можно сравнить с 2008 годом, когда случился российско-грузинский конфликт?

В 2008 году президенту Саакашвили не хватило благоразумия не провоцировать войну со страной, чья армия одна из крупнейших в мире. Кроме того, грузинские власти де-факто не контролировали эти

части своей территории, в отличие от украинских властей, у которых был контроль над Крымом. В Южной Осетии русские были в опасности, по Крыму же нет достоверных доказательств, что русскоязычным там что-то угрожало.

Почему ПАСЕ заблокировала запрос РФ к Венецианской комиссии дать оценку легитимности нынешних властей Украины?

Никакого запрета не было. Я обязательно предложу, чтобы наши комитеты и бюро ассамблеи попросили Венецианскую комиссию проделать эту работу. Согласно правилам, такой запрос не может исходить от одной России.

ПАСЕ планирует осудить действия правых радикалов на Украине?

Уверен, мы это сделаем. Но это не оправдывает действий РФ.

Что будет в вашем следующем докладе по России?

Если ПАСЕ наложит санкции на российских парламентариев, я могу забыть о поездках в Россию и следующем мониторинговом докладе. Но то, что произошло,— нарушение правил и принципов Совета Европы, международных соглашений, которые Москва когда-то подписала. Я вижу множество вероятных причин, по которым российские власти решились на присоединение Крыма, но я не вижу этому никаких оправданий.

The text above is based on the following English version.

Would you vote for removal of accreditation or for suspending the voting rights of our delegation?

No.

Why?

I do not want to serve the interests of those in the Kremlin who think, that it was a mistake and an expression of weakness to join the Council of Europe 20 years ago and who look now for any pretext to leave it. Suspending parliamentary rights

of the Russian delegation would not help to improve anybody's life or policies but would just be a political surrogate. By this, I want to say that it would be a symbolic act of punishment but it would not change anything to the better and would not make any impression to Mr. Putin. My proposition will be to create a common parliamentary investigation committee, which puts together all the facts and actions between Russia and Kiev from August 2013 until the end of March 2014 and evaluate them. By doing so we can show to our Russian colleagues what Russia could have done and how effectively it could have served its interest by observing and respecting international law and the agreements that Russia has signed in the 1990's and how any non-respect for the the civilian innovations after the slaughters of the 2nd world war would harm Russia's interest in any way, especially in the Middle and eastern homeland. However, I am aware that I still have to find and work to get a majority behind my ideas and that those who want to punish the Russian Parliamentarians for what president Putin is responsible for might today have the majority within the PACE.

To your point of view, could the current crisis in the relations of Russia and Europe lead this time to depriving Russia of membership at the Council?

The Committee of Ministers (CoM) can only decide this, but some MP's will defend amendments, which ask the CoM to do so. I do not think that the CoM will decide this way. Because the majority of the European Governments are aware that you can only find peace and prosperity in Europe together and not against the Russian Government. What Putin has done with the Crimea is unforgivable. It is irresponsible today for anybody who replaces the rule of law by the rule of force. Small states know this perhaps better than the big ones, who like to put power before the law. But this would mean a regression of the civilian progress we need so much.

To which extent can we compare this crisis to the situation of the 2008 when two republics declared independence from Georgia?

This comparison does not help at all. First, it was an expression of the lack of wisdom of Mr. Sakachvili to want to win against one of the biggest armies of the world and triggered a war with the Russian Federation. Second Georgia had never a real control over some parts of Georgia, like for instance the peninsula of Crimea. Abkhazia was for a long time de jure part of Georgia, but de facto, they did not control much there. We do need to encourage many colleagues to analyze the questions carefully, without any pressure. In Abkhazia Russian Nationals were threatened - in the Crimea nobody has any proofs published similar to these accusations.

As a co-rapporteur on Russia, do you plan to include your assessment of the events in Ukraine to your report?

I would like to, but I know, that when the PACE will decide any sanctions to fellow MP's I can forget to go to Moscow and to start to prepare the next monitoring report. Then the Russian authorities will obstruct any meeting with representatives of the CoE and will not help us to find any interlocutors and of the intellectuals. I am very much in doubt if the Monitoring of Russian will survive any sanctions. The humiliation of the 1990's was the reason for Putin to recreate a kind of new imperialism; now his lack of wisdom and his underestimation of the importance.

What is your opinion on the annexation of Crimea?

It is a violation of CoE-rules and principles, it violates international law and many agreements Russia signed in the interest of the peoples of Russia and Europe and put's force as before 1945 before the law. We will fight against this lack of wisdom, but we will not reproduce the same wisdom-deficit in the foreign page.

Don't you see any justification of this step by Russia?

I see many probable reasons why it happened but I do not see any justification. When others do such mistakes - the US is not member of the CoE - we do not have to refer to them.

Do you expect that the Parliamentary Assembly could also express concerns on the issue of the far right radicals from "Pravyi sektor" who has become an important factor in Ukrainian political landscape and can enter the new Ukrainian government?

I am sure that we will do this. But these crazy nationalistic and brutal people do not justify to make any mistakes from our side. ASs well it does not justify the non-respect of international law and agreements by the Russian President.

Why the Parliamentary Assembly has banned the Russian request to the Venice Commission to assess the legitimacy of the decisions made by Ukraine's parliament after the change of power?

The PACE did not ban this. I will propose that our committees or even the bureau will ask the VC to do this work. It is just that following the rules, such a request cannot come from Russia; it has to come from the PACE or the Ukrainian Government. Such nuances are important and there non-respect open the door to misinformation and manipulation.

At the previous session, the Parliamentary Assembly has decided to vote on suspending the voting rights for Ukrainian delegation. Why was this decision abolished?

This was only a threat in a resolution I did not like and I did not vote for. We did not abolish a real decision. It was a proposition, which was conditional. Again, you have to be careful when you make judgments otherwise you are quickly misled.