

Aslan Ismayilov

**SUMGAYIT -  
BEGINNING OF THE  
COLLAPSE OF THE USSR**

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**Translated by Vagif Ismayil and Vusal Kazimli**

**SUMGAYIT**  
**PROCEEDINGS**



## **HOW I WAS APPOINTED AS THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN THE CASE AND OBTAINED INSIGHT OF IT**

Dear readers!

Before I start telling you about Sumgayit events, which I firmly believe are of vital importance for Azerbaijan, and in the trial of which I represented the government, about peripeteia of this trial and other happenings which became echoes and continuation of the tragedy in Sumgayit, and finally about inferences I made about all the abovementioned as early as in 1989, I would like to give you some brief background about myself, in order to demonstrate you that I was not involved in the process occasionally and that my conclusions and position regarding the case are well grounded.

Thus, after graduating from the Law Faculty of of the Kuban State University of Russia with honours, I was appointed to the Neftekumsk district court of the Stavropol region as an interne. After the lapse of some time I became the assistant for Mr Krasnoperov, the chairman of the court, who used to be the chairman of the Altay region court and was known as a good professional. The existing legislation at that time allowed two people's assessors to participate in the court trials in the capacity of judges alongside with the actual judge. After consultations of Mr Krasnoperov with the highest authorities of the district I was elected as a people's assessor and empowered with the function of a judge. After a brief period of work in this capacity, namely in April 1984 I was transferred to the post of judge in the Andropovsky district people's court of the Stravropolskiy region. In those days Mr Alexander Ivanovich Kuzminov was the chairman of the Andropovsky district court with whom I had purely business relations. Observing my due diligence to work, he started after some time transferring me his own assignments related to making generalization (summarising) of the judicial experience. In other words, Kuzminov started having a very positive opinion on me. One day he asked me to chair a case with the claim to restore a woman with the surname Pushkarskaya in her work, as he had to urgently go to the neighbouring town of Pyatigorsk. He asked me to substitute him in the process and dismiss the complaint. It meant that Kuzminov for the first time asked me to decide the case in a definitely ordered in advance manner. I did not refuse immediately and said that I would adopt the decision after the consideration of the case. Feeling my hesitation he said: "Chair the trial, if you want to adopt a decision on her restoration back to her post, please postpone the trial, I will come back tomorrow and adopt the decision myself". Then he added that it was a very

important case, as it was the personal errand of Boris Biryukov, the first secretary of the district party committee.

I must note that by that time Biryukov had already been working in the capacity of the secretary of the party committee over 40 years and known as an extremely ruthless man. At three o'clock in the afternoon I began the process. The merits of the case were the following: Pushkarskaya worked in the district union of consumers ("Raypo"). By profession she was an economist. The chairman of the Raypo was Mr Grin, Greek by nationality, who was a close friend of Biryukov. Mr Grin organized such trick at work: some goods and products which were brought to the district from remote regions were registered as partially or fully spoiled and unsuitable for consumption, knowing in advance that nobody would examine the quality of the goods and products transported from Siberia. Then those "spoiled" goods and products were illegally sold. Mrs Pushkarskaya was the person assigned to conduct this illegal operation, yet she refused to fulfil it and as a result was dismissed from her post. She complained to the court claiming to be restored in her post. In the process of the hearing I paid attention that despite her Russian surname she did not look like a Russian. Later it became known that she was a Karachay by nationality. She explained that after marrying a Russian man her parents turned away from her. Then her husband left her with three children. She needed her job to support small children, and her dismissal was completely unlawful. I was trapped in a very tricky situation: on the one hand, I could not fulfil the errand of Kuzminov whom I respected, and with whom I had very good relations; on the other hand, I knew exactly that if I would have postponed the process for the next day, Kuzminov would have definitely dismissed the claim and not restored her back to her job. So, I decided to satisfy the complaint of this woman and adopt a decision in her favour and restore her in her previous work.

On the same day, at approximately 9 pm Mr Kuzminov came to my house. He looked very disappointed and told me: "Didn't I request you to postpone the process?" Then he repeated several times that it was the instruction of the first secretary and because of my decision he would now have serious problems with Mr Biryukov. I admitted that I had not acted properly towards Mr Kuzminov; nevertheless, I explained the reason of my behaviour and in order not to make him feel awkward in the presence of Biryukov, I asked Mr Kuzminov to tell him the truth.

Several days later Mr Kuzminov informed me that the case of Pushkarskaya was submitted discussion to the bureau of the district party committee. I was 26 years old then and did not know majority of the

officials in the district as I was appointed not long ago.

The meeting was chaired by Mr Biryukov and attended by some bureau members whom I knew, and by some whom I did not; the deputy chairman of the court of the Region Mrs Fedorova, and other persons. There was also an aged person sitting next to the first secretary. As soon as Biryukov opened the sitting of the bureau, he mentioned that some facts of violations are taking place in the Andropovsk district court. Then he added that the main perpetrator of those violations was an inexperienced and newly appointed judge Aslan Ismayilov, described by the senior officials of the law-enforcement bodies as “ill-bred and extremely self-satisfied”. Then the floor was given to the chief of the district militia Colonel Chernov. I must note that Chernov used to be the chief of militia in the town of Georgiyevsk; hence due to the violations in his work he was “exiled” to Andropovsk, relatively a small district as a sign of punishment. He spoke in the same spirit as the previous speaker, characterized me as “a self-satisfied” man lacking experience and ignoring everyone. Then the floor was given to the prosecutor of the district Mr Panin who did not conceal his dissatisfaction with me. It was true that he had “reasons” for it, because I had returned several of his cases back to him as their investigations were not completed. Mr Panin also repeated the previous speakers and accused me in judicial misconduct. Interrupting him I asked why he accused me in violations. My decision on the case was valid; despite it was appealed, the Region court did not handle it yet. In other words, my judgement was not overruled, therefore the prosecutor supposed to have no reasons and right to accuse me in the breaching of law. After my interruption, the Deputy Prosecutor of the Region Sherbakov, who was also present in the sitting, immediately stood up and threw me in a rude manner: “Who are you to behave impudently like this and interrupt others?” I did not keep silent and protested against his offence. The aged man who was sitting next to the first secretary told me to leave the room and wait in the corridor, and I followed. The discussion lasted about an hour. Then Mr Kuzminov appeared at the door and invited me in. The stranger, whom I had described before, introduced himself. It was Mr Yeremin, the second secretary of the Stavropol region party committee. He advised me to defend my right position all the time and to complain to him if any problems occur in the future. These words were unexpected for me.

In 1987 there was election of judges held in the USSR. According to the existing at that time regulations, it was necessary to have the reference of the first secretary of the district party committee to be elected as a judge. Naturally, Biryukov did not write any reference for me, so I started looking

for a new job. Exactly at that time, Mr Kuzminov rang me up and said that we were urgently invited to Stravropol.

We came to Mr Viktor Limanov, the chief of the Department of Justice of the Stavropol region, and together with him we went to the party committee of the Stavropol region where we were received by Mr Yeremin. As soon as we entered, he asked me why I did not complain to him when I was subjected to injustice. I answered that I was not subjected to any injustice yet, as there were still two months before the elections. Then he told me that he had nominated my candidacy for election to the post of the chairman of the Zelenchuk district court. To tell the truth, such proposal frightened me first, because this court was one of the largest courts in the Stavropol region and there were four judges working there. Besides, it was one of the worst in the region due to its reputation. One would imagine what kind of problems he/she might encounter while leading such a big and difficult group of judges.

The period of my work in Zelenchuk was interesting and at the same time very complicated. It was mainly because of the first secretary of the district party committee Aleksey Ivanovich Fedorov, who was, according to rumours, a friend of Mikhail Gorbachev. Despite he was as rude as the first secretary of the district party committee of Andropovsk, unlike him he was a very dishonest and dirty person. The reason why people were rumouring about his friendship with Gorbachev was the fact that Gorbachev's summer house was in Zelenchuk, in the place called Arkhyz. Nevertheless, not only Gorbachev, but also other members of the Politburo (Political Bureau) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party came there to spend holidays.

Chief of the Zelenchuk militia was Sergey Ageev, a man completely far from abidance to law, but having protectors in the person of Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Murakhovskiy, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Agricultural Industry of the USSR (Sergey Ageev was husband of his nephew and from the same region as him). Having such contacts he was smart enough to use them skilfully. The prosecutor of the district was Viktor Petrovich Bratkov; it would be to the point to mention that he was originally from Yevlakh region of Azerbaijan and perfectly spoke Azerbaijani. All the senior officials of the district were older than me in age. It is even possible to say that the service years of each of them exceeded my age, and making use of it they looked at me as at their inferior. Under such circumstances I had to be careful all the time. Being aware of the malevolence of the district



officials to me, I approached my duties and work carefully and with the extreme sense of responsibility, because I could be the object of their dirty tricks any time. I particularly had bad relations with Bratkov, because very often he took bribes and sent criminal cases to the court without thorough investigation. The lawyers called such cases “raw”, “crude”, and “not refined”. He wanted me to make judgements on such cases according to his “scenario”, while I returned them back for further inquiry inferring from the incompleteness of the investigation. This was the main reason why our relations were spoiled, tense and unenviable. To make you to have a clear perception on Bratkov I shall mention only one fact: I summed up the cases sent to our court from the district prosecutor’s office and found out that over 40 per cent of the cases sent by Bratkov were turned back for further investigation. Existence of such statistics was the worse and undesirable situation for a prosecutor.

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I had already been working in Zelenchuk for a certain period of time when I was informed that my case would be discussed at the bureau of the district party committee. When I enquired what it was connected with, I learned that the reason was “soft nature” of sentences imposed by me in some cases. When I read the documents, I found out that Bratkov and Ageev wrote a written complaint to Fedorov, the first secretary of the district party committee. They claimed in the complaint as if “they put into prison the criminals, while Ismayilov sets them free”. The people who lived and worked in those years are aware of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the fight against the abuse of the national property. Majority of the cases filed to the court were connected with the fight against those abuses.

The district where I lived and worked was a mountainous place where sheep-breeding was highly developed. Majority of the working population here were shepherds. As a rule, in every farm there was one head shepherd bearing responsibility for others. In winter months a part of the sheep perished because of cold and lack of fodder. The responsibility for the loss was laid on senior shepherds, and as “officials” they could be subjected to arrests. The criminal code of those years provided for two years of imprisonment or three years of correction works for the crime of negligence. Twenty percent of the wages of the people sentenced to correction works were deducted in favour of the state. I thought that imprisonment of shepherds as officials was incompatible with any norm from logical and legal point of view. Therefore, in such cases I sentenced the shepherds to

suspended correction works. It allowed them to keep their jobs and pay 20 percent of their wages to the state budget. Just these very facts had become the basis for accusing me during the meeting of the bureau.

At the beginning of the sitting Bratkov made a report and demonstrated with the figures that I (Ismayilov) had adopted lighter sentences and freed a certain number of criminals. Then he added that the liberated persons were mainly Muslims. In fact, the shepherds who were freed by me were mainly local Muslims of the Karachay nationality. Cattle-breeding was such a hard and specific job that it was alien to the Russians; they did not want to work in this sphere. In winter in high mountainous lands the climate was very cold and severe; to save the flock, shepherds were obliged not to sleep day and night. If the Russians who were unaware of the specific nature of this profession would have worked under such hard conditions, the flocks would have been frozen.

Bratkov was supported by Ageev. The first secretary of the district party committee also demonstrated unanimity with them and strained the situation more with his heckling comment: "Are you working here in the capacity of the chairman of the court to conceal the crimes committed by the Mohammedans?" Such an accusation was extremely serious and unjust, because in the whole period of my service I had never faced the dilemma: Muslim or Christian, Russian or Karachay? Therefore, I could not restrain myself and objected to the first secretary: "I understand the reason of the aggression on the part of Bratkov and Ageev, but taking into account that we live in the multinational and multi-confessional country, I do not understand why you support the position of this group of men". Fedorov did not like my serious reproof, but as the issue was transferred to the platform of inter-confessional and inter-ethnic relations, he held back his wrath. Then I gave explanation to the accusations against me: "Each of these shepherds has seven-eight children. First of all, if I arrest and imprison them, the children will be deprived of their fathers. In such case, the care of the upbringing of the children will lie on the state. Secondly, as the children will grow without their fathers, the probability of their turning into criminals in the future will grow also, and finally, if those shepherds are in prison, the burden for their upkeep will lie on the government. I prefer to force the shepherds to work in those hard conditions again and pay 20 per cent of their monthly wages to the state". Then the second secretary of the district party committee Ovechkina took the floor. She noted that I had acted in the interests of the party and the state, but the position of the prosecutor was wrong. In this way she defended me decisively, and as a result, no measure of punishment was taken against me.

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As it was noted above, the period of work in Zelenchuk was very difficult, but at the same time very interesting for me. As the summer houses of the members of the Political Bureau were located there, I became familiar with many interesting and important people. Among those whom I met and with whom I went hunting, very often were the persons who occupied high posts and were very close to the administration of the USSR. But there was also a certain category of people whom I met very frequently and relationship with them soon acquired a sense of friendship. Closer to me among them was Professor Boris Valentinovich Smirnov, Doctor of History, a real scholar. He used to be the chief of the Department of Education and Science in Stavropol, then secretary of the party committee of Kaliningrad district after which he returned back to Stavropol in the capacity of the secretary of Stavropol region party committee. Namely he played the key role in the appointment of Gorbachev to the post of the secretary of the Stavropol town committee of komsomol, and then promoted him to the post of the first secretary of the komsomol of the Stavropol region. Smirnov was an exceptionally interesting man; he knew Gorbachev and the people who surrounded him well. My other connections were scholar Boris Sinelnikov, rector of the Polytechnic Institute of Stavropol, and professor Boris Minaev, rector of the Medical Institute, who very often joked: “It seems that you are making all Borises your friends”.

**A small digression.** Very few people know that using namely such contacts I succeeded in January 1994 to achieve withdrawal of the Russian Cossacks fighting in the Garabagh war on the Armenian side against Azerbaijan. This episode is well known to Mikhail Zabelin, the head of the Russian community in Azerbaijan. At that time I was already working in the administration of the President of Azerbaijan in Baku. When I found out that the Cossacks were fighting in the Garabagh war, I phoned people whom I knew in Krasnodar and Stavropol where I used to live and work, and explained that such an action of the Cossacks would be detrimental to the life and security of the Russian community in Azerbaijan. Due to the large number of the Russian population in Azerbaijan, there were Russian schools, Orthodox Christian churches, cultural centres in the country, and the Azerbaijanis had good relations with them. Nevertheless, this situation could be shadowed by the participation of the Cossacks in Garabagh war. Besides, it was not even possible to compare the attitude toward the Russians in Azerbaijan and living conditions created for them here with the situation in Armenia. I explained to my associates that the Armenians were

building a mono-ethnic state in their country, where no Russians and Russian churches remained. They asked me to urgently come to Russia and promised me to arrange a meeting with the leading atamans (chieftains) of the Cossack troops. I addressed the advisors of the President, Mr Hidayat Orujov and Nureddin Sadigov with this issue, told them all about it and asked to render me financial support to travel to Russia, but they could help me only with the purchase of the plane tickets. I took an unpaid leave from my work and together with the clergyman of the Baku Orthodox church Father Sergiy and vice-chairwoman of the Russian community Lyubov Morozova left for Krasnodar where I used to study and work. There we met with Vladimir Gromov, Ataman of the Cossack troops of All-Kuban. I knew his brother Vasili Gromov who was the dean of the Law Faculty when I studied there. We were in good terms. With his mediation we met with Mr Reutin, chieftain of the Cossacks living in Russia and abroad, and Kozitsyn, ataman of the Don Cossacks. Then we returned to Stavropol and held negotiations with Tokarev, chieftain of the Cossack troops of the Stavropol region. In all our meetings, I myself and representatives of the Russian community tried to explain the real situation to the atamans. Simultaneously with our meetings the newspapers published articles about the crimes committed by the Armenians. Our efforts brought effect: the atamans of the Russian Cossacks applied to their compatriots fighting with the Armenians against Azerbaijan, and returned them home.

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In February, 1988 the “famous” events took place in Sumgayit, as a result of which Azerbaijanis were presented to the world as barbarians. The information disseminated by the mass media evoked in me the sense of shame. The eyes of all my friends and associates were filled with surprise and pity when they saw me. Viktor Limanov, who at that time was the chief of the Department of Justice of the Stavropol region, even asked me once in perplexity: “Aslan, what has happened in Sumgayit? I even could not imagine that a nation could be able to commit such a savagery”. Seeing my surprise, he continued: “Don’t you know? The Azerbaijanis beheaded the Armenians and played football with their heads, ripped the bellies open of the pregnant women...” I could not object, as I did not know what really had happened...I did not have any relative or friend living in Sumgayit or in Baku and having necessary information who could convey me the truth about the events there. I do not think there is a need to speak about information deficiency characterising close regimes. The press received only information which was necessary to disseminate...and information necessary to disseminate were the facts on “brutalities of the Azerbaijanis

against the Armenians...” I could not find words to explain to Limanov what had happened... I felt that not only Limanov, but also everyone else who worked with me and who knew me, looked at me with surprise and regret. I must confess that I felt ashamed and embarrassed and this feeling was with me all the time...

After the events in Sumgayit, the Armenians began to move and settle in the region where I lived. Some Armenian families settled in our district. They even opened a bakery there. Once I got a phone call and a completely unknown person began threatening me. He gave me a deadline to leave Zelenchuk; otherwise he threatened to slaughter all the members of my family, and added that he would show me what Sumgayit meant”. I must note that my family was the only Azerbaijani family in Zelenchuck. I did not react seriously to the first call. Then I received a second one with the identical warning. It already made me to be concerned about safety of my family and myself. I told my wife not to leave the house at all. I went to Alexander Litvinenko, chief of the district committee of national security, participant of the war in Afghanistan, whom I knew as an honest man, and consulted with him about the telephone calls and the threats. He convinced me that he would handle the matter. After the lapse of some time I decided to update myself about the process of investigation, as my family members were trapped in the house and could not go out at all. Litvinenko calmed me down saying that two servicemen of the national security had always been on guard in front of my house, so there was no reason for anxiety. He also added that they have established that the telephone calls had been made from the petrol station, but they could not identify the person making them. Therefore, he invited the heads of the Armenian families, who had moved from Sumgayit to his office, and made them to give written explanations. All the invited men had confirmed that they did not know anything about the said calls and promised that they would find “the culprit” themselves and punish him. Litvinenko had detained the heads of the Armenian families for 24 hours and then released, after which the telephone calls ceased.

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I had been thinking long of moving to Azerbaijan. The last events which took place in the USSR speeded the process of realization of my intention and compelled me to take the final decision. In September 1988, during my annual leave when I was in Baku, I went to the General Prosecutor of Azerbaijan Ilyas Ismayilov and requested to be received. Listening to me he gave his consent to my employment in the Central Department of the Republican Prosecutor’s Office and asked me to get my official dismissal from my previous post and move to Baku. When I

returned back to my office, I appealed to Limanov, chief of the Department of Justice of the Region. Though we were in good terms and friendly relations with him established in the years of my service there, he did not approve my request. Moreover, he told me that they had already prepared the recommendation for my appointment as the chairman of the Supreme Court of the Karachay-Cherkessian autonomous district. But even this news could not make me to change my mind, though the post promised me in Baku was an ordinary one. The first secretary of the district party committee Fedorov was completely against my request. He thought that I wanted to work in the prosecution bodies and proposed me the post of the district prosecutor. When I refused, he threatened to exclude me from the Communist Party and leave me unemployed. I firmly convinced him in my intention of dismissal. Then I received several telegrams with the signature of the deputy Prosecutor General of Azerbaijan M. Jafarguliyev. The telegrams contained questions regarding the date of my intended arrival to Baku. After the last telegram of M. Jafarguliyev, which came in the March, 1989, I phoned Ilyas Ismayilov and explained him the situation. He told me that I might come to Baku even without being discharged from the party registration. I did as he said. On the third of April 1989, I was appointed to the post of the prosecutor supervising courts in the department of the Office of the Prosecutor General of Azerbaijan. After some time I moved to Baku together with my family. Instead of the post of the chairman of the court in Russia I received the post of a prosecutor of the department supervising criminal cases in court in Azerbaijan.

As I have already mentioned, I nearly did not know anyone in Baku. Not too long after I arrived in Baku and started working there, once, quite suddenly, I was invited to the office of the Prosecutor General Ilyas Ismayilov and proposed to represent government as the public prosecutor in one of the cases on the Sumgayit events. At the same time he noted that despite he had already appointed a person, whose name was Javanshir, as the public prosecutor in the case, that person was not sufficiently experienced in that sphere. The case was quite complicated one, but as I had worked in the capacity of the judge before and had enough experience, he wanted me to exercise the powers of the public prosecutor in the court trial. It was extremely interesting for me to know what forced the Azerbaijanis to commit such crimes, therefore I accepted his proposal immediately...

Thus, I was appointed as the public prosecutor for the criminal case known as "the case of Grigorian", that is, for the case of Grigorian and six other Azerbaijanis, and beginning from that moment I started getting insight of the court files of this case. It is necessary to note that when I was

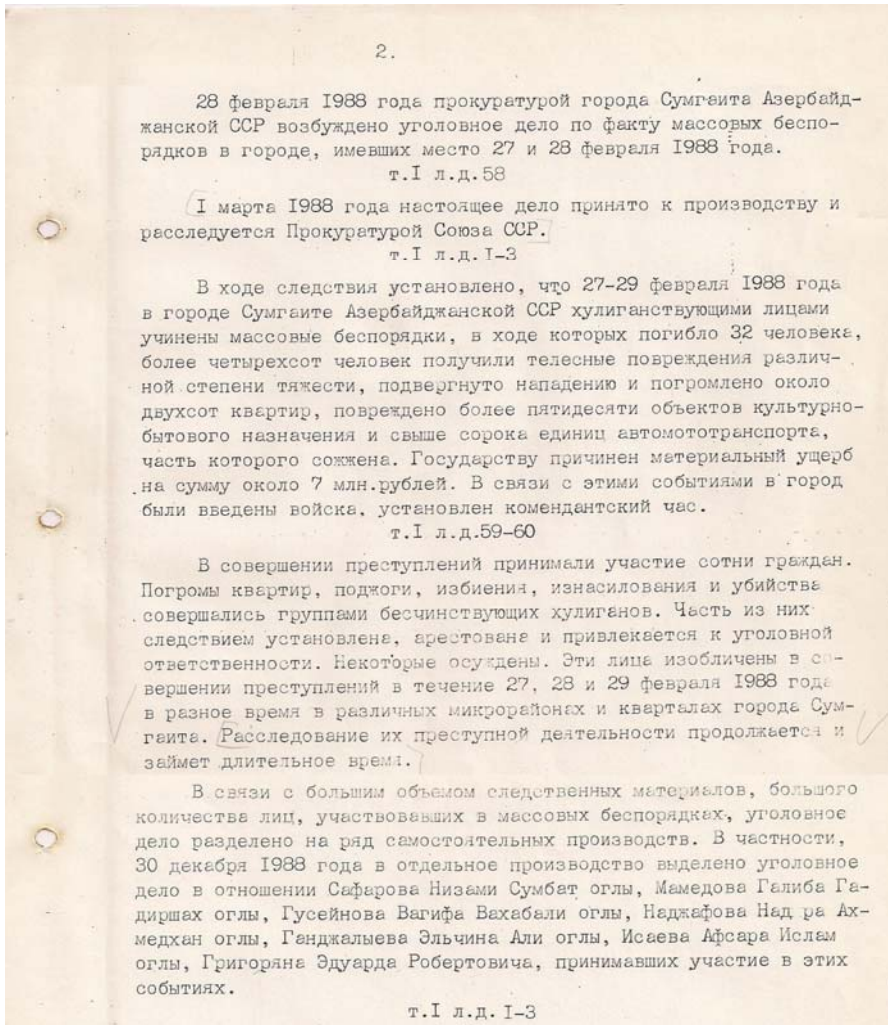
appointed as the public prosecutor for the case, it had already been transferred to the court where the preliminary trial had already been held. It meant that I had no time to get acquainted with the details of the case in a sufficient manner. Being in a desperate position, I took the materials of the criminal case home and studied them whole night.



**Public prosecutor Aslan Ismayilov representing the state in the court**

Before going into the details of the case, I would like to bring to your attention, on the basis of the materials of the criminal case, the substance of the events which took place in Sumgayit in February 1988.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



**Translation:** *On February 28, 1988, the prosecutor's office of the Sumgayit city of the Azerbaijan SSR instituted criminal case on the fact of mass disorders taking place in the city on February 27 and 28, 1988.*

*Volume 1, p. 58*

*On the March 1, 1988, the present criminal case was received and started being investigated by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR.*

*Volume 1, pp. 1-3*



*In the process of investigation it was established that on February 27-29, 1988, in the town of Sumgayit of the Azerbaijan SSR, a group of rowdy and violent persons organized mass disorders, as a result of which 32 persons were killed, over 400 persons got physical injuries of various degrees, about 200 flats were subjected to attacks and plunders, over 50 cultural and social premises were destroyed, and more than 40 vehicles of various types were damaged, part of which were burnt. The state was inflicted by the material damage of approximately seven million rubles. Due to the events armed troops were brought into the city and a curfew was imposed.*

*Volume 1, pp. 59-60*

*Hundreds of citizens were involved in the perpetrated crimes. Groups of rowdy, violent and unbridled hooligans committed plunder of flats, arsons, rapes and murdered people. A part of them has been identified by the investigation, arrested and criminal charges have been instigated against them. Some of them have already been convicted for committing crimes on February 27, 28, 29, 1988, in various times of the day and night in various residential areas (micro regions) and quarters of the town of Sumgayit. Investigation of their crimes goes on and will last long.*

*In connection with the big volume of investigation materials, large number of persons involved in mass disorders, the criminal case has been divided into a number of independent cases for being executed independently. In particular, on December 30, 1988, an individual criminal case was separated against Safarof Nizami Sumbat oghlu, Mammadov Galib Gadirshah oghlu, Huseinov Vagif Vahabali oghlu, Najafov Nadir Ahmadkhan oghlu, Ganjaliyev Elchin Ali oghlu, Isayev Afsar Islam oghlu, Grigorian Eduard Robertovich who participated in the above-mentioned events.*

*Volume 1, pp. 1-3*

**Commentary:** Thus, I started my initial insight into the case. I confess that when I was appointed as the public prosecutor on this case, I could not even imagine who could organize those events. I simply wanted to discover the reasons inciting the Azerbaijanis to commit those crimes. And when I just started to get acquainted with the case and saw the surname of Grigorian, Armenian by nationality, among the perpetrators there emerged doubt inside me: Why did an Armenian display such ruthlessness against his own people? Approximately on the tenth day after I started reading the case it became clear to me that the events in Sumgayit had been organized by the central government. The materials of the case, evidences of the witness and the process of investigation, in general, demonstrated it clearly. Then my only desire was to prove in the court that the events had been organized not from inside, but outside of Azerbaijan; to do everything possible to save

reputation of my nation, to wash the dirt from its name. I was completely sure that I could cope with the task that was handed over to me. In addition, on the first day of my appointment as the public prosecutor of the case, Mansur Ibayev, the member of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan, who was the chairing judge of the court proceeding, confessed sincerely that due to the overload of work he did not have enough time to study the case scrupulously. Moreover, taking into account that I had been appointed as the public prosecutor recently and worked in the capacity of the judge before, he asked me to handle the process completely. Therefore, I was engaged in the case day and night which left me only three or four hours a day to sleep. The more I penetrated into the substance of these events, the more I became convinced in the negative role of the representatives of the central authorities and the Armenians themselves, who were the real organizers of the events. Besides, feeling the sincerity in the words of Judge Mansur Ibayev, I could not conceal my joy, because I saw clearly that the Azerbaijanis did not look like the ones in those events as they had been presented to the entire world. I believed sincerely that I could ensure the triumph of justice in the court, which could allow us to wipe off the brand of disgrace from Azerbaijanis which came with the words “the barbarism committed by the Azerbaijanis”, therefore I could not even think that the outcomes of the proceeding would have been otherwise. Nevertheless, all turned not as I had imagined...

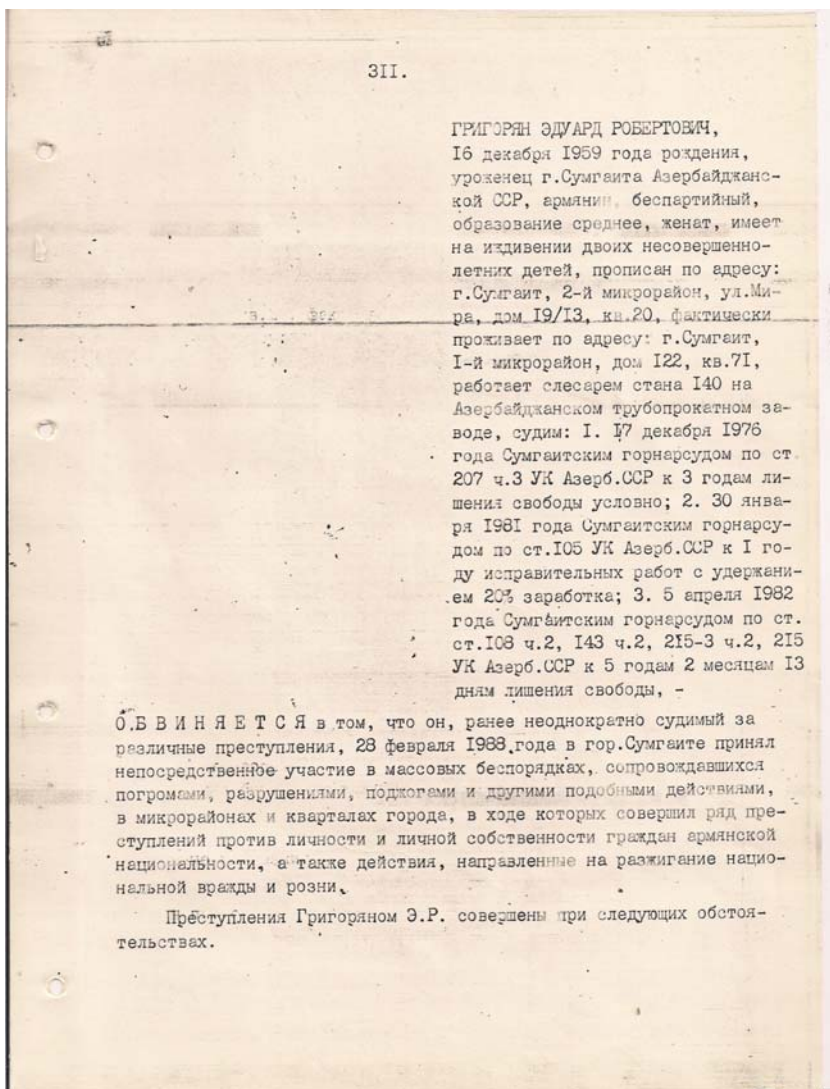
### **WHO WAS GRIGORIAN?**

As it was mentioned above, existence of the Armenian surname among the accused caught my sight at once: “Who was this Armenian? Why did he take part in the crimes against his nation? Why did the crowd grieving about the injustice and savagery of the Armenians allowed an Armenian person to be with them?” The search for the answers to these questions brought me to the truth: Grigorian was the main figure in the committed provocations, one of the persons who ruled the people and directed the crowd to plunder.

But before going onto the main events, I would like to give the readers a larger picture about personality of Grigorian who behaved so cold-heartedly in the extreme situations, created an alibi for him, distinguished with cruelty, craft and skill of influencing others and to tell them about Grigorian’s life before the Sumgayit events. For this purpose, I use the bill of indictment which I had at my disposal. It is suffice to use only the official documents in order characterize him without any bias.

In order not evoke the sense of preconception in the readers towards Grigorian; I would like to particularly note that all the participants of the investigation – operatives, investigators, and head of the group of investigators were not Azerbaijanis by nationality. And now I draw your attention to the information about the crimes, which the investigation group consisting of the professionals of the law-enforcement bodies recruited from various regions of the USSR, charged Grigorian with:

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



**Translation: Grigorian Eduard Robertovich**, born on December 16, 1959, resident of the Sumgayit city of the Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian by nationality, non-partisan, has university degree, married, with two under-age children in his dependence, registered in the following address: 1913, Mir Str., Apt 20, Micro Region 2, Sumgayit, actually resides in the following address: 122, Micro Region 1, Apt 71, Sumgayit, works as a metalworker in the Mill No 140 of the Tube-mill of Azerbaijan, has criminal records: 1. sentenced on December 17, 1976, by the Sumgayit city court on the Article 207, part 3, of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, to three years of imprisonment with suspension; 2. sentenced on January 30, 1981, by the Sumgayit city court to a year of correction works with the deduction of 20% of monthly wage on the basis of the Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR; 3. sentenced on April 5, 1982, by the Sumgayit city court to imprisonment for 5 years, 2 months and 13 days on the Article 108, part 2, Article 143, part 2, Article 215-3, part 2, Article 215 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, -

**Has been charged**, as he, who was convicted several times before for various crimes, was directly involved on February 28, 1988, in the mass disorders taking place in Sumgayit city, accompanied by plunders, destructions, arson and other identical actions in the micro regions and quarters of the town, in the process of which he perpetrated a number of crimes against the persons and their property of the Armenian nationality, and for actions directed at instigating national hatred and discord.

Grigorian committed the crimes in the following circumstances.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

312.

Зная о происходящих в г.Сумгаите массовых беспорядках, Григорян Э.Р. 23 февраля 1988 года около 16 часов с целью совершения преступлений в отношении граждан армянской национальности, присоединился к собравшейся в районе автовокзала города, на пересечении улиц Мира и Дружбы, группе хулиганствующих лиц, вооруженной металлическими трубами, прутьями, палками и другими предметами.

Примерно в 16 часов Григорян Э.Р. совместно с Исаевым А.И., Мамедовым Г.Г., Сафаровым Н.С., Ганджалцевым Э.А. и другими хулиганствующими лицами вышел на улицу Мира для остановки автотранспорта с целью выявления граждан армянской национальности и расправы над ними. Остановив автомобиль "Москвич-2140", госномер И 5258 АГ, принадлежащий на праве личной собственности Есеяну Л.Ш., следовавший из гор.Ваку под управлением Есеян Албины Александровны, Григорян Э.Р. и другие участники беспорядков, установив принадлежность пассажиров к армянской национальности, пытались вначале перевернуть автомашину вместе с пассажирами, а затем вытащили из салона находившихся в автомашине Есеяна Левона Широновича, инвалида I группы по зрению, Есеян Албину Александровну и их несовершеннолетнюю дочь Есеян Нарине Левоновну и стали избивать их. После того, как подоспели работники милиции зыврвали семью Есеян из рук хулиганствующих лиц, Григорян Э.Р. и другие участники беспорядков перевернули автомашину, а затем подожгли ее. В результате поджога была уничтожена автомашина стоимостью 6 205 рублей, а также находившиеся в ней магнитофон, радиоприемник, одежда и другие вещи потерпевших на сумму 1 277 руб.50 коп. Общая сумма причиненного потерпевшим ущерба от преступных действий Григоряна Э.Р. и других составила 7 482 руб.50 коп.

Продолжая действия, направленные на совершение преступлений против лиц армянской национальности, Григорян Э.Р. и другие примкнули к направившейся в 3-й микрорайон города группе хулиганствующих лиц, вооруженной металлическими трубами, прутьями, палками и другими предметами.

Около 18 часов Григорян Э.Р. совместно с Мамедовым Г.Г., Сафаровым Н.С., Наджафовым Н.А., Исаевым А.И., Ганджалцевым Э.А. и другими лицами с помощью металлических прутьев, труб, топоров и других

*Being aware of the mass disorders in Sumgayit, on February 28, 1988, at approx. 4 pm Grigorian E.R. joined the crowd of rowdy and violent youth armed with iron pipes, rods, sticks and other items, assembled in the area near the bus station, where the streets Mir and Druzhba crossed, with the aim of committing crimes against the city dwellers of the Armenian nationality.*

*At approximately 4 pm Grigorian E.R. together with Isayev A. I., Mammadov G.G., Safarov N.S., Ganjaliyev E.A. and other rowdy persons came to the Mir street in order to stop the transport for revealing the passengers of the Armenian nationality and committing violence against them. Stopping the car Moskvich-2140 (state registration № II 5258 AI), private property of Eseyan L.S. which moved from the direction of Baku and was driven by Eseyan Albina Alexandrovna, Grigorian E.R. and other associates of the disorders identified the passengers of the Armenian nationality in it and first tried to turn the car over together with its passengers, but then they took out of the car Eseyan Levon Shirinovich disabled of the first group with eye impairment, Eseyan Albina Alexandrovna and their underage daughter Eseyan Narine Levonovna and started beating them. Then, when the militia reached the spot and saved the family from the violence of the rowdy persons, Grigorian E.R. and other accomplices of the disorders turned the car over and set it on fire. As the result, the owner was caused a pecuniary damage in the sum of 6 205 rubles for the destroyed by the fire car and 1 277 rubles and 50 kopeks for the radio set, tape-recorder and the clothes burned in the car. The total sum of the damage inflicted as a result of the criminal actions of Grigorian E.R. and others consisted of 7 482 rubles and 50 kopeks.*

*Continuing the criminal actions aimed against the persons of the Armenian nationality, Grigorian and others joined the group of violent people walking towards the Third Micro Region of the town, armed with iron pipes, rods, sticks and other items.*

*At approx. 6pm Grigorian E.R. together with Mammadov G.G., Safarov N.S., Najafov E.A. and others broke the door of the flat No 15 (17/33 "B" Micro Region 3) with iron rods, pipes, axes and other things, where the family of Mezhlumian, Armenian by nationality lived.*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

313.

предметов взломали дверь квартиры № 15 дома № 17/33"Б" в 3-м микрорайоне, где проживала семья армянской национальности Междумян, ворвались в квартиру и учинили погром, разбили стекла в окнах, повредили и частично уничтожили мебель, посуду, одежду и другие предметы домашнего обихода. Часть имущества была выброшена во двор и сожжена.

Сопровождая свои действия насилием над жильцами квартиры, Григорян Э.Р. и другие участники погрома нанесли побои Междумян Розе Антоновне, Междумяну Григорию Арменаковичу, Междумян Людмиле Григорьевне, Междумян Карине Григорьевне. С Междумян К.Г. была сорвана одежда. После изнасилования ее вывели во двор и вновь избili.

В результате погрома квартиры с участием Григоряна Э.Р. семье Междумян причинен материальный ущерб на сумму 24 887 рублей. Частичным разрушением квартиры государству нанесен материальный ущерб на сумму 192 рубля.

Примерно в 19 часов, Григорян Э.Р. вместе с Наджафовым Н.А., Мамедовым Г.Г., Ганджальевым Э.А., Сафаровым Н.С., Гусейновым В.В., Исаевым А.И. и другими лицами ворвались в уже погромленную другими участниками беспорядков квартиру № 45 дома № 5/3 3-го микрорайона, где проживала семья армянской национальности Григорян. Обнаружив в спальне комнате под кроватью спрятавшуюся от расправы Григорян Эмму Шириновну, Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Исаев А.И. и другие извлекли ее из-под кровати. После этого Григорян Э.Р. и другие лица сорвали с нее одежду, нанесли ей побои руками и ногами, а затем после изнасилования обнаженную вывели из квартиры во двор дома, где принуждали танцевать, прижигали тело горящими сигаретами, вновь нанесли побои.

Около 22 часов, присоединившись к группе хулиганствующих лиц, собравшейся в I микрорайоне города, Григорян Э.Р. вместе с Наджафовым Н.А., Гусейновым В.В. и другими с целью учинения погрома взломали с помощью металлических труб, прутьев, топоров дверь квартиры № 8 в доме № 13/31 указанного микрорайона, где проживала семья армянской национальности Оганесян. Однако проживавший в квартире зять Оганесяна В.А. – Агасарян Эдвард Арташевич, вооружившись топором, стал защищаться и не допустил участников погрома в квартиру. В результате повреждения Григоряном Э.Р. и другими входной двери квартиры государству причинен материальный ущерб на сумму 190 рублей.

*They broke into the room, committed destruction, smashed the window glasses, broke and destructed the furniture, dishes and other things in the rooms. A part of the property was thrown into the yard from the*

window and burnt. Following actions with the violence against the residents of the flat, Grigorian and other participants of the destruction, beat Mezhlumian Roza Antonovna, Mezhlumian Grigori Armenakovich, Mezhlumian Lyudmila Grigoriyevna, Mezhlumian Karine Grigoriyeva. The clothes of Mezhlumian K.G. were torn off; she was raped, then taken to the yard and beaten again.

As a result of the destruction in the flat of Mezhlumian with Grigorian E.R., the family of Mezhlumian was inflicted a pecuniary damage in the sum of 24 887 rubles, while the state was exposed to the damage in the sum of 192 rubles.

At about 7pm Grigorian E.R. together with Najafov N.A., Mammadov G.G., Ganjaliyev E.A., Safarov N.S., Huseinov V.V., Isayev A.I. and other persons broke into the flat No 45 (Microregion 3, House No 5/3), which had already been subjected to destruction by other accessories of the disorders, and where the family of Grigorian, Armenian by nationality lived. Grigorian E.R., Safarov N. S., Isayev A. I. and others found Grigorian Emma Shirinovna, hidden under the bed in the bed-room because of the fear of violence and dragged her off. Then Grigorian E. R. and others tore her clothes off, kicked and slapped her, then raped, after which they dragged the naked woman into the yard, forced her to dance, burned her body with their cigarettes, and beat again.

Approximately at 10 pm, joining the group of boisterous and violent persons assembled in Microregion 1 of the town, Grigorian E. R. together with Najafov N.A., Huseinov V.V. and others attacked the flat No 8 (House No 13/31 in the same Microregion) belonging to the family of Oganessian, of Armenian nationality, with the aim of committing destruction and violence. They were "armed" with iron pipes, rods, and axes, nevertheless, Agasarian Edvard Artashevich, son-in-law of Oganessian who lived there, started self-defence using axe in his hands and did not let the participants of the pogrom into the flat. As a result, the sum of the damage inflicted on the state due to the destruction of the entrance door is 190 rubles.



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

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Продолжая свои преступные действия, Григорян Э.Р. вместе с Наджафовым Н.А., Гусейновым В.В., Мамедовым Г.Г., Сафаровым Н.С. и другими лицами примерно в 22 часа пришли к соседнему дому № 33/14 этого же микрорайона города, где с помощью обрезков металлических труб, прутьев, топоров взломали дверь квартиры № 58, в которой проживала семья армянокой национальности Петросян. Ворвавшись в квартиру, Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., и другие лица учинили погром: разбили стекла в окнах, повредили и частично уничтожили мебель, посуду, одежду и другие предметы домашнего обихода, часть которых выбросили во двор и сожгли, а также нанесли побои находившимся в квартире Петросяну М.Ш. и его жене Шахбазян Ж.Б.

В результате погрома квартиры с участием Григоряна Э.Р. потерпевшим причинен материальный ущерб на сумму 13 465 рублей. Частичным разрушением квартиры государству нанесен материальный ущерб на сумму 249 рублей.

Перечисленными действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.72 УК Азербайджанской ССР, то есть принял непосредственное участие в массовых беспорядках, сопровождавшихся погромами, разрушениями, поджогами и другими подобными действиями.

Кроме того, 28 февраля 1988 года в ходе погрома квартиры семьи Междумян /3-й микрорайон, дом 17/33"Б", кв.15/ группой лиц были изнасилованы Междумян Людмила Григорьевна и Междумян Карина Григорьевна.

Ворвавшись в эту квартиру около 18 часов и учинив погром, Григорян Э.Р. в числе других лиц, применяя физическое насилие и угрозы, используя беспомощное состояние Междумян Л.Г., наступившее в результате нанесенных ей побоев и неоднократно совершаемых с ней половых актов, против ее воли, совершил с Междумян Л.Г. насильственный половой акт.

После изнасилования Междумян Л.Г. спустя непродолжительное время Григорян Э.Р. в числе других лиц, в этой квартире, применяя физическое насилие и угрозы, используя беспомощное состояние Междумян К.Г. наступившее от многократно совершаемых с ней половых актов, против ее воли также совершил с Междумян К.Г. насильственный половой акт.

*Continuing their criminal actions, Grigorian E. R. together with Najafov N. A., Huseinov V.V., Safarov N. S. and others approximately at 10 pm came to the neighbouring house (No 33.14) in the same Microregion and using pieces of iron pipes, rods and axes broke the door of the flat 58 belonging to the family of Petrosian, Armenian by nationality. Breaking into*

*the flat, Grigorian E.R., Safarov N.S. and others committed destruction: smashed the window glasses, broke and partly destroyed the furniture, dishes, clothes and other household items. A part of them was thrown into the yard through the window and burned; they also beat Petrosian M.S. and his wife Shahbazian Z.B. who at the moment were at home.*

*As a result of the destruction of the flat with the participation of Grigorian E.R., its owner was caused a damage with the worth of 13 465 rubles, while the state underwent the loss of 249 rubles due to the partial damage of the flat.*

*With the above listed actions Grigorian E.R. committed crimes specified by the Article 72 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, that is, he was directly involved in mass disorders accompanied by destructions, destructions, arson and other identical actions.*

*Besides, on February 28, 1988, in the process of the destruction of the flat belonging to the family of Mezhlumian (flat No 15, House No 17/33B, Microregion 3) a group of persons raped Mezhlumian Lyudmila Grigorievna and Mezhlumian Karina Grigorievna.*

*Breaking into the flat at approximately 6 pm and committing destruction, Grigorian E.R. and the number of other persons, applied physical violence and threat, and committed sex with Mezhlumian L.G. against her will, using her helplessness after beating and numerous sexual intercourses.*

*Following to raping Mezhlumian L.G., after a short period of time, Grigorian E.R. and several other persons, applied physical violence and threat, and conducted forceful sexual intercourse also with Mezhlumian K.G. using her helplessness as a result of beating and numerous sexual intercourses.*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

315.

Насильственные половые акты с Междумян Л.Г. также совершили Мамедов Г.Г., Сафаров Н.С., Исаев А.И., Наджафов Н.А. и другие лица.

В этот же вечер, 28 февраля 1988 года в своей квартире группой лиц была изнасилована Григорян Эмма Шириновна /3-й микрорайон, дом 5/2, кв.45/.

Ворвавшись в эту квартиру примерно в 19 часов, Григорян Э.Р., Наджафов Н.А., Исаев А.И., Сафаров Н.С., Гусейнов В.В., Ганджалыев Э.А. и другие обнаружили спрятавшуюся под кровать Григорян Э.Ш. Вытащив ее из-под кровати, Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Исаев А.И. и другие с целью изнасилования разорвали на ней одежду, после чего Григорян Э.Р., применяя к потерпевшей физическое насилие и угрозы, совершил с ней против ее воли насильственный половой акт.

Насильственные половые акты с Григорян Э.Ш. совершили также Исаев А.И., Сафаров Н.С., Наджафов Н.А. и другие. Во время совершения насильственных половых актов Исаев А.И., Сафаров Н.С., Григорян Э.Р., Наджафов Н.А. и другие, оказывая друг другу содействие в изнасиловании, удерживали ноги и руки потерпевшей, наносили ей побои, подавляя тем самым ее сопротивление.

Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.109 ч.3 УК Азербайджанской ССР – изнасилование, то есть половое сношение с применением физического насилия, угроз, с использованием беспомощного состояния потерпевшей, совершенное группой лиц и лицами, ранее совершившим такое преступление.

Кроме того, 28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 19 часов, после нанесения Григоряном Э.Р. и другими участниками массовых беспорядков побоев потерпевшей Григорян Э.Ш. /3-й микрорайон, дом 5/2, кв.45/, а также совершения с ней насильственных половых актов, Григорян Э.Р. вместе с Наджафовым Н.А., Исаевым А.И., Сафаровым Н.С. и другими лицами, из хулиганских побуждений, а также с целью сокрытия преступлений, договорились совершить убийство Григорян Эммы Шириновны с причинением последней особых мучений и страданий.

Соудествляя преступные намерения, Григоря Э.Р., Наджафов Н.А.,

*Mezhlumian L.G. was also subjected to forcible sexual intercourse by Mammadov G.G., Safarov N.S., Jafarov N. S., Isayev A.I., Najafov N.A. and others.*

*In the same evening, on February 28, 1988, Grigorian Emma*

*Shirinovna was raped by a group of persons in her own flat (Flat No 45, House No 3/2, Microregion 3).*

*Breaking into the flat approximately at 7 pm, Grigorian E.R., Najafov N.A., Isayev A. I., Safarov N.S., Huseinov V.B., Ganjaliyev E.A. and others found Grigorian E.S. who was hiding under the bed. In order to rape her, Grigorian E.R., Safarov N.S., Isayev A.I. and others dragged her from the place where she was hiding and tore off her clothes. Then applying physical violence and threat to the victim, Grigorian E.R. had a forcible sexual intercourse with her against her will.*

*Forcible sexual intercourse was committed to Grigorian E.S. also by Isayev A.I., Safarov N.S., Najafov N.A., and others. While committing the forcible sexual acts Isayev A.I., Safarov N. S., Grigorian E.R., Najafov N.A. and others helped each other in raping, held the hands and feet of the victim, beat her suppressing her resistance.*

*With these actions Grigorian E.R. committed the crime specified by the Article 109, part 3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR – rape (violation), that is, sexual intercourse with the application of physical violence, threat, making use of the helpless state of the victim, committed by a group of persons or by one person, who have (has) committed such a crime before.*

*Besides, on February 28, 1988, approximately at 7 pm, after beating and committing rape and violence against Grigorian E.S. in her flat (Microregion 3, flat No 45, House 5/2), Grigorian E. R. together with Najafov N.A., Isayev A.I., Safarov N.S. and other participants of the disorders decided to kill Grigorian E.S. in order to conceal the committed crime incited by the motives of hooliganism by applying particular tortures and sufferings to her.*

*Executing their criminal intention, Grigorian R.R., Najafov N.A., Huseinov V.V., Isayev A. I., Safarov N.S. and others struck blows on various parts of the body of Grigorian E.S., dragged her into the yard of the house No 5/2, where they continued the acts of humiliation, compelled her to dance, burned with their cigarettes various parts of her body, including sexual organs, kicked her, beat with hand and different items to the parts of her body most sensitive to pain (groin, belly, chest, small of the back, head), understanding that by doing so they subjected the victim to tortures and sufferings.*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

316.

Гусейнов В.В., Исаев А.И., Сафаров Н.С. и другие, нанося Григорян Э.Ш. удары по различным частям тела, вывели потерпевшую во двор дома 5/2, где, продолжая издевательства, принуждали ее танцевать, прижигали различные участки тела, в том числе и половые органы, горящими сигаретами, наносили удары ногами, руками и различными предметами по особенно чувствительным к боли частям тела / в пах, живот, грудь, поясницу, голову/, сознавая, что причиняют этим потерпевшей мучения и страдания.

Затем Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Наджафов Н.А., Исаев А.И., Гусейнов В.В. и другие повалили потерпевшую на землю и, удерживая в положении на спине, развели ей ноги. По предложению Григоряна Э.Р., Сафарова Н.С., Исаева А.И. Наджафов Н.А. принес обрезок металлической трубы и передал его Гусейнову В.В., который, сознавая, что своими действиями причиняет особые мучения и страдания потерпевшей, с целью умышленного убийства, из хулиганских побуждений, ввел конец трубы во влагалище Григорян Э.Ш. Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Исаев А.И. и другие тем временем, сознавая опасность действий Гусейнова В.В. для жизни потерпевшей, а также то, что Гусейнов В.В. своими действиями причиняет ей особые мучения и страдания, продолжали удерживать Григорян Э.Ш. за ноги и за руки. От крика потерпевшей, вызванного острой болью, Григорян Э.Р. и другие отпустили ее. Поднявшись с земли, потерпевшая Григорян Э.Ш. пыталась убежать, однако около соседнего дома № 6/2<sup>А</sup> была настигнута Григоряном Э.Р., Сафаровым Н.С., и другими. Сафаров Н.С., с целью умышленного убийства, сзади, в прыжке, нанес Григорян Э.Ш. сильный удар ногой по спине, от которого вследствие перегибания позвоночного столба в нижнегрудном отделе произошел перелом X грудного позвонка потерпевшей с повреждением спинного мозга, сопровождавшийся обширным кровоизлиянием в окологпочечную жировую клетчатку. После нанесенного Сафаровым Н.С. удара и падения на землю потерпевшей, Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Наджафов Н.А., Гусейнов В.В., Исаев А.И. вновь начали избивать ее, нанося удары ногами и различными предметами по голове и тем другим участкам тела, причиняя тем самым ей особые мучения и страдания. Ненесенными Григоряном Э.Р. и другими лицами ударами потерпевшей причинены множественные переломы ребер справа, ушибленные раны головы, ссадины, кровоподтеки.

*Then Grigorian E.R., Safarov N.S., Najafov N.A., Isayev A.I., Huseinov G.G. and others threw the victim down and moved her legs apart*

*keeping her back on the ground. Grigorian E.R. and Isayev A.I. ordered Najafov A.I. to bring a scrap of iron pipe and give it to Huseinov V.V. Understanding that his action would torture and make the victim suffer, and with the aim to murder the victim consciously, and incited by the motives of hooliganism, Huseinov pushed the pipe into the vagina of Grigorian E.S. Grigorian E.R., Safarov N.S., Isayev I.A. and others were understanding the danger of their action at the moment for the life of the victim, and that Huseinov's action would torture and cause particular suffering to her, continued to keep tightly the legs and hands of the victim. Shocked by the scream of the victim under the acute pain, Grigorian E.R. and others let her hands and feet free. Standing on her feet the victim made an attempt to run away, but near the house No 6/2A Grigorian E.R., Safarov N.S. and others reached her. With the aim of deliberate murder Safarov N.S. jumped and kicked a blow on her back, breaking her spinal column which followed by massive haemorrhage in the pararenal fatty tissue. When she fell on the ground after the blow of Safarov N.S., Grigorian E.R., Safarov N. S., Najafov N.A., Huseinov V.V., Isayev A.I. again began to kick her, hit with different things on her head and other parts of her body, causing particular sufferings and torture. The victim had numerous fractures of bones, fractures of ribs in the right, wounds in the head, scratches and bruises.*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

317.

Затем Григорян Э.Р., Сафаров Н.С., Исаев А.И., Наджафов Н.А. и другие, вновь удерживая на земле потерпевшую, раздвинули ей ноги, а Гусейнов В.В., сознавая, что причиняет ей особые страдания и мучения, вторично ввел во влагалище Григорян Э.Ш. обрезок металлической трубы, причинив своими действиями потерпевшей разрыв влагалища, проникающий в брюшную полость с повреждением брыжейки тонкого кишечника.

От совокупности причиненных Григоряном Э.Р., Сафаровым Н.С., Гусейновым В.В. и другими повреждений, приведших к травматическому шоку, Григорян Э.Ш. 29 февраля 1988 года скончалась.

Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.94 п.п.2, 6, 7 УК Азербайджанской ССР – умышленное убийство из хулиганских побуждений, с особой жестокостью, сопряженное с изнасилованием и с целью сокрытия совершенных преступлений.

Совершив умышленное убийство Григорян Э.Ш., в этот же день, 28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 22 часа, Григорян Э.Р., Мамедов Г.Г. Гусейнов В.В., Наджафов Н.А. и другие учинили погром квартиры № 58 в доме № 33/14 в I микрорайоне города, в которой проживала семья армянской национальности Петросян. Григорян Э.Р., вооруженный топором, вместе с другими участниками погрома ворвался в эту квартиру. Увидев в квартире Петросяна Манвела Шамировича, Григорян Э.Р. с целью умышленного убийства, из хулиганских побуждений топором нанес ему удар по голове. Однако умысел на убийство Петросяна М.Ш. Григорян Э.Р. не довел до конца по причинам, не зависящим от его воли и желания, поскольку потерпевший Петросян М.Ш. в момент нанесения удара, защищаясь от нападения, молотком ударил Григоряна Э.Р. по руке, в которой был топор. В связи с этим удар пришелся не лезвием, а обухом топора по голове потерпевшего, причинив Петросяну М.Ш. в теменной области черепно-мозговую травму с сотрясением головного мозга, по степени тяжести отнесенную к легким телесным повреждениям с кратковременным расстройством здоровья. От полученного удара Петросян М.Ш. потерял сознание, упал на пол, не подавал признаков жизни. Решив, что Петросян М.Ш. убит, Григорян Э.Р. прекратил в отношении него дальнейшие действия.

*Then Grigorian E.R., Safarov N. S., Isayev A. I., Najafov N.A. and others again pressing her to the ground moved her legs apart, and Huseinov V.V., understanding that he caused the victim particular sufferings and torture, pushed violently the iron pipe into her vagina for the second time.*

*The pipe tore the vagina inside and entered the abdominal cavity damaging the mesentery of small bowels.*

*As a result of the heavy blows and injuries caused by Grigorian E.R., Safarov N. S., Huseinov V.V. and other persons, and which resulted in traumatic shocks, the victim Grigorian Emma Shirinovna died on February 29, 1988.*

*With this actions Grigorian E.R. committed the crime specified by the Article 94, parts 2, 6, and 7 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR – deliberate murder incited by the motives of hooliganism, with a special cruelty accompanied by raping and with the aim of concealing the committed crime.*

*On the same day, that is, on February 28, 1988, after committing the deliberate murder of Grigorian E.S., at approximately 10 pm, Grigorian E.R., Mammadov G.G., Huseinov V.V., Najafov N.A. and others committed destruction in the flat No 58 ( House 33/14, Microregion 1) in which the family of Petrosian, Armenian by nationality lived. Grigorian E.R. and other accomplices of the destructions broke into the flat with an axe in their hands. Seeing the owner of the flat Petrosian Manvel Shamirovich, Grigorian E.R. gave a blow on his head with the purpose of deliberately murdering him incited by the motives of hooliganism. But he could not complete his crime due to some reasons not depending on him. Petrosian M.S. hit the hand of Grigorian E.R. in which he had the axe with the hammer. As a result, Petrosian M.S. got the blow not with the blade of the axe, but with its back. Petrosian M.S. got cranial-cerebral trauma in the sincipital area, which is specified as a light physical injury causing disorder in the health for a short time. From the strike Petrosian M.S. lost consciousness, fell on the floor with no signs of life. Thinking that he was dead, Grigorian E.R. did not do anything to him any more.*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

318.

Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.ст.15, 94 п.п.2, 8 УК Азербайджанской ССР, - покушение на умышленное убийство из хулиганских побуждений, совершенное лицом, ранее совершавшим умышленное убийство.

Принимая 28 февраля 1988 года в городе Сумгаите активное участие в массовых беспорядках, Григорян Э.Р. неоднократно призывал группу хулиганствующих лиц учинять погромы квартир граждан армянской национальности. Кроме того, находясь среди многочисленной группы хулиганствующих лиц, своими действиями, выраженными в демонстрационной форме, направленными на погром квартир и имущества граждан только армянской национальности Междумян, Григорян, Есеян, Петросян, умышленное убийство граждан армянской национальности Григорян Э.Ш., Петросяна М.Ш., тем самым по существу проводил агитацию с целью возбуждения национальной вражды и розни между гражданами армянской и азербайджанской национальностей, подрывал доверие и уважение к лицам армянской национальности, вызывал чувство неприязни к ним.

Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.67 УК Азербайджанской ССР, - то есть агитация с целью возбуждения национальной вражды и розни.

На основании ст.33 УПК Азербайджанской ССР настоящее уголовное дело подлежит направлению в Верховный суд Азербайджанской ССР для рассмотрения по существу.

Обвинительное заключение составлено "29" марта 1989 года в гор. Сумгаите Азербайджанской ССР.

Следователь по особо важным делам  
при Генеральном прокуроре СССР  
старший советник юстиции

В.С.Галкин

*With these actions Grigorian E.R. committed the crime specified by Articles 15, 94, part 2, 8 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, attempt of a deliberate murder incited by the motives of hooliganism, committed by the person who perpetrated the deliberate murder before.*

*Taking an active part in the mass disorders on February 28, 1988, in the Sumgayit city, Grigorian E.R. called the group of rowdy persons several times to commit destructions in the houses of the citizens of the Armenian nationality. Besides, being among the group of numerous rowdy hooligans, Grigorian E.R. with his actions distinctly directed the people to*

*commit destructions of the flats and property of only the citizens of the Armenian nationality, Mezhlumian, Grigorian, Eseyan, and Petrosian, He also murdered Grigorian E.S. and Petrosian M.S. deliberately, in essence conducting propaganda aimed at inciting hostility and hatred between the citizens of the Armenian and Azerbaijani nationalities, shaking the faith and respect in the persons of the Armenian nationality, and evoking hostility towards them.*

*With these actions Grigorian E.R. committed the crime specified by the Article 67 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, that is, conduct of propaganda act with the aim of inciting national hostility and hatred.*

*On the basis of the Article 33 of the Criminal-Procedure Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, the present criminal case shall submitted to the Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR for the consideration on the merits.*

*The bill of indictment was compiled on March 29, 1989, in the city of Sumgayit of the Azerbaijan SSR.*

*Investigator on particularly important cases under the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, Senior Counsellor of Justice **B. S. Galkin***



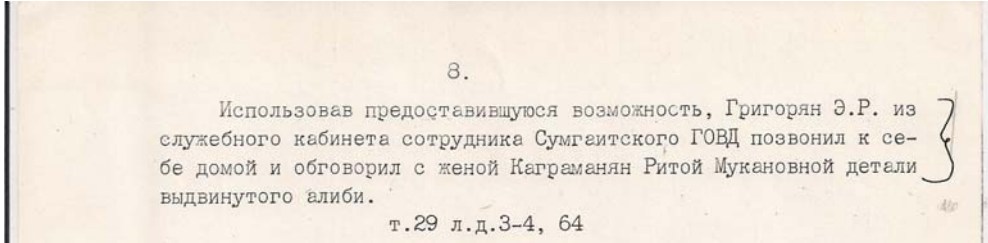
***Grigorian Eduard Robertovich – one of the main accessories in the bloody Sumgayit events of February 1988, Armenian by nationality, born in 1959, convicted three times – in 1979, 1981, and 1982: spent in prison totally 9 years, two months and 13 days.***

As it is seen, the investigation of the events in Sumgayit was headed by the investigator on particularly important cases of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR Vladimir Sergeyeovich Galkin, who had also signed the bill of indictment. **This is the reason why nobody can accuse the Azerbaijanis in the biased attitude to the Armenians; the investigation of this criminal case was conducted by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, the Azerbaijanis did not take part in the procedure actions, the investigation group was headed by Galkin, Russian by nationality.** I would like to touch upon another moment. **Namely the head of the group of investigators of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR Vladimir Galkin became the general of counter-intelligence after the investigation of the Sumgayit events. It is interesting, isn't it? It is completely clear whom he represented under the disguise of the prosecutor's office. Further, I will give more detailed information about it.**

Dear readers! In order not to illustrate the whole text of the bill of indictment, which consists of 322 pages, I shall suffice with its parts directly connected with the issue we consider. If someone wants to get acquainted with the whole text of the bill of indictment and to dispense all the doubts, I suggest visiting the specially created website [www.sumgayit1988.com](http://www.sumgayit1988.com). Namely this bill of indictment reflects the gravest tragedies taken place during the events in Sumgayit. I am not going to reduce the scale of tragedies, but want to demonstrate one specific fact: the Armenian nationalists had disseminated in the entire world information about the murder of over thousand people, but the Office of the Prosecutor General established the facts of murder of only 32 people, 26 out of which were Armenians, 6 – Azerbaijanis. By reading this book you will find out who committed the tragedy and understand that the Azerbaijani people have become victims of horrible crime planned in detail outside of the republic. I do not exclude the possibility that the Armenian nationalists, skilled masters of falsification, infected with the idea of Greater Armenia, would want to use the book for their own goals, as the facts demonstrated here expose the lies disseminated in the world as if “the Azerbaijanis slaughtered the Armenians in Sumgayit, beheaded them, tore the bellies of the pregnant women, cut the Armenians and made “kebab” (barbeque) out of them”. The book shows that the gravest crimes in Sumgayit were committed namely by the Armenians. I am one of those who believes the truth, justice, and first and foremost to the existence of God unconditionally, and hope that the narration of the events in their true form will allow us make truthful inferences of what has happened in Sumgayit.

And now we return to the beginning of the case and present more detailed information about who was Grigorian...

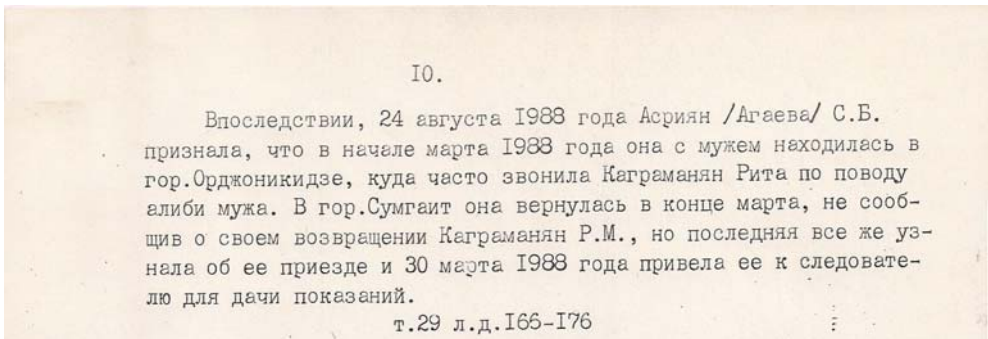
Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*Making use of the chance given to him in the department of militia of Sumgayit, Grigorian E.R. rang up home and agreed with his wife Kagramanian Rita Mukanovna the details of his alibi.*

*Volume 29, pp. 3-4, 64*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*Later, on August 24, 1988, Asrian /Agaeva/ S.B. confessed that at the beginning of the March, 1988 she was in the town of Orjenikidze with her husband. Kagramanian Rita, Grigorian's wife, called them very often about the alibi of her husband. She returned to Sumgayit at the end of March and did not inform Kagramanian R.M. about her return, but somehow later on she had become aware of her arrival, and on March 30, 1988, made her to come to the investigator for testimony.*

*Volume 29, pp. 166-176*

**Commentary:** As it is seen from the materials of the criminal case, Grigorian was trying to invent an alibi for himself by all means even when he was outside of Azerbaijan. Describing the personality of Grigorian I want to share with the readers some of my observations, which obviously demonstrate his influence on the other accused. For instance, as soon as one

of the accomplices started giving some true information to “an inconvenient” question, Grigorian glared at him accusingly, made him to stop immediately and deny what he said. In general, in the course of the testimony the accused always watched Grigorian, observed the expression of his face, mimicry, and gesticulation; one of his gestures was enough for the accused to change their evidence.



***Grigorian Eduard Robertovich***

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

83.

О действиях обвиняемого Григоряна Э.Р. в их квартире потерпевшая Межлумян К.Г. 5 сентября 1988 года пояснила:

"...Именно Григоряна Э.Р. избивал маму, нанося ей удары по голове ножкой от сломанного стула, я это хорошо видела и для себя отметила в тот момент, что по внешнему виду Григоряна, по всей видимости, лезгин..."

т.2 л.д.168

*On September 5, 1988, the victim of the case Mezhlumian K. C.*



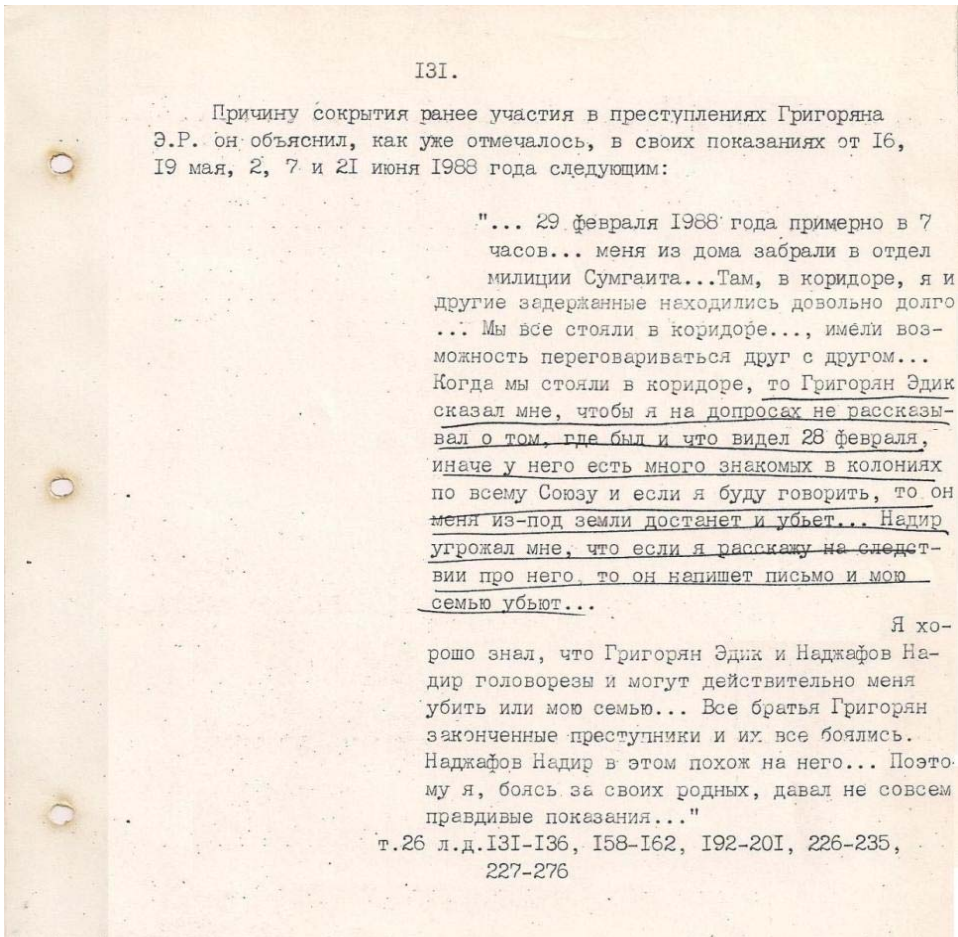
witnessed about the actions of the accused Grigorian E.R. in her flat:

*Namely Grigorian E.R. beat my mother, struck blows at her head with the leg of the broken chair; I saw it well, and at that moment I thought that he could be a Lezghin according to his appearance... "*

*Volume 2, p. 168*

**Commentary:** As it is also seen from the photo presented in this book, Grigorian did not look like an Armenian at all. One could think that he was a Russian or Lezghin. Namely because of it and his fluent Azerbaijani, no one had any suspicion why he was so active in the committed crimes.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*As it has already been mentioned, in his evidences of May 16, 19,*

*June 2, 7 and 21, 1988 Grigorian E.R. explained why he hid the reason of his involvement in the crimes in the following way:*

*“... On February 29, 1988, approximately at 7 am I was taken from my house to the department of militia of Sumgayit... I myself and the other detainees stayed rather long in the corridor there...All of us were standing in the corridor...this gave us a chance to talk to each other... While standing in the corridor, Grigorian Edik warned me not tell the investigator that I had seen him on February 28, otherwise, if I speak out, he would reach me even under the ground, as he knew many people in prisons all over the Soviet Union, and kill... Nadir threatened me that if I tell anything about him in the interrogation, then he would write a letter and my family would be killed...”*

*I knew very well that Grigorian Edik and Najafov Nadir were malicious criminals and could really murder me or my family...All the Grigorian brothers are hateful gangsters and everybody was afraid of them. Najafov Nadir is much alike him in this sense...Because of it, I was afraid for my close relatives and family, and did not give true evidence...”*

*Volume 26, pp. 131-136, 158-162, 192-201, 226-235, 227-276*



**Commentary:** Based on my own experience I would like once again to put light on the evidences concerning Grigorian that can be found in the materials of the criminal case. As it was shown before, since the first days

of the trial I noticed that Grigorian had an enormous influence on the other accused. And this influence was based not on the respect or affection, but on the inexpressible feeling of scare, which could be confirmed by the evidences of the case. This sense of fear allowed Grigorian manipulate with the accused in every possible way. Watching his behaviour in the trial in the video-tape, it was possible to notice how calm he was testifying even allowing himself to mock at the interrogators. All it means that he was not an ordinary criminal. Several times I witnessed how he made the witnesses to change their testimony with just a glance. Sometimes he even stood up from the bench on which he was sitting. As a rule, Grigorian left a vacant seat by his side behind the bar. During the trial it was enough for him to cast a glance on someone from the accused, the latter would immediately approach him and sit next to him as if he was waiting for his order. Despite I drew attention several times to the fear and horror all the defendants felt in front of Grigorian, the judge did not pay attention to it, while I was subjected to the attacks of the defendants' relatives several times for my remarks.

Once during the break in the court room I witnessed a very deplorable, but also a very typical episode. It was a hot summer day. Somebody brought a bottle of mineral water and gave it to the defendant who was sitting on the edge of bench. He did not open the bottle and passed it to the man next to him, the following did the same, and it continued until the bottle reached Grigorian. He opened the bottle and drank some water, after which the rest of the defendants dared to drink only what had remained there. This scene horrified me, and I could not restrain myself from asking again why they were so much afraid of Grigorian. They answered "bravely", "We are not afraid of anybody!" Then I said, "I see how you are not afraid of Grigorian, you even do not drink water without his permission, you can drink only the leftover". They had nothing to answer, and I saw that they were ashamed. But the fear from Grigorian exceeded the feelings of embarrassment.

The materials published in the newspaper "Bizim Yol" (Our Way) also prove how much they were afraid of Grigorian. On April 6, 8, and 9, 2010, the newspaper published the interview of the reporter Natig Javadli with Asadagha Abdullayev, who was the defence lawyer of the accused Galib Mammadov in the court, and who knew the substance of the case well:

**Defence lawyer:** *"...Imagine, Grigorian behaved defiantly even in the trial as he was a boss. I shall mention one simple example: the parents of the other defendants brought food for their children, but they would let*



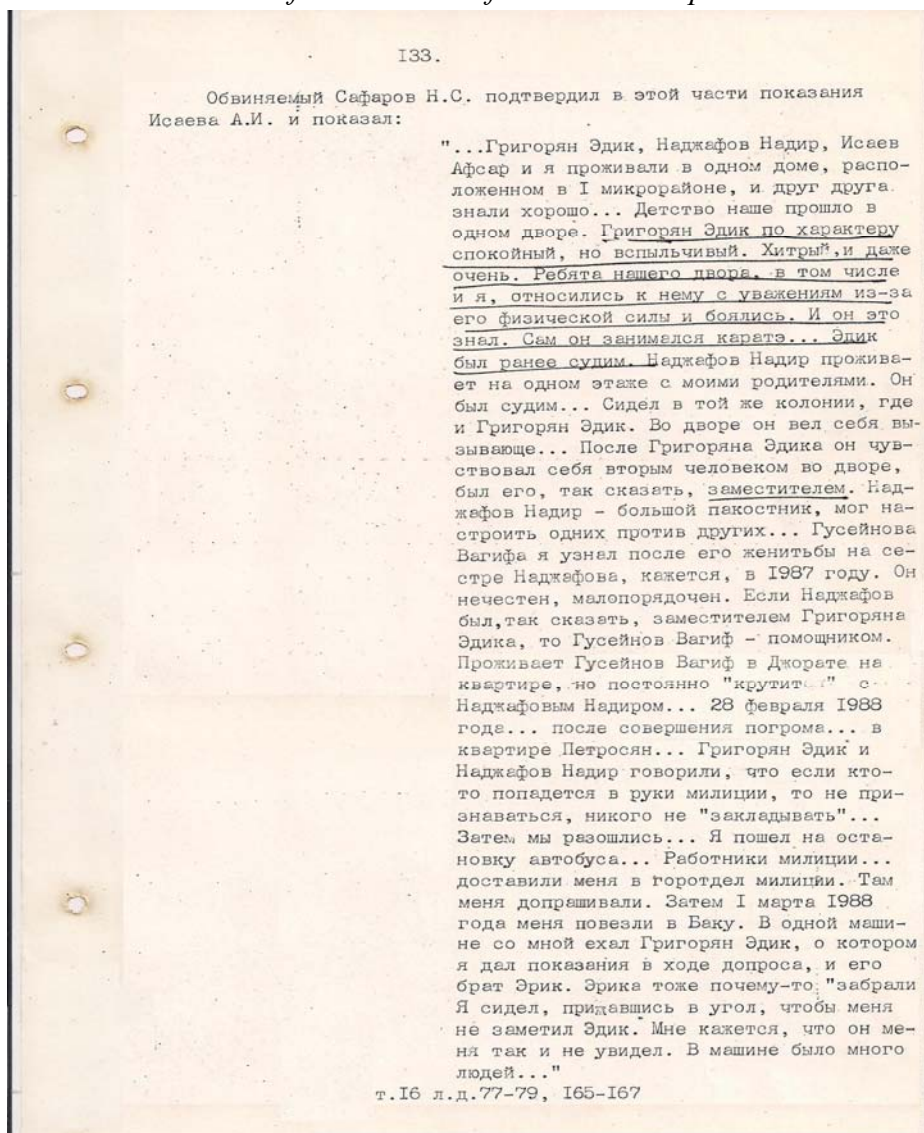
*Grigorian eat first, and only then ate themselves. They would pour mineral water into the glass and give it first to Grigorian, saying: "Edik, come on, drink it". Such kind of dishonest, crooked children they were".*

**Reporter:** *You mean that the Azerbaijani defendants were afraid of him, didn't they?"*

**Defence lawyer:** *"It turns out yes..."*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

*The accused Safarov N.S. confirmed in this part the evidence of*



*Isayev A.I. and said:*

*“... Grigorian Edik, Najafov Nadir, Isayev Afsar and I lived in the same building in the First Microregion. We knew each other well...Our childhood passed in the same yard... Grigorian Edik is calm by nature, but hot-tempered. He is cunning, very sly I would say. The boys of our yard including me treated him with respect because he was physically stronger and he knew it. He took karate lessons... Edik was convicted before. Najafov Nadir lives on the same floor with my parents. He was also convicted... He was in the same prison with Grigorian Edik. In the yard he behaved very impudently... He considered himself as the second important person after Grigorian, as, how to say, the deputy of Edik. Najafov Nadir is a dirty guy able to quarrel people with each other. I acquainted with Huseinov Vagif after his marriage to the sister of Najafov, I think since 1987. He is not an honest man. If Najafov was, the so-called deputy of Grigorian Edik, Huseinov Vagif was his assistant. He rents a room in Jorat, but he is always with Najafov Nadir...On February 28, 1988, after committing the destruction...in the flat of Petrosian... Grigorian Edik and Najafov Nadir told us that if anybody would be caught by militia, we shouldn't have confessed and betrayed others. Then we left... I went to the bus station...The militia arrested me and delivered to the militia department. I was interrogated there. Then on March 1, 1988, I was taken to Baku. Grigorian Edik was in the same vehicle with me. In the interrogation I gave testimony about him and his brother Erik. He was also arrested, but I did not know why. In the vehicle I sat in the corner hiding myself in order not to be seen by Edik....”*

*Volume 16, pp. 77-79, 165-167*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18|55461-88:

138.

В то же время в ходе всего следствия обвиняемый Григорян Э.Р. пытался оказать давление на потерпевших и своих соучастников, изобличающих его в содеянном, как по данному эпизоду, так и по другим.

Так, на очной ставке с потерпевшей Междумян Л.Г. 15 марта 1988 года, проведенной с применением видеозаписи, обвиняемый Григорян Э.Р. пытался повлиять на изобличающие его в преступлении показания потерпевшей.

т.3 л.д.6-8

На очной ставке с Междумян Р.А. 23 сентября 1988 года обвиняемый Григорян Э.Р., обращаясь к потерпевшей, вначале пытался пригрозить, а затем сыграть на национальных чувствах опять же с целью склонить потерпевшую изменить изобличающие его в преступлении показания.

т.29 л.д.225-228

22 июня 1988 года на очной ставке с обвиняемым Исеевым А.И., проведенной с применением видеозаписи, обвиняемый Григорян Э.Р. крикнул на изобличавшего его Исаева А.И.:

"...Зачем я тебя кормил? Шакал никогда не станет человеком. Лучше змею пригреть на своей груди, чем тебя, перса..."

На что обвиняемый Исаев А.И. ответил:

"...Ты сам мне говорил, что события 28 февраля - это для тебя - дар божий. Как будто бы к тебе пришла сама удача..."

т.26 л.д.298

*Meantime, in the course of the entire investigation the accused Grigorian E.R. was trying to exert pressure on the victims and his accomplices who could betray him and reveal his involvement in the committed crimes in this and other episodes.*

*Thus, in the confrontation with the victim Mezhlumian L. G. on March 15, 1988, conducted using the video-records, the accused Grigorian E.R. attempted to exert pressure on the victim not disclose the facts about him.*

*Volume 3, pp. 6-8*

*In the confrontation with the victim Mezhlumian R.A. on September 23, 1988, the accused Grigorian E.R. appealed to the victim, first tried to threaten him, then play on his national feelings with the aim of making him change his evidence which exposed his crimes.*

*Volume 29, pp. 225-228*

*On June 22, 1988, during the confrontation with the accused Isayev A. I., conducted using the video-records, the accused Grigorian E.R. shouted at Isayev A.I. who was betraying him:*

*“...Why did I feed you? A jackal will never become a man. It would have been better to heat a snake in my bosom, than you, the Persian...”*

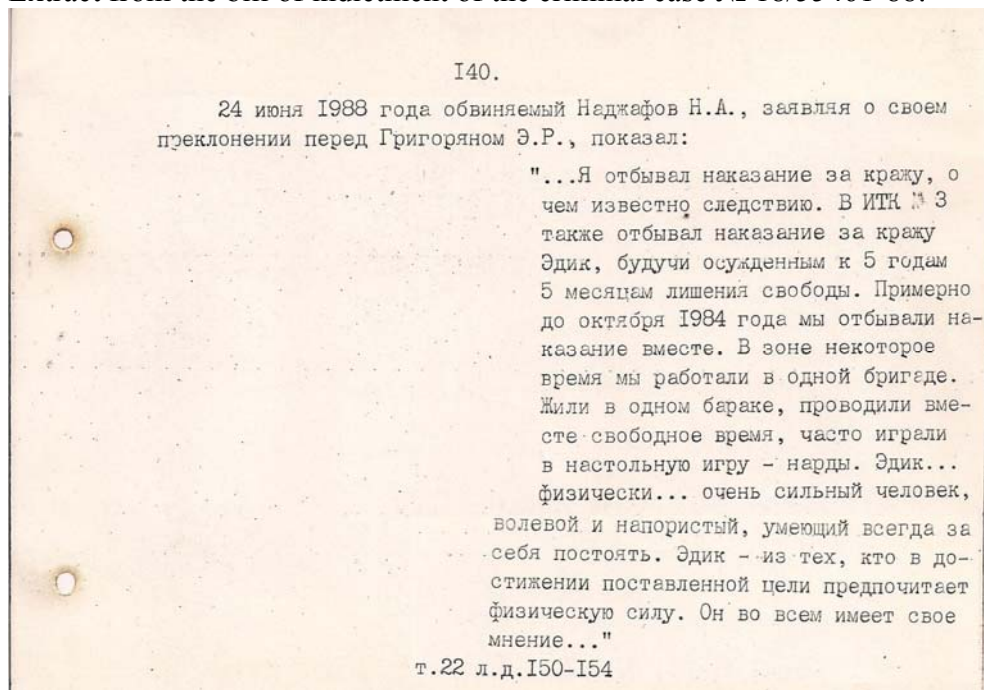
*In reply to him the accused Isayev answered like this:*

*“...You told me yourself that the events of February 28 were like the God’s gift for you. As if the very success came to you...”*

*Volume 26, p. 298*

**Commentary:** In these evidences, perhaps, Grigorian for the first time loses his self-control and calmness and openly shows his hatred towards Azerbaijanis. Taking the opportunity, I would like to tell you one more episode. Grigorian’s self-confidence became so strong that he openly threatened the other accused not only during confrontations with them, but also in the court. The sincere emotional stress experienced by Galib Mammadov while speaking in the trial may serve as an example of it. Grigorian, without any feeling of shame before anyone shouted at him with the following words: “Don’t you think what will happen when the process ends?” He sounded such threats against other defendants, too.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



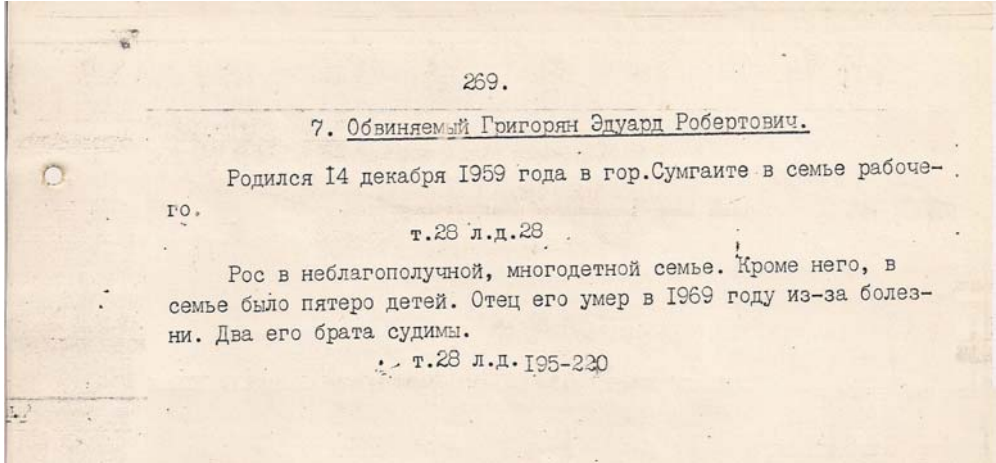
*On June 24, 1988, the accused Najafov N.A. declared that he admired Grigorian E.R. and said:*

*"...I served punishment in prison for the theft which is known to the investigation. Grigorian E.R. also served his punishment in the Correction Colony No 3 together with me. He was also sentenced for 5 years and 5 months for the theft. Approximately till October, 1984 we served the punishment together. Sometimes we worked there in the same team, lived in the same barrack, spent time together, very often played backgammon. Edik is a very strong man, tough, energetic, and able to defend himself. Edik is one of those who give preference to strength for achieving the desired goal. He has got his opinion on everything..."*

*Volume 22, pp. 150-154*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



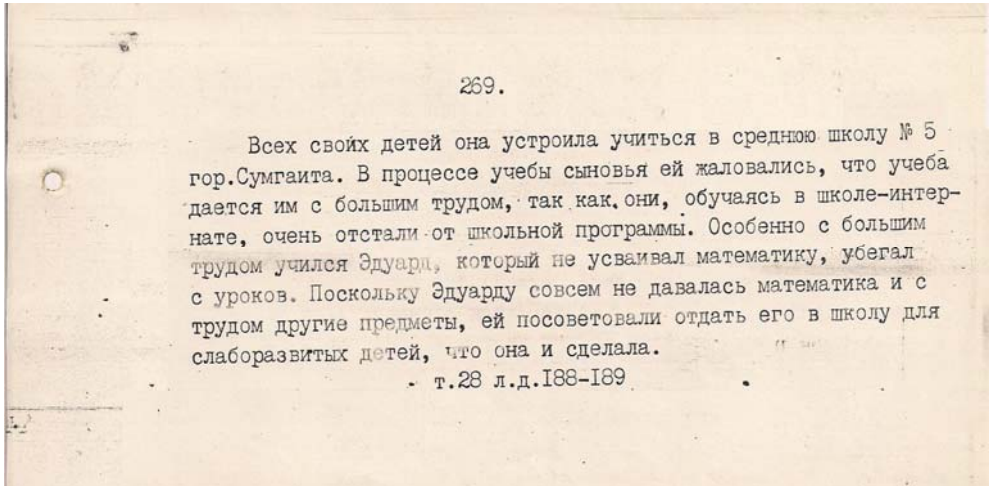
7. The accused Grigorian Eduard Robertovich was born on December 14, 1959 in the family of a worker in the Sumgayit city.

Volume 28, p. 28

He grew up in a poor and problematic family with many children. Besides him, there were five children in the family. His father died of illness in 1969. His two brothers were also convicted.

Volume 28, pp. 195-220

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



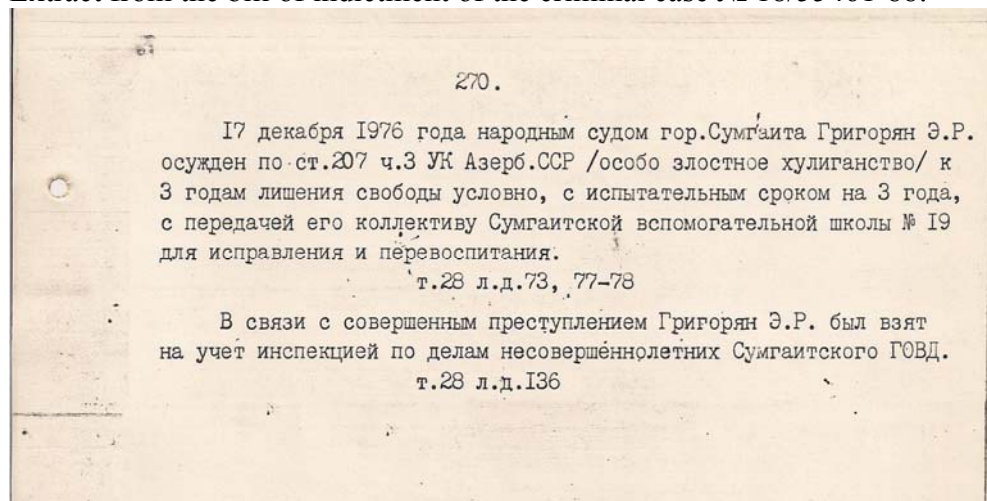
She managed to put all her children to the Secondary School No 5 in Sumgayit. The children complained at home that they had difficulties in their studies at school, because they had been in the boarding school before

*and therefore lagged behind the others in school programs very much. Particularly Edik studied with great difficulty, and could not learn mathematics, skipped lessons, escaped from the school very often. As he could not assimilate mathematics and studied other subjects with great difficulty, his mother was advised to give him to the school for the mentally retarded children. She did as she was told.*

*Volume 28, pp. 188-189*

**Commentary:** In the testimony about Grigorian it was mentioned that he grew up without father since he was ten years old and brought up by his mother. He studied very badly at school, but it did mean that he was deprived of wit. If the other defendants were lost answering questions of my cross-examination, thus being forced to tell the truth, it was impossible to confuse Grigorian with such questions. When I put questions for him, he was, like, guessing my thoughts, and after three-four questions he knew in advance what would follow. He weighed, analyzed thoroughly even the most unexpected questions and only then answered to them. In the whole process of the trial I never saw him answering a question immediately, without thinking. When he was not able to find a suitable, from his own point of view, answer, he could start insulting, or laughed and said, “it is my right not to answer” as if he had learned it by heart. Perhaps he was not well-educated, but one could say that he was smarter than all of the accused taken together. It was like he passed a special training.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

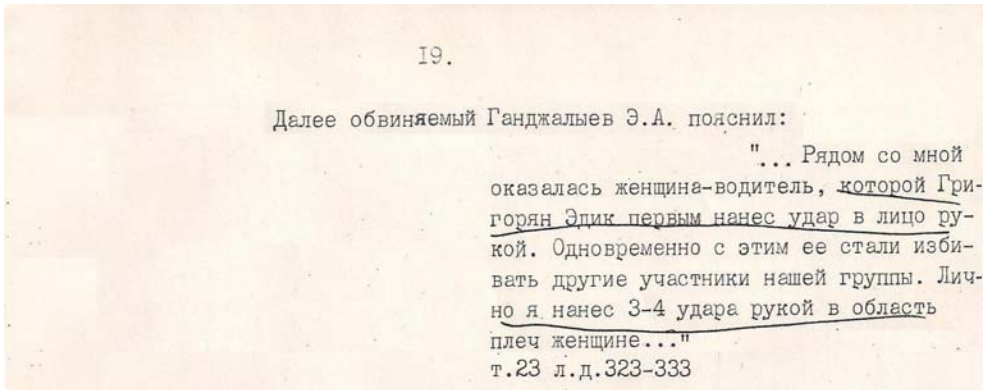


*On December 17, 1976, the Sumgayit city court convicted Grigorian E.R. to 3 years of imprisonment with suspension consistent to Article 207, part 3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR (particularly hostile hooliganism), with a three years' probation by referring him under the protection of the staff of the Sumgayit Auxiliary School No 19 for being corrected and re-educated.*

*Volume 28, pp. 73, 77-78.*

### **GRIGORIAN'S ROLE**

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



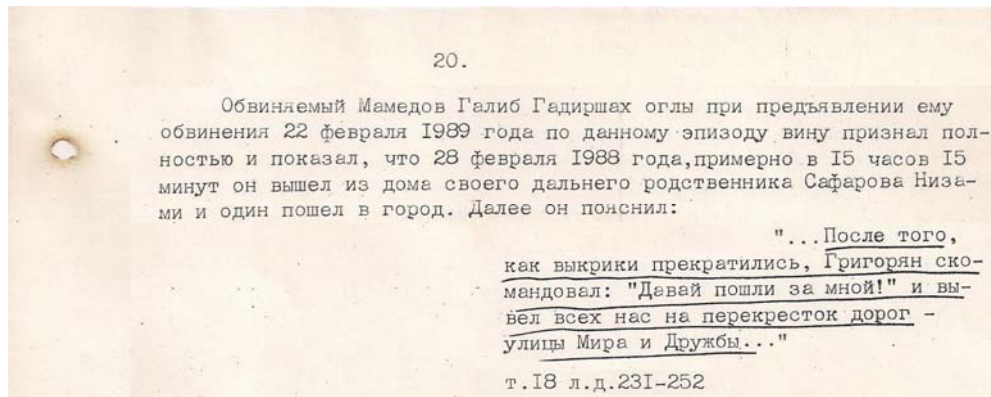
*Then the accused Ganjaliyev explained:*

*"...There was a woman-driver next to me who was first slapped by Grigorian Edik. Simultaneously other participants of our group also started beating her. I personally hit her in the shoulder 3-4 times..."*

*Volume 23, pp. 323-333*



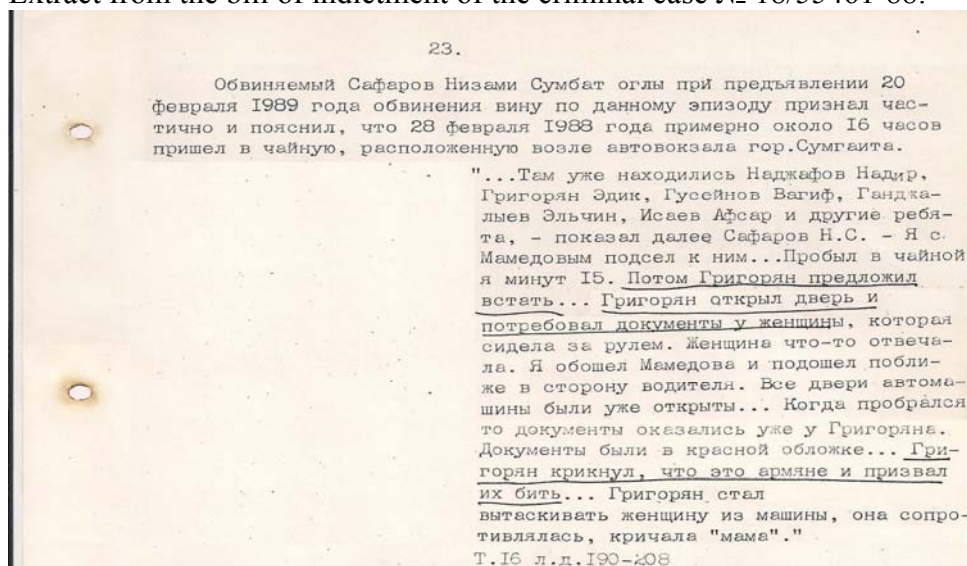
Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*The accused Mammadov Galib Gadirshah oglu fully confessed his guilt in this episode when he was charged on February 22, 1989, and stated that approximately at 3 15pm he left the house of his relative Safarov Nizami and went to the town alone. Further he said, "When the screams and cries ceased, Grigorian commanded, "Let's go, follow me!" and led us to the crossings of the Mir and Druzhba streets ..."*

*Volume 18, pp. 231-252*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

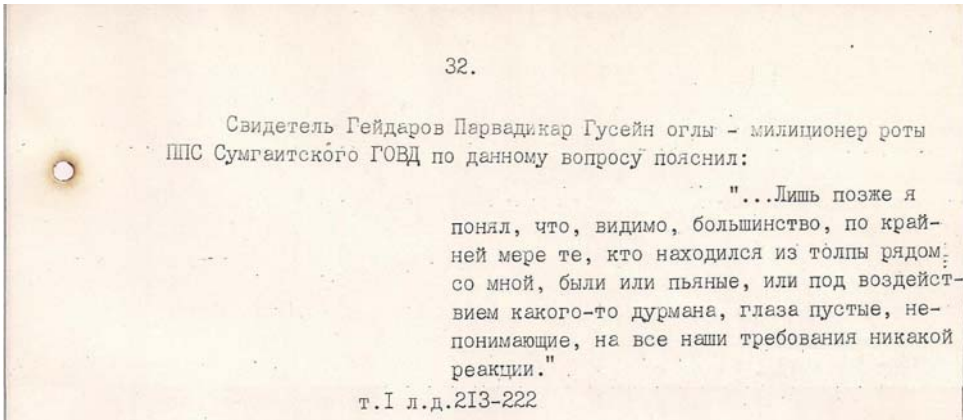


*The accused Safarov Nizami Sumbat oglu partially confessed his guilt in this episode on February 22, 1989 when he was charged, and stated that approximately at 4 pm he came to the tea-house located near the bus station in Sumgayit.*

*“...Najafov Nadir, Grigorian Edik, Huseinov Vagif, Ganjaliyev Elchin, Isayev Afsar and others were already there when Mammadov and I joined them at the table. I remained in the tea-house for about 15 minutes... Then Grigorian suggested to get up... Grigorian opened the door of the car and demanded documents from the woman who drove the car. The woman answered something. I passed Mammadov and came closer to the side of the driver. All the doors of the car were already open... When I reached the door Grigorian already had the documents in his hand. They were in the red cover... Grigorian shouted that those in the car were Armenians and called everybody to beat them... Grigorian began to drag the woman out of the car, but she resisted and cried “mommy”.*

*Volume 16, pp. 190-208*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*Translation. Witness Heydarov Parvardigar Husein oghlu – militiaman of the patrol service of Sumgayit militia gave the following explanations on this matter, “... Only later I understood that everybody or at least the majority in the crowd were either drunk, or under the influence of some drugs; their eyes were empty and expressionless, dull, as if they did not know what was happening. They did not react to our demands.”*

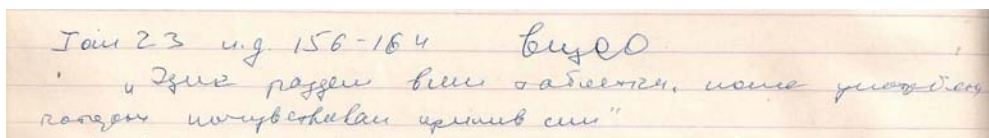
*Volume 1, pp. 230-222*

**Digression:** As I do not have the files of the criminal case at my disposal and I have doubts about existence of the majority of the video-records among the materials of the case, and taking into account the significance, topicality, and historical importance of the case, since now I will bring to your attention my notes from my record book that I was filling

during the trial. I want to hope that after the publication of the book the materials and video-records of the criminal case will be found, and thus truthfulness and impartiality of my notes will be proven.

**Commentary:** The following evidences describe the reason of the mental derangement that was observed with the committers of the disturbances and public disorders. They make it clear that the participants of the disorders reached this state after Grigorian distributed pills among them. The video-records with the testimonies proving what I said were demonstrated in the court. In one of the video-records confrontation of the accused Isayev with Huseinov was filmed. Isayev witnessed like the following:

One of the notes of the author made in the trial:

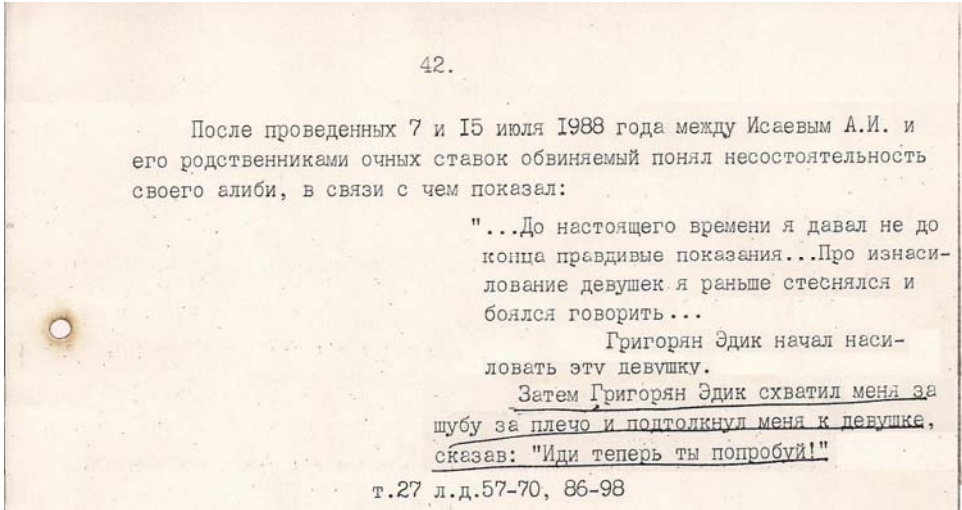


**Text of the note:** *Volume 23, sheets of the case 156-164. Video*

*“Edik gave pills to everybody and after swallowing them everyone felt the rush of strength”.*

**Commentary:** The pills were distributed exactly for this purpose. All the accused confessed that after swallowing the pills they felt influx of energy, became braver and more decisive. There were a number of video-records demonstrated in the trial, but despite my persistence the fact was not investigated till the end...

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*After the conduct of the confrontation between Isayev A.I. and his relatives, the accused understood the groundlessness of his alibi and said in connection with it, "Up to now I have given false evidence... I was ashamed and afraid to tell about the rape of the girls ...*

*Grigorian Edik began to rape that girl. Then he took me by the shoulder of my coat and said: "Go and try her now, too."*

*Volume 27, pp. 57-70, 86-98*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

46.

Истинная же причина отказа от своих признательных показаний по данному эпизоду усматривается из его же показаний от 16, 19 мая, 2, 7, 21 июня 1988 года, где обвиняемый Исаев А.И. показал:

"...29 февраля 1988 года примерно в 7 часов утра меня из дома забрали в отдел милиции города Сумгаита... Там, в коридоре, я и другие задержанные находились довольно долго... Мы все стояли в коридоре...имели возможность переговариваться друг с другом... Когда мы стояли в коридоре, то Григорян Эдик сказал мне, чтобы я на допросах не рассказывал о том, где был и что я видел 28 февраля, иначе у него есть много знакомых в колониях по всему Союзу и, если я буду говорить, то он меня из-под земли достанет и убьет... Надир /Наджафов/ угрожал мне, что если я расскажу на следствии про него, то он напишет письмо и мою семью убьют... В КПЗ мы попали в разные камеры и я никого не видел, но Надир через стенку спрашивал, не знаю ли я - отпустили Эдика или нет... После обеда 29 февраля меня отвезли в Баилловский изолятор... В одной камере со мной оказался и Наджафов Надир... Он опять угрожал мне и говорил, что если я расскажу, что они убили женщину, которой засунули трубу во влагалище, то он - Надир, напишет из тюрьмы письмо своим друзьям и те убьют мою семью. Надир также угрожал мне через стену во время прогулок в следизоляторе ИГБ. Я хорошо знал, что Эдик Григорян и Наджафов Надир головорезы и могут действительно меня убить или мою семью... Все братья Григоряна законченные преступники и их все боялись. Наджафов Надир в этом похож на него... Поэтому я, боясь за своих родных, давал не совсем правдивые показания..."

т.26 л.д.131-136, 158-162, 192-201, 226-235, 227-276

*Translation. The real reason of refusal from his own confess given previously on this episode becomes clear in the evidences given by him on May 16, 19 and on June 2, 7, 21, 1989, where the accused Isayev A.I. said, "...On February 29, 1988, approximately at 7 am I was taken from my house to the department of militia of Sumgayit... I myself and the other detainees stayed rather long in the corridor there...All of us were standing in the corridor...this gave us a chance to talk to each other... While*

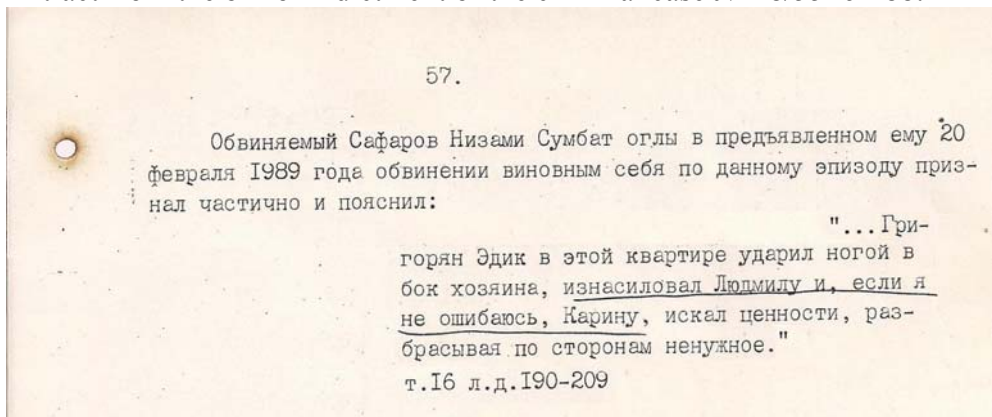


*standing in the corridor, Grigorian Edik warned me not tell the investigator that I had seen him on February 28, otherwise, if I speak out, he would reach me even under the ground, as he knew many people in prisons all over the Soviet Union, and kill... Nadir threatened me that if I tell anything about him in the interrogation, then he would write a letter and my family would be killed...*

*In the remand isolator we were put into different cells and I did not see anybody, but Nadir asked me through the wall if I knew whether Edik has been released... After the dinner on February 29, I was taken to the remand prison in Bail... Nadir Najafov happened to be in the same cell with me... He again threatened me that if I say that we killed the woman, into whose vagina the pipe was pushed, Nadir will write to his friends from the prison and they will kill my family. Nadir also threatened me through the wall when we were walking in the exercise yard of the isolator of the State Security Committee. I knew well that Grigorian Edik and Najafov Nadir were real cutthroats and could really kill my family or me...All the Grigorian brothers are malicious criminals and everybody was afraid of them...Therefore I was afraid for the life of my relatives and gave false evidence.*

*Volume 26, pp. 131-136, 192-201, 226-235,227-276*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



Translation. "The accused Safarov Nizami Sumbat oghlu confessed his guilt partially on the given episode on February 20, 1989, and stated, "...Grigorian Edik kicked the owner of the flat in the room, raped Loudly, and if I am not mistaken, Karina, searched in the rooms for valuables throwing away the unnecessary things".

*Volume 16, pp. 190-209*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:

79.

Свои показания потерпевшая Междумян Р.А. подтвердила 23 сентября 1988 года на очной ставке с обвиняемым Григоряном Э.Р. и пояснила:

"... Именно этот мужчина в числе других погромщиков ворвался к нам в квартиру в период массовых беспорядков... Этого мужчину я ранее опознала по фотографии... Сидящий напротив меня... Григорян в числе других..., сломав дверь, ворвался к нам в квартиру, ...он меня избивал ножкой стула... Я видела его, как он в комнате, куда меня загнала толпа, насильвовал мою дочь Карину..."

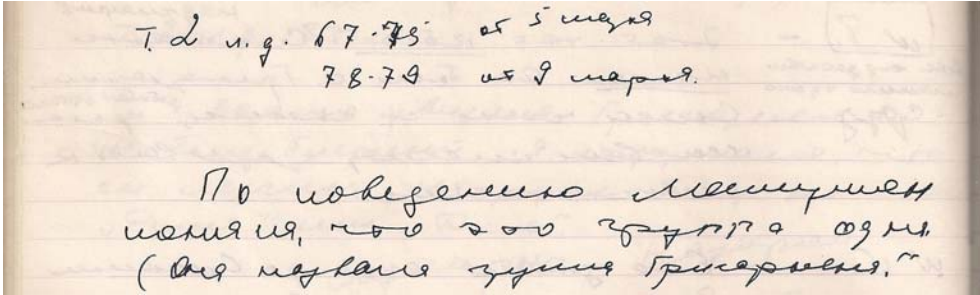
т. 29 л. д. 225-228

*Translation. The victim Mezhlumian R.A. confirmed her evidence in the confrontation with the accused Grigorian E.R. on September 23, 1988, and stated:*

*"...namely this man with the number of other plunderers broke into our flat during the mass disorders... I recognized this man by his photo before... The man sitting in front of me...Grigorian among the number of others..., broke the door, rushed into our flat, ...he struck me with the leg of a chair...I saw in the room into which the crowd drove me how he raped my daughter Karina ..."* Volume 29, pp. 225-228

**Commentary:** In the court Grigorian was sentenced only for this episode of rape. Though, as it is seen from numerous video-records shown during the court trial, all the charges against Grigorian were confirmed. It becomes evident from the materials of the confrontation that namely he was the head of the band, lead all the accused, instructed them and had the list with the names of the Armenian families. It is seen from the video-records, the investigation was conducted freely, without any restriction, and the participants of the disorders unmasked each other, tried to wipe off the traces of the committed crimes and defend themselves, and very often insulted each other. In these episodes Grigorian threatens everybody, he reminds the victim Armenians, who testified against him that he was also an Armenian. Had those video-records been preserved, these words which I say here would have not arisen any suspicions. But as I am unaware of the fate of those records, I want to bring to the notice of the readers some of my notes taken when the records were demonstrated.

One of the notes of the author made in the trial:



**Text of the note:** “Volume 2, sheets of the case 67-75, March 5  
78-79, March 9

*Due to the behaviour Mezhlumian understood that it was one group (she called it the group of Grigorian).”*

**Commentary:** The above-mentioned notes were taken during the demonstration of the video-records. Certain time later after the Sumgayit events, a part of the Armenian victims moved to Yerevan. **In order to familiarize them with the materials of the criminal case a group of the investigators of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, headed by V. Kalinichenko, took all the video-records of the arrested in Sumgayit to Yerevan.**



V. I. Kalinichenko, investigator on particularly important cases under the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR

I must note that Vladimir Ivanovich Kalinichenko was investigator on particularly important cases under the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR since 1979, and in the period of his work he had investigated the most problematic criminal cases in the country; he was always distinguished with high professionalism. At present V. Kalinichenko is one of the well-known lawyers of Russia.

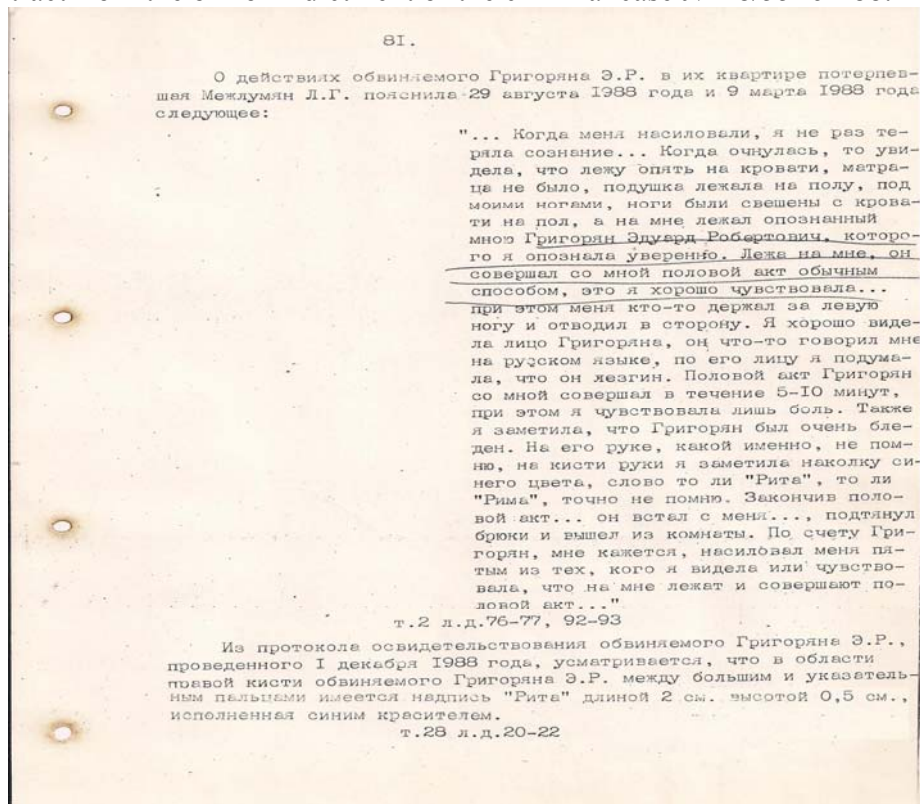
Thus, when the identification of the suspected was conducted in the office of the prosecutor of Armenia, each of the suspected was demonstrated to the Mezhlumian sisters. The sisters reacted to each of the suspected differently: in one case they said that “it was him”, in another case they said that “it was not him”, in the third case they said that “perhaps it was him, or not”. But when it was Grigorian’s turn, the sisters recognized him without hesitation, and not hiding their anxiety and indignation repeated both that he was the main figure among the participants of the events. ***It is necessary to pay attention to the one most important moment: the Mezhlumian sisters recognized Grigorian in the process of identification conducted in the Office of the Prosecutor of***



*Armenia in Yerevan in the presence of the Armenian investigators and high rank officials of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. It is particularly necessary to note that the victims of the events, Armenians by nationality, confirmed in Armenia that the group of criminals was headed by Grigorian, and the identification was conducted not by the Azerbaijani investigators, but by the members of the investigation group consisting of Russians and Armenians. In this very identification process Grigorian also said that he was an Armenian and implored not call his name. Undoubtedly, I would have liked to find the video-records of this criminal case in order to place their electronic version in internet and convey the truth about the said events to the whole world. In doing this it would have been possible to make a matchless contribution to the history. Then today nobody would have been able to accuse the Azerbaijanis of the slander against the Azerbaijanis or of bias and partiality in the conduct of the investigation!!!*

Below we give some parts of the bill of indictment which prove the said:

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



*Mezhlumian L.G. stated the following on August 29, 1988, and on March 9, 1988 about the actions of the accused Grigorian E.R. in the their flat, "...When he raped me I fainted not once...When I gained consciousness back I saw that I was lying on the bed again, there was no mattress on it, the pillow was on the floor under my feet. My feet were hanging down to the floor from the bed. Grigorian Eduard Robertovich, whom I have recognised was laying on me, I fully recognized him. Lying on me he committed sexual intercourse with me in the ordinary manner and I felt it very well...while somebody was holding me by the left leg and moving it aside. I saw Grigorian's face clearly, he told me something in Russian, and looking at his face I thought that he was a Lezgin. He had sex with me within 5-10 minutes. I felt only pain. I also noticed that Grigorian was very pale. On his hand, I don't know exactly which one, I noticed tattooed word Rita or Rima in blue colour. Finishing sex he stood up...moved up his trousers and left the room. I think that Grigorian was the fifth of those, who raped me, whom I saw or felt, of those who were lying on me and having sex with me..."*

*Volume 2, pp. 76-77, 92-93*

*From the records of the testimony conducted on December 1, 1988, it becomes clear that on the right hand of Grigorian E.R. between the thumb and forefinger there is a word Rita tattooed with blue paint, 2 cm in length and 2 cm in height.*

*Volume 28, pp. 20-22*



The victim of the event Mezhlumian L. G. identifies Grigorian Eduard Robertovich.



*Mezhlumian*

*Recognized Grigorian*

*He, he beat us*

*№3 – 28. 02 testimony in the apartment. He raped me and my sister Karina. He smashed everything in the room, broke the glasses. First he stood upright. Then he was told not to stand.*

*№ 5- recognized Grigorian immediately. He was distinct from others, not darkish like everyone, but pale white; he had tattoos on his hands. He spoke in Azerbaijani. He terribly kicked with his feet; I do not know whether he broke something or not.*

*I remembered him well. He called everybody to kill all of us. He was terrible, more active than anybody else. He raped me. I did not see my sister. He was in the very first group”.*

**Commentary:** As these notes were taken while demonstrating the video-records in the trial, so the thoughts expressed in them may be not quite understandable. Therefore, I shall try to give some explanation. Identification with the participation of the Mezhlumian sisters was conducted in Yerevan in presence of the investigators Lukerich and Nazarian. Both sisters confirmed that they remembered Grigorian well; they noted that he was pale faced and looked like a Lezgin; Grigorian was the most active among the plunderers, they heard how Grigorian called everybody to kill all; he spoke in Azerbaijani. Another most important detail: while testifying on March 9 and August 28, 1988, L. Mezhlumian paid attention to the fact not known to the investigation – on the right or left hand of Grigorian the word either “Rima” or “Rita” was tattooed. After this testimony the investigators examined the Grigorian’s body and found out that really on his right hand between the thumb and forefinger the word “Rita” was tattooed. There are dozens of such details in the materials of the criminal case.

Though in the first part of the book I try, not overstep, to the possible extent, the frames of the bill of indictment, maximally to stick to the unemotional terminology of this official document, nevertheless, I am obliged to pay attention to some other circumstances as well. To give the political assessment of the events in Sumgayit on September 23, 1989, the Historic-Enlightening Association of Armenia “Gushamatian”organised in the House of Architects in Yerevan a press conference with the participation of 300 people, including foreign reporters on the topic “Sumgayit... Genocide... Transparency?” After some time, the speeches made during the press conference and its other materials were published by the Association of “Znanie” (Knowledge) of Armenia in the form of a special booklet compiled by the team of nine people. These materials were translated into

Russian and English and placed in several websites. I will return to these materials in the other parts of the book. But now I want to quote the words of Samvel Shahmuradian, a publicist, whose speech was the longest among those delivered in the press-conference: “Nobody in Armenia is surprised now that among the chaos of the absurd accusations and lie in the articles like “Why Sumgayit?” written by the academician of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan Z. Bunyatov, there has been no space remained for the couple of words of regret and repentance. Instead, the Armenians have been declared masochists who had ”invented” the events of Sumgayit and the absurd cynicism has been elevated to an unimaginable apogee; now we hear that the Armenians killed the Armenians in Sumgayit”. After his speech the conference continued in much more anti-Azerbaijani spirit. It happened despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the participants of the conference were aware who was Z. Bunyatov; they knew that he was twice awarded with the title of the Hero of the Soviet Union, while in the first case he did not get the award because he could not stand the rudeness of his commander and beat him, there were legends existing about this case in the USSR. His services in science were known to everybody. But at the end of the conference it became clear that the words of Z. Bunyatov were not absurd and lie, nevertheless, the organizers of the conference tried to interpret it differently. One of the participants of the conference (his name is not mentioned) asked such a question:

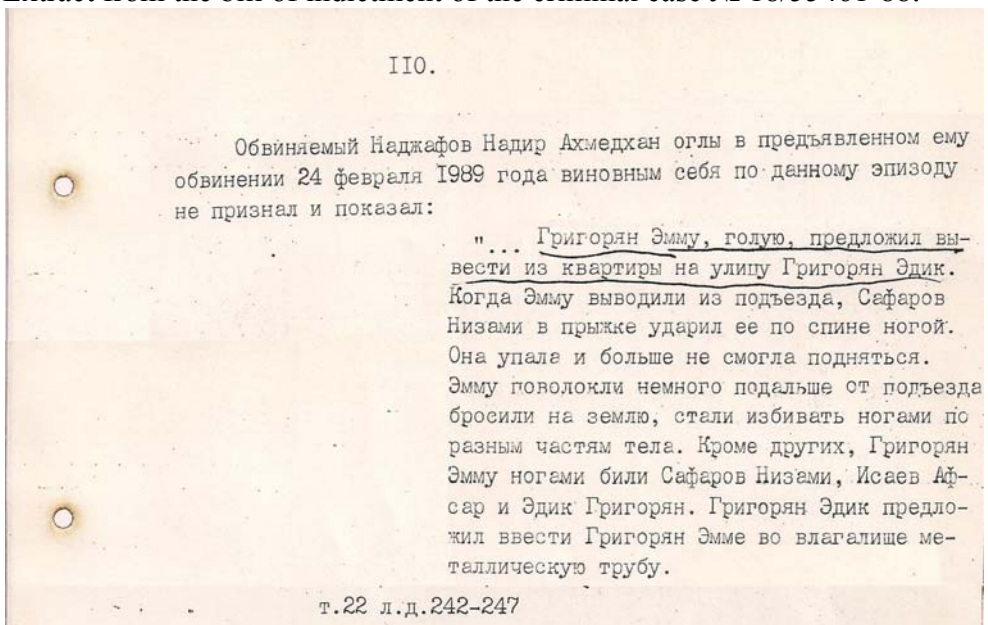
**Question:** “Is it true that among the organizers of the massacre in Sumgayit there was an Armenian?”

**Shahmuradyan:** “Yes, it is true. We talk about Eduard Grigorian. The Azerbaijanis were glad to find out about him, and now, as soon as the topic is the Sumgayit events, they immediately move his name to the forefront; indeed, it is a quite suitable trump card. Who was that Grigorian and how did it happen that he was among the murderers and rapists? He was born from Armenian father and Russian mother. He was convicted thrice. According to the victim of the case Lyudmila Mezhlumian, on February 27, 1988, in the evening, several Azerbaijanis, who had been in the prison with Grigorian, came to him and said, “Tomorrow we shall attack the Armenians. At three o’clock we will be waiting for you near the new bus station”. He began refusing, so they told him, “If you do not come, we will kill you”, and Grigorian joined them.

As it is seen, the organizers of the conference had full information about Grigorian, they even were well aware of the materials of the criminal case. Only a person well aware of the materials of the criminal case, which consisted of 33 volumes, over 12.000 pages, could know that Grigorian’s

mother was Russian by nationality. Only in one place of the criminal case there is information about his mother's being Russian. Only in the confrontation the victim of the case Mezhlumian was informed that he was an Armenian. And it is also sufficiently interesting under which circumstances did Mezhlumian find out that he was Armenian. When the video-records were demonstrated, all the participants of the trial, including me, saw how Grigorian begged Mezhlumian in humiliation not to give evidence against him because he was also an Armenian. Only after this confrontation Mezhlumian knew that Grigorian was an Armenian. Nevertheless, she denounced him. Besides, during the identification conducted in Yerevan by the investigator Kalinichenko where the process was video-recorded Mazlumian recognized Grigorian. At the same time, in Yerevan, in the presence of the Armenian investigators Mezhlumian did not even mention the "tales" narrated by Shahmuradian in press conference. In the confrontation of Grigorian with Petrosian, the latter Denounced (exposed) the former. Grigorian with the typical for him impudence said: "He is so brave now, but at home he was as meek as a rabbit". This episode exists in the sites in the form of the video-record. Watching these video-records, one would be shocked with ability of the Armenian nationalists to skilfully conceal their lies.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



Translation. *The accused Nacafov Nadir Ahmadkhan oghlu did not confess his guilt for the crime in this episode during the arraignment on*

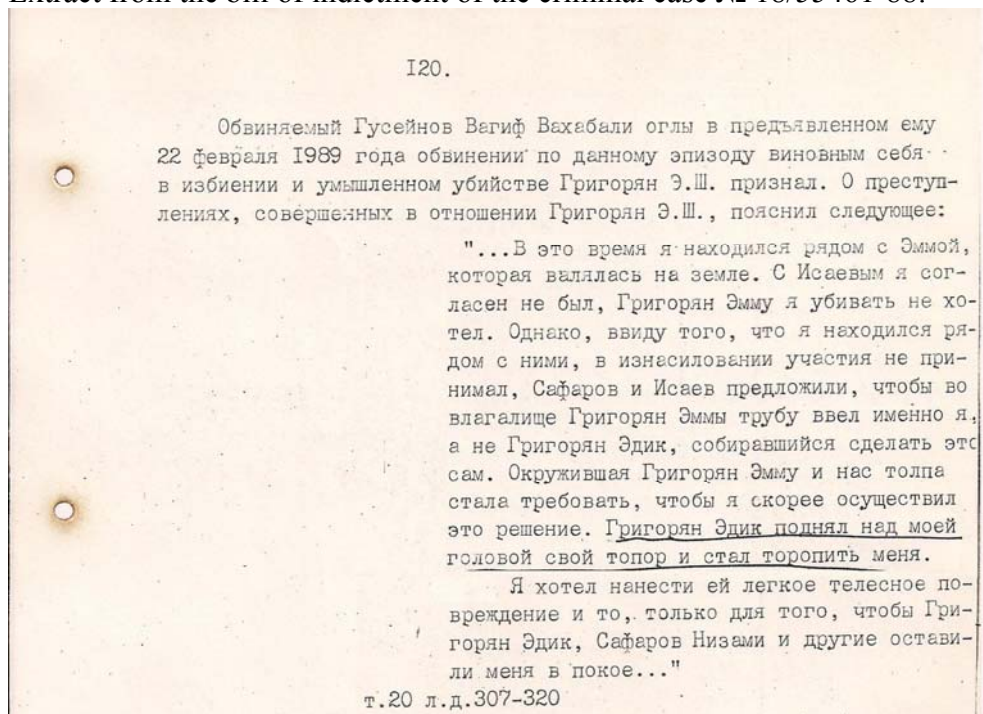


February 24, 1989, and said:

“...It was Grigorian Edik who suggested dragging the naked Grigorian Emma into the street from the flat. When she was taken outside, Safarov Nizami kicked her with a jump in the back in the entrance. She fell down and could not rise anymore. She was dragged a little more from the entrance and thrown on the ground; they began to kick different parts of her body. Together with the others, Safarov Nizami, Isayev Afsar and Edik Grigorian also kicked Emma Grigorian. Grigorian Edik suggested pushing an iron pipe into her vagina.

Volume 22, pp. 242-247

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case № 18/55461-88:



The accused Huseinov Vagif Vahabali oghlu confessed his guilt in the arraignment to him on February 22, 1989, in beating and intentional murder of Grigorian Emma Shirinovna. About the crimes committed against Grigorian E. S., he said the followings, "...then I was near Emma who lay on the ground. I did not agree with Isayev and did not want to kill Grigorian Emma. But as I was closer to Emma and did not take part in the rape, Safarov and Isayev suggested that namely I should push the iron pipe into the vagina of Grigorian Emma, but not Grigorian Edik who was going to do



*it himself. The crowd which surrounded Grogorian Emma and us began to demand that I should do it immediately. Grogorian Edik raised the axe over my head and began to hurry me.*

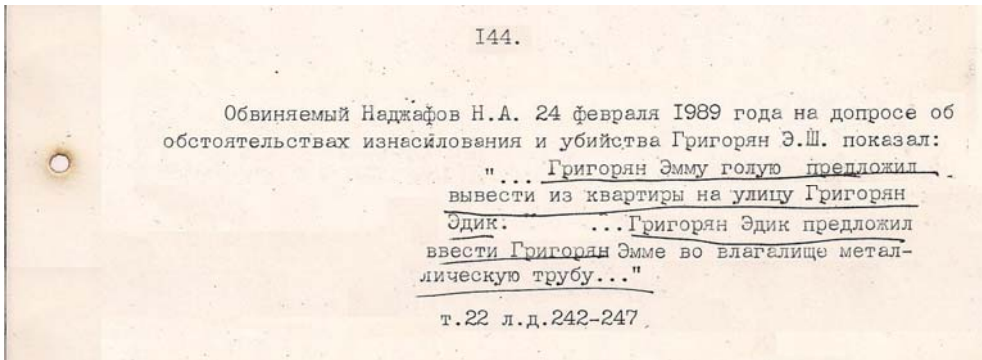
*I wanted to cause her some light corporal injuries so Grigorian Edik, Safarov Nizami and others would leave me in peace.*

*Volume 20, pp. 307-320*

**Commentary:** Dear readers, I heard about this horrible crime episode in Stavropol listening to the speeches of the parliamentarians Igitian, Stravoytova, Khanzadian, watching the Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR on television, and reading the articles published in the central newspapers by Alikhanian-Bonner, the spouse of the academician Sakharov, and others, but they did not say anything about the main organizer of the crime, all accusing the whole Azerbaijani people in the crime. This is a time-tested methodology of the Armenian nationalists. At present the world press is filled with the maxims of the Armenian nationalists as if Hitler had ordered the German soldiers: "Kill all the Jews who remember that the Turks exterminated a million and a half Armenians!" Hitler had never uttered such a thing. Nobody, neither the scholars of the United States, nor those of Europe, who studied practically all the manuscripts of Hitler, could find this statement. The Armenians themselves are in need of "the false sensation" invented by them in order to penetrate into the heads of their compatriots forever the idea about "the one and a half million victims".

This fact, discovered by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, has found its reflection in the above-cited official document. Grigorian wanted to commit this terrible crime with his own hands, but then forced V. Huseinov, threatening him with the axe in his hand, to commit it.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case №18/55461-88:

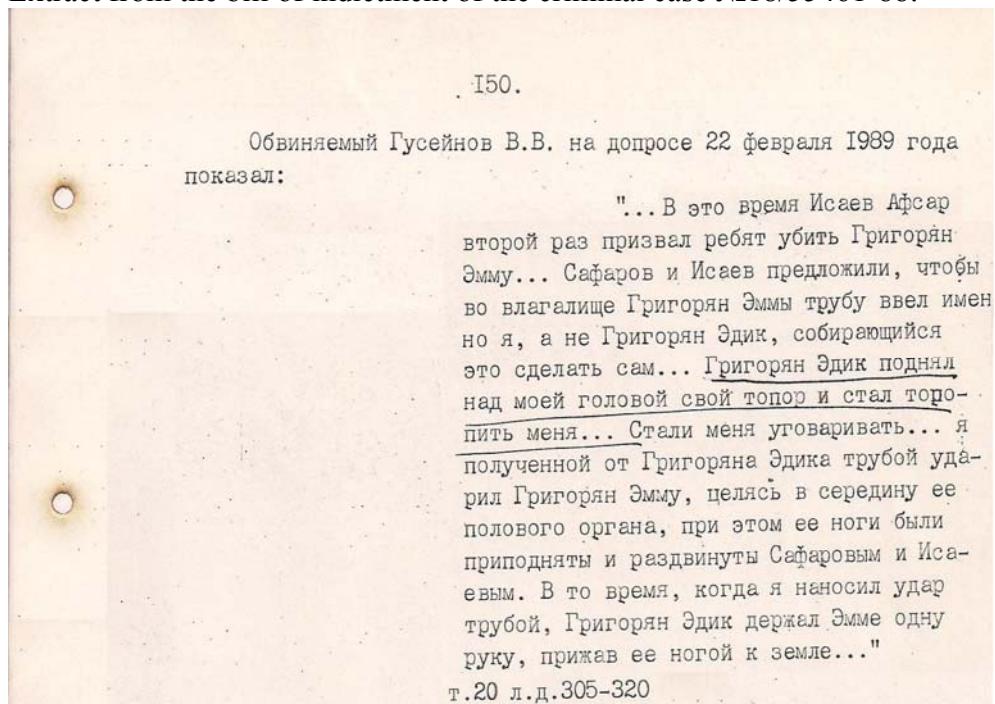


*The accused Nacafov N. A. on February 24, 1989, testified the following in examination on the circumstances of the rape and murder of Grigorian E.S., and said:*

*“...Grigorian Edik suggested dragging the naked Grigorian Emma into the street....Grigorian Edik suggested pushing the iron pipe into the vagina of Grigorian Emma....”*

*Volume 22, pp. 242-247*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case №18/55461-88:

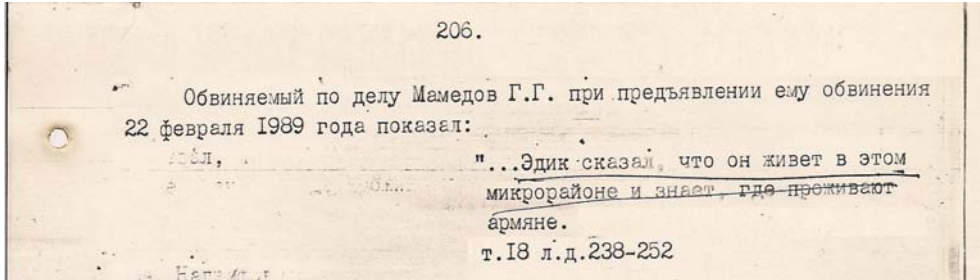


*The accused Huseinov V.V. in the interrogation conducted on February 22, 1989, said, “...It was the second time as Isayev Afsar called the group to kill Grigorian Emma...Safarov and Isayev suggested that namely I, but not Grigorian Edik, who was going to do it himself, should push the pipe into the vagina of Grigorian Emma... Grigorian raised the axe over my head and began to hurry me...They began to persuade me...I took the pipe from Grigorian Edik and struck with it Grigorian Emma aiming at the middle of her genital while Safarov and Isayev seized her feet raised and moved apart from each other. When I pushed the pipe, Grigorian Edik had kept one of the hands of Emma and pressed it to the ground with his foot.”*

*Volume 20, pp. 305-320*

**Commentary:** The worst criminal episode in the Sumgayit events was the brutality committed namely against Emma Grigorian who was about 60 years old. She was raped by the group of criminals, and then was subjected to cruel tortures; the accused Grigorian directed the actions of his accomplices, incited them, and under the treat of violence compelled them to jeer at the old woman.

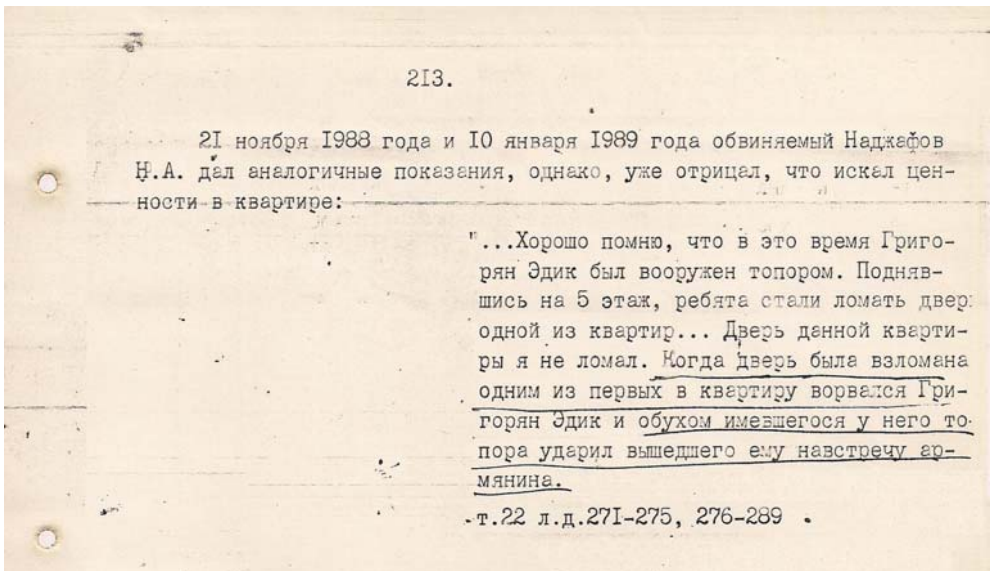
Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case №18/55461-88:



*Mammadov G.G., accused in the case, said the following on February 22, 1989, when he was charged, "...Edik said that he lived in this micro-region and knew where the Armenians lived."*

*Volume 18, pp. 238-252*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case №18/55461-88:

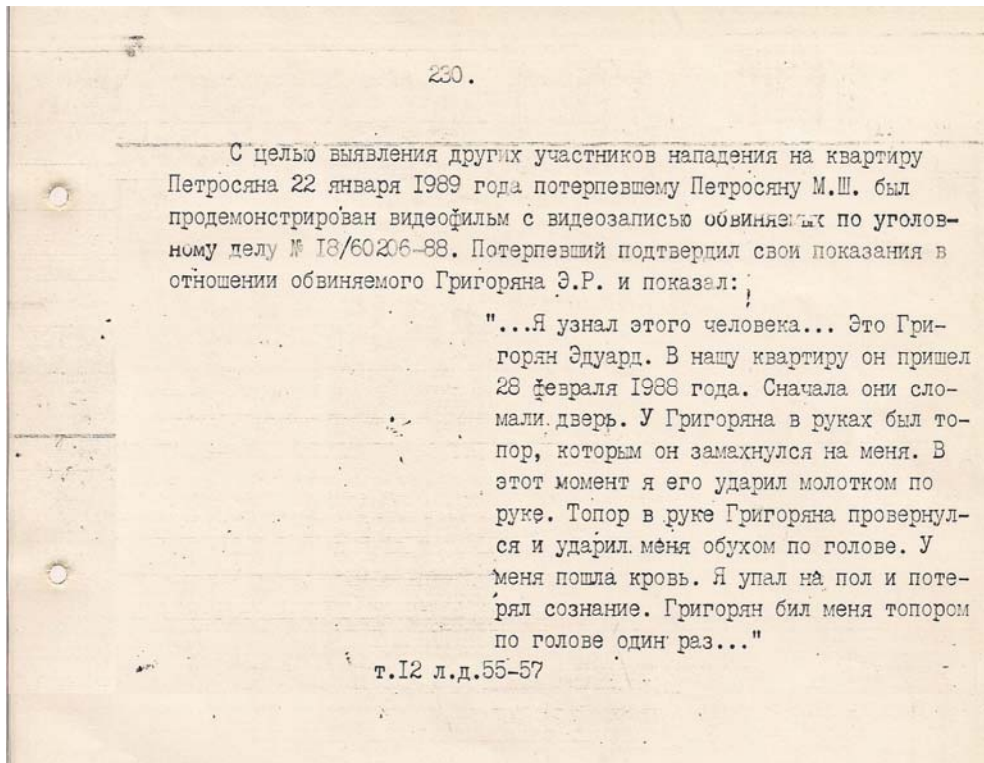


*On November 21, 1989 and January 10, 1989, the accused Nacafov N.A. gave analogous evidence, but denied the fact of his search in the flat for valuable things, "...I remember well that Grigorian Edik was armed with an*

*axe; going up to the 5<sup>th</sup> floor the group began to break the door of one of the flats...I did not break the door of that flat. When the door broke, Grigorian Edik was the first to rush into the flat and with the butt of the axe which he had in his hand struck at the head of the Armenian man who came face to face with him.”*

*Volume 22, pp. 271-275, 276-289*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case №18/55461-88:



*In order to discover the other participants of the attack to the flat of Petrosian, a video film on January 22, 1989 was demonstrated, with the records of the accused in the criminal case № 18/60206-88. The victim confirmed his testimony against the accused Grigorian E.R. and stated,*

*"...I recognize this man...This is Grigorian Eduard. He broke into our flat on February 28, 1988. First they broke the door. Grigorian had an axe in his hand and raised it to strike me. At this moment I hit his hand with a hammer. The axe in Grigorian's hand turned and he struck me with its butt. My head bled. I fell on the floor and lost consciousness. Grigorian struck with the axe at my head once..."*

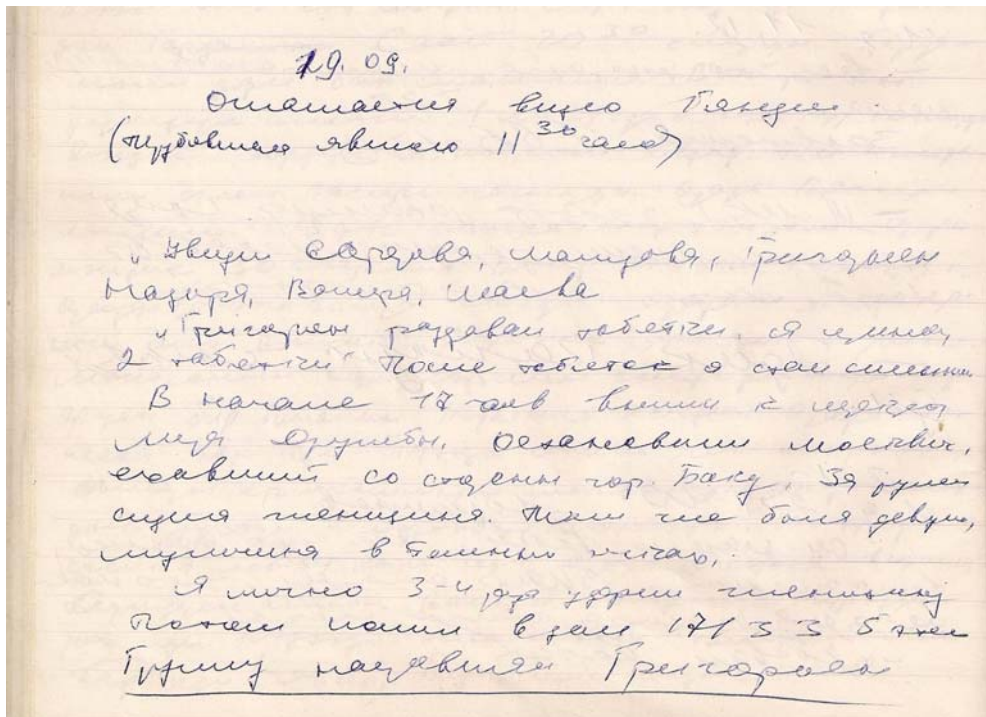
*Volume 12, pp. 55-57*



Victim of the crime Petrosian M. S. recognizes Grigorian E.R.



Note of the author taken in the trial:



**Text of the note: 19.09.**

*Demonstration of the video-records concerning Ganjaliyev  
(Trubovskaya appears at 11.30)*

*“I saw Safarov, Mammadov, Grigorian, Nadir, Vagif, and Isaiev”.*

**“Grigorian distributed pills. I swallowed two pills. Then I felt strong and brave.**

*In the early minutes of 5 pm I went to the spot where the streets Mir and Druzhiba crossed each other. I stopped a car (Moskvich) which was moving from the direction of Baku. It was driven by a woman. There was also a young girl and a man in dark spectacles in the car.*

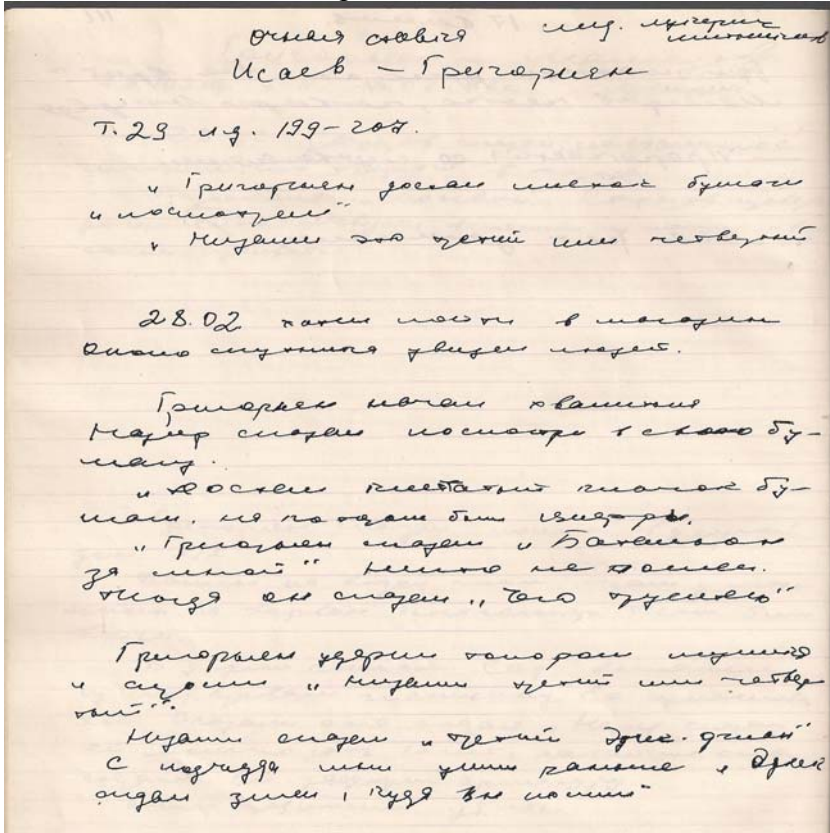
*I punched the woman three or four times. Then I went to the house №17/33 and climbed to the fifth floor.*

***The group was led by Grigorian”.***

**Commentary:** Trubovskaya was the defence lawyer. I will explain later why I particularly stressed the fact that she was late. For the present I must note that in the certain stage of the trial I felt that Trubovskaya was engaged not in the activity of the lawyer so much, as in the interference in the process of the trial, therefore I began to pay her special attention.

It is seen in the above-mentioned notes that Ganjaliyev confirms the distribution of pills by Grigorian and also the fact that Grigorian headed the group and directed their actions.

Author's note done in the process:



**Text of the note:** “Confrontation Interrogators Lukerich, Mitnikov Isayev – Grigorian

Volume 29, pp. 199-207

“Grigorian took a paper from his pocket and looked at it”.

“Nizami, which floor is this, the third or fourth?”

28. 02 I wanted to go to the shop. I saw a crowd near “Sputnik”

Grigorian started to boast.

Nadir told him to check with his paper.

“He took out of his pocket a piece of checked paper on which there were figures”. Grigorian said: “Battalion, follow me”. Nobody followed him. Then he said: “What are you afraid of?”

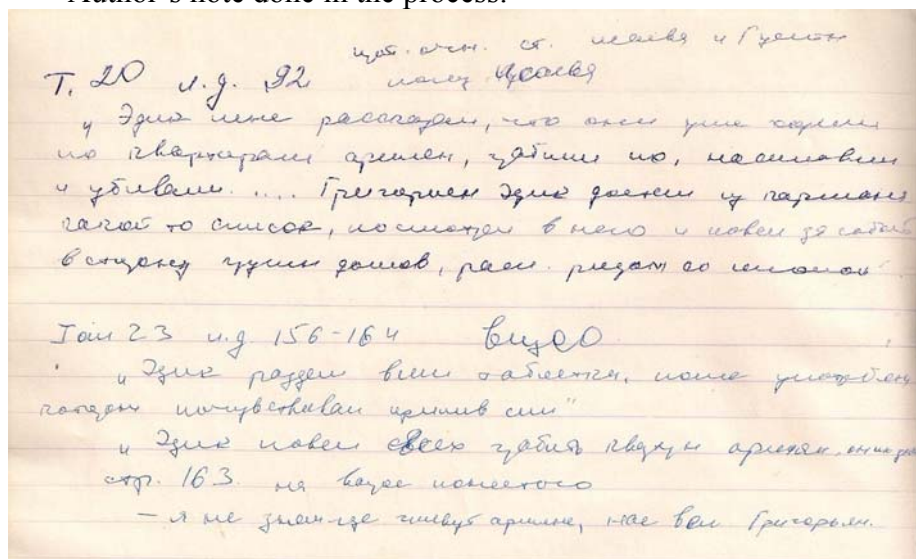
Grigorian struck a man with the axe and asked: “Nizami, is it the third or fourth?”



Nizami said: “The third, Edik”. We left the entrance of the house earlier than the rest. Edik said: “You, snakes, where are you going?”

**Commentary:** I want to explain the phrase “Is it the third, or fourth?” Before it, there was the episode describing how Grigorian struck Petrosian with the axe. Petrosian lost consciousness, and Grigorian, thinking that he was dead, did not strike him any more. In this very episode Grigorian asked Nizami the number of the killed, whether it was the third or the fourth. It means that the accused confirmed that Grigorian had killed several persons. Though such evidences are met several times in the materials of the criminal case, the investigation did not pay attention to it.

Author’s note done in the process:



**Text of the note:**

“Volume 20, p. 92. Records of the confrontation of Isayev and Huseinov

Evidence of Isayev

“Edik told me that they had already been to the flats of the Armenians, robbed, raped and murdered them... Gigorian Edik took out a paper from his pocket looked at it and led the group in the direction of the houses next to my house”.

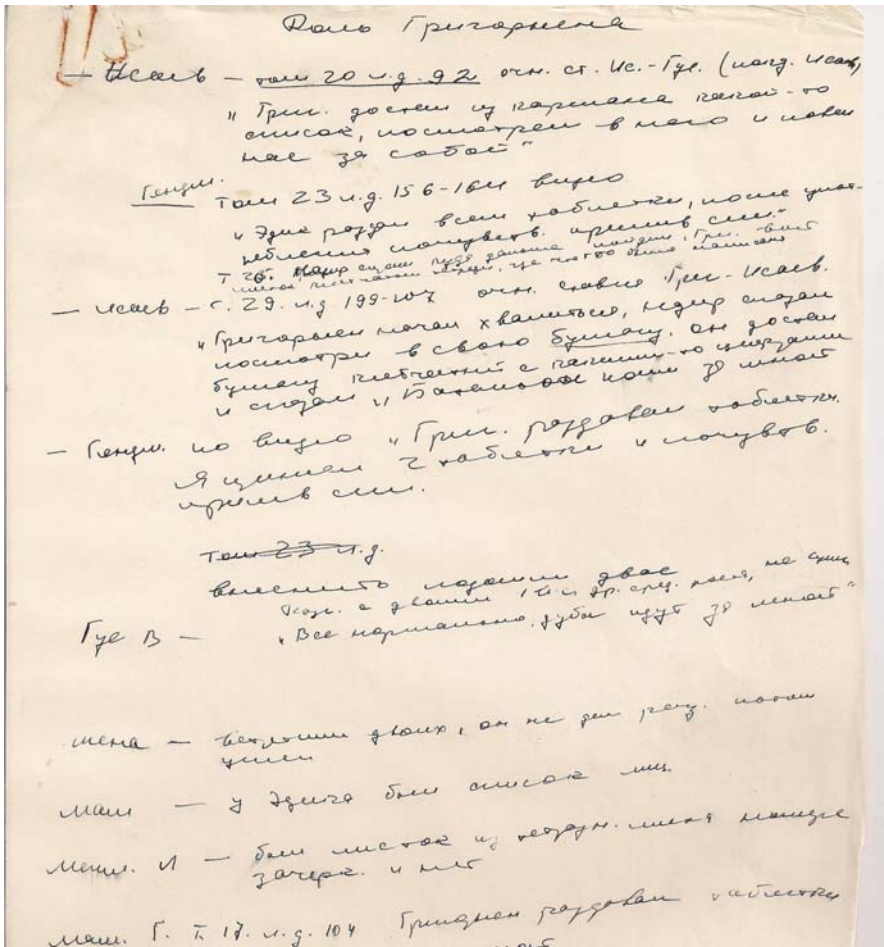
Volume 23, pp. 156-164. Video-record

“Edik distributed pills to everybody, after swallowing the pill I felt strong and brave”.

“Edik took everybody to plunder the houses of the Armenians, he knew them.”

p.163 In reply to the question of the witness: - I did not know where the Armenians lived, Grigorian led us to them”.

**Commentary:** The materials of the investigation of the criminal case mention more than once that Grigorian encouraged the members of the



group to commit violence against the Armenians, called them to kill and rape them. Though the victims and the accused confirmed more than once the fact that Grigorian had the list of the Armenians, this circumstance was ignored consciously.

Author’s note made in the process:

**Text of the note:** “Grigorian’s role”

- Isayev – volume 20, p. 92. Confrontation of Isayev and Huseinov (Isaiev’s testimony) “Grigorian took out of his pocket a list, looked at it and made us follow him”.

- *Ganjaliyev volume 23, pp. 156-164 video rerecord*  
“Edik gave pills to everybody, after swallowing it we felt the rush of strength and energy”.

*Volume 26. “Nadir asked where else should we go. Grigorian took a checked paper out of his pocket on which something was written”.*

- *Isayev Volume 29, pp.199-207. Confrontation of Grigorian and Isayev: “Grigorian began to boast. Nadir told him to look at the paper. He took from his pocket a checked paper with some figures and said: “Battalion, follow me”.*
- *Ganjaliyev on the video record: “Grigorian gave pills to everybody. I swallowed two pills and felt the rush of blood in my veins”.*
- *It is necessary to find out the two persons who came up.*
- ***Huseinov Vagif spoke to two persons; one of them was tall, the other of middle height, not residents of Sumgayit.***  
***“Everything is all right. The blockheaded follow me”.***
- *Wife we met two persons, he did not allow me to look at them, then they left.*
  - *Mammadov Galib - Edik had a list in his pocket.*
  - *Mezhlumian Lyuda - He had a paper with the crossed out and not crossed out figures.*
  - *Mammadov Galib - volume 17 p. 104 Grigorian distributed pills.*  
*“The blockheaded follow me”.*

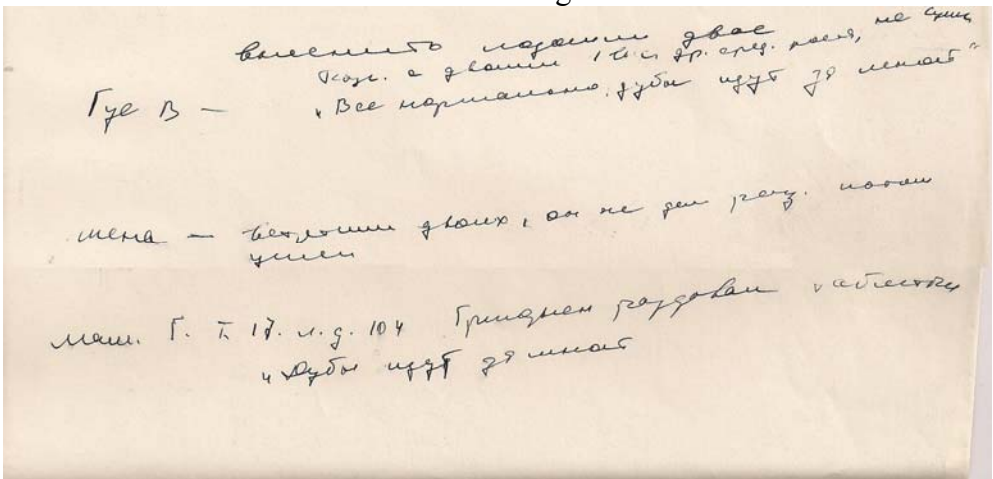
**Commentary:** In these notes on the basis of the materials of the case I join all the basic facts proving the role of Grigorian as the organizer in the criminal group. Though in all the evidences it was repeated several times that Grigorian distributed pills, that he had the list of the Armenians and their addresses, that the group consisted of the hypertrophied, that the accused were instigated to display cruelty against the Armenians, the investigation charged Grigorian not as the organizer, but as an ordinary participant of the grave crime. Despite all my efforts, the judge also supported this position and Grigorian was included into the number of the ordinary participants of the crime. Are all the enumerated facts and evidences not enough to consider Grigorian as the organizer of the group? I could further comment on the circumstances of the crime, I am afraid that I may be accused in the pressure on the readers. I want to let everybody make his/her own conclusions independently on the role of Grigorian in these events.

## WHO WERE THOSE PEOPLE IN BLACK RAINCOATS?

When familiarizing myself with the materials of the case I started wondering on a number of questions. It was quite clear that this group was headed by Grigorian. However, the design of the criminal case showed that everything was targeted at presenting Grigorian as an ordinary accomplice. Any lawyer familiar with criminal cases on group crimes knows very well that the list of the criminals starts with the very name of the leader of the group followed by the names of the remaining accomplices according to the seriousness of the act committed by them. However, it is obvious from the verdict that Grigorian's name was shown at the very end of the list, and some evidences related to his special role were fully ignored.

All these points aerated a doubt which constantly tormented me. The evidences by Grigorian's wife, as well as by the accused Galib Mammadov and Vagif Huseinov remind about two people in black raincoats and mention Grigorian's constant meetings with them. In the course of the proceedings I made notes of the moments related to these evidences and would like to present them to your attention now:

From the author's notes made during the trial:



**Text of the author's note:** "Clarify, two persons came up."

*Huseinov Vagif:* "Talked to two people, one of them tall, the other of an average height, the people not from Sumgayit."

*"Everything is OK, the blockheads are following me."*

*His wife:* "Met two people, he didn't allow me to have a look at them,- then they left."

*Mammadov Galib:* volume 17, p. 104 "Grigorian distributed some

*pills.*

*“The blockheads are following me.”*

**Commentary:** It is obvious from these evidences that all three witnesses testify Grigorian’s constant meetings with two people. The materials of the case show that while interrogating Grigorian’s wife, the investigator tries to ascertain in a chronological order where her spouse was before the known events. During the interrogation Grigorian’s wife said that she lived amicably with her husband who always informed her about the places he had been, about all with whom he had met. Further she states that once when they were returning home, she noticed two people in black raincoats at the corner of the building. She wanted to scrutinize them, but Grigorian rudely snubbed her saying in Russian, “What the hell are you staring?” Then they returned home. To the investigator’s question what happened later, Grigorian’s wife answered, “He left me and then he went away.” When the investigator asked where Grigorian went, Grigorian’s wife failed to answer despite earlier she had confirmed that her husband informed her about his meetings and even warned her if he was late. She just understood that he had an urgent deal.

A simple logic suggests that Grigorian left home to meet those people in black raincoats.

I would like to present to your attention some evidences fixed in the materials of the criminal case, but not included in the verdict, as well evidences given during the trial, but not reflected in the minutes, still remaining in my memories.

During the investigation Galib Mammadov and Vagif Huseinov testified that they saw people in black raincoats. Galib Mammadov said approximately the following, “We were walking in the crowd, and I was behind Grigorian. I noticed two people in black raincoats standing aside. They were not from Sumgayit, looked like visitors. Then I saw that although these people in black raincoats didn’t say anything to Grigorian, he turned to their side and waved his hands as if calming them down and said, “Everything is OK, the blockheads are following me...”

An analogical testimony is given also by Vagif Huseinov. However, despite the significance of these evidences of the investigation couldn’t clear out so far who these people in black raincoats were, for what purpose they met with Grigorian and what did they discuss with him, and why Grigorian uttered the above-mentioned words. It was this phrase that particularly attracted my attention and stirred my anxiety. That’s why I decided to get acquainted with someone from the investigation team. In the materials of the criminal case I came across the name of Niyazi Valikhanov,

the Azerbaijani member of the investigation team. At present he works as a prosecutor on criminal cases at the prosecutor's office of the Nizami District of Baku. I met Valikhanov and shared my suspicions with him. He immediately impressed me as a good person. He frankly admitted that he hadn't been able to fully familiarize himself with the materials of the case and that he conducted almost the second and third degree questioning. However, despite all this, he didn't think that this case was an ordinary one as they wanted to present it in fact. Niyazi told me the name of the KGB colonel, an investigator of the investigation team (he worked as an investigator in one of the provinces not far from Moscow; unfortunately I fail to remember his name now). To clear up some questions, I asked Niyazi to arrange me a meeting with that colonel. However, Niyazi hopelessly convinced me that the man would say nothing related to the circumstances of the case I was interested in. Then I asked my colleagues to simply invite him to a dinner-party organized by me. He consented...

The meeting was held in the restaurant "Zoo Park" and lasted long. Immediately I noticed my interlocutor's affection for alcohol. By the end of the dinner I consciously led the conversation to the period when I worked in Russia, to the challenges occurring that time, and, the talk switched to professional themes. The colonel started speaking about his work and his own high professionalism with a great pleasure. When bragging he started to convince me in his competence, I objected to him, "Well, how could you consider yourself a professional, and fail to notice that Sumgayit events had been organized from outside when I, even not being a KGB officer, can see it from the materials of the case?!" These words seemed to have sobered my interlocutor who immediately parried rudely, "I see you are very pleased with yourself. I know the substance of this case very well. We not only revealed that the events had been organized, but also knew by whom".

Then he added that they identified the people in black raincoats mentioned in the case and suspected by me; they even showed their photos to Grigorian's wife and some of the accused who recognized them. The investigators knew that the mentioned people were the real organizers of the unrests after which they left for Uzbekistan. According to the colonel, having identified the place where they had gone, he went to Galkin and asked him to sign a trip for him so that he could bring those people back from Uzbekistan. In his answer Galkin said, "Haven't you heard the speech of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the CPSU Michael Gorbachov? He said that Sumgayit events are the act of the hooligan elements. This way should the case be accomplished..."

The KGB colonel noted that the Sumgayit case was accomplished



that way not because they were not professional enough, but because of the above-stated reason. The conversation was witnessed by Niyazi Valikhanov who may confirm my words.

Soon afterwards the analogical events took place in Uzbekistan, Osh and Fargana, and the very people in black raincoats might have laid their hands on them as well. Following the collapse of the USSR it became clear that in KGB of the USSR there was an institution engaged in the organization of unrests in Africa and Asian countries. And it is not excluded that the stated “people in black” were the representatives of that very institution. The investigation of that fact is already the job of other people, and other organizations...

### **OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THE PROCESS**

As a direct participant of the trial on Sumgayit events, I can say unambiguously that interference in the proceedings was observed in the course of the entire court trial, which appeared in different forms. First of all, an indecorous behaviour of the defendants’ lawyers who violated the professional ethics by all means, exercised pressure on the accused, threatened them by all means against providing true evidences. As soon as I condemned someone from the accused for a lie during the cross examination, they immediately started attacking me and switched to insults. In the course of the entire trial all the accused insulted me with such words like “Armenian”, “an Armenian spy” and so on. Repeatedly I appealed to Mansur Ibayev demanding to protect me against such insults. By calming me down each time M. Ibayev said, “Aslan, don’t pay attention to them, we have totally different goals, we have to attain the desired in the process without creating other problems”. It is true that my character didn’t allow me to keep quiet and ignore these attacks. In their turn, the lawyers by all means helped the accused to infuriate me. Only lawyer Asadagha Abdullayev didn’t take part in this campaign, while lawyer Rauf Karimov demonstrated a special passion. He was always holding a bunch of keys or beads in his hands. No sooner I started to interrogate the witnesses than he started turning these accessories in his hands, by any means tried to drive me out of my wits. I met him later when he worked at the prosecutor’s office in Baku.

I would also like to mention that Asadagha Abdullayev, participating in this process in the capacity of Galib Mammadov’s lawyer, confirmed the above-stated in the series of interviews given by him to the newspaper “Bizim yol” (“Our Way”).

“A.A.”... I remember one more moment, the lawyers behaved extremely badly in their attitude to Aslan Ismayilov....”

N.J. (journalist) “What did they say exactly?”

A.A. “They insulted him by all means without having any reason for that.”

N.J. “Why?”

A.A. “They simply wanted him not to be able to defend the interests of the prosecution. Some lawyers had their own interests. One of them, Rauf Karimov was the organizer of the campaign against Aslan Ismayilov. Sometimes he even insulted the judge; by the way he used to work for the prosecutor’s office.”

N.J. “Did he have some reasons for insulting?”

A.A. “They acted as if Aslan Ismayilov did not conduct prosecution correctly. Generally they prevented the prosecutor from asking questions.”

N.J. “Doesn’t it mean that Rauf Karimov defended Grigorian?”

A.A. “Given that he certainly did defend him. For by defending his defendant, he, in fact, helped Grigorian so that the truth was not revealed.”

There was a woman named Trubovskaya among the lawyers who defended Grigorian. Approximately in the middle of the proceedings, in the record book that I used in the course of the entire trial appeared notes about Trubovskaya being late for an hour and half every day. The reason for those notes was the suspicion that this lawyer met someone prior to each hearing and got instructions from him. Each time after she was late, there happened animation among the defendants and lawyers as if she instructed and directed each of them.

Only Asadagha Abdullayev approached me then and said that he understood me, but couldn’t help. When I asked him to explain the real state of things to his defendant so that he could tell the truth, the lawyer stated that he was not allowed to do so. He even added that the other lawyers convinced Galib Mammadov’s parents that Asadagha was working in the interests of the prosecutor’s office and that they should reject him. I can definitely say that this lawyer was working for no one; simply he defended his defendant’s interests in the frames of the law, realized the essence of the tragedy and tried his best to avert the consequences. He even told me that they had defamed our nation, but we were powerless and can not do something.

By the way, I would like to bring to your notice some notes I made in 1989 during the court proceedings and preserved until now. As it has been stated on the previous pages, they confirm the interference of the lawyers and other persons in the course of the proceedings.

***I have not mentioned it anywhere before, but now I will: during the proceedings, the parents and relatives of all the accused offered me bribes in one form or another. I convinced them that I was going to help them without any bribes, but they had to give frank evidences and describe sincerely how the events took place, and in my turn, as a prosecutor I would ask for a minimal punishment provided for in the legislation. However, no one agreed.***

When I told Asadagha Abdullayev about it, he promised to help me. But anticipating my intentions, the lawyers of the other accused incited Galib Mammadov's parents against A. Abdullayev. After a while Galib Mammadov's relative came to me, he works at the prosecutor's office (if I am not mistaken at the prosecutor's office on the district of) and told me that we were colleagues and asked me to help his relative. I promised that if G. Mammadov gave candid evidences to the court, I would ask for a minimal punishment for him.

I repeat – I asked that person to tell G. Mammadov to give candid evidence in court, not to slander Grigorian! For in case of candid evidence no more would be demanded, everything would be vivid. Moreover, in all periods and times of my professional activity, no matter where I worked, I never violated the law in order attain my goal.

That man agreed, and if I am not mistaken the following day or two days later he came to me again and told that he had already talked to both G. Mammadov and his parents and got their consent to give true evidences. I was simply supposed to conduct his examination during the trial.

The next hearing was held on the following day at about 11 am, and I started interrogating G. Mammadov. Frankly speaking, I asked the questions with caution, as I expected him to give the studied answers. But then I understood that he had decided to give objective evidences. G. Mammadov spoke about the events in details – what did he and the other accused people, especially Grigorian do ... He gave approximately the following statement, “We were all directed by Grigorian. Grigorian distributed pills to all guys from the “circle”. Grigorian was their boss and everyone was afraid of him. Grigorian had a list with the number of the houses and flats on the sheet of paper which indicated where the Armenians lived. Grigorian “ordered”, “Let us go to this flat, then to another”, it was Grigorian who incited all, and so on. Although Grigorian threatened him several times at that moment without any shame, G. Mammadov went on with his statement. An interesting moment: seeing that G. Mammadov gave his evidence, the other accused also appealed to Mansur Ibayev that they wanted to testify. At that moment something unexpected happened:

although only half an hour was left till the end of the hearing, Mansur Ibayev announced a break and immediately left the hall. I was puzzled, so blocking his way in the corridor I started explaining that we had been suffering due to this case for already two months and that it was wrong to stop the hearing at the very decisive moment when the accused demonstrated the desire to give candid evidences. He retorted and said that he had an important private business. I reminded him again the necessity to continue testimonies regardless how important was his private business. He added that it was not known yet what kind of evidences they would give.

Despite all my kind requests, Ibayev was inexorable and thus went to deal with his “private business”...

At three o'clock in the afternoon, right after the beginning of the second part of the hearing G. Mammadov got up without any permission and declared that all the evidences given by him earlier were false and had been given under pressure, and that it was under Aslan Ismayilov who exerted pressure on him; I had allegedly threatened him demanding to slander Grigorian, and having been frightened he testified that way...

Seeing that G. Mammadov rejected his previous evidences, I immediately turned to the other defendants to find out if any of them would like to testify and they unanimously declared that they wouldn't like to testify as if they arranged it in advance. All of them denied my statement that quite recently they addressed the judge with the request to allow them to speak. If until this incident it was possible for me to squeeze out testimonies from the defendants “drop by drop”, now after it happened the defendants and their lawyers became fully undisciplined and practically stopped giving their evidences, and tested my patience with their remarks and insults. The campaign of obstruction was joined also by the defendants' relatives, who repeated after the defendants their absurdity and insults like parrots. The most interesting was the fact that there was no one else at the hearing but the defendants' relatives and some strangers, obviously hating me. It seemed as if it was not the trial of Sumgayit events disgracing the Azerbaijanis in the entire world, but an ordinary case of “cattle stealing”. And this happened in the period when there were active social processes going on in the republic and the national movement was gaining force. Such indifference has remained mysterious for me so far. As for authorities, their attitude was understandable: their mind was completely involved in preserving their “seats” and in the desire “to please” Gorbachev, the leader of the empire named the USSR standing in the centre of all these events. How about the Popular Front of Azerbaijan and its leaders who were able to withstand the January 1990 Armenian massacre in Baku organized by the

Centre, and the higher class of the republic? Maybe they were also involved in distributing the “seats”? Didn’t they realize the essence of the actions of the Centre and the significance of the “Grigorian’s case”?!

I should note that the fact that G. Mammadov was giving true testimonies was also confirmed by his lawyer A. Abdullayev in his interview to the newspaper “Bizim yol” (“Our Way”):

**N.J.** “During the TV program on ANS, the public prosecutor in the “Grigorian’s case” Aslan Ismayilov said that Galib Mammadov’s relatives appealed to him with the request to help the accused. Ismayilov said, “If Mammadov confesses frankly, I will help. Then Mammadov confessed that Grigorian directed them, distributed the pills, and had the list of the Armenians. However at that moment the judge Mansur Ibayev announced a break. After the break Mammadov stated that the earlier evidences were given by him under Aslan Ismayilov’s pressure ...”

**A.A.** “Maybe it was like that. At that time I was taking part also in another hearing related to Sumgayit events, and had to leave sometimes to go to the hearing in the other room, that is why I might have forgotten some points. However, Mammadov actually made those confessions. I myself asked him to tell the truth. If he would have admitted, the situation would have turned otherwise. The matter is my defendant told the judge that he gave false testimonies in the court and that Grigorian was not there. I tried to reach him out and said, “Galib, I understand why you are speaking like this, but please, tell us the truth, tell us how it actually was”. Then he confessed and told the truth quite frankly. I told him, “Don’t be afraid of other defendants, be frank, I don’t ask you to slander others... Tell us how all this happened, or if you are scared, give us a written testimony (affidavit). He agreed, but at the trial everything was changed, and he spoke quite differently.”

**N.J. (journalist)** “Who influenced him?”

**A.A.** “He must have associated with someone who didn’t allow him to tell the truth. Or there was a certain force that had an impact on all of them...”

**N.J.** “Anyway I would like to come back to one point. When Galib Mammadov gave true evidences, the judge Ibayev announced a break, and prosecutor Aslan Ismayilov protested against it. After the break Mammadov stated that it was Ismayilov who made him give those evidences. Did you find out why he changed his evidences so sharply?”

**A.A.** “You know, it seems to me that during the trial some people were making their statements based on the same position. Galib’s father addressed me with a grudge that the other lawyers had told him that

allegedly I was hindering his son's release. The lawyers told him that Asadagha Abdullayev had been violating their unity. But when Galib confessed me in private that actually Grigorian was leading them, I advised him, "Tell the truth, why are you making up the stories? Why are you joining them?" Although he promised to tell the truth, he didn't do so. He was either afraid or under pressure..."

As it is obvious, this lawyer also admits the presence of pressure on the court and defendants.

I would like also to mention that from the very beginning I trusted Ibayev in this case as no one else. At each meeting related to the case I heard him reciting some poetry by Shahriyar. That is why I was deeply convinced that for the man reading the great Azerbaijani poet Shahriyar the feeling of justice, love to his nation and country must be above all...

Besides, he always calmed me with the words, "I trust you, as my knowledge of the case is poor, everything will be as you suggest". My trust in Ibayev was first shaken during the episode with G.Mammadov. Even then I couldn't have expected Ibayev to ruin the case. Till the very end I hoped that Ibayev would certainly take into consideration so obvious circumstances, proved facts, and rule a fair judgement, wash off the mud thrown at our nation... To my greatest regret, not all expectations and hopes come true. The outcomes of the trial showed to what extent I was naïve.

The frequent repetition of M.Ibayev's name in this book is not connected with any feeling of revenge or my biased attitude to him at all. His behaviour is explainable if one takes into consideration the fact the USSR still existed at that time and the myth about the all-mightiness of the KGB was not debunked yet. By no means can I understand Ibayev's position, his efforts to mask the true events and reluctance to reveal for the history the truth about whose instructions he was implementing.

In order to draw attention to the fact in which form and with the help of which lies the Armenian nationalists present the given process to the world community, I want to return to the press conference titled "Sumgayit... Genocide... Transparency?" again and deviating a little bit from describing the criminal case to comment on one particular fact. In his speech at that conference the lawyer of the Collegium of Advocates (Bar Association) of Armenia Ruben Rshtuni stated, "When we started out activity for rendering assistance to the victims in Sumgayit, I sent a telegram addressed to the head of the investigation group Galkin. I have the copy of this telegram, "I have been assigned to represent the victims' interests after the accomplishment of the preliminary investigation of the cases of the murder of Grigorian Emma and Ambarsumian Misha. I ask you



persuasively to inform in advance about the time of arrival for familiarization with the case. Address: Yerevan 162a, Juridical Consultation Office (Law Firm). Lawyer Rshtuni”.

Further lawyer Rshtuni added that his and the victims’ right to get familiarized with the case were violated and they couldn’t get acquainted with the materials of the case on the basis of which the investigation procedures were accomplished. As the prosecutor in this case I can say that the above-stated was a lie. Not only during the investigation, but also in the period of the trial full access to the court files was provided. While I was studying some materials, this record forced me to return to the court trial. All representatives of the victims were free to be present in this trial. They participated in the trial from the very first day. And even when the accused were asked questions unmasking them, they were exasperated by the fact that the lawyers insulted me. But when Grigorian’s examination started, those exposures started bothering them, and they “slipped away” from the trial after a while. Unlike Rshtuni, I don’t want to lie, so I bring to your notice: although I knew that those present at the trial were from Yerevan, I fail to remember whom they exactly represented. Therefore I can’t confirm convincingly that the said lawyer was among the participants of the trial. However, it is not exception that when the materials of the case are found, Rshtuni’s name may turn up on the list.

I would like to mention one more interesting fact: from the materials of the conference it is obvious that the leadership of the Armenian SSR created all conditions so that the lawyers’ corpus formed to defend the interests of the victims in Sumgayit was fully informed about all the affairs including about the case of victim Emma Grigoryan. However, due to some unknown reasons no one knows anything about “Grigorian’s case”, though the gravest crimes during Sumgayit events, including the one related to Emma Grigorian, were committed by this very group.

Now, referring to the facts I revealed in the course of the court-examination again, I would like to mention that at that time I witnessed a serious interest to this trial shown by the number of young employees of the Supreme Court. They were always present in the courtroom. Once, close to the end of the hearings, two young persons approached me and said that they were secretaries of the Supreme Court sittings. They informed me that during the entire process, there was a man who was coming there and talking with Grigorian, then going to the administrative department of the second floor to telephone someone. Already then I was filled with the feeling of disgust to all surroundings, so I answered them furiously, “Go and tell about it to Judge M.Ibayev or Chairman of the Supreme Court Husein

Talibov”. I remember their looks and answer till now, “Mr. Ismayilov, no one needs this case, but you”. I can say that these words of the young people I heard then, seemed to enliven me again.

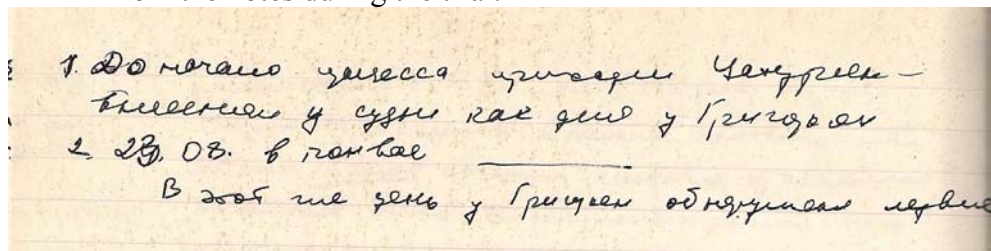
Now, I would like to address those young people from the pages of this book. Most probably they have occupied now some important posts. If they, as the direct witnesses of those events, would demonstrate their positions as before, then they will make a feasible contribution to the common goal directed toward revealing the truth, and will fulfil their duty before history with dignity.

I well remember: I asked those young men to show me the person mentioned by them in case he turned up again. After a while they came up to me during the break and said that the man was on the second floor calling someone. We immediately went upstairs. It was time when Supreme Court was located in the building of the present Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan on Serious Crimes. There was one door on the second floor straight at the entrance, and there were several other doors to the right of the corridor. One of the doors was open, and there was someone inside. The young men accompanying me pointed at the open door where that man was using telephone. We entered the room and asked him to introduce himself. He answered in Russian very rudely, “It is no concern of yours”. I said that I was the representative of the Prosecutor General’s Office of the Republic, and asked him to introduce himself again. Then he said, “If you are a representative of the Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic, then go and give your orders there; you don’t have any right to demand something here”. Having felt the tension of the situation he took his card out of his pocket. He said that he was the collaborator of the KGB of the Azerbaijan SSR. Then I made an effort to take and review his card, but he didn’t give it to me. Then with the help of the two young men accompanying me we tried to escort him to Husein Talibov holding his arms, but he started resisting and asked what I was going to do. I answered, “Let’s go to the Chairman of the Supreme Court Husein Talibov”. While he had been resisting before, now having heard that we wanted to go with him to the Chairman of the Supreme Court, he immediately relaxed and agreed. In the office of the Chairman of the Court I explained to Husein Talibov that the man was preventing the course of the trial interfering in the affairs and illegally meeting Grigorian. I even firmly stated that he was meeting the other prisoners as well, that is why I asked to clear up what the KGB staff member, and Armenian by nationality was doing in the building of the Supreme Court during the trial. Husein Talibov knew me and decisively said, “You don’t worry, I will find out”. However, till now I neither know the fate of that episode, nor what

Husein Talibov found out and to what conclusion he came to...

I would like to mention one moment related to this episode. In my record book I made a note about that very Tsaturian whom we caught in the building of the Supreme Court and handed over to the Chairman of the Court:

From the notes during the trial:



**Text of the author’s note:** “Prior to the trial Tsaturian came – asked the judge how things were with Grigorian.

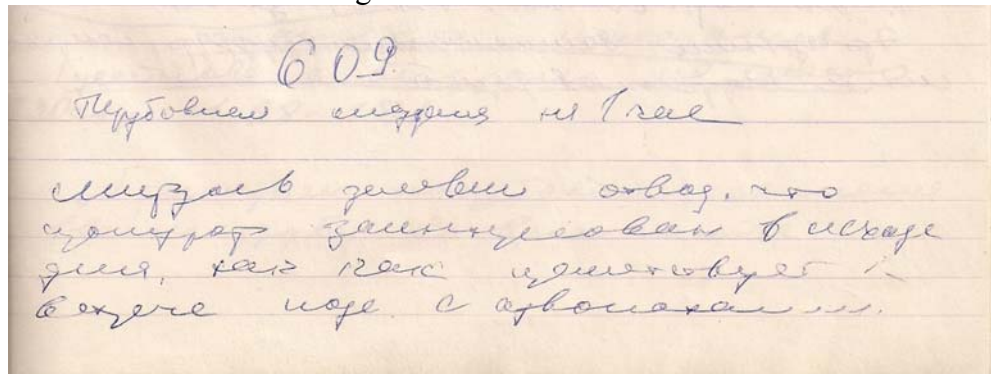
2.23.08 at the escort \_\_\_\_\_

That very day a blade was detected at Grigorian”.

**Commentary:** as it is obvious from the notes, having written “August 23 at the escort”, further I wrote nothing. I state that on that day I found out that at the escort there were cases of bribing. It became clear to me that through bribing the defendants’ lawyers, their relatives and other people were illegally meeting the defendants. On that very day a blade was detected at Grigorian. I am sure that they either wanted to murder Grigorian or to arrange his escape. For this very purpose he was given a blade. No one reacted to my warnings.

Further I made a new note in my record book:

Author’s note during the trial:



**Text of the author’s note:** “6.09.

Trubovskaya was late for an hour.

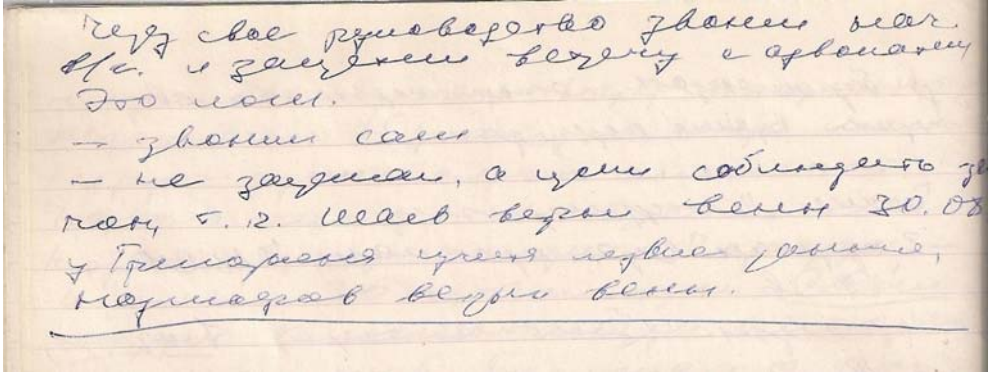
Mirzoyev announced a challenge, as the prosecutor was interested in

*the accomplishment of the case and prevented the defendants from meeting with their lawyers”.*

**Commentary:** It is obvious from the notes that Girgoryan’s lawyer Trubovskaya was late for the trial like before, and after her arrival lawyer Mirzoyev announced a challenge to the prosecutor and wanted my removal. Allegedly I was misusing my position from mercenary motives.

Further my notes went on:

From the author’s notes during the trial:



**Text of the author’s note:** *“Through my bosses I called the chief of the military unit and forbade the meeting with the lawyers.*

*It is a lie.*

- *called himself.*
- *Didn’t forbid, but asked to abide the law, as Isayev dissected his veins 30.08, they detected blades at Grigorian before, Najafov dissected his veins”.*

**Commentary:** And now I am going to explain sequentially what is standing behind all these notes.

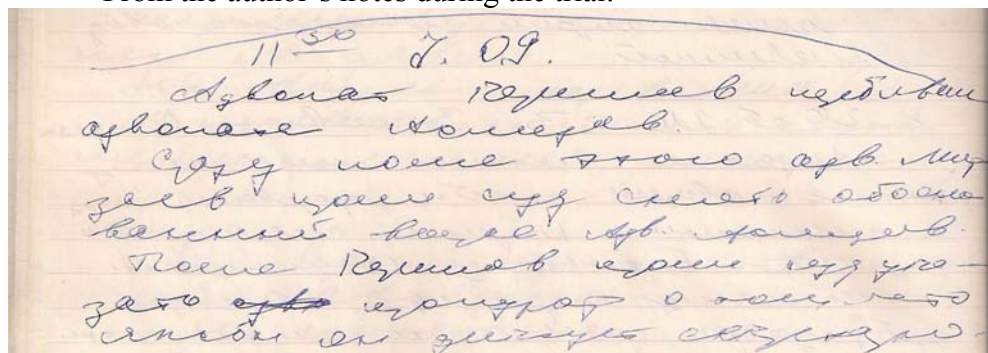
On August 23 I found out that after bribing the escort anyone could meet with Grigorian and others. It was exactly the day when a search was conducted, and a blade was found at Grigorian. On the following days Isayev and Najafov tried to commit suicide by dissecting their veins.

I would like to mention again that I repeatedly warned the judge about possibilities of Grigorian’s murder or organization of his escape from the prison, and I asked them to undertake necessary measures in order to prevent such kind of actions. But again no one paid attention to it.

After I saw all the happening, realizing that nobody would attach any importance to my appeals at the court, I called the military unit providing security of the defendants. So it was personally me, not my bosses who called the military unit. Explaining the seriousness of the incidents taking

place, I asked them to provide the maintenance of law. After that, namely on 6 September, Trubovskaya was late for the trial again for some unknown reasons. Following her arrival lawyer Mirzoyev expressed a protest stating that I had my personal interests. This episode proved that my suspicions about the fact that Trubovskaya instructed the lawyers were not ill grounded at all, and who had instructed Trubovskaya, that I can't say...

From the author's notes during the trial:



**Text of the author's note:** "11-30 7.09

*Lawyer Kerimov interrupted lawyer Ahmadov.*

*Right after that lawyer Mirzoyev asked the judge to remove lawyer Ahmadov's well-founded question.*

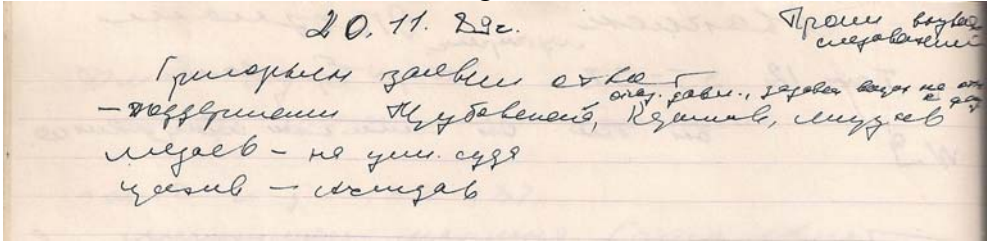
*Then Kerimov asked the judge to tell the prosecutor that he was dictating the secretary".*

**Commentary:** Briefly about what happened at the court.

When I asked the defendant questions which could reveal the organized character of the Sumgayit events and expose them, the lawyers got up from their places immediately and stated that the defendants would not answer the questions as they had the right to do so. Despite my repeated appeals to the judge with the request to cut off the lawyers' interference, the judge paid no attention to it. For this reason, the lawyers on the one hand, deliberately made up confusion in the court not allowing my questions to be heard; on the other hand, because of the defendants' refusal to answer the questions, the secretary of the trial didn't include these questions into the minutes. This was the reason why I subduing to the situation dictated my questions to the secretary of the session to fix them in the minutes irrespective of the fact whether they were answered or not.

If analyse those minutes today, what I have mentioned above would be completely confirmed.

From the author's notes during the trial:



**Text of the author's note:** "20.11.89. Asked to call the investigators. Grigorian expressed objection.

-Trubovskaya supported –exerts pressure, asks questions not related to the case. Kerimov, Mirzoyev, Medoyev –to the discretion of the judge. Against – Ahmadov”.

**Commentary:** “I want to point out one more moment: during the entire trial not only the lawyers, but also Grigorian tried to violate its course. With his constant, irrelevant, unreasonable petitions he tried to drag out the trial or change its direction. One of those petitions was, as indicated in my notes, the request “to summon the investigators to the court”. Knowing that those investigators were already outside of Azerbaijan and it was impossible to provide their presence in the court, Grigorian repeatedly made similar petitions.

Then he expressed an objection against me. The challenge was supported by Trubovskaya who declared that I had allegedly been asking questions unrelated to the case. Those “questions not relating to the case” were the ones touched upon by me, about the people in black raincoats, distributed pills and lists of the addresses of the Armenians.

Besides this, I tried to get from Grigorian an answer to such a question: **If, the accused Azerbaijanis tried to justify their crimes against the Armenians as reactions to the similar actions of the Armenians committed against Azerbaijanis, what were the reasons for Grigorian to be involved in all these? Why he, an Armenian, tried, allegedly, revenge on Armenians for the Azerbaijanis?**

It was these questions that Trubovskaya considered unrelated to the case and supported Grigorian's objection on the basis of the fact that those questions were not reflected in the materials of the case.

I am repeating: if the records of the hearings are raised and studied today, all the nuances of the questions are analysed, and it would become obvious whose questions were related to the case and whose were not.



## **THE ROLE OF THE PRESS AND INDIFFERENCE OF THE AUTHORITIES**

As it was stated earlier, I was working in Russia when the known events took place in Sumgayit, and I first heard of them from the press. The information about the incident spread not only throughout the USSR, but to the entire world with the speed of light. The central mass media prepared programs, disseminated news and published articles. And the news described the Azerbaijanis as organizers and perpetrators of the events; they were presented as “murderers”, “criminals”, briefly “barbarians”. Consequently, it became clear that the events were presented analogically not only in the Soviet press, but also in the mass media of the world. Undoubtedly, the exceptional role in presenting the Azerbaijanis as “barbarians” in the entire world belonged to the mass media then.

I always considered that the work of the press consisted of the accurate and impartial transmission of the information. At that time the information was reported accurately, but whether it was partial or impartial, this is the topic for another discussion.

When the trial of Grigorian and six Azerbaijanis began, I hoped that the mass media would act appropriately, i.e. would display interest in the news. However, after the beginning of the trial I didn't see any representative of mass media in the court room at all; and there were no publications about it in the central press. As if it was enough for the press to disseminate the news about the Azerbaijanis' “barbarism”; thus they considered their mission accomplished.

After some 9-10 days following the beginning of the trial I talked to the head of our department about the indifference of the press. His answer was sharp and brief, “Go and do your own business! Your business is to defend the public prosecution”. Then I decided to appeal to the Prosecutor-General of the Republic Ilyas Ismayilov. During the meeting I brought to his notice the importance of the issue, for in their time the events had been widely elucidated by the mass media throughout the world, but now at such an important moment the press was kept aloof. He listened to me carefully and asked me what my intentions were. Judging from his reaction, I realized that he was regretting the situation. I asked him to assist to achieve the coverage of the trial by the central press – in the newspapers “Pravda” or “Izvestiya”, or in the “Vremya” program, which was considered then as the main television program in the USSR. In my presence Ilyas Ismayilov called the Secretary of the Central Committee whose name was Rafik and talked to him very firmly. I well remember Ilyas Ismayilov's words, “You

are sitting there and idling... there is a very serious trial related to Sumgayit events, where one of the accused is an Armenian called Grigorian. And the trial is not covered by the press..." I didn't hear that man's answer, but Ilyas Ismayilov told me, "You go and the press will participate in the trial". In fact the next day I was approached by Zaur Kadimbekov, who worked as a special correspondent of either the newspaper "Pravda" or "Izvestiya". He introduced himself and informed me that he had been instructed to maintain contacts with me and to pass the information about the trial to the central newspapers. With great enthusiasm I told him about the interesting episodes of the trial, having seen that all this caused a real interest in him. Anyway, on the first day he sat in the courtroom till the very end making notes. But then I saw neither him nor his publications in the press.

***Today I can tell in firm belief that in the period when the trial was going on, not a single article illuminating the proceedings was published in the central press. Something might have been published in the local press – I can neither prove nor disprove that, for nobody asked me about the press, and I didn't see any local journalists either. In those days I didn't regularly follow the local press, and was focusing on the central press where I encountered no information. This very fact already required answers to many questions: how it happened that during the events the representatives not only of the central press of the USSR, but also those of the leading mass media of the world happened to be in Sumgayit? Who invited them to be there at the very moment? If those events had caused such a serious resonance, why were that attention and interest not displayed towards the trial then? Why did the press, which presented the Azerbaijanis as barbarians to the entire world, cease speaking now, considering its mission accomplished? Why wasn't the press interested in the fate of the trial further? What or who prevented Zaur Kadimbekov to further participate in the trial and illuminate it?***

Undoubtedly, the answers to these questions might partially throw light upon the essence of Sumgayit events...

Speaking of the significant role of the press in those events, I would like to draw the attention of the readers to another interesting piece of information.

At different times from 1995 to 2004 I participated in numerous conferences both in the USA and the European countries, including the discussions on the conflict settlement. In all these events their participants were informed about the developments in Sumgayit. And this was despite the fact that according to the materials of the case, 32 people had been murdered in Sumgayit events. However, no one knew about the violent

clashes between the Uzbeks and Turks-Muskets that took place in the Fergana valley in Uzbekistan in June 1989 - a little later following Sumgayit events. The Turks-Meskhetis who were moved from Fargana in an organized form in that period were the target of the attacks in those events. Within a year all the Turks-Meskhetis living in Uzbekistan were driven out to other republics of the Union. According to B.B.Dzirov, Deputy Chief of the USSR Head Department of Criminal Investigation, during the disturbances in Fergana 106 people were killed. According to the information of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office, by the end of 1990 the number of the victims of those events was specified - 112, 51 of them being Turks-Meskhetis. It was also revealed that 1011 persons had received corporal injuries of different categories, 137 military personnel of the Armed Forces and 110 staff-members of militia had been wounded (one militiaman was killed); 757 living houses, 20 state facilities, 275 means of transport (vehicles) were burnt and plundered. However, these events were not brought to the notice of the world community. Despite the fact that about 1200 people perished in the city of Osh located in the steppes of Fargana in Uzbekistan in 1990 as a result of the conflict between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, no one knew about that either.

Besides, hardly anyone was informed about the international conflicts taking place in Lithuania on 11 March 1990 and in Gagauz in October 1990.

Unwillingly there arises a question: why was the world community thoroughly informed about Sumgayit events where the number of the victims was not great, while the world remains unaware of the events in Fargana, and Osh where the number of the victims is in hundreds and thousands? It is interesting, isn't it?!

...Watching the proceedings and realizing who the real organizers of this riot were, seeing that the accused Azerbaijanis were scared to give true evidences and help the court in revealing the truth, this time for help I turned to Ilgar Dadashov, head of the department where I worked. No sooner had I started explaining to him that these events had been pre-organized than he interrupted me saying that I didn't understand the seriousness of my words and that he was not willing to speak with me and that it was the business of the Prosecutor General's Office which adopted a final decision, and in conclusion he uttered, "your duty is to defend the public prosecution". As to my arguments that the defendants didn't give evidences, he reminded that I had worked in the capacity of a judge, and that is why he recommended me to act in accordance with the law and attach great importance to the documents of the investigation. Those who

worked in that department then and are still alive will confirm that the deceased Ilgar Dadashov was very well-educated person, and from the point of view of the reality of Azerbaijan then he was a very honest man. Despite the fact that till the last day of his work at the Prosecutor's Office we had poor relations, I always talked about his positive values. After that unpleasant talk between us, I realized that he would not help me. I went right to Ilyas Ismayilov. Although according to the protocol of that time the staff member of the Prosecutor's office reported about the issues arising within his area of activities to the head of his department who would pass it to the deputy prosecutor he is subordinate to and the latter, in his turn, to the Prosecutor General of the Republic. Only after this procedure the Prosecutor General of the Republic would receive that staff member in case of necessity. Violating all the rules of subordination I went straight to the Prosecutor General of the Republic Ilyas Ismayilov with whom I had not had any personal contacts, but who personally commissioned me to conduct the prosecution. The reason forcing me to address him was a special attitude towards Grigorian: my repeated attempts to get answers to the complicated questions, that I asked Grigorian, were ran against the counterattacks not only of his lawyer, but also the lawyers of the other defendants as if the entire trial had been targeted at Grigorian's defence.

At Ilyas Ismayilov's office I told him that all the Azerbaijanis taking part in the trial were somewhat afraid of Grigorian and hence did not give evidences. Ilyas Ismayilov listened to me with interest and asked me what I suggested. I suggested the following: it was necessary to instruct the chief of the remand facility in Bayil where the accused were kept that they should explain to the accused again that their frank evidences in the trial would mitigate the punishment, as well as to find out the reason for their fear of Grigorian". Then he said, "You are suggesting me to violate the law?!" To this I retorted that in my opinion it was the requirement of the law to explain to the accused about the mitigation of the punishment in case of their frankness. He called the First Deputy Prosecutor of the Republic Murad Babayev and instructed him to set about this matter. As Murad Babayev had visitors in his office, he received me 20 minutes later after I had left I. Ismayilov's office (the offices of both of them were on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor). No sooner had I entered M. Babayev's office than he expressed dissatisfaction, "What has happened, what are the problems there?" I told him about the situation. Although he was not pleased with my actions, yet in my presence he called someone. Addressing that person by his name and patronymics he said, "Next to me is the prosecutor engaged in the case of Sumgayit events, he says that there Grigorian allegedly threatens the Azerbaijanis and doesn't

let them give evidences. See what can be done there”. Then he told me that he had called Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Azim Piriyeu.

Now that M.Babayev’s call was made not for the sake of solving the problem but for the sake of fulfilling the instruction of his chief, no result was gained from his action...

After all those unsuccessful attempts I did not appeal to anyone from the senior staff. As I realized that one day they would remind me of the violation of the subordination rules, and feared to hear “you have the direct supervisor whom you should complain”, and my supervisor would continue to persist firmly that the case was the case of the USSR Prosecutor General’s Office and that we couldn’t cross over what they had written!!! While saying “What has happened? The USSR Prosecutor General’s Office didn’t notice that this case had been organized, while you did?” he instructed me to act only within prosecution. For the sake of objectivity I would like to mention: I considered that in relation to me he acted reluctantly. Following some time after Ilgar Dadashov’s death, in our conversation about him I told Ilyas Ismayilov that my former chief was a very literate and objective person, but in relation to me he displayed reluctance. I.Ismayilov was surprised and said: each time when speaking about the arguments with you he always underlined your professionalism and objectivity.

Who knows? He might have displayed reluctance to me in my own favour in order defend me. Maybe it was like that... Having seen disregard and indifference to my requests, I ceased appealing to anyone from the senior staff...

Returning to my reminiscences, I would like to mention that I had to encounter the authorities’ indifference not only in Sumgayit events.

I well remember, in 1986, when I was appointed the chairman of the court in the district of Zelenchuk, one of the reasons for my striving there was the fact that it had an image of “the district on the spree” in the region. Because of its location, depending on the “visitors” whim, a peculiar disorder ruled in this district. It was difficult for me to work there. The judges came to work whenever they wanted. And the age difference between me and the judges complicated my work more. Anyway I wanted to improve the discipline in the court and involve professional personnel in the work. Then I got acquainted with a lawyer who was very aggressive, yet good professional and acted as my opponent in the trials. When I got interested why he didn’t submit his documents for the position of a judge with all his high qualifications, he answered that he was born in the district of Zelenchuk and wanted very much to become a judge, but he was not

allowed to because of his brother, the chairman of a big collective farm – who didn't get along with the first secretary of the district party committee. Then I informed the first secretary about it and making use of the good attitude to me by the chief of the judiciary department of the territory Limanov, directly appealed to him with a kind request to promote rather experienced Vladimir Pavlovich Strigin in the election to the post of judge. He was elected. Before my return to Azerbaijan I was asked whom I would suggest to my own post, and I recommended that very Strigin. Thus Strigin became the chairman of the court though many people wanted that post. After my return to Azerbaijan we lost contacts with each other...

In 1995 I was in Moscow in relation with my work. Then I was already dismissed from work in the Presidential Administration, and had recently started my activities as a lawyer. One day when watching the news program on the Board Meeting of the Russian Federation, I saw Strigin sitting there. From the program I found out that he was a senator, member of the Board of the Federation, head of an institution related to law-enforcement agencies. Through an inquiry bureau I found Strigin's office telephone and contacted his assistant. Having introduced myself I told him that I used to work with Strigin and would like to talk with him. The assistant put down my telephone number. In less than 10 minutes the telephone rang. It was Strigin. Being delighted with my call, he got interested where I was. After a while a car arrived to pick me up and bring to the hotel "Rossiya" not far from the Kremlin where they had allocated apartments to Strigin. That time he didn't live in a separate flat, as he was alone in Moscow and his family remained in Zelenchuk. We sat in the restaurant on the top floor of the hotel and had a long talk over the dinner. Then I uttered a lot of acute words about Russia: about its rendering a military and political assistance to Armenia in the conflict of Garabagh, about Sumgayit events, and about the trial. Besides, comparing the conditions established for the Russians in Azerbaijan and Armenia, I convinced him that it was better for the Russians in Azerbaijan than in Armenia. Strigin was a genuine patriot of his country and knew about my good attitude to Russia, and he considered my criticism well-disposed. Having listened to all that, Strigin admitted that he was unaware of the situation and that he believed my words. Above all, he stated that he owed me something: had I not enrolled him in the activities of a judge that time, and further had I not promoted him to the position of the chairman of the district court, he wouldn't have risen to the present heights. Frankly speaking I couldn't even think that he might remember about that. Then he said, in order to return the debt, he could come to Azerbaijan with 15-20



senators to get acquainted with the refugee camps, the people's life in them and raise that issue in the Board of the Federation. For that he needed a formal invitation from the Azerbaijani Parliament so that he could pay an official visit to Azerbaijan. At that very moment Strigin noted that he had close friendly relations with the chairman of the Board of the Federation Vladimir Shumeiko with whose help he could raise this issue in the Federation Board. By the way, Vladimir Shumeiko was from the city of Krasnodar situated next to Stavropol and was one of the fans of a fine pastime.



**From left to right: Aslan Ismayilov,  
Vladimir Strigin and his assistance. Moscow, 1995**

On my return to Azerbaijan, I called the Parliament, after several attempts managed to contact Arif Rahim-zade's assistant named Vilayat. During the talk I understood that my interlocutor knew me and I told him about the essence of the matter in details. He promised to report all to Arif Rahim-zade. To contact me, I gave him my home telephone number. The next evening when I returned home, my wife told me that Arif Rahim-zade had called and asked to contact him. As it was too late, I didn't make a call that day. The following morning I talked to his assistance who told me that Arif Rahim-zade was aware of the matter, but despite his desire to talk to me, he was unable to do it yet. He asked me to write an official letter addressed to Arif Rahim-zade, and express there the essence of the matter

including what good I had done to Strigin. I was surprised at such a request and wondered if the letter would be purposeful. And my interlocutor answered that the letter was necessary for inviting Strigin. In my answer I stated that it was not very serious and ethical, and that I would refuse to write such a letter, thus I ended the talk. In about 4-5 months following this incident, a discussion of the Garabagh issue was held not by the initiative of the deputies of the Soviet of Federation, but by the State Duma of Russia. As these discussions were held by the initiative of the Armenians, it was in their favour. As for me, once more I was the witness of the bureaucratic indifference in relation to the Garabagh problem, statehood and state favour. I am deeply convinced that A.Rahim-zade was supposed to deal with the issue seriously right after my call, however, he somehow secured himself and demanded me to write a letter openly contradicting the norms of logics and ethics... Later I found out that he was among those who had voted against adopting “the Constitutional Act on Independence” in the Parliament in connection with the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Frankly speaking, I was not surprised at that.

### **HOW DID THE AZERBAIJANIS RESCUE THE ARMENIANS?**

It is obvious from the evidences of the victims in the materials of the case that the Azerbaijanis were, in fact, not those “barbarians” as they were presented, against the Armenians they didn’t cherish hatred also ascribed to them; on the contrary, during the disturbances in Sumgayit, risking with their own lives and security, the Azerbaijanis tried to rescue the Armenians; in the materials of the case it was openly confirmed both by the defendants and the suffered Armenians several times. As a fact without any comment, below are the texts of the evidence, I have in my hand:

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No18/55461-88:

17.

Обвиняемый Ганджалыев Эльчин Али оглы в предъявленном ему 24 февраля 1989 года обвинении вину свою признал частично и показал, что 28 февраля 1988 года примерно после 14 час.30 мин. пришел в чайхану, расположенную в I микрорайоне города. Услышав в чайхане разговор о происходящих у автовокзала событиях, решил посмотреть, что там происходит и поэтому пошел к автовокзалу.

"...В толпе, окружившей пассажиров "Москвича", я увидел троих работников милиции в форме, званий их я не разглядел. Они уговаривали толпу прекратить избиение, но толпа...не обращала на них внимания..."

т.23 л.д.323-333

*The accused Ganjaliyev Elchin Ali oghlu partially confessed his guilt in the accusation brought against him on February 24, 1989 and testified that on February 28, 1988, he came to a tea-house located in the 1<sup>st</sup> microregion of the city. In the tea-house he heard the talk about the events at the bus-station, decided to see what was going on there, and that is why went to the bus-station.*

*"...In the crowd surrounding the passengers of the car "Moskvich" I noticed 3 militiamen in uniforms. I didn't look at their ranks. They were persuading the crowd to stop the massacre, but the crowd ... didn't pay attention to them..."*

*Volume 23, pp. 323-333*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

20.

Обвиняемый Мамедов Галиб Гадиршах оглы при предъявлении ему обвинения 22 февраля 1989 года по данному эпизоду вину признал полностью и показал, что 28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 15 часов 15 минут он вышел из дома своего дальнего родственника Сафарова Низами и один пошел в город. Далее он пояснил:

"...Кто-то из толпы, кто именно, я не видел, стал выкрикивать, что Есеяны лезгины по национальности. Тогда мы прекратили избивать потерпевших. В это время к Есеянам подошли два работника милиции. Откуда они появились там, я не видел. Один из работников милиции взял девушку, а другой мужчину и женщину и увел их в сторону от возбужденной толпы..."

т.18 л.д.231-252

*The accused Mammadov Galib Gadirshah oghlu completely pleaded guilty in the given episode declared to him on February 22, 1989 and stated that at about 15.15 on February 28, 1988 he left the house of his distant relative Safarov Nizami and went to the town by himself. Further he explained,*

*"Someone in the crowd, I didn't see who exactly he was, started yelling that the Eseyans were Lezgins by nationality. Then we ceased beating the victims. At that time two militiamen went up to the Eseyans. I didn't notice where they had come from. One of the militiamen took the girl, and the other – the man and the woman aside and away from the excited crowd.*

*Volume 18, pp. 231-252*

**Commentary:** That time I didn't attach any importance to the word "Lezgin" often heard during Sumgayit events. The developments of 1993 showed that those circumstances were not a coincidence, i.e. then there were some forces that tried to kindle national conflicts between fraternal peoples living in Azerbaijan.

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:  
Safarov Nizami Sumbat oghlu:

26.

Как я пояснил, в толпу пробрались работники милиции. Мне показалось, что они не сумгайтские. Они бежали со стороны магазина "Кавказ", где стояли их автобусы. Среди работников милиции был полковник. В них толпа кидала камни, палки. Кто-то сбил с полковника фуражку. Работникам милиции удалось увести пассажиров автомашины "Москвич". Куда их увели, я не знаю.

Т. 16 л. д. 190-208

*As I explained, the militiamen forced their way into the crowd. It seemed to me that they were from Sumgayit. They ran from the side of the shop "Gafgaz" where their buses stood. Among the militiamen there was a colonel. The crowd was throwing stones and sticks at them. Someone knocked off the colonel's cap. The militiamen managed to take away the passengers of "Moskvich". I didn't know where they were taken.*

*Volume 16, pp. 190-208*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

28.

Потерпевший Есеян Левон Ширинович пояснил:

"... Я сказал, что вы делаете, я слепой человек, мы ни в чем не виноваты. Меня обругали нецензурно на армянском языке, потом меня перестали бить и кто-то сказал: "Давайте я вас отвезу в больницу вместе с женой". Я согласился и тот, кто это предложил, повел нас. Я слышал, что за нами шли люди, а тот мужчина, который нас вел, говорил, что это лезгины, не трогайте их. Он привел нас в больницу, где нам была оказана первая помощь. Я попросил этого парня узнать, где моя дочь. Он мне сказал, что не беспокойтесь, она в безопасном месте... Все оставшееся время 28 февраля 1988 года мы провели в больнице, а 29 февраля 1988 года примерно в 11-12 часов нас на машине отвезли в Баку... Когда мы пришли домой, то наша дочь уже находилась дома..."

т. I л. д. 125-139

*The victim Eseyan Levon Shirinovich explained,*

*"... I said, 'What are you doing, I am a blind man, we are guilty'. They swore obscenities in Armenian, and then stopped beating me. And someone said, 'Let me take you with your wife to the hospital'. I agreed, and the man who suggested it took us. I heard people following us, and that man who was taking us said, 'these are Lezgins, don't touch them'. He took us to the hospital where the first aid was rendered. I asked that man to find out where my daughter was. He said to me, "Don't worry. She is in a safe place..." The remaining part of February 28, 1988 we spent in the hospital, and on February 29, 1988 at about 11-12 o'clock we were taken in a car to Baku... When we came home, our daughter was already there..."*

*Volume I, pp. 125-139*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

78.

Свидетель Касумов С.Т., проживающий в первом подъезде дома № I7/33"Б" в 3 микрорайоне города, показал:

"...28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 17 час.30 мин. я находился в своей квартире, услышал шум на лестничной площадке./Я живу на 3 этаже/. Я вышел на лестничную площадку и увидел, что с 4 этажа спускаются Межлумян Григорий и его жена Роза. У них обоих лица были в крови. В каком состоянии была у них одежда, я не обратил внимания. Григорий и Роза плакали, они сказали, что их избил, и попросили, чтобы я их спрятал. Я их завел в свою комнату и спрятал в спальном комнате. Примерно через полчаса или час ко мне в дверь вновь кто-то постучал. Я открыл дверь, в дверях стояла младшая дочь Межлумян... Я ее впустил в квартиру, она мне стала рассказывать, что погромщики приняли ее за азербайджанку и, не тронув ее, отпустили. После этого я вышел на улицу и стоял возле подъезда...Потом я поднялся наверх и зашел в свою квартиру. В нашей квартире, кроме Межлумян Григория, Розы и младшей дочери, находилась еще одна дочь Межлумян. Как ее зовут, я не знаю, но у нее светлые волосы. Как она заходила к нам в квартиру, я не видел. Когда я пришел домой, жены еще не было. Потом, примерно через полчаса, я вышел из квартиры посмотреть, что происходит на улице. На лестничной клетке между вторым и третьим этажом увидел еще одну дочь Межлумян. Она поднималась наверх, была полностью раздета и вся избита. У нее было сильно избито лицо, шла кровь. Тело у нее тоже было избито, но какие повреждения у нее были, я не могу сказать потому что я стеснялся на нее смотреть. Я завел ее в квартиру, дал ей платье жены. Ее одели и ее родственники стали ей оказывать помощь. Потом уже пришла жена. Когда в квартиру Межлумян заходили погромщики, я не видел, находился дома и слышал как по подъезду бегали люди..."

т.3 л.д. I-5, 191-193

*Witness Gasimov S.T. living in the first entrance of the House No 17/33 "B" in the 3<sup>rd</sup> microregion of the town, testified,*

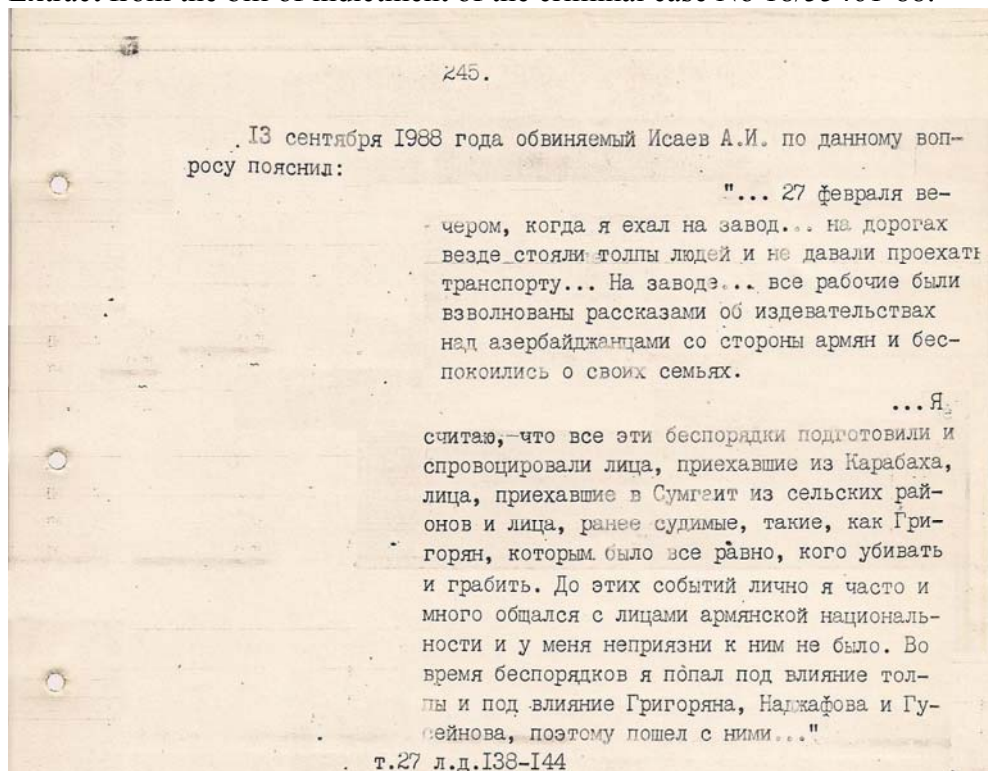
*"... On February 28, 1988 at approximately 5 30 pm I was in my flat and heard a noise at the staircase. I live on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor; I went out onto the staircase and saw Mezhlumian Grigori and his wife Roza descending from the 4<sup>th</sup> floor. Both of them had blood on their faces, but I didn't pay attention to the state of their clothes. Grigori and Roza were crying, they said they had been beaten and asked me to hide them. I let them in and hid them in the bedroom. In about an hour or half an hour my door was knocked at again. I opened the door and saw Mejlumyan's youngest daughter standing there... I let her in, and she started telling that the people taking part in the destruction thought she was an Azerbaijani and let her go with no harm. Following that I went out onto the street and stood in front of the entrance... then I went upstairs and entered my flat. Mezhlumian's other daughter was also in our flat besides Mezhlumian Grigori, Roza and their youngest daughter. I don't know her name, but she had light hair. I hadn't noticed her entering our flat. When I came home, my wife was not back yet. Then in about half an hour I went out of the flat to see what was going on in the street. On the staircase between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> floors I saw Mezhlumian's another daughter. She was going upstairs all undressed and beaten. Her face had been badly beaten and was bleeding. Her body was also beaten, but I can't tell what injuries she had, because I felt ashamed to look at her. I took her into the flat, gave her my wife's dress. Her relatives dressed her and started rendering her aid. Then my wife came. When the people participating in the destruction entered Mezhlumian's flat, I didn't see, I was at home and heard people running along the stairways..."*

*Volume 3, pp. 191-193*

### **INFERENCES ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS OF THE TRIAL AND MY FINAL SPEECH IN THE COURT**

My inferences made on basis of results of the trial were explicit: the Sumgayit unrests had been organized deliberately; the roots of the events were closely related to the process taking place in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh. It was also confirmed by the evidences reflected in the materials of the criminal case, a part of which I am bringing to your notice here:

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:



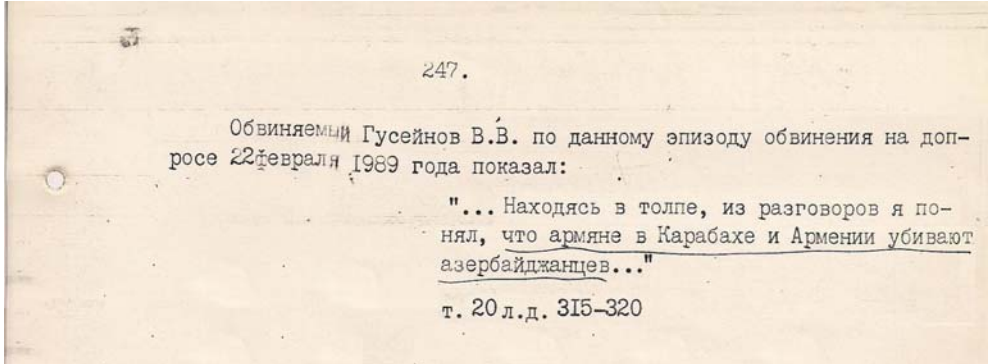
*On September 13, 1988 the accused Isayev A.I. gave an explanation in connection with the question:*

*"... In the evening on February 27 when I was going to the plant... crowds of people were standing on the roads and didn't let the transport to pass through... At the plant ... all the workers were excited over the narrations about the humiliations caused to the Azerbaijanis by the Armenians and worried about their families.*

*... I think that all these disorders had been prepared and provoked by the individuals coming from Garabagh, by those arriving at Sumgayit from rural districts and the ones like Grigorian who convicted before and didn't care about whom to murder and rob. Before those events I had often interacted with the individuals of the Armenian origin personally and I had no animosity against them. During the hostilities I found myself under the influence of the crowd and Grigorian, Najafov and Huseinov. That is why, I followed them..."*

*Volume 27, pp. 138-144*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

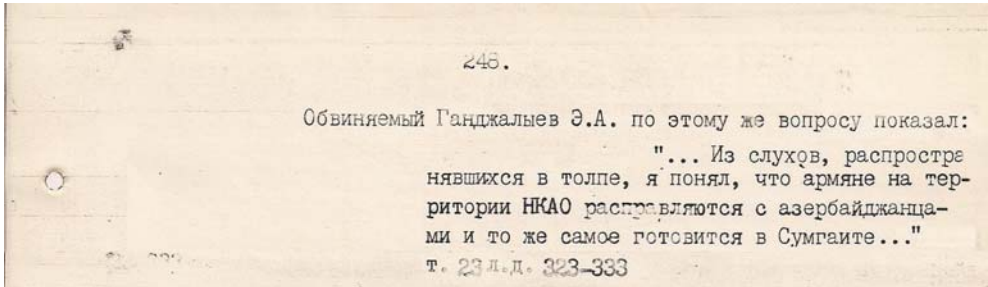


*In connection with the episode the accused Huseinov V.V. testified on February 23, 1989,*

*"When I was in the crowd, I understood from the talks that the Armenians in Garabagh and Armenia were killing the Azerbaijanis..."*

*Volume 20, pp. 315-320*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:



*In connection with the question defendant Ganjaliev E.A. testified,*

*"From the rumours spread in the crowd I understood that the Armenians were subjecting the Azerbaijanis to violence and a similar action was being prepared in Sumgayit..."*

*Volume 23, pp. 323-333*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

20.

Обвиняемый Мамедов Галиб Гадиршах оглы при предъявлении ему обвинения 22 февраля 1989 года по данному эпизоду вину признал полностью и показал, что 28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 15 часов 15 минут он вышел из дома своего дальнего родственника Сафарова Низами и один пошел в город. Далее он пояснил:

"...Примерно к 16 часам я пришел к городскому автовокзалу, возле которого в районе фонтана я встретил группу ребят: Сафарова Низами, Наджафова Надира, Гусейнова Вагифа..., Ганджалыева Эльчина, Григоряна Эдуарда и Исаева Афсара. Все названные мною лица стояли вместе, образуя круг и скандировали: "Карабах наш, не отдадим Карабах!" Через промежутки сомкнутых вокруг ребят я видел, что в центре стоял Григорян Эдик и тоже выкрикивал вместе с другими..."

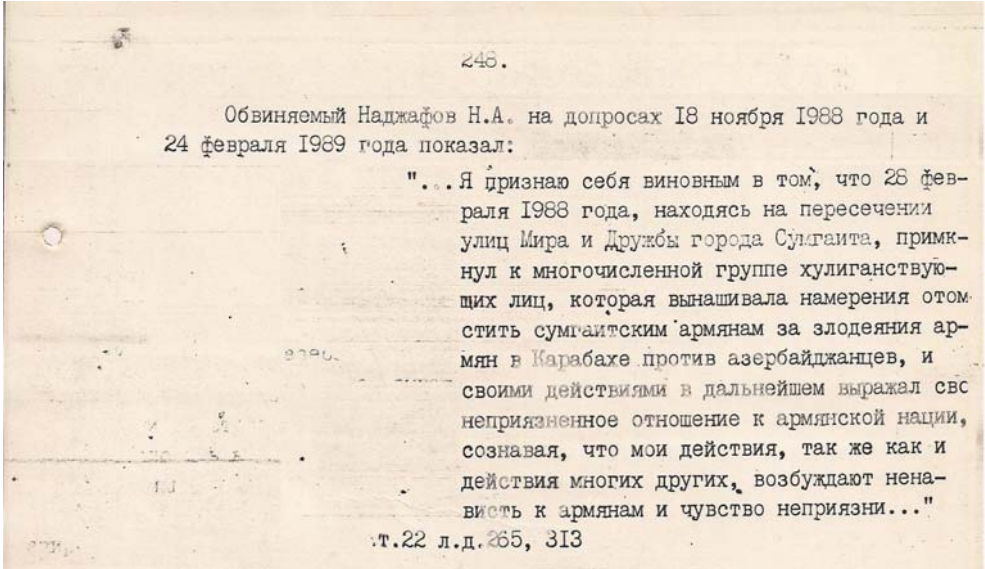
т.18 л.д.231-252

*When accused Mammadov Galib Gadirshah oghlu was charged on 22 February 1989 for the crime in this episode, then admitted it fully and testified that at about 3.15 pm on February 28, 1988 he left the house of his distant relative Safarov Nizami and went to the town alone. Further he explained,*

*"...At approximately 4.00 pm I came to the bus-station in the area of fountains I met the group of guys: Safarov Nizami, Najafov Nadir, Huseinov Vagif... Ganjaliyev Elchin, Grigorian Eduard and Isayev Afsar. All the individuals mentioned by me were standing together forming a circle and declaiming: 'Garabagh is ours, we won't give Garabagh!' Through the close circle of the guys I noticed that Grigorian Edik was standing in the centre and shouting together with the others..."*

*Volume 18, pp. 231-252*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

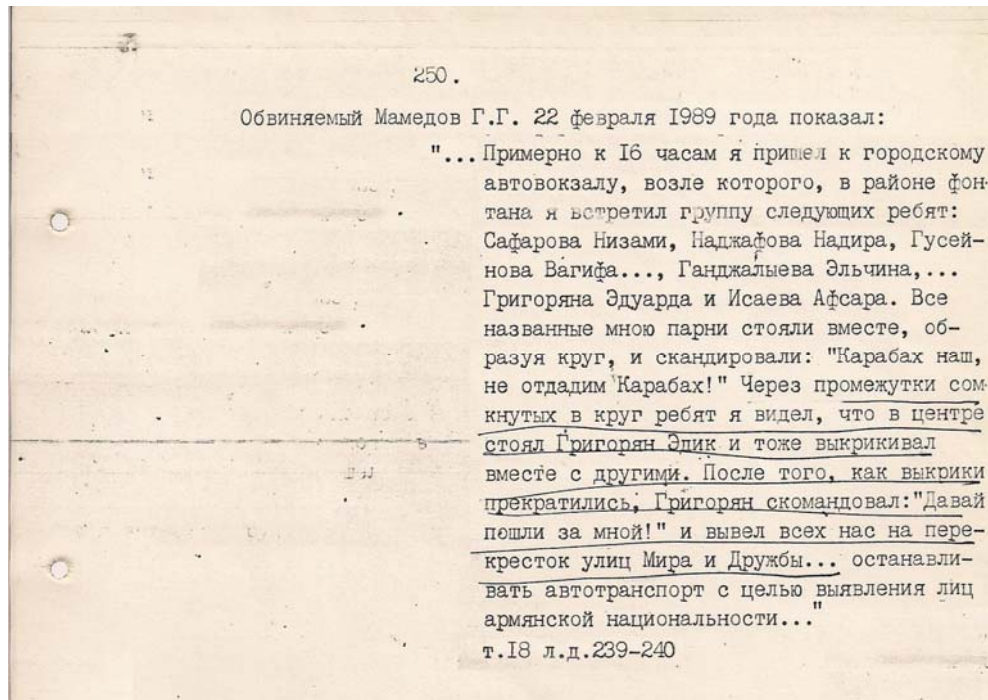


*On February 24, 1989, the accused Najafov N.A. testified during the interrogation held on November 18, 1988,*

*"... I confess my guilt because on February 28, 1988 at the intersection of the streets Mir and Drujba in the city of Sumgayit I joined a large group of hooligans who expressed their intention to take revenge on the Armenians of Sumgayit for the crimes of the Armenians in Garabagh against the Azerbaijanis, and through my actions further expressed my hostile attitude to the Armenian nation, realizing that my actions as well as the actions of many others roused the hatred towards the Armenians and the feeling of hostility..."*



Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:

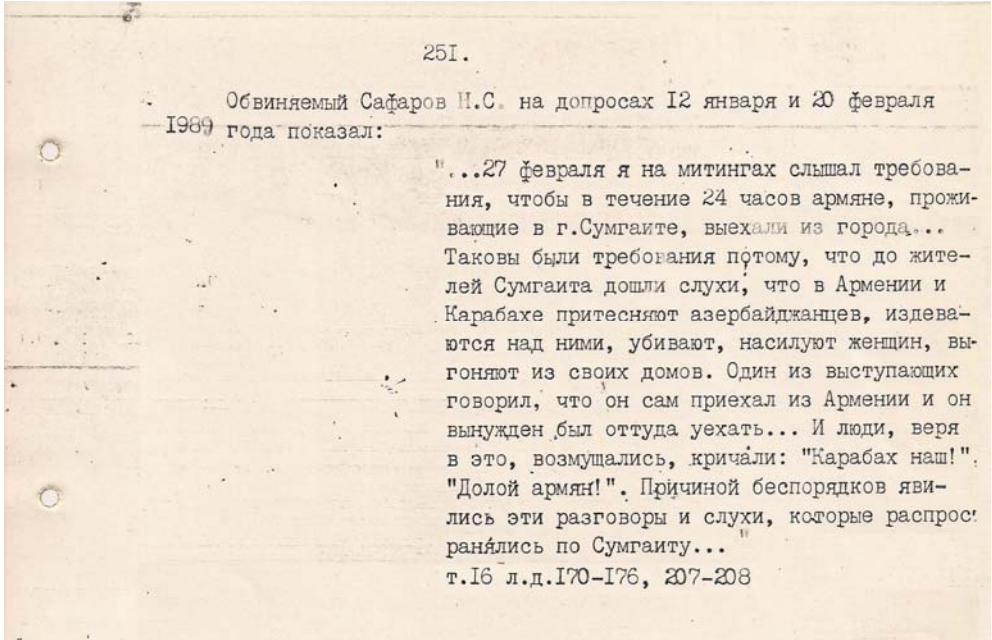


*The accused Mammadov G.G. testified on February 22, 1989,*

*"... at about 4 pm I came to the city bus station, in front of which in the area of fountains I met a group of the following guys: Safarov Nizami, Najafov Nadir, Huseinov Vagif..., Ganjaliyev Elchin, ... Grigorian Eduard and Isayev Afsar. All the guys I have mentioned had formed a circle and were declaiming, 'Garabagh is ours, and we won't give Garabagh!' Through the close circle of the guys I noticed that Grigorian Edik was standing in the centre and shouting together with the others after the shouting had ceased, Grigorian ordered, 'Let us go, follow me!' and he led all of us to stop the transport at the intersection of the streets Mir and Drujba to identify the individuals of Armenian origin..."*

*Volume 18, pp. 239-240*

Extract from the bill of indictment of the criminal case No 18/55461-88:



251.

Обвиняемый Сафаров Н.С. на допросах 12 января и 20 февраля 1989 года показал:

"...27 февраля я на митингах слышал требования, чтобы в течение 24 часов армяне, проживающие в г.Сумгаите, выехали из города... Таковы были требования потому, что до жителей Сумгаита дошли слухи, что в Армении и Карабахе притесняют азербайджанцев, издеваются над ними, убивают, насилизуют женщин, выгоняют из своих домов. Один из выступающих говорил, что он сам приехал из Армении и он вынужден был оттуда уехать... И люди, веря в это, возмущались, кричали: "Карабах наш!" "Долой армян!". Причиной беспорядков явились эти разговоры и слухи, которые распространялись по Сумгаиту..."

т.16 л.д.170-176, 207-208

*The accused Safarov N.S. testified during the interrogation on February 12, 1989,*

*"... at the meetings on February 27 I heard the demands that within 24 hours the Armenians living in Sumgayit should leave the town ... such were the demands, because the inhabitants of Sumgayit had heard rumours that in Armenia and Garabagh the Azerbaijanis were being oppressed and mocked at, killed, the women were raped, and they were driven out of their houses. One of those speaking said that he had come from Armenia and had to move from that place... and the people, believing him, got exasperated and shouted, 'Garabagh is ours!', 'Away with the Armenians!' These talks and rumours disseminated all through Sumgayit were the reason for disturbances..."*

*Volume 16, pp. 170-176, 207-208*

**Commentary:** It is obvious from the evidences that the processes taking place in Armenia and the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh, the murder of the Azerbaijanis, their expatriation from their native land were the instigating factor. During the trial the accused justified their criminal actions as a reaction to the murder and rape of the Azerbaijanis in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. And the victims gave analogical answers. The motive of the

committed crimes was not hooliganism, but the stated developments. Among them especially was distinguished Grigorian who over-emphasized this question, incited passions, and was the organizer of the criminal group. Although the Centre was undoubtedly the main organizer of the unrests, the investigation didn't reveal by whom they had exactly been organized, didn't identify and take their local representatives to court. Although the investigation materials completely convicted Grigorian, unequivocally proved his leading part in the group, he was not judged as an organizer of the crime, since in the period of investigation there were cases of falsifications, the investigation turned out to be uncompleted, many important moments have not been studied so far, part of the investigation materials have been taken out of the case and in general, the criminal case was tampered well and purposefully. So, after the KGB colonel who had met with me showed to the accused the photos of the people in black raincoats, and the accused recognized them, confirming that Grigorian met these people, and told them, "Everything is OK, the blockheads are following me," but unfortunately in the materials of the case I failed to find the minutes confirming the conduct of those actions. Moreover, neither the accused, nor the lawyers, judges, or authorities, or any other people were interested in the detailed hearings of the case.

The authorities' attitude, which I watched in the course of the trial, entire indifference and all kinds of possible interference in the process almost drove me to despair. No matter what I did to prove the obvious facts I failed. To be more precise, neither the court, nor the authorities saw the facts proved by me "point-blank"; no one wanted even to hear about them, for that reason the main thing for me became the fast end of the trial and the conclusive speech at the final hearing.

The readers already know that during the entire trial I had been making notes concerning the evidences in the court hearings. About a month prior to the end of the trial I started preparing for my final speech on the basis of the evidences and facts. It was due to the fact that almost all the evidences were repeated, and nothing new was revealed on the part of the court. Actually, 15 days prior to the end of the trial my speech was already finished. The speech consisted of two parts: the first part reflected the crimes committed by the accused and the proofs of the guilt, the second part constituted the core of the speech – the reasons of Sumgayit events, the circumstances confirming the organized nature of those events.

I don't remember the exact date, but know that it was on the eve, or on the day of the trial, when the second part of my speech disappeared. The most interesting point was that it was the part of my speech which stated

and proved the organized nature of Sumgayit events as well as the suggestions related to this fact that disappeared. Although I can't imagine under what conditions and how my speech disappeared, but taking into account the presence of the KGB staff members at the trial then, and in general, the fact that the trial was held under the KGB surveillance, I bound "the operation of disappearance" with the very activities of that institution.

As a result of the disappearance of the prepared text and due to the shortage of time for the repeated preparation, I constructed my speech on the basis of a brief review. As I knew the case in details and remembered all its circumstances accurately, the disappearance of the text didn't cause special challenges to me. The speech at the trial actually corresponded to the text of the speech prepared earlier. I well remember that my final speech at the trial lasted half a day, and the second part comprised its core.

I started my speech by stating the list of the crimes committed by the accused and the articles according to which they were accused, as well as the circumstances confirming these acts. I would like to point out one very interesting moment: in the disappeared text there had been no hints at the punishment which I would require at court, though the reasons for accusation of each defendant had been noted there. There were reasons for that: as more suspicions lay on the KGB in the given case, I began to behave more carefully then.

Besides, I informed my chief that I would demand a capital punishment (execution through shooting) for Grigorian and Vagif Huseinov; as Sumgayit events had been organized by the Centre, and I would submit petition in this regards; demand for a particular decision against the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office who made falsifications in the period of investigation, deliberately kept in secret the facts about the organized nature of the events. In his answer he objected very abruptly saying that I had gone mad, and firmly ordered that there should be nothing mentioned about the petition for proceedings or demand for a particular decision or capital punishment; I could only demand in the court for 15-year imprisonment.

The above-stated served as a serious basis for my behaving very cautiously. This precaution was reflected in the notes I was making in that period, their photocopies are given below:



Author's note in the trial:

Хараз - 12а                      62 ср. рену.

• - 81-832    2 а

- 832    1 а    1 а    1 а    1 а    1 а

- 11111 2 рену

Сар

ср. 67 - (4) (ар 2 го 5) (3)

72 - (8) (ар 2 го 15)

10923 - 10 (ар 5 го 15)

14423 - 42 (ар 2 го 7) с рену.

14424 - 0 (ар 6 го 10) с рену

145 22 п. 1.2.8 - (ар 6 го 15) с рену.

94 1111. 2. 6. 7 - 14

14

Author's note in the trial:

Хару.

11111 арден но ср. 8323 и 32 в. 1/сб.

и ардену 11111 с Грен.

67 - (4) - 3

72 - (8) - 3

94 2. 6. 7 - 15

15-94 2. 8. - 10

10923 - 12

14423 - 42

15



Author's note in the trial:

Где-

Орус 7 башкары сүзүмү

29.04. 72 сүзүмү мө 15 2022 сүмү 664

67 - 3  
 72 - 3  
 94 2.6.7 -  
 15-94 2.8 - 10  
 144 23 - 42

Author's note in the trial:

67 - (4) - 3  
 72 - 8  
 94 2.6.7 -  
 15, 94 2.8 - 12  
 3 army. 108 23 - 14

---

Где.

**Commentary:** it is obvious from these notes that here I provided general characteristics for some accused, the articles according to which I considered them guilty and what kind of punishment I stipulated for them, with the exception of Grigorian and Vagif Huseinov, what kind of punishment I intended to demand for all other accused on the strength of the aggregate of the articles.

However, as already mentioned, I didn't write what kind of punishment I was going to demand for Grigorian and Huseinov in conclusion. Why? Because, I hadn't written about it in the preliminary version of the text of my final speech either. As I have already mentioned, my suspicions about the KGB's involvement in this case made me behave cautiously, and hence in my notes I decided to give up fixing the information about the capital punishment which I intended to demand for Grigorian and Huseinov. In fact, my precaution was justified – at that time

quite real were fears, suspicions and even facts that video-cameras, the recording devices of the KGB were installed in all the facilities, especially in those where the state personnel worked. Apprehending that I would be immediately removed from the case, in case they found out about my intention to demand a capital punishment, I didn't write in my notes the information about the verdict for the two.

Thus, I demanded at the court:

for Eduard Grigorian – in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, destructions, arsons and other similar actions as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against the authorities), paragraphs 2,6, 7 of Article 94 (murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed with special cruelty and by means dangerous for the life of many people; committed in order to conceal another crime or facilitate its perpetration, as well as attended by raping), Article 15, paragraphs 2, 8 of the Article 94 (attempt at murder of the first degree: for motives of hooliganism, committed by a specially dangerous recidivist or person who has committed murder of the first degree), part 3 of Article 109 (raping, committed by a group of people) of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan to find guilty and sentence to death;

for Vagif Huseinov – in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, destructions, arsons and other similar actions as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against authorities), paragraphs 2,6, 7 of Article 94 (murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed with a special cruelty and by means dangerous for the life of many people; committed in order to conceal another crime or facilitate its perpetration, as well as accompanied by raping), Article 15, paragraphs 2, 8 of Article 94 (attempt at murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism, committed by a specially dangerous recidivist or person who has committed murder of the first degree), part 3 of Article 144 (an open theft of the citizens' property by

applying force not dangerous for the victim's life and health, committed repeatedly, by penetrating into the living quarters) to find guilty and sentence to death;

for Nadir Najafov - in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, arsons and other similar actions as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against authorities), paragraphs 2,6, 7 of Article 94 (murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed with a special cruelty and by means dangerous for the life of many people; committed in order to conceal another crime or facilitate its execution as well as accompanied by raping), Article 15, paragraphs 2, 8 of Article 94 (attempt at murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed by a specially dangerous recidivist or person who has committed murder of the first degree), part 3 of Article 109 (raping, committed by a group of people) and part 3 of Article 144 (an open theft of the citizens' property by applying force not dangerous for the victim's life and health, committed repeatedly, by penetrating into the living quarters) to find guilty and sentence to 15 years of imprisonment;

for Nizami Safarov - in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, arsons and other similar actions, as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against the authorities), paragraphs 2,6, 7 of Article 94 (murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed with a special cruelty and by means dangerous for the life of many people, committed in order to conceal another crime or facilitate its execution as well as attended by raping), part 3 of Article 109 (raping, committed by a group of people), part 3 of Article 144 (an open theft of the citizens' property by applying force not dangerous for the victim's life and health, committed repeatedly, by penetrating into the living quarters), part 4 of Article 144 (an open theft of the citizens' property in a preliminary agreement with a group of people, by penetrating into the living quarters, by applying force not dangerous for the victim's life

and health, committed repeatedly, by causing serious damage), paragraphs 1, 2, 8 of part 2 of Article 145 (robbery, i.e. an attack to take possession of the citizen's personal belongings, united with a threat of applying force dangerous for the life and health of a person exposed to an attack, or with a threat of applying such kind of force in a preliminary agreement with a group of people, by penetrating into the living quarters and applying objects used as weapons) to find guilty and sentence to 14 years of imprisonment;

for Afsar Isayev - in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, arsons and other similar actions as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against the authorities), items 2,6, 7 of Article 94 (murder of the first degree: for the motives of hooliganism; committed with a special cruelty and by means dangerous for the life of many people, committed in order to conceal another crime or facilitate its execution as well as attended by raping), part 3 of Article 109 (raping committed by a group of people) to find guilty and sentence to 13 years of imprisonment;

for Galib Mammadov - in accordance with Article 67 (deliberate actions, targeted at instigating national or racial hostility or discord, humiliating the national honour and dignity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of the rights or establishment of the citizens' direct or indirect advantages depending on their racial or national identity), Article 72 (organization of mass disturbances accompanied by destructions, arsons and other similar actions as well as their accomplices' direct committal of the above-stated crimes or their armed resistance against the authorities), part 3 of Article 109 (raping, committed by a group of people), part 3 of Article 144 (an open theft of the citizens' property by applying force not dangerous for the victim's life and health, committed repeatedly, by penetrating into the living quarters), part 4 of Article 144 (robbery committed by a specially dangerous recidivist or by causing serious damage to the victim), paragraphs 1, 2, 8 of part 2 of Article 145 (robbery, i.e. an attack for taking possession of the citizen's personal belongings, united with a threat of applying force dangerous for the life and health of a person exposed to an attack, or with a threat of applying such kind of force in a preliminary agreement with a group of people, by penetrating into the living quarters and applying objects used as weapons) to

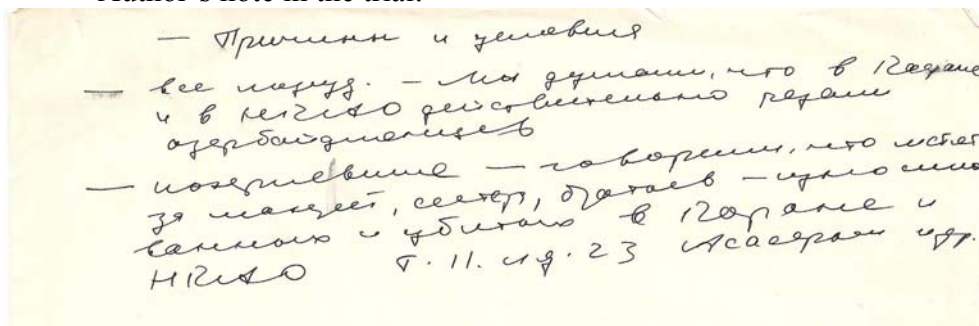
find guilty and sentence to 10 years of imprisonment.

I would like to mention that during the trial E.A.Ganjaliyev died and the criminal investigation against him was ceased.

With all responsibility I do state: if I had to speak in connection with this case today, then again, like in 1989, I would require from the court the same kind of punishment for Eduard Grigorian, Vagif Huseinov and other accused. Since, irrespective of nationality, race, beliefs, the human life is invaluable, and each criminal must get what he/she deserves...

And now I am switching to the part of my speech concerning the organized nature of the events in Sumgayit. From my reviews it becomes obvious that I was characterizing the reasons why and under which circumstances the events took place:

Author's note in the trial:

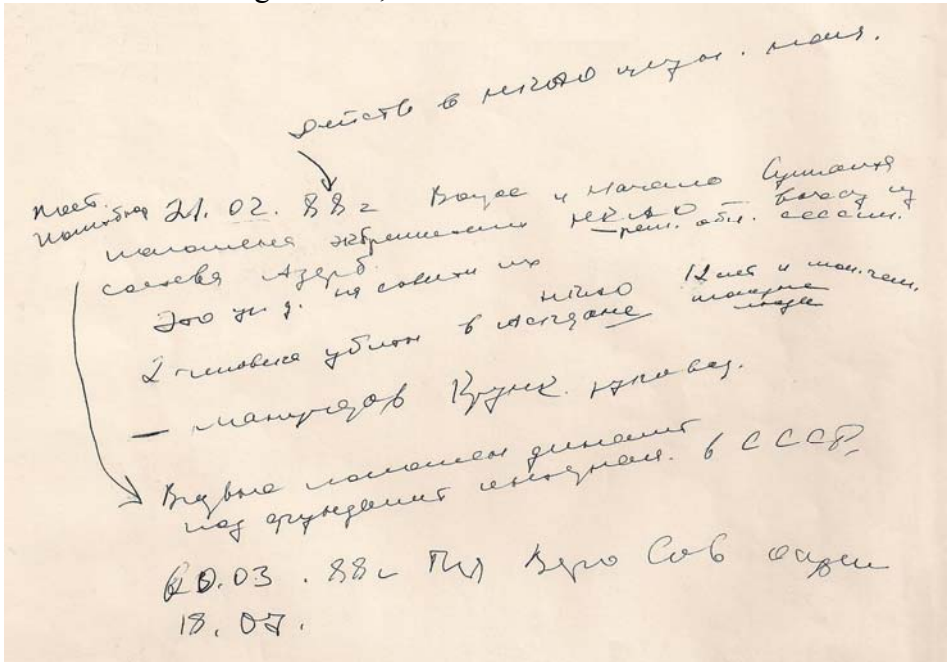


**Text of the author's note:** “Reasons and circumstances

- all the accused – We thought that in Gafan and the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh the Azerbaijanis were indeed being slaughtered
- the victims – they said that they were taking revenge for their mothers, sisters, brothers raped and murdered in Gafan and the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh, this was testified in the evidences of both the accused and victims. Volume 2, p. 23 Asafyan and others”.

**Commentary:** As it is seen from the demonstrated note, the reasons of the events in Sumgayit are connected with the events in Gafan and Askeran; the victims and the accused confirmed it in their testimonies.

Further continuing the idea, I wrote:



**Text of the author’s note:** “The actions of 21.02.1988 in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh are the manifestation of nationalism. The issue – “the grounds for Sumgayit were laid by the extremists from the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh – breaking off from Azerbaijan” – decision of the provincial session.

**They have this criminal case on their conscience.**

2 people were killed in Asgaran and in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh - a boy at the age of 12 and a young man, young people.

- Manucharov – the leader of “KrunK”

For the first time dynamite was laid beneath the foundations of internationalism in the USSR; the Supreme Soviet determined it by the Resolution of 06.03.88 of the Political Bureau”.

**Commentary:** I am repeating: as my notes were made in haste and in the form of abstracts prior to the trial, I consider it necessary to comment on them thoroughly.

**In my final speech I mentioned that the roots of the Sumgayit events were laid in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh, and the decision of the session of the Soviet of People’s Deputies of the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh dated February 20, 1988**



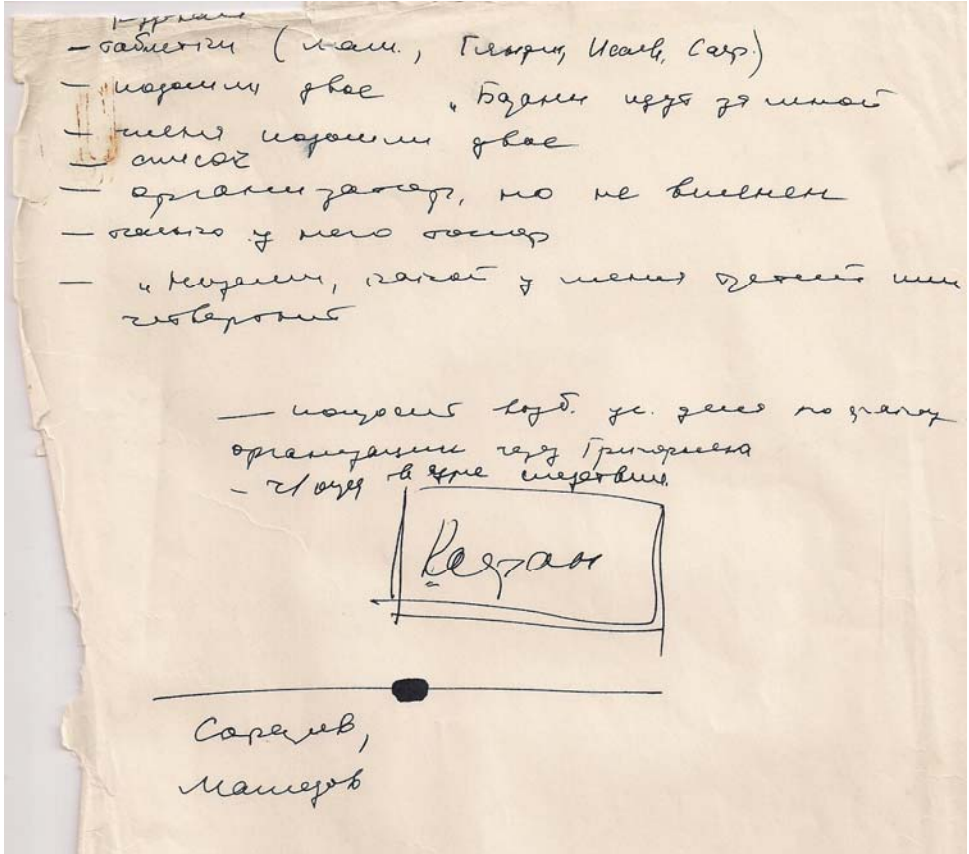
*(that session adopted a decision on the secession of the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and its annexation to Armenia; the decision was published on 21.02.88) was the manifestation of the signs of nationalistic sentiments in the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh. Further I stated that the grounds for Sumgayit events had been laid by those extremists who passed the above-stated decision and that those extremists had that criminal case on their conscience.*

*Besides, explaining the reasons for the Sumgayit events, I presented the murder of the young Azerbaijanis in Asgeran and the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh, and the brutal expatriation of thousand Azerbaijanis from their native hearths as instigating factors. Speaking also about the activities of the association “Krunk” led by Manucharov, I mentioned that this association had started to disseminate nationalism, extremism, having defined as its final goal the separation of the Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and its annexation to Armenia; all these circumstances paved the way for the start of disturbances in Sumgayit by the forces of specially trained people.*

*Remembering the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated 6 March 1988, I further focused attention on the fact that the ideas stated then about “the dynamite first laid beneath the foundations of internationalism of the USSR” had originated from the decision of the session of the Soviet of the People’s Deputies of the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh dated 20.02.88 and that it was this very decision which gave impetus to the break of shattering of internationalism in the USSR.*

In conclusion of my speech I asked the court:

Author's note in the trial:



**Text of the author's note:** "Pills were distributed (Mammadov, Ganjaliyev, Isayev, and Safarov)

- Two people came up, "The sheep are following me"
  - Grigorian's wife – two people came up
  - The list
  - The organizer, but sound in mind
  - Only he had the axe
  - "Nizami, which do I have, the third or the fourth?"
    - To ask to institute a lawsuit on the fact of organizing the crime through Grigorian
    - A special decision on the investigation
- Gafan".

**Commentary:** In conclusion relying upon the evidences of the witnesses, enumerating the facts proving the crimes of Grigorian and

**others in the organization of Sumgayit events which had not been investigated so far, I asked the judge to adopt a resolution on instigating a new lawsuit against the organization of the events in Sumgayit by the Centre and on their execution by Grigorian and others, as well as pass a special decision concerning the Investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General’s Office for falsifications committed intentionally during the investigation, for the deliberate concealment of the organized character of the developments...**

Finding shortcomings in my final speech at court and alluding to the necessity of thorough, profound and objective trial of the criminal case, professional lawyers, familiar with the criminal code, may find it logical to remit the case for further inquiry. But I could not allow the similar actions, having known that the investigation intended to reduce the organization of Sumgayit events to the intrigues of “hooligans”, as Gorbachev called it in his speech, and for this purpose it already carried out a number of falsifications. Since, this move could lead to a complete break-down of the criminal case. The developments following the verdict at the court confirmed my suspicions completely.

Through all these years the following situation remained extremely painful to me: all that I stated in 1989, almost begging, tried to explain to all the interested individuals the peculiarity of the Sumgayit case, my persistent requests at court (although their fairness was admitted by the USSR authorities after a little while), my ten-year continuous attempts to return interest in that issue, to include it into the agenda, attracted the attention of my compatriots only now following a little more than 20 years after those events.

In all the testimonies of the witnesses, evidences submitted to court and other materials of the case the crimes of the accomplices of that group were proved. In fact, the members of the group committed grave crimes against the individuals of the Armenian nationality. Any lawyer, who would like to study the archive materials, would agree with me completely. Exactly for this reason and as I was the prosecutor, my demand of the above-stated punishment in my final speech was quite substantiated.

***However... as I confirmed repeatedly it was under the leadership of Grigorian, Armenian by nationality that the Azerbaijanis committed that crime. It was the duty of the court to prove it. Nevertheless...***

## THE VERDICT

Now, I am presenting the notes concerning the verdict ruled by the judge.

Author's note in the trial:

Григорян	72-5 109-3-12 15-94-2	} 12	94, 67
Садыхов	72-5 109-3-8 144-3-6	} 8	94, 67
Садыхов			
Наджафов	72-3 144-4	} 4	109, 67
Сейидов	72-5 144-3-6	} 6	67 94
Исмаилов	72-5 144-3-7	} 7	67, 94 105
Григорян	— 72 угрозам		67
Исмаилов	72 — 3		67, 94, 105

As it is obvious, the court acted against my reasons... The court adopted the verdict to find Eduard Grigorian guilty on the Article 72, Paragraph 3; Article 109; Article 15 and Paragraph 2 of the Article 94 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 12 years of imprisonment; to find Vagif Husseyinov guilty on the Article 72 and Paragraph 3 of the Article 144 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 6 years of imprisonment; to find Nadir Najafov guilty on the Article 72 and Paragraph 3 of the Article 144 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 7 years of imprisonment; to find Nizami Safarov guilty on the Article 72, Paragraph 3 of Article the 109 and Paragraph 3 of Article 144 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 8 years of imprisonment; to find Afsar Isayev guilty on the Article 72 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 3 years of imprisonment; to find Galib Mammadov guilty on the Article 72 and Paragraph 4 of the

Article 144 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan and sentenced him to 4 years of imprisonment, and to remit the remaining part of the criminal case to the Prosecutor of the USSR for further examination. As I managed to find out later, the criminal case which had been sent to the further examination was forwarded to Stavropol regional Prosecutor's Office, and there, without any inquiry actions, was closed. This circumstance justified my actions once more.

The trial ended by all the accused getting the benign verdict, and my request to initiate the criminal case on the staging the Sumgayit unrest by the Centre with the help of Grigorian and the others, to pass a particular decision on the investigation group of the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR which had not investigated the case to the end, was completely ignored. If the Court had had only a morsel of commitment to the nation and respect of it, its history, Eduard Grigorian wouldn't have been brought to court as an ordinary hooligan, or a culprit. ***The court had a direct authority and was obliged to rule the institution of legal proceedings on the deliberate and organized character of the Sumgayit disorders based on the investigation materials of the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, the evidence (part of which have been mentioned by me), and the witnesses' evidences of both parties!*** Nevertheless, in order to evade the troubles, the court, putting off all the evidence and proofs aside, decided to terminate the case that way, having taken for the basis of the idea of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that "the Sumgayit case is a crime committed by hooligans".

As a result of this trial Grigorian was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment, a short time after it he was sent to Russia for his "punishment", from where he was sent to Armenia. His fate after it is unknown.

Today, 21 years after these events, Mansur Ibayev, the judge who conducted the trial of this case claims that Grigorian's crimes were not proved. I am recalling the interview with A. Abdullayev who was a lawyer in the case, so that to clarify some points:

**N.J.** "Has Grigorian's organization and leadership of this group been proved?"

**A.A.** "Yes, it has."

**N.J.** "Ismaylov is assuring that he proposed the institution of new criminal proceedings connected with the Sumgayit disorders, and even though Judge Ibayev, chairman of the Supreme Court Hussein Talibov promised to do that, the documents were destroyed and forged soon. Was there really such a proposal?"

**A.A.** “Yes, he proposed it.”

**N.J.** “Then why Ibayev didn’t keep his promise?”

**A.A.** “I can’t say anything definitely on this issue as it is Ibayev’s personal decision. I am repeating that the case was controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances it was impossible to speak about the independence of the judge. If the judge exceeded his due authority, then he would have been reprimanded by the Party, and he was afraid of that.”

**N.J.** “And who could exert pressure on Mansur Ibayev?”

**A.A.** “You know, some unknown people used to come to Ibayev, and they tried to exert pressure on him. He knew that the trial is controlled by the Party. Nobody could suppose that the Soviet Union would collapse, and if the trial had gone beyond the limits of the frames set forth for it, everything could have gone the other way round. *Ibayev defended himself, he had probably been told that if he sentenced Grigorian to death, he would have troubles.* It was only based on the evidence of an Armenian girl that he passed the verdict of 12 years of imprisonment. However, there were all the evidences allowing sentencing Grigorian to capital punishment. If the evidences expressed at the trial had have been completely examined by the Court, it would have become clear that Grigorian had been at the head of the group. Still, the accused found themselves surrounded by such circumstances which, for the sake of their rescue, could eliminate the need to give testimonies against each other. Somebody was definitely guiding them...”

I would like to note that even though there has been some inaccuracy in the interview, the essence of the events is represented realistically.

Speaking about the interview I took part in, I would like to clarify some points concerning Ahmed Ahmedov who had been arrested because of his involvement in the Sumgayit disorders. Thus, the trial over A. Ahmedov took place not in Azerbaijan but in Moscow, which is the violation of the law. With the blessing from the Centre and with the engagement of international press organizations, with the support of the Armenian nationalists Silvia Kaputikian, Zori Balaian and their hired slaves, not a trial, but a “show” was put up in Moscow. The fundamental human rights of Ahmedov as an accused were violated. Due to the fact that the guilt of the two Azerbaijanis, who had been arrested and tried as accomplices with them, was not proved at the trial, the case was remitted for further investigation. And Ahmed Ahmedov, whose guilt hadn’t been proved at the trial and without the evident existence of the group, was sentenced to capital punishment as the organizer of the group and soon was hastily shot.



But if the executors of the disorder and crimes were not identified in the course of the case, what could Ahmedov organize, whom could he give directions, whom could he lead? The Court didn't take all these into consideration, and Ahmed Ahmedov, whose guilt hadn't been proved, was shot! But Grigorian, whose crimes as the organizer of the gang had been completely exposed, was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment...

Dear readers!

The book has presented the archive materials and photos from the archives. Do you still doubt that Grigorian's guilt in the committed crime has been proved?! I am sure that any lawyer having acquainted with these materials will be sure of extremely biased verdicts of the court. Due to the cowardice and indecisiveness of the Azerbaijani government and Mansur Ibayev, the crimes against the Azerbaijani people committed by Grigorian, and other organizers of the disorders, as well as by Gorbachev, who later headed the Central government, backed by them, were not exposed in due time.

I hope that some day the competent people in Azerbaijan, and the historians of this country will find and examine all the criminal cases connected with the Sumgayit case, and first of all, the "Grigorian case", and denounce the Armenian nationalists and their mercenaries headed by Gorbachev. If we don't do that, we shall be subjected to the new libel of "genocide" spread by the Armenian nationalists in the parliaments of all the countries of the world. This time it will be called "the Sumgayit genocide".

I should say that they have already "started" this activity. On the eve of the anniversary of the Sumgayit disorders, on February 26, 2010, in order to attract the attention of the public to the idea of the necessity to investigate these events, I gave an interview on [www.1news.az](http://www.1news.az). And on March 2, 2010 I read on the same site the information titled "The Office of the Prosecutor General of Azerbaijan comments on the provocation of the Office of the Prosecutor General of Armenia". This one-page information, calls the materials placed on the site by the Office of the Prosecutor General of Armenia, "provocation", besides, it points out that the site does not contain the facts revealed by the prosecutor who was investigating Sumgayit events. To throw light on the matter, I decided to have a look through the site of the Prosecutor General of Armenia [www.genprok.am](http://www.genprok.am). and I saw that there are really a lot of forgeries, found out, as the Armenians say, by them. But I witnessed also another fact: this site has created a special section called "Sumgayit" which is also full of forged documents. Seeing all this, I can assure you that very soon these forged documents will again become the cause of headache for Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, our representatives went as

far as publishing the statement without realizing that important point, by the way, making a mistake even in this statement: they wrongly indicated my job title, as I was not the investigator, but the public prosecutor in the Sumgayit case, the investigation of which was conducted by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. When I saw this, I remembered V.S.Chernomyrdin, former Prime Minister of Russia, who seeing recurring mistakes made by the Cabinet of Ministers headed by him, said: “We tried to make better, but turned out to be a usual one”. Observing such a work of our Prosecutor’s Office and the circumstances which will be described in the second part of the book in more details, I decided to change my occupation for some time and write a book about these events. What has come out of it is for you to judge.



**DETAILS OF THE  
SUMGAYIT  
EVENTS**



## **THE WAY TO SUMGAYIT – CAUSES AND EFFECTS...**

While writing this book I was pursuing a very clear objectives – to clarify the “Sumgayit trial” in which I was directly involved, and to describe the details of the events happened then, thus to “conclude” the criminal case. Working with the available documents I automatically got acquainted with other papers not directly connected with the trial, but linked to the notorious events one way or another. And frankly speaking, I was petrified by the things I saw. Of course I knew that we lack behind the Armenians in spreading propaganda but I didn’t realize how far.

I had my own ideas concerning the events which happened over 20 years ago, at the time of transition in the country, and right after the Sumgayit events, which led to the hot-bed of the Garabagh conflict; about the rate of development of this conflict, the role and interests of the leaders of the USSR and Azerbaijan, and other centres of power; the real reasons of the Sumgayit events which changed the direction country’s development and introduced crucial changes into the geopolitical situation in Azerbaijan. Starting my research I did not find necessary amount of significant and reliable sources except some works of Professor C.Sultanov and partially the books of the political analysts R.Aghayev and Z.Ali-zade which helped to clarify the situation. And this was against the numerous false documents defending the Armenian side, that is why, I decided to expand my book a little bit. Quite naturally I had some serious doubts concerning my own abilities to describe the events of that time, as the prospective job was not related with my specialization, moreover, I should have more free time to be engaged in the comprehensive research. But in spite of all doubts, I made up my mind that everybody who will read this book will get at least a gist of the facts which have influenced the fate and history of Azerbaijan.

The facts that I managed to reveal allowed me to draw a ‘roadmap’ which will lead to the roots, to the essence of the problem. And this map indeed led me to the main address: the base for the conflict which happened later in Garabagh was laid in Sumgayit and it was an integral part of the plan.

Surely, similar events could have happened in other cities of Azerbaijan, and there really were such attempts. For me it is more than clear why Sumgayit was chosen as the place to realize this plan. But speaking about it I will not break the sequence of the narration, and that is why, going back to the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh, I am going to describe the events from the very beginning.



Nowadays the Armenians are trying to convince the whole world that Garabagh has always been and will always be an Armenian land, that the Turks undertook ethnic cleansing towards the Armenians, and they do not stop at any misrepresentation of the information, in spite of the fact that the ex-president of Armenia R. Kocharian has not replied to the proposal of the Turkish President A. Gull to disclose all the archives and hand them over to the historians from all over the world. The sources and the origins of the documents presented by the Armenians for justification of their claims still remain unidentified. Not being a historian, I am not going to conduct my own scientific research, so I would like to cite the information from a document well known to specialists titled “The Description of the Garabagh Province”, written by the Russian officials in 1823: **“...The population of the Garabagh khanate is 90 thousand; there is one town and over 600 villages there, in 150 out of which the population are Armenians. In Shusha there are 1948 families consisting of the Caucasian Turks (Azerbaijanis) and 474 Armenian families. In the villages there are 12902 Turks and 4331 Armenians.”**

The XX-century Armenia made several attempts to annex Garabagh: one of them was prevented by Nariman Narimanov, the other one – by Mir-Jafar Bagirov. Realizing that they would not be able to get Garabagh peacefully even with the pressure of the Centre, the Armenians started resorting other tactics. They worked out the plan of inciting national confrontation for the separation of Garabagh from Azerbaijan. Z. Balayan’s “The Hearth” was the first step towards the realization of this step. Published in 1983, it immediately became the ideological basis for the organizations called the Armenian National Movement and “Krunck”, the precursor of all the ideological and political intentions of these organizations. The second attempt was undertaken in 1985, when there emerged a territorial conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia for the first time within many decades, which was caused by illegal construction of the Armenian economic entities on the Azerbaijani lands. Both attempts became for the Azerbaijani nation the ability test for political vigilance, and its aptitude to oppose the nationalistic calls. From the point of view of the Armenians this test was conducted successfully, as all their actions were supported by the leadership of the USSR and the resistance of Azerbaijan to the impudent injustice was appreciated as a high treason.

Soon after it, on September 10, 1985 the Armenian writer Khanzadyan in his letter to Gorbachev demanded to transfer the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Khanzadyan wrote in his letter: **“If you don’t give us Garabagh,**

**we do not need any perestroika!”** Gorbachev realized the significance and the power of the letter having the nature of an ultimatum. He expressed his concern about the fate of “perestroika” the essence of which he could not understand completely himself. To impose his “genius” and crazy, vague ideas on the world, he vitally needed the propaganda machinery of the Armenian Diaspora, and he did not want to lose the chance.

From late 1987 honoured and high-ranking guests from Yerevan and Moscow began to visit Stepanakert. Mikoyan’s son and Z. Balaian delivered guest lectures at Moscow and Yerevan universities. Academician A. Aganbegian, the person close to the Kremlin policy, joined the propaganda...

Some time earlier Raisa Gorbacheva, spouse of M.Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU during the first visit of Gorbachev to the USA quite unexpectedly paid a visit to the Armenian cultural centre where she uttered a phrase which surprised everybody and became memorable: **“We are calling for strengthening the friendship between the Armenian and the Soviet peoples...”** What did she mean by that? Isn’t the Armenian people one of “the Soviet peoples”? If R. Gorbacheva had said “we are calling for strengthening the friendship between the Russian and Armenian peoples”, it would have been quite clear. But the very expression of her thought tells of the exclusive attitude of the Gorbachevs to the Armenians. Which of the couple was more influential is debatable. Today the Armenians claim that the relation with Azerbaijan spoiled after 1988, after the Sumgayit events. Then what does the premature statement by the spouse of the General Secretary prove?!

The visit of this centre was made as if at random. They said that it had been included into the program of the visit at the very last moment. This episode is also connected with the story of jewellery received by Raisa Gorbacheva at the Armenian cultural centre. This fact imposes a serious “criminal shade” on the history of introduction of the Autonomous Province of the Nagorno-Karabakh into the international arena. Thus, let us have a look at Raisa Gorbacheva’s words while receiving the expensive jewellery from the Armenian Diaspora of the USA, “It will serve strengthening friendship between the Soviet and the Armenian peoples”. This episode accidentally (perhaps not accidentally) appeared on the Central TV, but in the evening broadcast it had already been cut off. Many people may have doubts in the Soviet leader and his wife’s liking for expensive gifts or just for money, but as I was working in the capacity of the chairman of the court in the region of Stavropol, I do not doubt their “abilities and inclinations”, as Gorbachev started his career in Stavropol. It is there that he earned his nick-name “Misha the Envelope”. That is why, the idea of the graveness of the “cri-

minal shade” in the Garabagh issue is not surprising or unexpected for me.

As it was stated earlier, Academician Abel Aganbegian also joined the active propaganda. Professor C. Sultanov in his book “The Interrupted Flight. The Second Attempt” about the “prominent Soviet economist A. Aganbegian” writes, “The ‘great’ economist Aganbegian provided the economic estimation of the Baikal–Amur Railway construction. The estimated cost of this railway was 12 billion rubles in 1991 or 7.5 million US dollars in the currency exchange rate of that time. According to Aganbegian and his team’s estimation, the cost recovery of the railway was equal to 10 years. Many years have passed but the cost recovery has never been mentioned at all. The world experience shows that the cost recovery of such grand projects has to be approached very cautiously; they bear rather a prestigious character, and only the highly developed countries can afford it (for example the exploitation of the English-French tunnel under the English Channel is still unprofitable). Now we can say for sure that the construction of that railway hit a considerable blow on the weak economy of the USSR. The author would not be surprised if one day it becomes known that Aganbegian had the advisers living abroad while making assumptions about cost of the Baikal-Amur railway: the USSR economy suffered a very nice hit, under the pretext of strengthening its economic power it was ruined”.

No one has a doubt about the fact that despite low level living standards of the population, science was highly developed in the USSR; the Union competed with the scientific centres of the leading countries of the world. Decline of the science in the USSR started exactly when such merchants of science as Aganbegian joined the scientific circles. Personality of Aganbegian is also characterized by the fact that he was prosecuted in the criminal case by the Office of the Prosecutor of Russia “for high treason against his Motherland”.

Aganbegian was famous for his close relations with the top officials of the Soviet Union. Not a single decision was adopted by the Political Bureau without his participation. In the middle of November 1987 at the reception organised to the honour of the Academician Aganbegian by the Armenian Institute of France and the Association of Armenian veterans, he expressed his wish to attach Garabagh to Armenia. “As an economist,” he said, “I think it is more closely connected with Armenia than with Azerbaijan”. This speech of Aganbegian became a prelude to the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh. Professor Chapay Sultanov, whom I highly respect, writes about this speech in his book entitled “With the Mark of the Devil”: **“... The rumours spread in Moscow that Aganbegian had referred to his talk with Gorbachev in which the Almighty General Secretary of the**

**Central Committee of the CPSU allegedly stated that Garabagh would be given to Armenia. Strikingly, despite this extremely stable rumour Gorbachev did not refute it, neither then, nor later, even at the peak of the war in Garabagh, neither directly, nor indirectly.”** Everybody knows that Gorbachev denied everything which could discredit his name, but at the same time he was not ashamed to lie to the millions of people. Many people most probably watched the discussion of the issue of the intrusion of the Soviet Army to Tbilisi on April 9, 1989, and the atrocities committed by the military against the civilians, the speeches of Army General Rodionov and other participants of the Congress of the Soviet deputies of the USSR on the Central TV. Gorbachev showed his hypocrisy, cynical lie during this discussion in front of millions, speaking about his unawareness of the events, which showed what he was capable of. By this “showing off” he defended his image of a democrat. I think that Gorbachev would have never allowed Aganbegian to say something on his behalf without his consent.

Moreover, it is not a secret that Aganbegian would never say something what could bother the senior officials, or more precisely, he would never make any speech or spread any rumours not agreed with the leadership in advance. And the fact that Gorbachev never curbed these rumours is a direct proof of the above said.

Since 1987 in all parts of Armenia populated by the Azerbaijanis, even at the bus stops and on the gates of the houses, there appeared calls for the expulsion of the Azerbaijanis from these lands. They declared both in the country and abroad that the expulsion of the Azerbaijanis from Armenia began eight months after the Sumgayit events. Nevertheless, the truth was quite different.

As early as in 1985 a big monument embodying the friendship of the three republics was exploded in the district of Gazakh. The person exploding it was injured, so it became possible to identify him. It was a clergyman from Echmiadzin (Armenian Catholic Church) Father Stepan. It is necessary to conduct a special investigation for determining the role of Echmiadzin in all these events; I will fully refrain from touching upon this topic.

In 1986, right after the “Garabagh problem” was unofficially raised and in the following year the refugees from Armenia, mostly from the districts of Gafan and Mehri began to arrive in Azerbaijan. In 1986 and 1987 the Azerbaijani government adopted a special resolution on those refugees who settled in Sumgayit and in its outskirts; however in the name of the “friendship of the nations” this issue was not particularly stressed upon. I would like to note that it was the biggest mistake of the Azerbaijani administration. Despite the start of the process of separation of Garabagh

from Azerbaijan, the administration of the country was still afraid to harm “the friendship of nations”, relying firmly on the solution of the problem by “the powerful Centre”.

Nevertheless, everything was not going the way the administration of Azerbaijan had hoped for. On January 25, February 18 and 23, 1988 the next group of the Azerbaijani refugees came to Azerbaijan from Armenia. Their number reached 4 thousands. The political analyst Arif Yunus, who studied the history of the deportation of Azerbaijanis from Armenia SSR in 1987-1990, states that in November 20, 1987, he personally met four buses full of refugees arriving from Gafan region. The Second Secretary of Gafan district party committee Armais Babaian in his interview to the British journalist Tom de Vaal didn't deny the deportation of the Azerbaijanis from Gafan region in November 1987, but instead, stated that not any act of violence had been committed against them; that the Azerbaijanis were afraid for some reasons and left.

Any person with common sense cannot assert that thousands of people could simultaneously leave the land of their ancestors, the places where they grew up and leave properties without their belongings, having no serious reasons for it. It is impossible.

In addition, I have seen video recordings, capturing these moments many times, but unfortunately we have not been able to convey these irrefutable facts to the world community. A former chairman of the KGB of the Azerbaijan SSR, Major-General V.A. Husseinov said in his interview published on February 6, 2004 in the newspaper “Moskovsky Komsomolets” that in the early February of 1988 there were already several thousand refugees in the Azerbaijan SSR from the Armenian SSR.

**A.F. Dashdamirov** (in 1988-1991 - head of the department in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan) notes, “By February 18, 1988, that is, by the time when the first reports (yet unofficial) on territorial claims and the anti-Azerbaijani events in Armenia spread in Azerbaijan, the number of the Azerbaijanis forced to leave Armenia as a result of the aggravation of the atmosphere of fear and violence, had already exceeded four thousand.” (“Vestnik analitiki” magazin, № 3, 2005).

Here are some evidences of the number of Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia, recorded by Baku journalists:

**Hussein Gambarov** from “Ararat” collective farm of the Masis district, “Since February 19 we have not slept even a single night. Azerbaijanis from neighbouring villages gathered in our village named after Kalinin in Masis for safety reasons and the village itself was protected by the border guards. The Azerbaijani school was closed. At night about 10-20

men gathered around the fire in the centre of the village to guard the houses and there was not a single night when a house was not set on fire. Old men, women and children went to bed dressed, even in shoes, so that they could jump up and run if necessary.”

Peasant of the collective farm **Humbat Abbasov**, “In our village Artashat of Masis three houses were set on fire – houses of U. Abdullaev, A. Sadigov and Nizami. Since February 19 we haven’t been allowed to go to the markets, the crops grown by us were lost. Since February 19, we were not able to find any Azerbaijani names in the records of hospitals, clinics, health centres in Armenia, while 200,000 Azerbaijanis lived there. They refused to provide us with medical care. We were not sold bread and food products. We could not get access to public transport. Unreasonable mass dismissals of the Azerbaijanis from work began on February 19. They spat on our faces in the true sense of the word and shouted: "Turks, go away from Armenia!" (“Vestnik analitiki”, № 3, 2005).

And now, as an example I shall draw your attention to a piece of documentary story titled "The Burning Ashes", by **Saveli Perets**, a well-known journalist in Azerbaijan, Jewish by nationality. The story was published in 2001 in the "Meridian" magazine in Tel Aviv. I will remind that Saveli Perets was the person who prepared speeches for many leaders of Azerbaijan. In the discussed period he was the assistant of A. Vezirov, and after his escape from Azerbaijan to Moscow in a fighter-plane, S. Perets immigrated to Israel because of an emerging danger to his life in Baku. In this documentary story he wrote:

"... And here is a former teacher from School 2 of the Jermuk town **Nazani Ganjaliyeva**,

“There was a demonstration held in Jermuk on February 25. We heard the roar of the crowd during the lessons. We had 166 Azerbaijani boys and girls in the school, who were very scared at that moment. I opened the window and shouted in Armenian, "Why have you come here? Go away – it is a sacred place! What do you want from us and our children? What have we done to you?" In response I was stunned with ribaldry and hail of stones; they shouted that they would kill me and my whole family.

On that day the leaflets and posters were hung all over Armenia on the bus stops, gates and the entrances of the houses where the Azerbaijanis lived. Here is one of the calls:

**“People of Armenia!**

**Never forget the bloody days of 1915, don’t forget the horror brought by Talat pasha, Enver pasha, and Jamal pasha! Remember while living!**

**Everybody who has the name of an Armenian!**

**Drive the Turks from your land!**

**Don't give them any water from the Armenian springs!**

**Don't give them any bread baked by the hands of the Armenian woman!**

**Turks, go away from our town!"**

I think that it is my duty to draw your attention to another point. Very often the Armenian nationalists, taking the advantage of their parliamentary mandates and political support given to them, as well as referring to the views of various people, whom they have turned into their hired servants thanks to the given bribes, are trying to mislead the world community. However, the author of the afore said extract Saveliy Perets does not belong to such “mercenaries”; just the opposite, he is one of those who realizes his responsibility before history, does not escape just criticism, and it is for these very qualities that he was subjected to pressure during the last days of his life in Azerbaijan, as a result of which had to leave the country.

From this passage it becomes obvious that the process of deportation of the Azerbaijanis from Armenia began much before the Garabagh conflict and the Sumgayit events, while a few days before the disorders in Sumgayit this process reached its peak.

Without disturbing the sequence we reached the year of 1988 – the climax of the occupation plan. In order to say the final word it was necessary to present the Azerbaijanis to the world as a “barbarian nation” and the moment for this could not have been more favourable. Since that year the period of gradual – bit by bit – occupation of Garabagh started for Armenia. With the silent consent of the world community the ground for the occupation of Garabagh was prepared.

However, I have to stop here to inform you on a very important point. Analyzing today the archive materials, memoirs, and historic chronology I recall a lot of episodes which I witnessed in Stavropol. Working in Zelenchuk I met many high-ranking officials. While meeting them I got acquainted with not only many interesting people, but also became a witness of interesting talks. One of them took place in autumn 1986. The author of numerous analytical works on the history of Azerbaijan, Professor Chapay Sultanov in his book “Through the Chess Prism” described this episode as follows,

“In the autumn of 1986, during the harvest time, an acquaintance of mine, the Rector of the Stavropol Pedagogical Institute Boris Valentinovich Smirnov called me and asked to come to him to the sanatorium of the Central Committee of CPSU named after Kirov in Essentuki. I came to him



right in time for the festive dinner. His two friends from the pre-Baltic republics were sitting with Smirnov. Some time later his friends went away and Smirnov being in a good mood, offered me to go to Sovietskiy district of Zelenokumsk to the first secretary of the regional party committee Georgiy Savelyevich Khurvatov. Before that I knew that Smirnov, being the high-ranking official of the regional party committee, played a key role in the promotion of M.S. Gorbachev, first through the komsomol, then through the party line. Khurvatov met us at the guest house of the first secretary of the regional party committee. In the course of this festive dinner I understood that Khurvatov was one of M.S.Gorbachev's benefactors. Further I found out that though my interlocutors were well under seventy, they both were dreaming of occupying at least ministerial posts in the USSR. In this talk Smirnov often reproached Gorbachev that he had forgotten him, his merits, forgotten that he was the person who had helped him with promotion. Khurvatov tried to calm him down, but he himself often expressed his dissatisfaction with Gorbachev. It was evident that he did not want this showdown take place at my presence. Under the influence of alcohol Smirnov got more and more aggressive and began to use obscene language. At last Khurvatov lost his patience and said: **“Borya, Misha is now busy with his countryman H. Aliyev. As soon as he finishes with him, he will help his people. Now the main problem for him is the problem of H. Aliyev.”**

At that time I did not take this conversation seriously. Now I see that Heydar Aliyev was really the main problem for Gorbachev in his strive to please the Armenians. If we turn our eyes to the simple chronology, we can be convinced in that:

**Till 1982 Heydar Aliyev was in Baku and led Azerbaijan. Not a single representative of the Armenian nation had dared to undertake a step of separatism during this period. A year after Heydar Aliyev's departure for Moscow, the book of Zori Balaian “The Hearth” was published and the anti-Azerbaijan propaganda began. Still, all was done unofficially, how to say, secretly. In November 1987, right after Heydar Aliyev's resignation in October, the propaganda machinery was launched in a full swing; Aganbegian officially addressed the Armenians for the first time in France.**

Even today the Armenians accuse Heydar Aliyev in his strive to separate the Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia by all means. I am sure that Heydar Aliyev's presence in Baku would have radically changed the political situation in Azerbaijan. But I am not going into details in order not to turn this issue into the object of political debate, or, to be more exact, of a

wrong interpretation. The point is that it is for the historians (who now are mainly writing piles of useless books to please the authorities) to examine this issue. It would be good if they find out how, before H. Aliyev's coming to office, the empire managed to maintain, a favourable for it, demographic situation in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan; what percentage of the country's population were the Azerbaijanis, and non-Azerbaijanis, and in what way during Aliyev's rule this proportion was changing. Had they examined this and many other topics, there would have been much more benefit from them.

Thus February, 1988 became the peak of the events. The session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province adopted an official document. I am again turning to Savelyi Perets's documentary book:

“The special correspondent of TASS-Azerinform on Nagorno-Karabakh Sasha Grigorian informed that, on February 20, 1988, the extraordinary session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province was held in the hall of the District Soviet of the Executive Committee”.

“The session,” Grigorian noted, “discussed the issue “On application to the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia on the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province to Armenia”. 30 deputies took part in the debates on this issue. After the debates the session unanimously adopted the following decision:

**To solicit the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia on transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province from Azerbaijan to Armenia.**

**Having listened and discussed the speeches of the deputies of the provincial soviet of people's deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh, the extraordinary session resolved:**

**“In compliance with the desire of the people of the Nagorno-Karabakh, to solicit the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia to display deep understanding of the aspirations of Armenian population and to resolve the issue of transferring the Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. At the same time to request the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the positive solution of the issue of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia.**

For reference: the Azerbaijani deputies did not participate in the work of the session”.

The first mention of the aforesaid session was made in the newspaper “Sovetskiy Garabagh” and in its version in the Armenian language

“Sovetakan Garabagh” on February 21, 1988 under the title “The extraordinary session of the Soviet of People’s Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province of the XX convocation”. The information in the “Sovetskiy Garabagh” was the following:

**“Yesterday, on February 20, an extraordinary session of the people’s deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh took place in the conference hall of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Soviet.**

**The deputy from the 109<sup>th</sup> constituency S.A. Danielian opened the session. He informed that in compliance with Article 39 of the Law of Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province, 87 deputies applied to the Soviet of People’s Deputies of MGAP with the request to call an extraordinary session. The credentials committee examined the mandates of the mentioned number of deputies and found them valid.**

**The session discussed the following issue, “On soliciting the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia on the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province from Azerbaijan to Armenia”**

Further, there is the list of 23 speakers participating in debates on the issue under discussion. They actually represented almost all the layers of the society – workers, peasants, heads of industrial enterprises and collective farms, intellectual people, veterans of war and labour. The information ended with a phrase, though traditional in such official publications, but ambiguous in this particular case, “The session unanimously adopted a relevant decision on the issue under discussion”. It was written exactly like this, “...adopted decision”. Usually in such cases a standard formulation was “The session decrees...”

The text of the decision “On soliciting the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia on the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province from Azerbaijan to Armenia” with which you, readers, have already been acquainted, was attached to the above-mentioned information in the newspaper.

As we can see, the first official step was made, but the administration of Azerbaijan was still unaware of the fact.

The high degree of coordination of actions of the participants of the session, their unanimity, and the elaboration of the adopted documents allow us to see the huge preparatory work behind it. The session was provided with necessary number of speakers representing almost all the layers of the Armenian population. They even managed to provide the speech of a deputy with the Russian surname T.V. Sobolev. It was supposed to impart on the

discussions the shade of unbiased, international character. The action had been worked out in detail and executed with such a precision that nobody could have doubts on the organized character of the session by the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh.

Speaking about the session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province of February 20, 1988 and introducing the text of its decision not from the official sources, but from the narration of S. Perets, I wanted to present his vision of the process, his comments on this problem.

As it is justly noted in the book by Rasim Aghayev and Zardusht Ali-zade titled “Azerbaijan: End of the Second Republic (1988-1993)”, “It is impossible to gather unnoticeably 87 signatures with the claim to hold an extraordinary session, particularly if session has overtly anti-republican, or, as it was usual to say at that time, anti-party agenda, within a day, a week, or a month. It requires a lengthy propaganda and agitation; existence of the group of like-minded people, ready to elaborate tactics and implement actions of such kind, the consequences of which would have not eventually been optimistic for the people involved into it.”

When KGB of the USSR was even aware of people’s kitchen talks, it turned out that this almighty agency did not know about the separatist propaganda, about gathering 87 signatures, about the convocation of the session, and was informed about the session only from the official press release. Does it sound true?

Right then, on February 22, 1988, the conflict between the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians grew into the mass disturbances and caused some victims. And the first victims of this Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict – two killed people – were from the Azerbaijani side: one of them – a 33-year old villager by the name Ali Naghiyev who was working in the field, the other one – a 16 year-old boy by the name Bakhtiyar Guliyev. 19 people were injured in the conflict. To prevent the further confrontation, the Azerbaijani woman, Hero of the Socialist Labour Khuraman Abbasova courageously stood in front of the infuriated mob, took off her head kerchief and threw it under the men’s feet – it is an ancient Azerbaijani custom used as an extreme means to stop blood-shedding – the woman’s head cover – kelagai – the symbol of honour; to step over it is dishonourable for a man. However, the crowd going from Agdam to Stepanakert continued to rage. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Hasan Hasanov, who was sent to the province to establish tranquillity, kneeled to implore the infuriated mob to stop the disorders. The flame ready to scorch a large town was put off. The tragedy was prevented. It was possible to prevent the explosion by virtue of the traditional loyalty to the

customs of peace-making, honouring women, and respecting the elders. This very episode proves that the Azerbaijanis, in spite of pain and bitterness of their losses, can find power to overcome the burst of emotions inside them, to become reserved, and in case of need, to prevent a huge blood-shedding. But nowadays, there are lots of people who condemn this act, and it is understandable. Despite the bellicose claims and armed provocations of the nationalists of the Garabagh, the Armenian population of Garabagh saw the determination of the Azerbaijanis to protect their lands and they were about to move to Armenia, but for the above said incident, the kneeling of the influential Azerbaijani official stopped the patriotic impulse of the Azerbaijanis who were going to Stepanakert; had he not stopped the crowd then the problem of Garabagh most probably would have not existed now at all.

But who knows?.. The similar scenario repeated on January 20, 1990. Thus, a week after January 13, when the activists of the Popular Front and ordinary Azerbaijanis had peacefully taken almost all the Armenians from Baku, Gorbachev who was tuned to blood-shedding, under the pretext of saving lives of the Armenians, moved the military troops to Baku, causing floods of blood in Azerbaijan.

Despite the sacrifices of those days, more the public figures and mostly influential people of Azerbaijan tried to weaken the tension and prevent blood-shedding, more the Armenian side aggravated the flames of confrontation. Thus, speaking at the meeting which gathered thousands of people in Yerevan, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia R. Kazaryan declared to the whole world that, “For the first time in decades we had an excellent opportunity to cleanse Armenia”. Academician of the Armenian Academy of Sciences Ambartsumyan repeated his words adding that the Turks, or more exactly Azerbaijanis, shouldn’t remain in Armenia.

At that period Kuznetsov, foster child in the family of Mikoian was the assistant of Alexander Yakovlev, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CPSU. In 1988 he arranged that Yakovlev received the Armenian writer Zori Balaian and the Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikian. These two said to Yakovlev that the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh were subjected to humiliation, that’s why this region should be taken away from Azerbaijan and given to Armenia. On February 24 Yakovlev organised their meeting with Gorbachev...

In his book “With the mark of the Devil ...” Professor Chapay Sultanov wrote about this meeting, “Gorbachev gave a start to that anti-Azerbaijani campaign. Here is what he wrote in his memoirs, “On these days I had a meeting with poetess Silva Kaputikian and journalist Zori Balaian where Shahnazarov was also present. The conversation was long. I

gave the interlocutors a chance to tell the pre-history of the problem... And then I took the floor and stated the position of the administration in all the details. The essence of it is that the lawful and fair aspirations of the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh should be satisfied, but without altering the national-territorial division which will lead to generation of a chain-reaction in the country, to the beginning of blood-shedding.”

K. Brutents, former assistant of the head of department of the Central Committee of CPSU, wrote in his memoirs, “On February 24 I went to see A.N. Yakovlev. He said that a few hours before he had received (as far as I understood with his help) poetess S. Kaputikian and writer Z. Balaian. According to his words, the conversation impressed Mikhail Sergeyeovich enabling him to have a deep insight of the problem of Artsakh (ancient name of the Nagorno-Karabakh) and he treated it with great sympathy. Yakovlev, who, on my mind, also shared such an approach, encouraged me”.

It couldn't have been said more clearly! Gorbachev and Yakovlev were sticking to this position all the time while being in office. Today, reading the memoirs about this meeting, it becomes clear that this meeting was a kind of precursor of the further events, because the Armenian propaganda reached practically all the corners of the world. After this meeting with Gorbachev the slogan “Lenin – Party – Gorbachev, Hitler – Stalin – Ligachev” immediately started being sounded in the rallies in Stepanakert while at the meeting of thousands of people In Yerevan, the Secretary of the Central Committee of CPSU Yakovlev called the separatism in Stepanakert “a national-liberation movement”.

Almost all the members of the government of the USSR began persuade the separatists of Garabagh. Among them was the first vice-chairman of the Bureau of the Soviet of Ministers on social development V.P. Lakhtin, the first vice-chairman of the State Planning Committee V.M. Serov, ministers A.G. Anfimov, A.A.Yezhevsky, S.F. Voenushkin, V.A.Durasov, V.M.Lukyanenko, N.A. Pugin, M.S. Shkabardnya, deputy ministers A.F. Kazakov, E.I. Razumeev... Everybody who came to the Nagorno-Karabakh, besides ostentatiously – via Yerevan, said the same thing, “Ah, how bad is life here!” and everybody promised to help this way or another. But as the situation had already been neglected, all the issues were settled without the participation of Baku. In fact life in Garabagh was much better than in many districts of Azerbaijan. However, it was necessary to continue by all means the chosen line of expressing discontent of the Armenian population and single pretext was enough to increase this discontent. So, the social conditions of the Armenians were chosen to be

such a pretext, though everybody knew that it was only a formal pretext refuted even by their countrymen.

Thus, in his documentary Saveli Perets wrote:

“The vice-chairman of the Union of Consumer’s Societies of the Republic Nurvart Vladimirovna Gabrielyan became another “hero” of the interview,

“I have just returned from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province and I can say firmly that there are no particular economic difficulties there.”

“In your system?”

“In our system particularly. Just look at the turnover plan for 1988 – 137, 4 million rubles. The growth rate against the last year is 113, 5 per cent. The provision now for 10 thousand people by the retail trade outlets in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province is 40, while in the whole Republic – only 28; the total trade square in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province is 1932 m<sup>2</sup>, while in the whole Republic – only 1293 m<sup>2</sup>; the number of public catering facilities – 18 and 16 respectively, with the seats in them – 805 and 731...”

“Just wait...”

“Don’t stop me, I haven’t finished”, Nurvart Vladimirovna continued without taking her eyes from her papers, “In Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province consumer service per capita is 41 rubles 37 kopeks a year, while in the whole Republic – 30 rubles 25 kopeks, including the communication service 11 rubles 37 kopeks and 7 rubles 43 kopeks respectively; the pre-school service of children – 1 rubl 93 kopeks and 1 rubl 17 kopeks; finally, in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province consumption of meat, cheese, tinned products, and vegetable oil... per capita is more...”

Any person, who more or less is good at economics, can see that these figures completely contradict to those presented by the official representatives of Moscow, and by the separatists with their help. In reality, all the economic data characterizing the life of the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province were much better than those of others in Azerbaijan. Very soon the scientists – economists proved by exact figures and facts the unrealistic character of the claims of the Armenians. Nevertheless, upon M. Gorbachev’s insistence, a multibillion budget was allocated from the state budget to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province as a separate budget line. An unprecedented case in the practice of the Soviet economic policy! And what about Yerevan? What was Stepanakert’s reply? “We don’t need gratifications from Moscow. We demand “Miatsum!”, such was the new slogan of the separatists. As Gorbi



used to say, the process has started. There was no need for camouflage. “We want it!” and that’s it.

Pay attention how the Armenian nationalists tried to prove by all their might that they are destitute, oppressed, subjected to troubles, and that is why they do not abandon their inciting position. However, once again I would like to draw your attention to the fact that it was namely the Azerbaijanis who were beaten, abused, discredited, isolated, suffered huge human losses and driven from their lands up to now! None of them has ever expressed their claims to the Armenian population. But it could not last any longer. A flow of refugees from Armenia headed to Baku and to other regions of the republic. Destitute people came out and demanded justice and protection of their rights. The protests reached their peak. The situation, for which the Centre was striving, had already emerged. In those very days the unknown instigators turned up in the streets among the crowds. They were bringing the events closer, to its climax by their talks about the crimes and looting committed by the Armenians against the Azerbaijanis who were still living in Armenia. At that very moment Silva Kaputikyan undertook another provocation; on arriving in Armenia, she shared her impressions about her meeting with Gorbachev on the Armenian TV, driving the mob to disobedience. Speaking about the details of her meeting with Gorbachev, she remarked, **“The conversation lasted for about four hours. Noticing that we often repeated the word ‘Nagorno-Karabakh’, comrade Gorbachev said, “I think this word means Artsakh...”**

The Centre and the Armenian nationalists needed the confrontation accompanied by the blood-shed and slaughter of the Armenian population. The incident could have happened in any region of Azerbaijan. In the following chapters I will inform you about such attempts and the fact that it happened in Sumgayit is connected with the status of the town. There were a lot of vocational schools where thousands of students from all the regions of the republic were receiving their training. It is quite natural that they were not controlled by their parents. Besides, Sumgayit was an industrial town; a lot of people came here in search of works. But the town had a housing problem. Seventeen thousand families were in the queue to get their housing, and twenty thousand people were living in shanties built by their own hands. The criminal situation in the town left much to be desired. A part of the population there belonged to the so-called ‘special contingent’, people who were convicted and served their sentences. Besides, there were lots of people serving their suspended sentences at the enterprises of chemical industry, which comprised the basis of the industrial potential of Sumgayit. To complete the picture, there were about ten thousand people

sentenced to correction works. Briefly, the demographic composition of Sumgayit was vulnerable enough to yield to these provocations.

Today, we can say with full responsibility that the behaviour of the masses in Sumgayit was programmed with mathematical precision, because the KGB was always interested in this problem.

Other circumstances had also been taken into account in the planning of these events. In the book "Psychology of the Crowd" scientist-psychologist Tard very precisely characterizes this phenomenon, "The crowd is a pile of dissimilar elements, unfamiliar to each other. Only a spark of passion, a hint was enough to electrify this discordant mass, the latter gets the kind of a sudden, spontaneous fledgling organization. Fragmentation turns to the connection, the noise grows into something monstrous, striving towards its goal with irresistible tenacity. Most people came here, driven by simple curiosity, but fever is sweeping a few, suddenly seizes the hearts of everyone, and everyone strives to destruction. The man who has come only in order to prevent the death of an innocent, becomes one of the first to be infected with the desire for murder, and what is more surprising he is not amazed by this." And what if we add to the abovementioned that there were people in this crowd who went through all the torments of hell in Armenia! And the well-known television appearances of Silva Kaputikyan played the role of the irritant for this crowd.

Of course, we can assume that S. Kaputikian must have been bluffing? If so, how then can we understand the words of Mikhail Gorbachev which he said on February 29 at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, "Azerbaijanis clashed with the Armenians in Garabagh, two people died. Leaflets went through Yerevan, "Armenians, stop the strikes, get your weapons and shoot the Turks." There was a shot from distance with a pistol at the direction of the headquarters of the army ... But I must say that even when there was half a million of people on the streets of Yerevan, the discipline of the Armenians was high ... It turns out that the Secretary of the Stepanakert Party Committee had never been to Armenia within 14 years, although the Nagorno-Karabakh is in fact an Armenian autonomy. Even the roads leading to Armenia, were abandoned. This was done deliberately. Turkish TV channels were received in the Nagorno-Karabakh, but Armenian channels – were not ... Vladimir Ivanovich (Dolgikh, Secretary of the Central Committee of CPSU - Author.) spoke with Vazgen yesterday (we are talking about the Catholicos, notorious for his appeal to all the Armenians - Author)... He said that there are real concerns that the events did not happen spontaneously. He referred to an example from his own experience. Now, he says, I was in Baku at the

reception hosted by Aliyev. There is an Armenian church in Baku. Over 200 thousand Armenians live in this city. Vazgen asked to serve a sermon in the Church – he had been waiting for an invitation for 12 years, but he never received it. He is an undesirable person; they don't want him to turn up there. And all this is added to the feelings heating them. Difficulties and problems have been accumulating in this region for decades. The attitude of the Azerbaijani government to the population of Garabagh was far from the spirit of Leninism, and sometimes from humanity.

Obviously, Secretary General Gorbachev, who later refused to have anything to do with “grandfather” Lenin, instead of taking tough measures against those who called all the Armenians to take their arms for killing the Azerbaijanis, to punish those who shot at the army headquarters, was promoting genocide in a latent form. He persuaded them, reminding of the discipline of the Armenians, reproached H. Aliyev that he had not invited Vazgen to Baku.

Analyzing Gorbachev's speech, the reason of Heydar Aliyev's refusal to invite the Catholicos to Baku becomes clear: Heydar Aliyev knew for sure that Vazgen was an instigator, and if the Secretary-General expressed his attitude toward the "oppressed" people of Armenia with such "interest", it was easy to figure out how Vazgen, who could use the opportunity to promote the “philosophy of exceptionalism of the Armenian people” and to encourage the Armenians to ethnic discrimination, would behave in Baku.

Well, if Gorbachev takes the “hard” fate of the Armenian people so close to heart, why did not he prevent the Sumgayit massacre?! The fact that neither the army nor the police interfered with the riots that happened in Sumgayit on February 28 and 29 remains irrefutable. Law enforcement agencies, whose duties included protection of the public order, watched the events as outsiders. After all, these 32 people were not killed in half an hour. This lasted for approximately two days. If to speak in the language of the law, it is not possible to blame local law-enforcement agencies for this inaction. Since, I will remind, the events occurred in February 1988, and independent Azerbaijan did not yet exist, and the Kremlin was still strong. The government of the Soviet Azerbaijan did not have an army at its disposal, and the Azerbaijani militia was completely subordinate to Moscow.

On this occasion, the General Director of the Research Institute on Central Asia and Caucasus at the John Hopkins University (USA) Swante Cornell wrote that the lack of the units of the Soviet Army and of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sumgayit did not change the situation. It seemed that the army stood on the sidelines, quietly watching the riots.

The Soviet authorities, not only lacked the intention to prevent the bloodshed, but also tried to create a confrontation between the two ethnic communities.

Later, the leaders of the law-enforcement agencies justified their inactivity by the absence of order from top officials. And in order to bring to your attention the fact that Gorbachev's excuse, who claimed a few months later, "if the troops hadn't been three hours late, the tragedy could have been avoided", was the demonstration of the extreme form of his hypocrisy. I ask you to pay attention to the verbatim account of the session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CPSU of February 29, 1988,

"Minister of Defence of the USSR **Dmitry Yazov**: The martial law, if you want, maybe, it is not the exact word, should be introduced in Sumgayit... This tough line should be persisted, till it hasn't gone further. The troops should be brought there and the order restored..."

**Gorbachev**: The main thing now is to engage the working class, ordinary people, and voluntary militia members into the immediate struggle with the offenders of the public order. This can stop every act of hooliganism, I should say. The military can only cause irritation".

So, the Defence Minister calls the head of the state to "restore order", but the person who is only good for idle talks on the topic of human rights, author of the initiative of "new thinking", despite the chaos reigning in Sumgayit for the second day, is speaking about the 'volunteer militia helpers who can stop the hooligans and the extremists". This can also prove Gorbachev's hypocrisy who was pretending to be a duffer. Only by the end of the day, on February 29, the troops were ordered to stop the tumult. Within a few hours it was curbed.

Answering the question of an Azerbaijani parliamentarian "Were the Sumgayit events organized by some known forces?" at the notorious session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Gorbachev noted irritantly, "Nothing was organized by anyone, it is just because the troops were a few hours late, that's it!" This is an obvious example of his fooling around. Nobody reminded Gorbachev that there was only a 20 minutes' drive from Baku to Sumgayit, where a considerable military unit was located, and from the military base in Nasosniy even less – only 5 – 7 minutes. That is why, the meaning of the statement about "being a few hours late" is very vague, or vice versa, quite obvious, as the troops' interference would have stopped the blood-shed. But the Centre needed blood-shed for the creation of the Garabagh problem.

Gorbachev, the Armenian nationalists and their supporters had

arranged this bloody political scheme beforehand and distributed all the roles in it in advance. As it has been stated before, the first refugees in this conflict were the Azerbaijanis from Gafan. Moscow had imposed a ban to spread the information on the violence committed in Armenia; that is why, nobody in Baku and in the Nagorno-Karabakh dared to accept the refugees, and they were mostly settled in Sumgayit and other regions. As a result of irresponsible actions of the authorities, the people who remained without shelter and work really found themselves in an awful situation. Thus, the refugees from Armenia turned into disordered, uncontrolled, and easy to explode mass of people. Besides, the poor demographic state of Sumgayit created the bomb effect in the town. That was what M. Gorbachev and the Armenian nationalists were up to.

I am drawing your attention once again to a very interesting fact: on the eve of these events Sumgayit was practically left without any leadership. Close to the end of February the head of the town militia resigned, while the chairman of KGB was transferred to another position. Moreover, in late February the town authorities were sent to Moscow, including the first Secretary of the Sumgayit Party Committee Jahangir Muslim-zade. I will dwell on this topic in the further chapters, but now I want to note briefly that in Moscow Jahangir Muslim-zade was promised the post of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of CPSU of Azerbaijan. To acquire the appropriate image and trust, the future first secretary Muslim-zade gave an interview in the office of the editor-in-chief of the “Izvestia” newspaper. I would also note that at that time the post of the first secretary was promised by the ruling circles of Moscow to at least four persons from the Azerbaijani government. Believing in these promises, each of the “nominees” was embarked into the serious “struggle” for this post. And this was also the deliberate step to behead the Azerbaijani government. The Sumgayit events had to accelerate the process of accusation of the Azerbaijanis in “vandalism”, and with the help of the arms which had been obtained from the unknown sources, to fulfil an extensive expulsion of the Azerbaijanis from Armenia and Garabagh.

Knowing how professionally and target-orientedly were these events organized, I have no doubts about efficiency and promptness of mass media in covering them. It is widely known that in Soviet times all the foreign journalists accredited in the USSR, were based in Moscow, but at the time of the Sumgayit events they, as if by magic, gathered in Sumgayit and the next day all the foreign TV companies broadcasted the so-called “atrocities”.

Another fact is of special interest. During all these horrifying events an

Armenian named Artashes Gabrielyan was quite safely walking around Sumgayit with a video camera and calmly shooting the happenings. He named his film “Save Us”. This film was designed for the Armenians who were involved in the propaganda activities abroad. Every person watching this video would think that living side by side with “the wild Azerbaijanis” is impossible and the only way to get rid of this misfortune is the separation of the Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and its annexation to Armenia. Soon after a monument to the victims of the Sumgayit events was erected in Stepanakert and in Yerevan, the book titled “Sumgayit... Genocide... Glasnost?” was published and spread in Russia. An extensive propaganda campaign started with this.

Those who have doubts concerning the prevocational character of the Sumgayit events have to know the words of G. Kotenko, the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor’s Office, who was investigating the case,

“Before the Sumgayit events the information about the attitude of the local population to Garabagh problem in organizations and agencies reached Garabagh within a day, and from there was forwarded to Yerevan. Who transmitted this information? Of course the Armenians, or the Armenian girls, to be exact. They were headed by a woman named Stella. The information was channelled to her and she, in her turn, with the help of the Armenians who worked at the communication departments, transferred this information to Stepanakert and Yerevan.

The Armenian nationalists, using the available information means of the Diaspora, carefully worked out the provocation. The article titled “Watershed” immediately appeared in the newspaper “Communist” published in Yerevan. It stated that the neighbouring “Turks” had not changed at all, that the Sumgayit events were the continuation of “the 1915 genocide” and that every one who thinks that the Armenians would be able to live under the rule of the Azerbaijanis is a traitor.” The expulsion of the Azerbaijanis from Armenia continued with double force. Now they were revenged not for the genocide happened seventy years ago, but for the recent events – for what happened in Sumgayit; but doing it they did not say a word about the true organizer of this massacre. The newspapers were spreading the horrifying news “obtained” with a special skill. The fabricated number of victims was growing in geometric progression, but nobody uttered a word about the fact that majority of the Armenians found shelter in the flats of their neighbours and friends, and there would not have been such solidarity, the number of the victims could have been much bigger. It was forbidden to explain all these. The demand was to present the Azerbaijanis

as “bipedal led savages”, “barbarians”, and there is nothing to be done but to exterminate them.

The world mass media used only one word, “Sumgayit, Sumgayit, Sumgayit! The great physicist Albert Einstein once expressed a deep thought, “It is easier to split an atom than to change a fixed stereotype”. That is why, for many years Baku has not been able to change the stereotype concerning the Sumgayit events. Nevertheless, we have to admit that Baku is not undertaking any special attempts in this direction. But the worst thing is that these events were known even at that time when there were more opportunities to overcome the information blockade: Representatives of foreign mass media working in Moscow were steadily calling the editors of newspapers in Baku (published mostly in Russian). In Baku some people refused to talk to these correspondents, the others did not dare to give interviews without the permission of Moscow. While reading the documentary narrative of S. Perets, as well as other materials, one cannot get off the feeling of disgust against the Azerbaijani administration. And the Armenian Diaspora skilfully used all types and all possibilities of mass media.

After all this it is not surprising at all that Vladimir Semenovitch Galkin was appointed to head the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor’s Office on the Sumgayit events. Yes, it is him who after the scandals of already forgotten XIX Party Congress, and afterwards at the Congress of the People’s Deputies was appointed instead of “unmanageable” Gdlian as the head of the investigation on the “Kremlin trace” case regarding the corruption machinations with cotton in the Central Asia. By the way, during the notorious thefts taken place in the agriculture of Uzbekistan, Gorbachev was the Secretary of the Central Committee of CPSU on agriculture and was supervising that very sphere. The unbiased investigation of those misappropriations could have brought a lot of troubles to the branch curator and finally end up with Gorbachev’s arrest. Galkin’s appointment as the head of the investigation group on the Sumgayit events by Moscow was not accidental. Galkin knew very well **what to look for** and particularly **what shouldn’t be found**.

I would like to remind you “the people in black coats” mentioned in Grigorian’s case in the first part of the book were not the whole story. Alexander Drachev, Vadim Moravia, Igor Ageyev, Alexander Vorobev and others who took part in a dozens of massacres just escaped criminal liability. **The investigation was looking only for the Azerbaijanis.**

Everybody understood what was going on in reality. Now it was clear whose interests the head of the investigation group was supporting under the



disguise of the Prosecutor's Office. No one was to know that the investigation materials would be fabricated, altered, and the Azerbaijanis would be shown as "savages". On the other hand, Azerbaijan suffered a tremendous information blow. A horrendous film about the Sumgayit events as the basis for the Armenian propaganda was shown in all countries of Europe and America. It is not difficult to imagine the power of this information blow inflicted on Baku. In this film the breathtaking pictures are accompanied by astounding sound. One of the heroes of the film, allegedly a witness of the events, Gabrielian, was describing on TV channels of the world how his friend and his wife were murdered, "After they beheaded Misha and his wife, thirty Azerbaijanis swooped at their young daughter. Having raped her in turn, they cut her into small pieces, made a fire in the char grill, cooked and ate a barbecue made from human flesh with a good appetite. You could not imagine what we had to suffer from these beasts!"

It sounds petrifying, doesn't it? But **whose truth** does this nightmare reflect?

I happened by chance that I get an issue of the Baku newspaper "Vyshka" of January 28, 2005 with the interview of Eyruz Mammadov, one of the authors of the documentary called "The Echo of Sumgayit". This interview helps to clarify some of my views. Thus, talking about the reasons why he decided to produce a documentary, E. Mammadov remarks, "Right after the Sumgayit events a film about the atrocities of the Azerbaijanis was shown in France. Later we were denied to obtain the film kept in the archives of the TV France and the reason for it was obvious: any expert could easily find out that it was a faked mounting. Almost simultaneously the book "Sumgayit. Genocide. Glasnost" published in Yerevan was presented at the Congress of the Young Communist League. And in 1989 the Latvian newspaper "Yurmala" published a special issue completely dedicated to Armenia and the Sumgayit events. The historian Khanzadian and poetess S. Kaputikian made statements on the pages of the newspaper full of lie and poison towards the Azerbaijani people. One can judge about the reliability of the facts mentioned in the newspaper only by the number of the victims. Depending on the author's will, it could range from 300 to 1000 people... Going further I would say that even in 2001, while highlighting the Garabagh problem, the British "Sunday Times" wrote that the Azerbaijanis are not weaker than the Armenians, but they are weaker and more helpless than the latter information in the war."

Further Eyruz Mammadov speaks about the film "Echo of Sumgayit - 2", "The film contains the interviews with the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CPSU, Defence Minister D. Yazov,

chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR A. Lukyanov, secretaries of the Central Committee of CPSU A. Yakovlev and E. Ligachev, chairman of KGB of the USSR V. Kruchkov, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia V. Zhirinovskiy and others. No wonder that the documentary interested the KGB intelligence which attempted to confiscate it...” The authors of the film late Davud Imanov, cameraman Elchin Guliyev and script writer Eyruz Mammadov had troubles in taking the materials from Moscow to Baku. This film proves once again with what kind of precision the Garabagh war has been planned since 1983 up to the present time. I ask you to read the following part of the interview attentively,

“As early as in 1993 speaking about the Nagorno-Karabakh V. Kruchkov expressed such a view, “Your Garabagh tragedy is still to come. A certain per cent of the Azerbaijani territories will be occupied. And then a political speculation will follow”.

One of the members of B. Yeltsin’s team G. Burbulis unambiguously mentioned the same thing in his private conversation taken place after the interview in April 1993. Answering the question concerning the occupation of Kelbejar by the Armenians, he noted that it is not Garabagh at all, adding “You are too naïve. Soon the whole Garabagh and Agdam district will be occupied. The powerful states are now struggling for the sphere of influence in the Caucasus. When these states agree on something, the conflict, the source of which is oil, will be settled. But until this time the war will go on”.

In the light of these and other ideas expressed by those who we managed to talk to, it is not difficult to watch the chain of events which had happened before the Garabagh events. In October, 1987 the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Heydar Aliyev was forced to resign from his post in the Political Bureau. A month later Academician A. Aganbegian talking in front of Armenian Diaspora in Paris claimed the necessity to merge Garabagh with Armenia. Here is what A. Yakovlev said in his interview to us on this issue, “Aganbegian spoke in Paris not on his own initiative; he had the support of M. Gorbachev”.

Early in February, Baku was shaken by disturbances. Secretaries of the Central Committee P. Demichev, N. Dolgikh and E. Razumovskiy headed to Stepanakert, Yerevan and Baku to find out the public opinion. It was established that the Azerbaijani people categorically opposed the annexation of Garabagh to Armenia. And then Sumgayit became a base coin in the dirty occupational war. On February 28-29, 1988, the events were provoked in Sumgayit with the intention of creating the image of Azerbaijanis as barbarians impossible to live with in the eyes of world public. Since the

Armenian propaganda machinery has started to work in a full swing.

The events were developing in accordance with the tendencies outlined in the interview. After the Sumgayit events and during the following 2-3 years, the incessant meetings of protest were taking place near the Vagankov cemetery close to the Armenian Church in Moscow. The Moscow authorities had created all the conditions for these meetings: the organizers received an unlimited sanction for holding the meetings – it was an unprecedented case in the history of the USSR. The Moscow militia protected the participants of the meetings from the provocation of the Azerbaijanis. Chief of Moscow militia, Major General Peter Bogdanov frequently visited the protesters upon instructions of the Mayor. Moscow intelligentsia (intellectuals considered as a group or class, especially as cultural, social, or political elite) and the representatives of foreign embassies were invited to these meetings, where representatives of the French Embassy were regular visitors. Fervent speeches were heard during these rallies, and the Azerbaijani people were called the fascists. Nuykin who articulating a speech at the meeting said, “The representatives of this butcher people should be banished from Russia.” Starovoytova proposed a special way of managing railroads in Azerbaijan. Chernichenko proposed direct presidential rule in the Nagorno-Karabakh, etc. Professor of Philosophy from Moscow University, a native of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province Grant Yepiskopov spoke at one of these meetings, and condemning the Sumgayit events added: “The Azerbaijanis have to apologize for Sumgayit and in this case, in order to avoid blood-shedding, we can agree to dialogue with them.” The professor was hissed off, a huge fellow dragged him from the stage, after which he got a heart attack. The participants of the meeting demanded only one thing, “Blood for blood!” The meetings were visited and addressed by political and public figures, scientists, writers, famous artists – Voznesenskiy, Yevtushenko, Bykov, Okujava, Fazil Iskender, Asadov, Chilingarov, Kvasha, and many others. The leading TV channels of the world broadcasted the episodes of from them. These PR meetings lasted several years and they struck a powerful information blow on Baku.

The official authorities of the USSR did not remain as mere insiders. The staff of the Prosecutor’s Office Karakozov, Gdlian and Ivanov organized an hour-long TV broadcast in which the Sumgayit events were shown in horrendous scenes, and without any shame they talked about the Azerbaijani people in the insulting tone. The trial had not taken place yet, but they were already talking about the death penalty. They worked in the same department with V. Galkin (all of them worked in the department of

the investigation of grave crimes), definitely knew about E. Grigoryan, but they never mentioned him. Those who hailed the shooting of A. Ahmedov, did not even say a word about E. Grigorian who was not subjected to the just verdict. Within the first month of investigation of these events, about a thousand people were detained as suspects, five hundred were arrested, about ninety were convicted, some of them, as I had noted before, were accused of grave crimes and roughly punished. **However, not a single investigation was held on the fact of the cruel murder of 216 Azerbaijanis; not a single Armenian was tried and convicted for thousands of injured Azerbaijanis, for their looting and deportation from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.**

I would like to recall the above-mentioned conference “Sumgayit... Genocide... Glasnost?” If to have a look into the materials of the conference, we can clearly see the following circumstance: foregrounding the Sumgayit events, the speakers do not try to express their mourning about the victims, but they rather have only one purpose – to transfer Garabagh to Armenia! The publicist writer Shahmuradyan expressed their thought in the following way, “In the middle of February the rallies and meetings were held in the centre of Garabagh – Stepanakert, in the towns and villages, where the demand to transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province to Armenia was expressed. To give it a positive impulse thousands of telegrams, letters, and appeals of the labour organizations were sent to the administration of the country. They emphasized that they demand provision of the constitutional right of the nation to self-determination, correction of the historic mistake, and that the people of Garabagh had nothing against the Azerbaijani people.”

Yes, this was what the Armenian nationalists thought. Again and again to tear a strip of the Azerbaijani territory on their opinion was not to claim something...

And here is what Doctor of Philology Suren Zolian said, “I am not going to speak about the facts now, I’ll just remind the main thing. Sumgayit was organized with the view to silence and close the problem of Garabagh. A wave of anti-Armenian protests swept the whole Azerbaijan in the February, 1988, but the main blow was to be struck on the Armenians in Sumgayit, as they were the least protected”.

A just question arises: if the Azerbaijanis wanted to shed blood because of Garabagh, why did do it to poor peaceful Armenians who were living in Sumgayit and had nothing to do with Garabagh? To settle this problem completely, it was enough to “do away” the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province, who not only illegally, but also

with a challenge to the Azerbaijani public and state authorities held the notorious session and were the first to kill two innocent Azerbaijanis. But the Armenian champions of national interests have their own “justice” code: they can occupy lands, hold meetings against Azerbaijan in Yerevan and Stepanakert, separate its territory, but the Azerbaijanis have no right to raise their voice against this outrage. How similar it is to Gorbachev’s claim to the Azerbaijani administration.

Teacher G. Ulubabian who spoke at the conference stated that a few days before the events, some young Azerbaijanis were invited to the “wedding” from all over Azerbaijan and some districts of Armenia, and on the way there they were “brainwashed and sent to Sumgayit to participate in the massacre”.

In your mind, can a common sense person use invitation of four thousand people to the wedding as an argument? Generally, the fairy tales, cock-and-bull stories told at the conference make one’s blood freeze. My close attention to the ridiculous materials of the conference is connected with the fact that while the Azerbaijanis were talking about “friendship of peoples”, the materials of this conference were translated into many languages and spread all over the world.

As a person closely familiar with the materials of the conference, I can say for sure that the aim of it was a threefold:

**1. Separation of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province from Azerbaijan and its annexation to Armenia;**

**2. Introduction of the Sumgayit events as an act of genocide, despite the fact that all the participants claimed that the Sumgayit events had been organized by Moscow and mentioned examples of similar ethnic conflicts of the tsar period. As for the punishment of the organizers, no one considered Gorbachev and his surrounding guilty of the above-mentioned events. Realizing that their actions contradicted the international legal standards, they backed up Gorbachev and his supporters, ‘hoaxed’ the top-ranking officials to whom they could appeal and speak about genocide, the acknowledgment of which they were striving for. During the whole conference the Centre was recalled many times as the organizer of the events, but the Azerbaijani administration was the only one which was required to be punished.**

**3. Willing to impart the air of lawfulness on their actions and demands of separation of the Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and its transfer to Armenia, they were trying to persuade the Centre to recognize the meetings of protest held in Azerbaijan unlawful and to achieve their disperse; as we can see, the Armenian nationalists think**

**that they have right to appeal to the Centre with their claims, but the Azerbaijanis are devoid of such right.**

Former KGB General O. Gordiyevskiy who defected to the West discloses the details of the operations, “In January 1959 Shelepin created a new disinformation department “D” (later “A” service) where a little over fifty people worked in the beginning. It was headed by General Ivan Ivanovich Agaiants till his very death in 1968. He worked as a resident agent in Tehran since 1941 till 1943; in Paris since 1946 till 1949 (under the pseudo name of Avalov); then he headed the Department of Western Europe in MGB (ministry of state security) and KGB. His appointment as the head of the Department I. Agaiants owed to the successful preparation of a series of false memoirs and other fiction works, for example, General Vlasov’s memoirs “I Choose the Gallows”, or Ivan Krilov’s “My Career in the Soviet Supreme Commandment” and the imaginary correspondence of Stalin and Tito published in the weekly “Karfur” where Tito confessed in his sympathy to Trotsky.

Western Germany was in the focus of Agaiants as the head of Department “D”; KGB was trying to present this country as being ruled by neo-Nazis. To test one of the “active methods” before using it in Germany, Agaiants sent a group of his agents to the village situated in fifty kilometres from Moscow; they supposed to draw fascist swastikas, write anti-Semitic slogans and overthrow the tomb stones in the darkness. The KGB informers reported that though the majority of the citizens were worried by the incident, it encouraged a small group to imitate the KGB provocation and anti-Semitic acts on their own initiative. In the winter of 1959-1960 Agaiants successfully used the same technique in the German Federative Republic. Agents from the Eastern Germany were sent to the West with the instruction to desecrate and destroy Jewish memorials, synagogues and shops and to draw anti-Semitic slogans. Local ruffians and the neo-Nazis promptly joined the KGB group. Between the Christmas night of 1959 and mid-February, 1960 the governmental bodies of the West Germany recorded some anti-Semitic acts. Then suddenly the campaign seized, but the international reputation of the country was considerably damaged. West German politicians and religious leaders bent their heads with shame in public. “The New York Herald Tribune” summed up the reaction of the majority of foreign press by the article headed “Bonn is not able to Get Rid of the Nazi Poison”.

Today we can definitely say that Sumgayit became one of the operations prepared by the followers of Agaiants from the KGB of the

USSR, which had predetermined the onset of the occupation of Garabagh. The purpose of this operation was to discredit the Azerbaijanis in the eyes of the entire world to such an extent that they would have never been able to remove dirt from them. If we have a glance at the results we can see that the operation was successful. Even if the authorities of Azerbaijan could have been better coordinated, the similar event would have happened not in Sumgayit but in another part of Azerbaijan, because the target had been chosen and the mechanism was triggered. The whole world had to know that the Azerbaijanis were both the organizers and the executors of the atrocities against the Armenians, and the Armenians had to be supported by the civilized world. Nowadays, it is not a secret to anyone that these events made the war inevitable. As Armenia was intensively preparing for the war, Sumgayit completely met the interests of the organizers of these events.

And now I would like to give the precise answers to some questions: who were the parties in the Sumgayit events?! Who were the organizers and the victims in those events?!

I can definitely say that the party which suffered in this conflict was the Azerbaijanis. Why?! Because any investigator, who would examine this criminal case, would try to find the answer to the question: “Who supposed get the benefits from this crime?” And the answer to this question leads directly to the identification of the criminals.

So who would benefit from the Sumgayit events? The answer is obvious – the Armenian nationalists and Gorbachev who considered himself genius and was known for addiction to advertisement in spite of his age, and who became famous for promoting trifle goods, even such as bed sheets! The Armenian nationalists made more steps in materialization of the idea of “Greater Armenia” which they forced into the minds of all the Armenians. Armenia had liberated its territory from other nations and built a monoethnic state separating the Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent districts from Azerbaijan and creating the second monoethnic state. The whole world, recognizing this nation as the oppressed and harassed one, does not spare the means to facilitate its “restoration”.

I would like to draw your attention to another point: I am a person who sincerely believes in the idea that “there are no bad nations, only some people are bad”. Though I have never claimed to be a historian, I have always been interested in this issue: why, in spite of the historical, geographic, cultural, social and other closeness of the peoples of the Southern Caucasus, this region has always had problems. Who is interested in it? There is unlikely an unambiguous answer to this question. But the loss of sovereignty by Azerbaijan and Georgia which became independent as



early as the beginning of the XX-the century, occurred owing to the “merits” of the third independent state – Republic of Armenia and such “genius” political figures as S. Shaumian. Which one of these three states of the region, recently restored its independence causes problems for others? Despite the pressure of the great powers, in the issue of assurance of independence Azerbaijan and Georgia support each other and cooperatively implement all the global economic projects. After the collapse of the USSR all the problems between Azerbaijan and Georgia are settled by civilized means; these countries do not have any territorial claims to each other. But Armenia has claims toward both neighbours: in case of Azerbaijan it is Garabagh, in case of Georgia – Javakhetia. This situation became especially outstanding during the confrontation between Russia and Georgia in August 2008. In spite of the outside pressure, the Azerbaijani authorities and people supported the territorial integrity of Georgia. At the same time, the Georgian lands were bombed from the territory of Armenia. It was at that very moment when the separatist Armenian movement in Javakhetia enlivened.

I remember the debate which took place in 1996 during my study in Budapest. The three-month courses on the protection of human rights sponsored by the Soros foundation were participated by the representatives from the Southern Caucasus: I was from Azerbaijan, from Armenia – a man of about fifty whose name I don't remember, and from Georgia – 24 people, most of whom were represented in the government of the country at different times, and some of them are still in office. We were staying in the hostel of the Central European University; after classes we got together and discussed the issues we were interested in. Most of these disputes were connected with the above-mentioned problems. I can say that we didn't have any controversies between us on this issue. Only our peer from Armenia stayed aside from these discussions. During these disputes V. Khaburdzaniya who later became the minister of the National Security of Georgia, constantly noted: if we don't create problems to each other, don't live under somebody's dictate, the Southern Caucasus will turn into the paradise and all of us will only benefit from it. And today I am sticking to this opinion.

I am recalling one more episode from my life. In 2003 during another course on human rights that are annually organized by international agencies, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland delivered a lecture. As the lecturer had sounded knowledgeable in the international law, I asked him who of the principles –“territorial integrity of states” or “the right of the nations for self-determination” is more important in the solution of the Garabagh problem, adding that the Armenians had already used their

right for self-determination and created their own state. This question was the cause of a serious discontent of the Armenian participants of the course. A few days later, while watching the Polish ancient monuments in Warsaw I met one of the Armenian participants of the course. We decided to have a lunch together. During the lunch we touched upon this problem. Then he said that many people in Armenia realized that the Garabagh problem has lacked them behind in many respects, left them outside of a number of global projects in the Caucasus and in the world, and the ordinary people gained nothing from this confrontation besides misfortunes, but they just cannot speak out about it openly, as the nationalists immediately label them as “enemies”. He added that after the shooting in the Armenian Parliament they were even more scared.

Coming back to the investigation of the Sumgayit events I would like to define the persons interested in it. So, you have already seen what the benefit for Armenia in this matter was.

And how about Gorbachev and the KGB of the USSR?! They also benefited from these events. As Professor C. Sultanov pointed out in his book “The Interrupted Flight. The Second Attempt”, the controlled chaos in the country allowed Gorbachev to erase from the political arena his “friends” – Ligachev, Razumovsky and other supporters of perestroika, and all this was done under the pretext of their belonging to the political nomenclature. On the other hand, in case the Armenian interests were met, he could have received the support of the Armenian Diaspora which was considered to be the most powerful centre. And it really happened so. Gorbachev’s authority in the eyes of the whole world continued to grow, and this assistance led him in future to the Nobel Prize. And the KGB of the USSR obtained a chance to use force at its own discretion in Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius and other regions.

In the above said book C. Sultanov writes, “In a global sense, the Gorbachev’s post-Soviet outrage can be characterized as a political chaos, ideologically very similar to the ideology conducted in 1917. That is exactly the time which can be described by the expression written by Mandelshtam, “We are living without feeling the country under us”. But from the point of view of the Armenian interests, it was a **controlled chaos**: every element of this chaotic political system was subjected to their interest through the efforts of the Armenian activists, and we should give them credit for that. This chaos of Gorbachev and that of the post-Soviet period caused huge suffering to the Azerbaijani people. And did the Armenian people benefit from that? It is very doubtful.”

But I am absolutely sure that it is the Armenian people, captured by

the crazy idea of the Armenian nationalists of the “Greater Armenia”, who were the losers. There is a simple explanation to that.

I will dwell on a certain fact: when the issue of my leaving Zelenchuk was to be realized, in accordance with the rules of that time, I placed an advertisement to change my 5-room apartment in the Stavropol region into a flat in Baku. In connection with the deportation of the Azerbaijanis from Armenia, the Armenians living in Baku also felt some inconveniences, so they began looking for the options to leave for Russia, but not for Armenia. In the very short course of time I got hundreds of proposals from the Armenian residents of Baku. All the flats offered to me were situated in the very centre of Baku – in Sabail, Nazism, Narimanov districts, mostly near the picturesque parks. As my younger brother was living with me then, I chose two apartments close to the park in Narimanov district that belonged to the worker S. Mirzoyan, a two- and a three - room apartments. During the flat exchange process I became sure that the apartments built of stone in the centre of Baku belonged mainly to the Armenians. While the Azerbaijani scientists, professors lived in the concrete buildings on the outskirts of the capital – in the residential areas of Ahmedli, Yeni Guneshli. And in Armenia the Azerbaijanis earned their living by doing hard and exhausting jobs of farmers and live-stock breeders whole their life.

Apart from it, everybody knows that soon after Azerbaijan obtained its independence, just like the other former Soviet republics, the process of privatization began here, and it started from small outlets of consumer services and public catering. In Azerbaijan they mostly belonged to the Armenians. They were the people who had the amount of cash necessary for privatization. Just imagine that had it not been for that unfortunate process, the Armenians would have become the owners of the considerable part of the Azerbaijani economy. And it is due to all the above-mentioned reasons that Armenia remained outside all the global projects in the Southern Caucasus. It is not difficult to imagine what was the cost of the stupid idea of the “Greater Armenia” for the ordinary Armenians.

Gorbachev’s identical provocations caused similar sufferings to many republics, including Georgia. I am sure that the end to this injustice is not put yet; in the nearest future, though we are extremely opposing it, Russia which is supporting Armenia now, will face the same problems as soon as it gets a little weaker. And the conditions for it have already ripened. I lived in Krasnodar since 1975. The Armenians were living in Krasnodar, in Stavropol, in Rostov also then, but their number was not as large as it is today. Nowadays they have completely laid hands on, appropriated the

richest places of these provinces, in the economic sense, as well as in their quantitative measure. And as a whole, Russia's entire economy, especially in the South of Russia is practically in the hands of the Armenians. I will draw your attention to the following fact: as we know, the bank system is the basis of the economy of any country, and currently Tosunian Garegik Ashotovich, an Armenian is the President of the Association of Banks of Russia. And taking into consideration that these southern territories of Russia are placed in the map of the "Greater Armenia" compiled by the Armenian nationalists, there is no need to comment further.

There was only one reason that prevented Gorbachev from enjoying the fruits of these events to the full extent: the beginning of the people's movement in Azerbaijan and millions of people going out to the "Azadlig" square... Gorbachev did not take it into account; in his eyes the Azerbaijani nation was an assistant, an official at hand, afraid to utter a word about its rights. This time he was mistaken, and the Azerbaijani people showed that it is capable to protect its rights. It caused Gorbachev's defeat.

These events were beneficial to the mafias' criminal groups which were trying to camouflage the Garabagh events under the disguise of the national-liberation movement. Part of these groups, such as Aganbegian, Pogosian had got a full benefit from them, and then they disappeared. Today not a sound is heard from them about Garabagh. The others like Kocharian, Sarkisian and their henchmen first seized the power in Garabagh, then in Armenia, and to achieve their criminal aims did not even refrain from shooting in the Parliament. Having legalized everything they had robbed in Agdam and in other regions of Azerbaijan, Kocharian left this in heritage to his follower Sarkisian and started his own big business.

Many sources tell about Kocharian's theft and lootings. The research work of the Professor of the Washington John Hopkins University Swante Kornell named "The Conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh" states, "The civil population of Agdam had to leave their houses; the town was burned and ransacked". This fact was confirmed by the Republican Party leader Aram Sarkisian, brother of the prime minister of Armenia Vazgen Sarkisian killed in the Parliament. Having accused Kocharian of ransacking and looting of Agdam, he notes that "after ransacking Agdam, Kocharian thinks that our country can also be ransacked." President of Armenia Sarkisian, realizing that in case he is stripped of power, he will have to bear the responsibility for the committed crimes in front of the whole world, continues to lead the nation infected by the disease of the "Greater Armenia" to the precipice.

We can definitely say that these events were not in favour of Azerbaijan as they resulted in banishing of over 200 thousand of

Azerbaijanis from their home lands, unprecedented atrocities committed towards them, loss of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territories; a million of people have become refugees. **Azerbaijan did not gain anything from these events!**

I hope that all the events connected with Garabagh after Sumgayit will be studied by specialists in details and in a chronological order, as it has been done in the present book on “the process in Sumgayit” to enable the future generations not to remain helpless before the machinations of the Armenian nationalists with their falsifications and conjectures.

## COMMON VIEW OF DIFFERENT PEOPLE OR WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE SUMGAYIT EVENTS?

I think that the previous chapters can clearly shed light on the root of evil, on the true causes of events that took place in those years not only in Sumgayit, but in the country generally. To support what has been already said, written, formed in the minds, as well as to remove possible doubts completely, I decided to prepare a separate chapter consisting of reminiscences and interviews of individuals, as well as excerpts from various papers, videos and various publications in the mass media dating back to those years.

I hope that the thoughts of people of different nationalities and beliefs, different ideologies and political affiliations presented in this chapter will reaffirm my desire to deliver the essence of the events objectively. No doubt that there is a great need for further expansion and enrichment of the information presented in this chapter, which must be done by historians.

Thus, in the previous chapter, I have repeatedly referred to the documentary narrative by **Savely Perets**. The proposed passage reflects his memories of the conversation with one of the leaders of the investigative group of the criminal case on the Sumgayit events **Vladimir Kalinichenko**,

“...The investigator on special important cases of the Prosecutor’s Office of the USSR Vladimir Kalinichenko said something about it at dinner, carefully arranged by Alik Zarbaliyev in the restaurant of his relative Izzy in a caravanserai in Icheri sheher. Perets frowned, remembering...

“And why do you think that the processes of Sumgayit will stall?”, Kalinichenko asked, tilting his face to him with unhealthy bumpy skin. And he replied, batting his light eyes, transparent like water,

“When, at the court, the victims realized that the name of the leader, who led the crowd, was Grigorian, an Armenian - you know, they denied their testimonies. You say there is a video? Yes. **By the way, on the video this Grigorian alone murdered six of his Armenians** ... Sorry, but the video means nothing to the court.... It’s not the proof ... in full accordance with the Criminal Code. As a result, they sentenced him to only 14 years (instead of 12 here it is incorrectly stated 14 – the author). And it is very doubtful that his prison term will not be reduced. Before him, Azerbaijani Akhmadov had already been executed by shooting for murdering one... So now nobody else will go on trail for the Sumgayit case...” Kalinichenko shook his finger before the nose of Perets, “No one... Actually, who do you think was recording the video? How did the cameramen happen to be on the

roof? Did they know the route? Did you think about it?...”

In general, Perets thought that the Azerbaijanis, forced to leave Gafan on February 25-26, quite naturally came to Sumgayit, where over the years settled their children and grandchildren. There was constant need in hands and heads at “always” hungry plants and construction sites, career opportunities were open, and houses grew like mushrooms... And the editor of the newspaper “Communist of Sumgayit” Mark Voroshilov later at the plenum of the Union of Journalists confessed to Perets that at the beginning, the meetings of February 27 and 28 were normal. According to him, he did not even notice how the meeting on the 28<sup>th</sup> quickly and smoothly turned into disorders by noon. Perets without Kalinichenko knew that out of the 63 convicted in the Sumgayit events – including the executed by shooting Akhmadov – only 3-4 sturdy leashes such as Grigorian, led the crowd. And they all have now been cleverly released out of the loop...

Other phenomena also stuck in the minds. In Sumgayit, for example, not a single Armenian apartment owned by the officials, servants of the public institutions, and rich entrepreneurs were subjected to destructions, despite they lived in the same buildings with the victims. And troops located in the nearby military bases – in Uch-Tepe and Nasosny – slowed and received a strange but explicit order, “Do not interfere!”

Kalinichenko believed that the court trial should be open and transparent. But he got a slap on the wrist...”

Here are some excerpts from the narrative of Perets on memories of June-August 1988:

“...In the evening of Saturday, June 11 and Sunday, June 12 dozens of Armenians who held high positions in the party, government and economic institutions, scientists, artists, writers, poets, and also Catholicos Vazgen, who specially flew to the capital, paid unexpected visit to the summer houses of the party and state leaders. They all demanded to press Vezirov and to prevent the meeting and session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan. "This, they said, would cause disagreement of the Armenians not only in the Soviet Union but also throughout the world, and would greatly harm the perestroika.”

As it is evident from this passage, the Armenians themselves prevented people from leaving the Theatre Square in Yerevan, incited them by all means, and instead shamelessly demanded from the Centre headed by Gorbachev to use force to suppress the anger of the Azerbaijanis.

Later Perets remembers the dialogue, which he witnessed during the break in the meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh,



"Urged by the president of the Republican Academy of Sciences Ambartsumian, writer Petrosian and another Ambartsumian, rector of the Yerevan State University, Arutunian asked in a low voice,

"What shall we do, Mikhail Sergeyevich? How to tell the people?"

"Tell as it is, just tell them!"

"But you will agree, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that fact of genocide still existed," added Petrosyan.

"Enjoy the life my country, as if we had no other problems!" Gorbachev's eyes glittered angrily. "The Azerbaijanis have suffered much heavier casualties! I have the report of the military ... do you want to hear?"

"I am sorry," said Arutunian and stepped away with his companions to join the representatives of Armenia and Gorbachev's assistant Georgi Khristoforovich Shakhnazarov standing aside with gloomy and frowning faces."

I want to bring to your attention a very interesting dialogue that took place on June 18, 1988, between Gorbachev and the Armenian deputy S. Ambartsumian at the meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

**Gorbachev:** "Tell me, what was the percentage of the Azerbaijani population in Yerevan at the beginning of this century?"

**Ambartsumian:** "Difficult to say."

**Gorbachev:** "I will remind you - 43 percent of Azerbaijanis were in Yerevan at the beginning of the century. What is the percentage of Azerbaijanis now?"

**Ambartsumian:** "There are very few. Probably one percent."

**Gorbachev:** "And I still do not want to accuse the Armenians in forcing the Azerbaijanis to leave ..."

It is evident that at some point Gorbachev is trying to create an impression of a fair and impartial leader. But this dialogue proved once again how hypocritical and disingenuous he was.

I want to draw your attention to brief statistical information. By the beginning of 1990 there was no Azerbaijanis left in Armenia; The Azerbaijanis were completely driven out from the territory of the country. However, despite the years of enmity and use of violence against the Azerbaijanis by the Armenian nationalists, the occupation of our territory and great number of refugees, today thirty thousand Armenians are still living in Azerbaijan. For example three Armenian women are living only in the section of the building where my flat is located: 21 Hasanoglu Street, Baku. Neither I, nor the other neighbours showed any hostile feelings against them. This fact makes it clear which of the conflicting parties are actually showing hostility, malice and cruelty.

The famous journalist and writer **Peter Lukimson**, born in Baku and currently residing in Israel, in his book “**Sumgayit through the eyes of a Jew**” writes about the unknown cameramen: ... and the cameramen who calmly shot the Sumgayit events from the first minutes of disorders have remained anonymous. Just in few days all the European televisions were showing the records.”

The first sensational confession about Sumgayit events was made by the ideologist of perestroika **A. Yakovlev**. This is what he said to the newspaper “Moscow News” back in 1992, “*The events in Trans-Dniester and Sumgayit were initiated by the KGB of the USSR.*”

He stated the same thing in March 1993 on the Azerbaijani television, “*The Sumgayit events were committed by the MIC and the KGB of the USSR,*” he said during the program “Echo of Sumgayit.”

In the course of over ten years he repeated exactly the same.

“Despite a slight decrease in the influence of special services under Khrushchev, they indeed, did not certainly stay idle. The regime again (about the second half of Khrushchev's rule) did not find other solutions rather than strengthening the security forces. Any manifestations of protest were suppressed by the most ruthless means. Punitive organs heartened up and invented new opportunities for themselves. In some cases they provoked unrest and other conflict situations to let others feel that they were needed. *It was like this in Novocherkassk when Khrushchev was at the power. And it happened in Sumgayit, Vilnius, and Riga already in the years of perestroika.*”

This sensational confession made by the chief ideologist of perestroika, one of the main supporters of the separatists of the Nagorno-Karabakh, who himself many times used the Sumgayit events to justify the position of the Armenians, finally clarified the essence of Sumgayit events. And this confession made in hindsight is significant.

Blaming only the KGB for the Sumgayit events, and trying to defend himself, Yakovlev chose the easy, but obviously the naive way. It would be more logical and honest if Yakovlev would not have tried to express his gratitude to the Armenian doctor, who had saved his life during the World War II (as he himself repeatedly pointed out), with the blood of thousands of Azerbaijanis; it would be better if he would have disclosed all the organizers of the events in Sumgayit and other places, starting from the Central Committee of CPSU and ending with the KGB of the USSR. I hope that everyone who reads this book will have no doubts the involvement of the Soviet secret services in the Sumgayit events.

But it would be wrong to put all the blame on the KGB, thereby protecting the other participants of this crime, as it is obvious that Gorbachev and his team did not undertake necessary measures to prevent these events. No doubt that everything was already known to Gorbachev in a few hours after the event. By the way, he received the information from different channels. In this case, one can ask a naturally arising question: why the troops did not act as it was the case in Baku later on? After all, they were not subordinate to the KGB of the USSR! Therefore, not only the KGB, but the entire administration of the country of that time shall be blamed.

Commenting on the events of that period, vice-chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR **Philip Denisovich Bobkov** wrote in his memoirs,

“You can argue about who started it all – the Armenians or the Azerbaijanis; who are to blame more, but it is a fact that the first victims were the Azerbaijanis: on February 20, two Azerbaijanis, a villager who worked in the vineyard and a young man who aroused suspicion in the armed Armenian were killed in Askeran.”

Describing the beginning of Sumgayit events, Bobkov wrote, “Unlike other cities of Azerbaijan, where we managed to restrain passions and not to let people go into the streets, in Sumgayit no less than 5,000 inhabitants gathered in front of the town party committee. The tension reached its climax when the Azerbaijanis who fled from Gafan district of Armenia appeared in the square and started telling about the massacres committed by the Armenians in the districts populated mainly by the Azerbaijanis. The final drop was the statement of the poetess Sylvia Kaputikian on the Armenian television about her meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

May I remind you that I gave the detailed information about this meeting, as well as the famous speech of Silvia Kaputikian in the previous chapter. As for the author of the above statement, this was Bobkov, about conversation with who in Stepanakert R. Akhundov, the Chairman of the Party Commission of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party during 1985 – 1990, recalled as follows,

“While having usual sluggish conversation about the events in Stepanakert Bobkov suddenly asked me, “How do you predict the future actions of the Armenians?” I thought, and replied, “I think they will commit provocation in one of the cities of Azerbaijan.” “In what city?”, Bobkov went on asking. I named one of the cities of Azerbaijan. I would never think of Sumgayit as it was always associated

with the Komsomol in my past. Bobkov looked thoughtful and did not comment on my answer. He did not return to this topic any more.”

Gorbachev's assistant **K. Brutents** wrote in his memoirs,

“Sumgayit gave a new dimension to the Garabagh problem. It transformed it into a highly contentious form with an extreme cruelty of the parties and the growing willingness to the violent means of solution. In these circumstances, *the next logical step in the development of the conflict became a war*, and it was not far off. The Central Committee, with the amazing, I think, even with desperate tenacity continued to bend its own line, perhaps already aware of its futility.”

This is an important confession of a man, who was distinctive with his attitude to the separatists from Garabagh, gives rise to new questions: *Who wanted the war? Who was getting ready for it for decades? Who had eyes on neighbours' lands? Who, even in the Soviet times, brought up hatred towards the neighbouring peoples?*

*Unequivocally, I can say that nothing of the above said was inherent to the Azerbaijanis!*

Writer **Igor L. Bunich**, well known for his analytical works, also touches upon the Sumgayit events, so first of all, I want to briefly inform you about him. After graduating from the Naval Aviation, Bunich worked in different organizations. From 1974 to 1984 he worked at the Leningrad Naval Academy where he explored archives and wrote analytical reviews for the administration of the Academy. Since the mid 1970's, he was engaged in the spread of his translations of foreign specialized periodicals (without mentioning his authorship as a translator or under various pseudonyms), as well as his own writings on military history, which he claimed as foreign translations, among his friends. He twice received an official warning from KGB of Leningrad: in 1982 - for the illegal dissemination of “libellous” and “close to the secret” materials and in 1984 - (in connection with the “case of Donsky”) - for spreading “anti-Soviet literature.” In 1984, on the pretext of downsizing the staff he was dismissed from his job. He is the author of several works of analytical character, including “The Gold of Party”, “Sword of the President”, “Operation Storm” and others that brought him fame in the post-Soviet space.

Bunich relates the events in Sumgayit and Baku to the main unsolved secret historical events that happened at different times in the USSR. Here they are:

1. Who brought the Bolsheviks to power and why?
2. What was the fate of the royal family?

3. What happened to Lenin in January, 1924?
4. Who ordered to kill Kirov?
5. How did the catastrophe of June 22, 1941 occur?
6. What happened to Stalin in February, 1953?
7. What happened to Lavrenty Beria a year later?
8. How many “spies” killed by SMERSH were innocent victims?
9. Who blew up the battleship “Novorossiysk”?
10. Who published Solzhenitsyn’s books abroad and flooded the USSR with them?
11. Who instigated the massacre in Vilnius, Sumgayit, Baku and Tbilisi?
12. Who organized the channels of leakage of party money abroad?
13. Who initiated and launched the war in Chechnya?
14. Who finances "thrifty" election campaigns of the present Zyuganovs?

It is not a coincidence that such a well-known writer and publicist as I. Bunich, included the bloody events in Sumgayit and Baku into the list of the most important events that require to be disclosed in order to understand the essence of the empire called the Soviet Union,.

**Ayaz Mutallibov** – the leader of Azerbaijan, whose fate was predictable, though still regrettable, thinks about the events of that period as follows, “During long years of terrible injustice, in which Azerbaijan was dragged due to a well-planned conspiracy, I thought: is it really true that nobody cares, and nobody (I mean the republics) will be interested in what is going on? But, any of the republics could be treated such way while others would simply watch. Our entire Union was clearly manifested during the events that took place in Azerbaijan. After all, we are alone even today.”

The British newspaper “**The Times**” in its issue for November 30, 2007 wrote in connection with the death of the former KGB chairman **Vladimir Kruchkov**, “...Kruchkov and other KGB officers paid attention to these “dangerous elements to mitigate and reduce the influence of the Kremlin.” Using the discontent of local peoples a ground, they organized a provocation in the cities of the USSR, as Sumgayit and Baku (Azerbaijan), Tbilisi (Georgia), Vilnius (Lithuania) and Riga (Latvia)...”

And now I want to bring to your notice the idea of the malicious enemy of the Azerbaijani people, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia **Vladimir Zhirinovskiy**. His speeches always stand out for their extravagance and outrageous nature, and, as paradoxical as it may sound, often reflect the reality, as it does not raise any doubt about his close

ties with special services. This idea was voiced in the State Duma of Russia and completely reflects the new reality. Let me remind you that during the discussions held in March 2010 and shown on all television channels, there was a scandal involving Zhirinovskiy. The leader of the Social Democrats proposed to exclude Article 282 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation providing for the punishment for inciting ethnic, racial and religious hatred. Zhirinovskiy substantiated his proposal by the fact that the article is of “anti-Russian character.” Some deputies, including the representative of the party “Fair Russia”, an ethnic Armenian Semen Bagdasarov, objected to Zhirinovskiy. Calling the initiative of the Liberal Democratic Party a “provocation”, S. Bagdasarov asked to discuss Zhirinovskiy's behaviour at the Council of the Duma as offensive to national sentiments. Zhirinovskiy in his turn, only said, “Freedom of speech is for all, not for Bagdasarovs, Baghdasarians and so on. People like you carried out the slaughter in Sumgayit. Let Maroon sort out who is in his party.”

Commenting on the events of the Black January 1990, PhD in political sciences, leader of the international Euro-Asian movement, head of the chair of sociology of international relations of the Moscow State University, famous Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin said to the reporter of *vesti.az*,

“I consider that the event that took place in Azerbaijan in that period was the tragedy not only of the Azerbaijanis but also of the entire Soviet people. Unfortunately, the terrible consequences of the criminal policy of Gorbachev have not been exhausted yet. We have even bigger disasters ahead; the blood of thousands of people is the consequence of the criminal policy of Mikhail Gorbachev. Forced separation of Garabagh from Azerbaijan is the result of the policy and reforms of this scum. Slaughter of the Azerbaijanis in January 1990 is an element of criminal acts of the Soviet leadership then.

I do not understand why this evil and scum is still alive? I fully support the decision of Azerbaijan to put Gorbachev on trial in court; we must bring him to justice for all his crimes of that period. I am ready to work with Azerbaijan to seek justice. Until his bloody deeds are not condemned, other politicians will also commit them in future”, believes Alexander Dugin.

“The most terrible thing”, says Alexander Dugin, “is that Gorbachev has not repented for his crimes against the peoples of the Soviet Union”.

It seems to me that these facts are quite enough to understand who is to blame for the Sumgayit events.

## HESITATION OF THE AZERBAIJANI ADMINISTRATION

According to my understanding, the state may undergo self-destruction in the presence of two factors: either in the case of the immaturity of the society, or the inability of the administration of the state to fulfil its obligations. Meetings held in October, 1988 showed: despite all the provocations, unification of various segments of the population in a single fist at the crucial moment and expression of a common position openly demonstrated that the Azerbaijani society had no problems of immaturity, and it would be wrong to seek the reasons of its subsequent failures in this. On the contrary, in comparison with other countries which were undergoing similar processes, the Azerbaijani society has been more vigorous, active and mobile; we just manifested a clear lack of decent political rule, which could successfully guide these processes to the right direction.

With all responsibility I state that the indecisiveness of the Azerbaijani administration played exclusively negative role in such a development of the Garabagh conflict in general and especially in the certain end of the Sumgayit events. Therefore, I decided to devote a special chapter to this topic. I hope that every responsible leader, after reading this chapter and realizing the responsibility of the position held at a crucial moment for the country, will not make the mistakes of their predecessors in such situations. And in general, not just those who hold government posts, but candidates for the “chair” should understand: if a person not fairly occupies an office, then in some period of the time it becomes the most ruthless enemy, tormentor, and even a murderer for him.

“Why was Garabagh was driven into such a condition?”, “Why did the Sumgayit events happen?”, “Why were they were not prevented?” The answers to such questions, of course, have already created a perception in everyone who has read the previous chapters. However, at the same time, some new questions emerge quite fairly: “Well, it is clear that foreign powers were interested in these events, but how about the local authorities and the officials, responsible for the country? Why did not they prevent all these? Why they did not notice the danger when there was no metastasis?”

Certainly, this set of questions has many answers, but I do not claim to be the person who exactly knows all of them. In response to some of these questions along with the reminder of the opinion of the deputy chairman of the Union of the Consumer Associations of Azerbaijan Nurvart Vladimirovna Gabrielian, according to whom the economy of the Nagorno-Karabakh was better than that of other regions of Azerbaijan,

which has also been noted in the writing of Savely Perets, and was mentioned in the previous chapter, I want to present another fragment from the same narration,

“The cabinet of the chairman of the State Planning Committee on the fifth floor of the Government House reminded a gym. The massive dark oak desk of the owner of the cabinet, the long conference table covered with green baize, heavy bookshelves that could not fill the space allotted to them. Polished parquet floors, somewhere covered with carpet strips, were shining even that unfriendly winter morning.

“It would be good to kick a ball, don’t you think so?” said Ayaz Mutallibov, who was in a good, athletic shape, and stood up from the table to shake Perets’s hand.

Small eyes on elongated, covered with matte skin face carefully examined the newcomer.

Perets shivered.

“I specifically asked you to come. Have you seen the material?”

“No,” said Perets. “Dima Korsch has it. Do not worry, he’s a good journalist.”

“Good or bad, it does not matter.”

“Then what does?”

“Why me? I do not want to participate in this game yet!”

“I can not replace you, Ayaz Niyazovich. You are the chairman of the State Planning Committee and you, first of all, should talk about the growth of economy...”

Mutallibov noisily pulled the drawer of his desk and took out a thick book of small size. On the blue calico it was written in gold, “List of the phone numbers of the staff of the State Planning Committee of the USSR.”

“Do you know how many Armenians are here? In each department?” Mutallibov tapped the cover.

“I do not know.”

“You should know. And if the Republic wants to have something, I should not spoil the relations with them.”

“What do you suggest?”

“This interview will have strong impact on our positions in the State Planning Committee of the USSR.

“Well, Ayaz Niyazovich. I promise that the interview will be most streamlined.”

“Do you think this will be enough?”

“Do you know the song, “All is well, beautiful marquise; all is well except for trifle...” So, I will try to exclude even the trifle.”



With all responsibility, I can say that this attitude reflects the position of the overwhelming majority of the administration of Azerbaijan that time, “Just to stay out,” “just not to spoil relations with neighbours,” “just for Moscow not to get angry,” “Moscow will decide everything...” In short, there is high confidence in the “strong” and “eternal” Centre, a manifestation of short-sightedness to the territorial ambitions of the neighbours, as well as efforts to secure against all occasions and stay out and, more importantly, **hesitation!!!**

Now, considering the root of the question, I want to explain in detail the series of events.

In connection with the events that took place in the Nagorno-Karabakh in May 1988, the issue about the former first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party committee Boris Kevorkov, Armenian by nationality, became the topic of discussion at the Bureau of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. The resolution of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan “On the responsibility of comrade Kevorkov B.S. and other leaders for the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province” (May 17, 1988), kept in the archives of political parties and public movements of Azerbaijan, in this regard says, “... It has been established that provocative letters and leaflets, various rumours and speculations were freely distributed in the region, signatures were collected, money was raised and groups were delegated to the central authorities in Moscow for a long time. More and more people, including, communists were involved in the ongoing events.” (Archives of political parties and social movements of the Republic of Azerbaijan F. 83, 65, l. 7) At the meeting Kevorkov indicated that the Armenian nationalists have already begun to put forward their demands openly. He sees the reason for such insistence, at least, in their relationship with the Central Committee of Armenia. When the nationalists started to make their demands openly, he had officially applied to the higher body of the Party: “I had to report on this to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in a note dated to 14.08.1984 and in a note dated to 10.12.1984. I informed on the publication of the politically evil book by Z. Balaian “The Hearth”. On 9/10/1985, I reported that writer Khanzadyan sent a letter demanding the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province to Armenia...”

But official warnings and appeals did not worry the administration of Azerbaijan. While the book by Z. Balaian “The Hearth” became the banner of the Armenian nationalists, the Azerbaijani intelligentsia and historians kept silent. Only Isa Gambar, the head of the Musavat party, and scientific associate of the Academy of Sciences, wrote a historical essay in response

to the Armenian author. But the government pretended not to notice.

Further Kevorkov said, “I wondered why a number of Soviet, party, leaders of economic entities turned to be among them. But I did not find an unequivocal answer. Their absolute confidence in the solution of the issue by the Central Committee was based, probably, on the variety of reasons. It still remains as a question, who made the provocative statement and managed to convince them?”

Clarification of these demands and the source of their confidence, that they will be fulfilled, as well as prevention of such claims was the direct responsibility of the administration of Azerbaijan. Of course, if they would have expressed concern about it as much as Kevorkov did, and would accordingly, demanded the same from Moscow, then the instigators would have hardly behaved so brazenly.

At this discussion Kevorkov tried to find the real causes of the outbreaks of separatism in the region, but he was arbitrarily interrupted. He openly showed to the members of the Bureau the ambiguity of the position taken by them in respect to the true culprits of civil strife. I want to bring to your attention a short dialogue between Kevorkov and Vladimir Konovalov, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan then. For your information: if in the Soviet times a local representative held the post of the first secretary in any republic, the second secretary was supposed to be a person appointed by the Centre and act as a “viceroy” of the Centre. Konovalov was thought to be a “viceroy”. Thus:

**B. Kevorkov**, “We already know who the leader of the rebellion is. It is necessary to punish him as there is an article in the Criminal Code for incitement of ethnic relations.”

**V.I. Konovalov**, “This is another topic. We shall talk about it later.”

Kevorkov speaks about Article 67 of the Criminal Code of the former Soviet republics, including Azerbaijan, which is reflected in the charges against all participants of the Sumgayit events. I bring to the attention that this provision even today is present in the Russian Criminal Code as Article 282 that provides the punishment for incitement of ethnic, racial and religious hatred.

Konovalov’s position is clear, as he directly represents the Centre and serves the interests of Moscow. But now I want to bring to your attention another dialog,

**F.E. Musaev** (secretary of the Baku Party Committee), “Tell me, when you elected Pogosian (chairman of the Council of People’s Deputies MGAP) didn’t you know that he was an ardent nationalist?”

**B. Kevorkov**, “If Kamran Mamedovich would have been here, I could have told you who recommended him.” (Kamran Bagirov was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan -Auth.)

Further, in conclusion of the exchange of views on Pogosian, the former first secretary of the party committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh was not afraid to underline, “I said then and say now that he was oriented to Yerevan.”

As one can see from the dialogue, Kevorkov hints that Kamran Bagirov received an instruction from the Centre about appointment of Pogosian and had to obey. But neither then, nor later did Bagirov publicly express who he received this instruction from. Why?! Because K. Bagirov defended the interests of his country until they did not threaten his personal interests. And when his personal interests and position were under threat, the interests of the country and the nation receded into the rear front. The Sumgayit events are also included into K. Bagirov’s “achievements”. As the head of the republic he was unable to prevent them because he did not handle the situation in the country and was just engaged in “politicianism”. When the events in Sumgayit took place, he struck another blow to the republic and laid the blame on the leadership of the town for not “being overthrown”. If someone from Paris, where Aganbegian made statements, wanted to order a video film of the Sumgayit events, then taking into consideration all the technical and bureaucratic delay, he would have got permission only in few months. But the next day after the events, all the French TV channels showed the Sumgayit tragedy in all its “glory”. This alone should have awakened K. Bagirov and his entourage. In addition, they undoubtedly received information from other sources, too. But despite all this, the communist interest prevailed, and immediately after the Sumgayit events he held a disgraceful meeting of the Bureau, where all the blame was laid on local authorities, thereby holding the republic responsible for what had happened. None of the members of the Bureau objected. Although there were “personalities” who, in other cases, loved to speak with great patriotic pathos, but when determination was needed, they chose a supplication and genuflection. This decision was a crime of the administration of Azerbaijan against the people, as it became the banner in the hands of the Armenian nationalists at all conferences related to the Sumgayit events. If cowardice had not been manifested at the meeting of the Bureau, and the demonstrated solidarity had not been expressed in the fight for positions and subservience to Moscow, but in the national interests, and the role of the

Centre and the Armenian nationalists who stood for the massacre had been made public in the whole world, I'm sure that there would have not been current problems. But they did the opposite! Our leaders officially confirmed the falsehood of the Armenian nationalists! Although everyone knew who had organized the disorders, no one had the courage to stand up and tell the truth, to unmask the Armenian nationalists and Gorbachev! Here I want to cite very sincere and apt words of Yaqub Mammadov, who was the Acting President of Azerbaijan for a short time. "We are little pawns in the big political game." Everything that is happening now around Garabagh reaffirms non-randomness of his words. At the same time, if in 1988, to the unanimous opinion and spirit of the people in the Garabagh issue had corresponded the intelligent and firm position of the authorities, then this unity could have well withstand the pressure of even larger political forces. And now, they would have remained in the memory of the people as persons, who in the years of repression did not turn away from their people and who were ready for any sacrifice in the name of national ideals.

In the other republics the majority of former leaders of that time published a number of interesting memories. However, it is not a coincidence that the former leaders of Azerbaijan, do not speak or write about the events of that time at all. And those who wrote, were writing about everything and anything, for example, football, art, philosophy, etc., but decidedly did not want to deal with the events that they participated in or witnessed in the period when they held responsible posts. I would like to see the people who held high posts in those days, to take a pen and share share their memories as well. This would allow not only know them better, but also do favour to the history. I hope those who believe that they served the truth, justice and, most importantly, people in their posts, will not shun this.

I do not exclude that after the publication of the book, there will be some people who will accuse me, and some will even openly ask: "Wouldn't you do the same?" I want to reply to them directly. I expressed my attitude during the court on the Sumgayit events, and have never avoided neither to write nor to talk about it...

I also want to remember some moments of my life because I believe that in the fate of a person, in the description of his image, sometimes, even in the perception of one episode of life there can be a weighty answer to the question posed.

In 1976 I worked as a lathe operator at Krasnodar Compressor Plant. Once, early in the morning when I came to work, I saw that approximately

500 workers of the 6<sup>th</sup> workshop where I worked gathered together and were discussing something. Soon it became known that they were dissatisfied with the appointment of K. Ustinov, former Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to the post of the minister of defence of the USSR instead of the late A. Grechko. I was 18 years old, and did not understand the cause of their dissatisfaction. Then the foreman, who arrived soon, expressed his dissatisfaction that we had not yet started work, my mentor Mikhail Petrovich Kovalenko, who had taught me the trade of lathe operating, and who had great authority in the plant, bluntly stated, “Why, having such a man as Yakubovsky, the Hero of the Soviet Union, a man who has devoted his life to the Red Army and passed throughout the war, and is the Chief of the Staff of the Ministry of Defence, you appoint Ustinov, “a party rat”, as the Minister of Defence?”

Why do I say this? I lived for three years in a working environment where justice was paramount; where people were not used to hiding behind someone else's back and spoke the truth boldly regardless of the posts and merits. The influence of this environment was reflected in my character which, quite often, caused many problems in my future life. By the way, probably, my group mates from the Law Faculty in Krasnodar, many of whom are currently working in the prosecutor's office, remember it.

For being fair I will say that during my life in Azerbaijan, when I asked people, whose opinion has always been important for me, about the leaders of the republic in the period of the USSR, they all characterized K. Bagirov as a pure, fair, objective, in other words, a good person. But no one used the phrase “decisive,” “wilful,” or “strong” in relation to him. Although for those who are engaged in big politics these qualities are of decisive importance. Namely these qualities Bagirov lacked in the crucial period of the history of Azerbaijan, during the expansion of the anti-Azerbaijani hysteria by the Armenian nationalists. Our trouble is that we mainly notice and love the image of a “good person”. And we often encounter with the widespread phrase in Azerbaijan, “It is a pity that there is not such a post as the “good fellow”, otherwise someone would be appointed to such a post.” But nobody pays attention to the truth that all the troubles connected with the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan are just due to such “good fellows”...

Once again I remind you that the documentary footage shot during the events in Sumgayit and the published decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan became a powerful propaganda weapon in the hands of the Armenians.

See, what the secretary of Central Committee of the CP of Azerbaijan H. Hasanov said in the meeting held in Baku on January 8, 1990, “What did we – the Central Committee of the CP of Azerbaijan, the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, and the Council of Ministers of the Republic – do to oppose this? With a sinking heart and many times self-criticising myself I should note that we opposed it with the wait-and-see policy, dilatory in time, intra-reticence, unbridled publicity of union press, denial of the conflict, policy of concessions, policy of voluntary speculations, unreasonable compromise, philanthropic, unilateral conciliation.”

“Mistrust of the people both in the Centre and in us interwove together. In any of the officials they see a person who prefers servility before the Centre to credibility and prestige among the people. They see us, officials, as people who prefer consolidation on their posts to protecting the interests of the people. We are called, in the truest sense of the word, mangurts (blockheaded)...”

Note the expressions of the author, “defeatist, far-fetched peacekeeping and soothing, the policy of concessions, voluntary speculations, unreasonable compromise, philanthropic, and unilateral conciliation” ... I know it looks pathetic, but with the best will in the world, I could not so accurately express the policy of that time! Just it would be appropriate to repeat the truth, “The people are never wrong.”

More than 22 years have passed since the events of Sumgayit. However, the essence of those events is still being specified. The truth is revealed depending on the occurrence of certain conditions. Now I want to tell you about one of such elicited truth.

There was a programme on ANS TV in connection with the anniversary of the Sumgayit events, and the presenter Sevinj Osmangizi invited me there as a prosecutor who participated in this process. I was happy to speak on the programme, since I had the opportunity to prove the nature of those events; moreover, referring not only to my memories but also to the materials of the criminal case, the text of the bill of indictment and notes taken by me during the trial. The programme aroused great interest and provoked response. I received a lot of calls full of regret. But neither a single person nor the media outlets expressed their open support for what I said. Although, on my initiative, long interviews related to those events were published earlier in various mass media, including the newspaper “Yeni Musavat”.

On March 6, 2010, I received a phone call from scholar and historian Jamil Hasanli whom I highly respect. He said that he calls about the problem that one of his friends had faced and asked me to receive

him. That man came to my office and I gave him the necessary legal advice on the problem. Then he asked me to provide him with the copy of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On Citizenship". I instructed my employees to prepare a copy of this law for him. While he was waiting, I had a call from the head of the Musavat Party Isa Gambar. He said that he had read my interview in the newspaper "Yeni Musavat", and expressed his gratitude. Then he added that, due to the great significance of the topic, he expressed his positive attitude toward my interview on the site "Media Forum" on the same day and wished the public and the government paid attention to this issue. We talked for 3-5 minutes. During the conversation, I, naturally, mentioned the Sumgayit events and the name of Grigorian. As soon as the conversation ended, my guest said that he was well aware of this process. When I asked where, he said that at that time he held a high rank post in the Central Committee of the Party and was a member of the Bureau (I will not name him at his request - Auth.), and told about the circumstances. Taking into account his concerns, I bring to your attention only a part of what he had told me.

From the story of the former member of the Bureau, it became clear that in February 1988 he was on vacation in Yalta, Ukraine. But suddenly, on February 12, 1988, the first secretary of the Central Committee Kamran Bagirov telegraphed him and demanded to immediately return to Baku. From the very first day after his return to Baku, the Bureau member began to receive information from the KGB, the Interior Ministry and other governmental bodies about the ongoing events in the country, including in Sumgayit. At that time the number of meetings held in Stepanakert had already decreased. But about a thousand young people were sent in buses from Armenia to Stepanakert for reviving meetings. After receiving this news, he immediately telephoned the First Secretary of the Lachin district party committee Yalchin Mammadov and demanded to prevent the travel of buses. And in 4-5 hours, Mammadov, calling with the governmental phone, said that the deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR wanted to talk to him.

According to my guest, if you study the archives or the press of that time, you will find out that one of the deputy ministers of internal affairs of the USSR then permanently was in Ganja, Azerbaijan, and another one, either in Yerevan or in the Stepanakert of Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to the former member of the Bureau, when Mammadov phoned he said that both deputy ministers of internal affairs were nearby and would like to talk to him. The deputy minister responsible for Azerbaijan spoke on the phone very strictly, and said that he had no right

to close the road of the union significance. In response, the member of the Bureau said that thousands of young people sent to Stepanakert could shed some blood there. He closed the road because he did not want it.

The guest also told that all government officials knew that before Sumgayit there were attempts to organize similar unrest in Ganja and Nakhchivan, and these attempts had also been thwarted.

From the words of the former member of the Bureau, it became clear that by the evening of February 13, through a “runner” (a special warning system) the First Secretary of the Central Committee Kamran Bagirov and all the members of the Bureau had been warned about the plans of bloodshed in Azerbaijan. This “runner” was passed to the general department, and the general department notified all members of the Bureau. The members of the Bureau and Kamran Bagirov were reported through the “runner” daily on the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup>.

The guest stated that one reason for not being able to prevent certain events in Azerbaijan was the inability (due to illness) of the First Secretary of the Central Committee Kamran Bagirov to govern, as well as the promises given to several members of the Bureau by the Centre to take the chair of the First Secretary after the overthrow of Kamran Bagirov as a result of internal chaos in the country.

Interestingly, the story of my interlocutor is confirmed also by other people who were at that time at the core of events. For example, many know well that, at the time, when the Armenians tried to split the territory of Azerbaijan with the help of the nationalists, some people in the Central Committee were preparing to become the first secretary in the republic with the help of Gromyko, Ligachev, Razumovsky, Laptev, and others. I hope that after the publication of this book the archives of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan related to that period will be opened and the position of the persons involved in the events will be revealed, and it all will be made public.

Perhaps some people have expressed genuine citizenship attitude. But, unfortunately, I have never come across such an attitude in the documents.

And now I want to call your attention to one point from the meeting of Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU on February 29, 1988,

**“M. Gorbachev:** “Today, Alexander Vladimirovich told me that kebabs are cooked in Stepanakert and fires are burning there. In general, there is no public disorder, but people are not leaving the square; approximately five hundred or a thousand people.”

**Vlasov** (minister of internal affairs): “More than a thousand.”



**Gorbachev:** “More than a thousand. That way they hold on there for the “fire not to quench”. That is, there are clearly traced actions on the instructions and links with Armenia.”

**Chebrikov** (chairman of the Committee of the State Security of the USSR), “Yerevan demands to hold a plenary session in Stepanakert. The explanation is: a plenary session was held in Yerevan, but not in Stepanakert. The matter is that until we do not hold a plenary session in Stepanakert they will not break up. Therefore, they will stand there 10 or 15 days more. We have to do something for these people to leave the square in Stepanakert. Everything is organized. Products are brought from farms and food is cooked for the people in the canteens. These people have a place to stay overnight and take shifts all the time.”

**Gorbachev:** “Victor Mikhailovich, for all that, when people do not disturb the public order, it is necessary to work with them politically, and not to drive them away by troops.”

**Chebrikov:** “Not to drive away but to cordon them off.”

**Gorbachev:** “If people behave calmly, we have to work politically to the end. Why send troops.”

Hence, it becomes clear that Gorbachev was well aware of the role of Yerevan in the organization of the events in Stepanakert. However, citing his own words, he does not want this “fire to quench.” He did not only warn the organizers from Yerevan but even indulge and accept them calling Garabagh “Artsakh.” Gorbachev needed to show the peoples of the USSR and the world that the Armenians thought about Garabagh day and night and the Azerbaijanis were not interested in this issue, and that is why, Garabagh should be given to the Armenians.

I am sure if there were no mass events on the central square of Baku in 1988, then, as in 1954, when N. Khrushchev by one decision of Politburo handed the rule of the Crimea to the Ukraine, Gorbachev by means of a similar decision would give Garabagh to Armenia.

Unfortunately, seeing all this, our authorities tried to suppress the protest of the population. They tried to assure themselves and the population that Gorbachev will justly solve the Garabagh problem. I do not know how this can be called, but I can say that the marshal and the generals Yazov, Kruchkov, Varennikov, imprisoned at old age in Lefortovo, deserved it. If they did not realize that Gorbachev mocks at them even at the Politburo meetings, which we are considering now, then the Lefortovo prison is the worthy place for them.

I wonder: didn't the leaders of Azerbaijan who were engaged in the big politics really see that the USSR was breaking up?

In January 1987 I was in Moscow for in service training of court chairmen of the Russian Federation attended by over 200 people. In addition to lectures on speciality, there were also lectures on political and economic topics there. A woman of middle ages, PhD, and the head of the financial-planning department of the State Planning Committee of the USSR lectured on one of them. Her speech lasted about an hour and shocked all of us. For the first time we heard the truth about the deplorable state of the economy of the country. After analyzing the situation in different sectors, she summarized: The situation is so deplorable that it is **impossible** to improve it! Even then some chief justices sounded there thoughts about the collapse of the Soviet Union. After the events in Sumgayit, Tbilisi and other regions of the USSR, we can say that most people with whom I was in contact in Russia had already been convinced. However, even after the bloodshed in Baku in January 1990, the Azerbaijani authorities were still afraid of Gorbachev. This very Gorbachev that Yeltsin was not afraid to offend in front of 300 million Soviet people. By the way, Gorbachev's personality was well described by B. Yeltsin, about which his bodyguard Korzhakov wrote in the book "Boris Yeltsin: From Dawn to Dusk," which was published in 1997.

During the events of August 1991 I was on vacation in Kislovodsk. Everyone had already talked about the collapse of the Soviet Union as a fait accompli. Upon my return to Baku the actions of our administration provoked in me a feeling of disgust. Such coward actions of the administration created conditions for the birth of such politicians as Rahim Gaziyeu and many others at the square. Because of these politicians, thousands of brave sons of Azerbaijan would remain under the ruins of the Soviet Union and become the victims of unequal insidious war for their motherland.

Even today there is no unanimous opinion in long-lasting discussions on the collapse of the USSR, and independence of the republics, and I do not claim to give such an answer that will bring the topic to an end. Though some people assert that the collapse of the country was carried out at Gorbachev's will, even in the interviews given by Gorbachev abroad he underlined his special role in these processes, I still believe the contrary! Of course, he definitely played a crucial role in the collapse of the USSR, but he did it not at his will, intelligence, and well-considered activity, but in his foolishness, inability and lack of foresight! It was well seen how he was trying to preserve the country named USSR in Novo-Ogareva, the outskirts of Moscow. That event was broadcasted on the Central TV and all the leaders of the union republics, including A. Mutallibov, who, in its literal

meaning, begged for the signature of the agreement on establishment of the Confederation, attended there.

Historically, the Soviet Union was doomed. Without going into deep analysis, I will list a number of facts: the collapse of the USSR predetermined the economic downturn that hit the country since 1970, because the basis of income of the USSR was oil export, and within the country - the realization of alcoholic beverages. In the early eighties of the last century oil prices fell sharply; its price dropped down to \$ 13 per barrel, at the same time, in accordance with the stupid instructions of Gorbachev the destruction of vineyards began, “dry law” was declared, and the volume of sales of alcoholic beverages drastically reduced. The budget already agonizing was almost dead. Scarcity of food touched everyone. Entire population of the USSR was displeased. I have seen this dissatisfaction among the judges, prosecutors and other officials in Russia. If we add the fact of 79 hot spots in the disputed areas along the border between the Soviet republics and national districts of the USSR detected by the Western experts, the scale of discontent becomes clear even more. “The period of Glasnost” further accelerated this process. You can say that the “glasnost” is the merit of Gorbachev. No, I think, “glasnost” is only slightly prolonged the process. If Gorbachev was, as mentioned, a smart leader, then he would have given a civilized character to the process of the collapse of the USSR and would not allow this process to be accompanied by the intrusion of tanks either to Azerbaijan, to Georgia, or the Baltic states. Gorbachev was worried only about looking as a historical personality on this background and receiving various prizes. Today, personally I do not doubt at all that the Sumgayit events and the Garabagh conflict played a role of the main catalyst for the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The purpose of highlighting this chapter is not a question of bringing to justice those who were in power then. I am sure that they have done some work in the interests of Azerbaijan. Today we live in a time when the principle of “silence is gold” is very harmful around some issues; I would even say that today “silence is treason against the nation.” Complete fraud and speculation, memoirs and other publications of the Armenian officials and intelligentsia will be used by their followers as historical archive materials in future. And those of ours, who used to be “comrades”, but now have become “misters”, write on any topic, but when it comes to the Garabagh problem, they prefer to remain silent, thus grist to the mill of the Armenian nationalists. And some who claim that “there was no national liberation movement in the other republics, but they became independent states”, cast a shadow on a Popular Front, which has become a global source

of pride, due to which it was possible to prevent Gorbachev from taking a decision on handing over the Garabagh to Armenia. And that is unforgivable. I hope that the new generation, which will explore the history of Garabagh and the events took place there in future, will see the troubles that were brought upon our nation by the Soviet administration on the eve of these events, not from the words of others, but from the memories of the people represented in the administration of Azerbaijan of that period.

## GORBACHEV AND ARMENIANISM

I decided to finish the book with this chapter. I think that it will clearly show the readers that the problem is not of local but global nature. In my opinion, anyone who has read this book will see that the Republic of Azerbaijan has confronted with *Armenianism* - well-organized, monolithic, ideologically and politically prepared and organized, having a broad moral, political and financial support both in the former USSR, and in the leading states of the modern world, especially in the US and European countries. Yes, namely with Armenianism!

What kind of a notion or term is it? What is the essence of this concept, and generally, what does it imply?

Everyone who characterizes the parties involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is well aware that this concept or term reflects the ethno-political power that resisted Azerbaijan in the struggle for Garabagh. But probably few people know that **Armenianism is a system, an ideological union, and liaison**. Neither “Krunk” nor the Armenian National Movement were independent and acting as isolated organizations that had emerged overnight. If to go back to the initial stage of the conflict, when the USSR still existed, we can see that coordinating their activities these formations were united around a common goal, had strong support and sympathy of their direct patrons in the Central Committee of CPSU (in the person of K. Shakhnazarov, first deputy head of the department at Brezhnev’s time, and who, by that time, even promoted to the top of the party Olympus and became the assistant of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; K. Brutents - another first deputy head of the department of CC CPSU; L. Onikov – an old member of the President Administration who was close to the government circles - Auth.).

Armenians had their own men almost in all the departments of the Central Committee of CPSU. The author of the study entitled “Azerbaijan. The end of the Second Republic” R. Aghayev even has calculated that the Central Committee of CPSU employed up to 20 Armenians, while there was only one Azerbaijani there, instructor of the ideological department R. Huseinov.

At the same time, a very strong factions consisting of the Armenians were organized in the staff of the Council of Ministers and in the ministries.

In other words, unlike Azerbaijan and other Muslim republics, Armenia always had a strong position in the higher echelons of government of the Union in this sense. The influx of the Armenians to Moscow party-governmental structures particularly increased in the years of stagnation,

when the deliberate displacement of persons of the Jewish nationality begun and there was a steady departure of the Jews to Israel and the Western countries. Entrepreneurial Armenians, who had widely branched and had old contacts in Russia, imperceptibly filled the vacuum in the government, academic institutions (among the academicians and associate members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR there were dozens of Armenians - Auth.), cultural institutions, and most importantly, the mass media. In the TASS Press Agency “Novosti” (PAN), all-union television and radio they had strong positions; they hold higher posts for long years. One of the most famous among them, for example, was the deputy chairman of PAN Karen Khachaturian.

It is interesting that the historical process of large-scale involvement of the Russian Armenians in the diplomatic work in the Soviet time expanded and became a tradition. Over the years, the USSR had more than 15 ambassadors of the Armenian origin. However, the number of diplomatic staff of lower ranks was noticeably higher. The only ambassador of the USSR of the Azerbaijani origin was A. Vezirov.

Here, I would like without any comments to bring to your attention a fragment from the article entitled “New catastrophic mistake of the Armenians” published in the January issue of the daily literary-public newspaper “Revival” (editor and publisher E.D. Gorgeladze) issued in Tbilisi by Georgians. The article was published in the newspaper “Azerbaijan” on April 23, 2010, thanks to the efforts of the well-known Azerbaijani professor Shirmammad Huseinov.

The article entitled “New catastrophic mistake of the Armenians” (this article was also translated and published in the newspaper “Achig Soz” on January 7, 1918) published in the newspaper “Revival” writes,

*“At the beginning of the European war, when the Russian state was not yet involved in the war with Turkey, the leaders of the Armenian nation made a catastrophic mistake. Deceived by the sweet talk and promises of Count Vorontsov-Dashkov and Minister Sazonov, they declared the war on Turkey and the Armenian volunteers intruded into the Turkish territory.*

*At that time, we published a number of articles in the attempt to warn the Armenians off such wrong steps; we tried to persuade them that such aggressive actions could have disastrous consequences for a small nation and recommended them to be a little farsighted and to oppose the leaders igniting nationalistic passions. Nevertheless, our warnings were in vain and caused anger, and we were honoured with the nickname “haya gerel” (“devourers of the Armenians”) in Armenian newspapers. We were deeply offended because our sincerity was presented as hostility, and*

*kindness as a provocation against all the long-suffering Armenian people...*

*Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus were the scene of more fierce battles than the Caucasus. However, Poland, Lithuania and Belarus survived. So, why was Armenia destroyed?*

*It is generally admitted that none of the belligerent nations fights as nobly and honourably as the Turkish soldiers. However, if Armenia is destroyed, the reason for this is that it was artificially brought under the guillotine (the machine that chops heads). The Poles betrayed neither Russia nor Germany. They did not declare war to any state, and, confessing their powerlessness maintained neutrality as far as possible. However, small Armenia, pursuing an aggressive policy, joined the Allies as a military state. We are aware that the Turkish Armenians did not want to betray Turkey, their homeland at all and wanted to remain neutral.*

***However, the Russian Armenians hurried to put signature instead of them under the betrayal of their own country. (Highlighted by the author)*** *We shall not describe in detail the terrible consequences of this unreasonable policy. But they should learn a lesson from this catastrophe.*

*Now we must once again raise our voice, as from the outside it is clear that the Armenian leaders make a new mistake.*

*Russia makes peace with Turkey. Russian troops leave the front. All the Caucasian nations dream that the war is over. But the Armenians want to fight with Turkey on their own. They declared mobilization. They are going to protect the Turkish front deserted by the Russian troops. Instead of ending the Russian-Turkish war the Turkish-Armenian War started. The British diplomats take the role of the Vorontsovs and Sazonovs now, and the Armenians embark on a new adventure.*

*Let's be sincere!*

*What can the Armenians expect? The British support is not more than an illusion. They use the Armenians in their own interests and will abandon them to their fate at every opportunity. Perhaps, the Armenians hope for the help of their troops. The present leader of the Russian government Lenin thinks little about the Armenians. Russian soldiers will never want to resume the war for the sake of Armenia or any other part of Russia.*

*In the struggle with Turkey it is unwise to expect support from the Caucasian Turks, Daghestanis and Georgians. Reasons for this are numerous and well known. The Georgian democracy does not want to continue the war. It will not take risks, especially, considering the fact that the Armenians are trying to occupy the best lands, which are the special provinces of Georgia. They continue to pursue their old policies against the*

*Georgians and incite national conflicts.*

*It is clear that in this new war, the Armenians will be all on their own and can only rely on their forces. The Armenians are well aware that these forces are small in number and totally unprepared for the war.*

*It is time for taking a more sober view of the fate of the nation and not to deliberately plunge it into the catastrophe. It should be realized that the bellicose and aggressive policy will not do any good, and that to fight with all is impossible. Such a policy caused the Armenians get into a difficult situation and destroyed Armenia. Now it can destroy the future of the Armenians. There is only one way to get out of this difficult situation:*

*To change fundamentally the general political course, to replace aggressiveness to pacifism and, above all, to go hand in hand with close neighbours.*

*It is hard to read this article. But we must courageously listen to the bitter truth.”*

**I think that no comments are really needed...**

There are lots of literature, informing the public about the number and impact of the Armenians in the United States, France, Britain and other countries, including the Muslim Turkey, Iran, Lebanon and others. The fact that we dwelt on this aspect of the conflict has its reasons. Unlike the allegations of the commentators of the events, the truth about the events is as follows: Azerbaijan's enemy is neither “Krunk”, nor Armenia, or Nagorno-Karabakh. The true enemy is the *Armenianism* that unites them all under a single roof! Some authors, including the Armenians, call this ethno-political power, well-organized on the international scale - the *Armenianism!*

Taking this power as a political factor, the international community supports it by all means for some reasons. This term accurately reflects the nature, character and ethno-political essence of the Armenian communities and Armenian Diaspora separated by national borders, but welded together and united by thousands of knots around the continuous national idea, dream about “Greater Armenia”. In this context, we used the term “Armenianism” as well, as an extremely rare ethno-confessional political phenomenon.

The national idea of Armenianism has been a source of expansion in Azerbaijan for many times, and could potentially be repeated in an even wider area from Turkey to the Caucasus. Therefore, the study of this term is of great significance for finding out the reasons of the Garabagh conflict as well, enables to show more precisely the power of the conflict, reveal the hidden motives, and actions of various international forces.



One of the strategic mistakes of Azerbaijan, first of all of the Azerbaijani Popular Front was underestimation of the opposing force - the Armenianism. Let me remind you that the position of Azerbaijan in terms of lobbying was dramatically weakened by the dismissal of Heydar Aliyev from his post. He was member of Politburo, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who, for a long time, had a great authority among the Soviet party leadership. Earlier in 1981, the Minister of the USSR Gas Industry S. Orujov died. Thus, the only influential figure in Moscow remained Farman Salmanov, Lenin Prize laureate, a man who had an entrée into the highest echelons but was politically inactive. Just because of the weakness of the positions in Moscow at the height of the Garabagh conflict, the Azerbaijani representatives of the intelligentsia were unable to make their voice heard in the all-union mass media, among the Moscow intelligentsia. In confrontation with Armenia and the Garabagh separatists in Azerbaijan, which was not supported at the union level, could rely only on its own limited resources that could be mobilized only due to the strong political leadership.

To represent the position of the Armenians in the USSR then, you just have to look at their status in Azerbaijan: in 1990, the higher and middle echelons of government in Azerbaijan were represented by 681 Armenians. Among them were people who held high posts in the organs of the Communist Party and Council of Ministers of Azerbaijan. There were ministers and their deputies, chairmen of state committees of industry and their deputies, first secretaries and secretaries of party committees of districts, towns, provinces, chairpersons and deputies of executive committees of towns, districts and provinces, directors, chief engineers and chief specialists of large industrial, construction, transport enterprises and enterprises of light and food industries. They were represented at the level of heads of governing bodies and departments in the ministry of internal affairs, State Security Committee and the General Prosecutor's Office, at the level of first and second persons in the structural subdivisions of regional, municipal and district administrations.

With all this during the rule of Gorbachev the position of Armenians in the Soviet Union was inconceivably strengthened. Proceeding from my own experience, I want to mention one fact: when I worked as a judge in Stavropol there was not a single judge of the Armenian nationality in the courts, but after 1985, the number of Armenian judges, prosecutors, police chiefs in the province began to increase exponentially. That is, during the rule of Gorbachev more rapid move of the Armenians up the career ladder was openly observed.

One of the well-known Armenians was V. Israelian who had great authority and a strong influence in the USSR for a long time. Then he was the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the USSR, who had gained the confidence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR A.A. Gromyko. After Israelian, Shahnazarov had strong influence for long years both on external and internal policy of the USSR. Not only in the history of the USSR but also in tsarist Russia, none of the assistants had such a strong influence on the ruler, as Shakhnazarov had on Gorbachev. All the threads that connected the Armenian Diaspora with the highest circles in the USSR, primarily in Moscow, were concentrated in the hands of Shakhnazarov.

Born in Baku and graduate of Azerbaijan State University and Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of CPSU Georgi Khosroevich Shakhnazarov, having worked in the magazine “Problems of Peace and Socialism” (Prague) for some time, in 1964, turned out to be in the International Department of the Central Committee. In 1988, he agreed to become the assistant of the Secretary-General. It looked a bit strange, since due to its classification significance and career opportunities, this post was not considered to be really promising. However, during the rule of Mikhail Gorbachev serious changes took place in the nomenclature, first of all, in the position of G. Shakhnazarov. Some time later the Secretary-General appointed his influential assistant, who did not distinguish himself before, advisor to the President of the USSR. Since 1990, G. Shakhnazarov became a member of the parliament, then chairman of the subcommittee on constitutional law, and in 1992, director of the Centre for Global Challenges of Gorbachev Foundation.

Leaving the topic aside, I would like to draw your attention to the next point. National discrimination has never existed in Azerbaijan, including Baku. Examples include the famous personalities of different nationalities born in Azerbaijan and won worldwide fame - prominent physicist, academician L. Landau, cellist-conductor M. Rostropovich, marshals of the USSR of Armenian nationality I. Bagramian, A. Babajanian, and world chess champion G. Kasparov. About the latter I say that he was a graduate of Baku chess school. Although in the final match between Karpov and Kasparov, all the members of the Politburo supported Karpov, the administration of Azerbaijan rendered all moral and financial assistance to Kasparov. Instead, when the events began, Kasparov took not conciliatory position, but rather, played instigating role and turned out to be at the forefront of the enemies of the Azerbaijani people.

It is well known that M. Gorbachev was on friendly terms with G. Shakhnazarov since student years. G. Shakhnazarov described it in detail in

his memoirs entitled “With the leaders and without them.” Perhaps it is because of this friendship the future Secretary-General was closer to the representatives of the Armenian nationality, and was largely sympathetic to them. It is interesting that Gorbachev and Shakhnazarov - two friends ever since the student years - coming to the Central Committee, did not show that there was close relationship between them. Gorbachev sometimes even tried to veil his warm relationship with the assistant, but did not, in truth, succeed. Gorbachev often spoke with satisfaction, “You see how lucky I am with such a reporter! (He meant Shakhnazarov - Auth.). He was not capricious when agreed to work with. In order to convince Sitarian to become my assistant, I had to persuade him not once. Unlike him, Shakhnazarov simply, but with dignity, said, “I’ll go wherever you go. You see?”

It is impossible not to wonder at the opinion of the Secretary-General about his assistant. Not only because he never was tired of praising the author of boring, not much differing from the party reference papers and analytical notes of the works, as if to justify his unusually rapid move up the career ladder. **It was evident that Gorbachev continued to cover up the fact that he was acquainted with Shakhnazarov even from his student years.** Indeed, Shakhnazarov was the very man whom Gorbachev sought for. However, Gorbachev did not want to let Sitarian go as well. A. Chernyaev, who knew the special position of G. Shakhnazarov and his men in the Central Committee at first hand, wrote in his memoirs, “M.S. Gorbachev issued a decree, appointing also his out-of-staff advisers. They were L.I. Abalkin, S.A. Sitarian and V.P. Osipian.”

Among a hundred million population of Russia, Gorbachev could not find a decent and competent assistant, due to the reason that the sense of justice and love for the motherland of the Russian intelligentsia fundamentally differed from that of Gorbachev.

G. Shakhnazarov was considered to be one of the main pillars of the Armenian Diaspora in Moscow. He developed relationships, built bridges between the Armenians in authority and the entire Armenian circles that existed in the USSR, and it was a very powerful means in shaping the image of Gorbachev as the most appropriate candidate for the post of the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General was well aware of it. When Gorbachev, who had the nickname of “Misha the Envelope”, began to strengthen his position in Moscow, Shakhnazarov had enough people to lobby for the interests of his friend. Almost in all the departments of the Central Committee of CPSU there were people close to the Armenians. They were deputy head of the department K. Brutents; the old state

functionary L.A. Onikov who was close to the ruling circles; the head of the ideological department of the Central Committee Karen Karagozian and others. And it is no coincidence that after the death of Shakhnazarov, Karen Karagozian became the assistant of the former secretary-general in the Gorbachev Foundation.

Shakhnazarov was the favourite of the whole family of Gorbachev. In his book “I hope ...” R. Gorbacheva cites an emotional note by G. Shakhnazarov addressed to her on the occasion of March 8, “Dear Raisa Maksimovna! If marriages are really contracted in the heaven, God tried to give Mikhail Sergeyevich a life companion, in accordance with the assigned mission ... Yours sincerely, Shakhnazarov.”

Much was spoken about the influence of R. Gorbacheva on the Secretary-General. Though I have to leave the general theme aside, I want to recall one case in this regard. In 1985 I examined the case of the Armenians Koshelev and Pilipenko concerning the robbery, rare in style and scale at the time. The criminal case was annulled because of light punishment imposed and was sent to the court for reconsideration according to the order of Stavropol Provincial Court. Before the trial started, the member of the Bar of Pyatigorsk, an Armenian by nationality, well-known lawyer in Stavropol Robert Khachaturov came to my office. I was not acquainted with him before and saw him just once in the office of the chairman of the court. During the conversation he told me that the accused must be helped. I said in response, “You probably do not know me well and are not aware of my work principles.” He stated that he had enough information about me and was not going to offer me bribe, but had one proposal. Khachaturov said that if I assisted him, he might, through his relative, a close friend of Raisa Maksimovna, help me to become close to the Gorbachevs. The Gorbachevs were talked much about in Stavropol, but this conversation seemed to me so contrived and silly that I turned him out the office. After some time, the chairman of the court came to see me and expressed his regret at my refusal to establish relations with a person who was well connected.

In regard to the pregnancy of Kosheleva, the court did not sentence her with imprisonment, and instead, in accordance with the law, she was put on probation. Later, having seen that the majority of people who were closely connected with Khachaturov, advanced up the career ladder at speed of lightning, and that his own private business flourished, I became convinced that the conversation was not at all contrived and silly.

A. Chernyaev in his speech on the radio “Freedom” spoke about the possibilities of Shakhnazarov’s influence on Gorbachev like the following,

“Gorbachev appealed to him on many issues, not only on international matters but also on the most delicate ones such as the human resources and so on. Not any narrow meeting where most important issues were discussed was held without Shakhnazarov.” In a word, the influence of Shakhnazarov on Gorbachev was infinitely strong.

With regard to the relationship of Shakhnazarov to Azerbaijan, the witnesses of events say that during the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in Moscow, he clutching the sleeve of the jacket of Vezirov, who did not want to concede on the issue of Garabagh and strongly criticized the illegal session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province in the Central Committee of Azerbaijan, shouted, “History will not forgive you. Today you trampled the whole people!”

It is thanks to Shakhnazarov the lines from the confidential letter of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan A. Mutallibov addressed to Gorbachev became public, “The global experience in dealing with separatist conflicts makes sure that they are not solved on a democratic basis.”

Such actions of Shakhnazarov were countless in relation to Azerbaijan. In his opinion, democracy and human rights should be in a way the Armenian nationalists want it to be.

Actually, there was nothing surprising. Shakhnazarov in his actions was absolutely independent and, as the right hand of the Secretary-General, even formed the lobby to influence the top leaders of the USSR. Even such a republic like Ukraine did not have such a strong team as he had. Pay attention: Shakhnazarov - one of the assistants of the Secretary-General Mikhail Gorbachev; Brutents - deputy head of the International Department; Mchedlov - deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee; Karagozian K.K. - director of the sector of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee; Onikov L.A. - organizer in charge of the ideological department of the Central Committee.

This hierarchical system at lower levels consisted of Arzumanyan G.G. - director of the sector of the section of Social Sciences of the Presidium of the USSR; Kuzachian L.S. - deputy director of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences; Momchian Kh.N. - president of the Sociological Association of the Soviet Union; Petrosian Y.A. - head of Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and chairman of the Research Board on conferring scientific degrees.

Shakhnazarov had a well-organised team of academicians and associate members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, who were

well-connected in the USSR. This team consisted of academicians Ambartsumian, Osipian, Demirchian, Bagdasarian, Enikolopov, Knuniants, Chaylakhian, Sandakhchiev, Takhtajian, Aganbegian, Khachaturov; associate members - Mergelian, Mikaelian, Babaev, Sarkisov, Agajanov, Babaian, Mirzabekov, Geodakchian, Sarkisian, Fanarchian, Choylakhian, Sitarian and others. The work of this group was simplified by the fact that Y. Primakov who had various relations with the Armenians directly interacted with G. Shakhnazarov.

The number of high-ranking Armenians, who had a strong influence on the country's politics, had never been as large as under Gorbachev since the time of Lenin and Stalin. All those who worked in those years at “Old Square” confirm that Shakhnazarov had a special status in the surroundings of Gorbachev, exerted influence on the Secretary-General in the formation and execution of his policy, and this influence was growing day by day.

A.S. Chernyaeva in her book “Diary of the Assistant President of the USSR”, in the first chapter entitled “On the pits and bumps of perestroika”, October 9, 1988, wrote, “On Friday, Gorbachev invited me and Shakhnazarov. He kissed him on the occasion of his 64<sup>th</sup> anniversary. We talked about the forthcoming trip to the UN, as well as to Cuba and London. Offhandedly, he “put” Kvitsinsky to the post of the director of the International Department of the Central Committee instead Dobrynin. And suddenly he burst out about Garabagh; he stood in front of us and said, “I want it to be humanly, without bloodshed, I want them to begin to talk to each other ... The corrupted public acts. Demirchian (First Secretary of the Central Committee of Armenia - Auth.) gathers his own men, the Azerbaijanis are mobilized in Baku, and the Armenian intelligentsia has gone bankrupt: they can offer nothing that would lead to a solution. But I myself do not know the solution either. If I knew I would have considered neither stipulations, nor the existing ones, etc. But I do not know!” Then he reminded the case of Aliyev. “The investigator said that he is digging,” he said, “and it will be cleaner than that of Rashidov.”

According to Professor Chapay Sultanov, this conversation of the three archenemies of Azerbaijan contains huge information. A person with full authority in the superpower, to whom information from all over the world is flown down for making decision,, does not know how to solve the problem in his state. A person far from the policy can only doubt about the fact that Shakhnazarov immediately reported to the Armenian side on this conversation by his own channels.

Gorbachev supposedly did not know the solutions to the problem. I have already written about the ability of Gorbachev to mask the

circumstances which did not conform to his interests. Sometimes allegations appear in the press that he really was “incompetent” and “ignorant”. This is absolutely not true. In 1985, several days after the election of Gorbachev as the Secretary-General, chairman of the court A. Kuzminov and I were sitting in his office and having a discussion. Suddenly the chairman of Stavropol Provincial Court A. Maslennikov entered the room. I stood up and wanted to leave the room, but he asked me to stay. During the conversation it became clear that he and his friends were celebrating the appointment of Gorbachev as the Secretary-General in Kislovodsk, and, on his way to Stavropol, he decided to visit us. He was in a good mood, so he spoke very frankly. From that conversation I most of all remember the phrases “great”, “very far-sighted”, “a man who can keep a secret” used by him several times about Gorbachev. I have heard much about Gorbachev before, but for the first time I found out that in January 1978, Gorbachev, the first secretary of Stavropol party committee, was offered the post of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. Gorbachev, head of a province of the USSR, refused to take the post of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, and it surprised his friends, including A. Maslennikov. When Gorbachev was asked about the reason for his refusal, he justified it by the fact that though he was a lawyer by profession, he did not have any experience in that field. Our interlocutor called Gorbachev “great” for being cunning, and, as he put it, for the ability to hide the fact that “he had in his bosom.” Indeed, then the Prosecutor General of the USSR was the 71-year-old R.A. Rudenko, who held this post since 1953 and far back as 1945 prosecuted on behalf of the USSR at the Nuremberg trials. He was ill and soon died, and A. Rekunkov who in the recent years, in fact, did all the work was appointed to the post.

I have already noted that Gorbachev often spoke about corruption. Now look who ranted about corruption? Even in Stavropol, he took bribes in envelopes, for which he was given the nickname of “Misha the Envelope”. The fact that Gorbachev was dishonest and greedy, can be understood by the fact that in the Soviet times he had close contacts with the mafia representatives “of the shadow economy,” with the people known as “tsekhoviki” (producers of consumer goods illegally in workshops). Many sources reported about these relations. Even a close ally and friend of the former Secretary-General Eduard Shevardnadze in his memoirs wrote about the conflict with Gorbachev; the latter obstacle the arrest of the criminals who fled from Georgia to Stavropol in order to escape from detention. Relations between Gorbachev and Shevardnadze normalized only after the interference of their common “patron” Andropov.

A similar incident occurred in connection with Azerbaijan as well.

Thus, after the instigation of the sensational criminal case against the organizers of the “shadow economy” in Baku, the majority of the suspected fled to Stavropol. Those who lived then, remember that “the shadow economy” in the USSR was monopolized by the Armenians. Representatives of the “shadow economy” who fled from Baku also got found shelter under the patronage of Mikhail Gorbachev “thanks to the envelopes.”

Then, it was not a secret for anybody that “tsekhoviks” who lived in Stavropol province, mainly in the district of the Caucasian Mineral Waters, were under the protection of Mikhail Gorbachev.

**In early April 1999 at 12.00, I held a press conference in the Washington office of the Radio “Liberty”. On the same day at 10.00 there was a press conference of the President of Poland Alexander Kwasniewski, for that reason the room was overcrowded. After the press conference in an informal atmosphere I was asked many questions. One of the participants of the press conference who knew that I had worked in Stavropol, asked questions about the personal qualities of Gorbachev, trying to find out his involvement in the shady affairs. For example, he asked, “what kind of relations did Gorbachev have with the representatives of the shadow economy?” As it is seen, he was infamous for his actions even in the faraway America.**

I think that, the true value of people, especially of those who govern the states, should be measured by their love for their mother country, family, intelligentsia, by their deeds. In all this Gorbachev makes the impression of “a disabled man”. The motherland of Gorbachev - the Soviet Union was wiped out. It seemed that he should be distraught, when the dearest person to him R. Gorbacheva was on her deathbed, but, true to his nature, Gorbachev was giving interviews to all the channels of the world, having managed to turn an event into the show. During his rule, the intelligentsia of the USSR led a beggar’s life, but the swindlers within a short time became millionaires. After Andropov's death, who protected him all his life and, most of all, who sought to bring the country out of stagnation, which it suffered under the rule of Brezhnev, and who considered Gorbachev the purest person among the members of the Politburo, he did not even deign to attend the unveiling of the monument of his patron in his homeland - on the station Nagutskaya, Andropov district, where then I worked as a judge.

Now, though superficially, let us study the roots of Gorbachev’s closeness to the Armenians. Where is the source of his great “love” for the Armenians?



To do this, first of all, we must consider the situation, some of the causes and conditions under which Gorbachev came to power.

R. Aghayev, who worked as head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, remembers how frustrating became the audience at the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee in 1980 after the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, who was one of the secretaries of the Central Committee. According to him, the Academy held regular meetings with the members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee. These meetings were considered a means for obtaining more reliable and often exclusive information. Before M.S. Gorbachev came to the Academy, there were rumours that the successor of Kulakov, ostensibly, is Andropov's man and Andropov knows people, the staff well. He draws to the administration of the country young and promising people. The new secretary for agriculture only confirmed, from all the whispers, that he is distinguished for being young among his colleagues in the Politburo. The theme of his speech was interesting - the Soviet Union enters into the stage of deep systematic crisis. Naturally, in that situation it would be naive to expect a revolutionary approach in his report, but frankly, we expected more from Andropov's man. In his speech, there were no interesting ideas, no new views. In this statement, there was no attempt to analytical judgments or stylistic innovation. In a word, nothing! The disappointed audience asked the future Secretary-General what his sphere of activity in the Politburo was. Not willing to disclose the content of his daily activities, Gorbachev replied, "I am in charge of agriculture and some international issues." One of the listeners unfortunately joked, "It would be interesting to see what this man will achieve when he reaches the age of Brezhnev."

All comparisons are imperfect. Brezhnev would never intentionally humiliate himself like Gorbachev. It is no secret that Gorbachev did not shun any advertising, even one that many avoided, considering it unworthy. However, from study conducted by Ch. Sultanov in the book "Through the prism of the chess", it becomes clear that Gorbachev's revenues from advertising were several times less than the income of the famous tennis player Sharapova and were equal to the income of Ksyusha (Ksenia - Auth.) Sobchak.

Gorbachev was not an ideal candidate for the post of the Secretary-General. However, speaking of the "ideal candidate", it is necessary to clarify to what subjects it refers. For whom Gorbachev was "perfect", and for whom did not. History showed that he became neither an ideal leader, nor even a normal, ordinary leader for any of the peoples of the

USSR. History showed that Gorbachev was simply a perfect “puppet” for the Armenian nationalists.

In support of this idea I believe that it is important to approach the issue of Gorbachev’s coming to power in a broader context.

I have already mentioned about V.L. Israelian, who, at one time, was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR and won the special confidence of Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko, and immigrated to the United States after the 90s. After arriving in the United States safe and sound, Israelian said, “Everybody knows about the formal contacts between Gorbachev and Bush. But few know the fact that their first meeting was scheduled for the spring of 1984. Then I worked as the representative of the Soviet Union at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. My American colleague for the conference was Ambassador Louis Fields, who was said to be a protégé of the Vice-president Bush. And he himself with pleasure emphasized this on occasion. In March 1984, Fields went to Washington for consultations. When he returned, he asked me to meet with him. I invited him to the residence of our delegation, but he offered to meet “on a neutral ground”, in one of the suburban restaurants. During lunch, my companion did not tell me anything significant. He just said that Vice-president Bush was coming in April to Geneva and himself would present the project of the United States of America. Fields spoke in most general terms on Bush's upcoming speech, during which he was supposed to introduce the draft of the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. Then I wondered: why the American needed our confidential meeting? After lunch, he suddenly offered me to walk in the park. “We would like to establish serious business contacts with the Kremlin leadership”, Fields began, “and Vice-president Bush is ready to meet one of the new Soviet leaders in Geneva. But this meeting should be strictly confidential.” I asked Fields whether Americans consider specifically any of the Soviet leaders. Fields clearly responded that Vice-president Bush would like to meet Mikhail Gorbachev as most likely the future leader of the Soviet Union.”

To see clearly why Gorbachev was brought to power, what was his function and, in general, what kind of a “puppet” he was in the hands of the Armenians and the West, I want to bring to your attention another fact.

Some of the most secret talks between “the couple” of Gorbachev and Bush were held on the island of Malta. “The Order of Malta”, popular since ancient times, was one of the world centres of Freemasonry of the world. Meetings were held on ships, as they say, under the sound of the ocean waves. The meeting of Bush and Gorbachev was the same way.

However, this meeting exceeded the status of “confidential negotiations” between Bush and Gorbachev, because Gorbachev's delegation included a mini-delegation consisting of Shakhnazarov, Aganbegian and Sitarian. Since we do not know what was discussed there, it is difficult to say anything categorical, but the chronological analysis puts everything in their places: it was after Malta talks that Gorbachev's position in regard to Azerbaijan toughened and there is no need to guess what was that “mini-delegation” doing there. The speech of Aganbegian in Paris immediately after the meeting is not surprising against this background.

I understand that the theme is extensive, time consuming, and that my knowledge of it is very superficial. But the processes associated with Garabagh require a special study of these moments, so that I considered it important to acquaint you with my thoughts, although they are far from the professional analysis. I believe that the future research in this direction should not be carried out in order to be a challenge to the USA, which is a superpower, but in the interests of Azerbaijan.

And now, without breaking the chronology, we turn to the history of Gorbachev's resignation from his post and, in general, his departure from big politics.

On December 25, 1991, at 7 o'clock, Gorbachev signed publicly on TV a Decree № UP-3162 on the resignation from the post of the Commander-in-Chief. That was the last political move of Gorbachev on “the world chessboard.”

As you know, the victory of any country is reported by appropriate organizations of that country. However, the victory of the USA over the Soviet Union in the Cold War was reported to the USA by the head of the defeated side, Gorbachev!

Brent Scowcroft wrote, “It seems that Gorbachev’s phone call with Christmas congratulations to George and Barbara was well remembered by the US President. It was a phone call telling that there is a decree on the resignation of the USSR President on his table, that there should not be any disasters in the former Soviet Union, that Gorbachev hands over the power and “the nuclear briefcase” with dignity and that Bush (and America) can celebrate Christmas without worry.”

Unfortunately, as the French say, “everything new is well forgotten old”. Even now those in Washington carefully refer to the lamenting of the Armenian nationalists for “genocide”, and in Moscow, at a high level, they are called “the most loyal allies.” And all this happens in the next stage of the Cold War, when the idea of Russia's disintegration becomes real.

The idea of the Armenianism has become the source of expansion in

Turkey and Azerbaijan more than once before. Today these ideas are used to dismember Georgia, and there is no doubt that in the near future with the implementation of the Middle East geopolitical project of great states, as well as the plans to create a “Greater Caucasus” with the advance deep into Russia, you will hear again about the idea of Armenianism.

For me the reasons for the ascension of Gorbachev to power and resignation are approximately as follows: he was brought to power by the United States, thanks to Bush Sr., to realize the old dream, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the Armenian lobby helped Bush in order to solve the Garabagh problem for good! After Bush got what he wanted, Gorbachev resigned. The Armenian lobby once again led the Armenian people to feud with the neighbours, driving them to a dead end.

Gorbachev caused damage to most of the peoples of the former Soviet Union, however, the Azerbaijanis suffered most of all: the genocide of the Azerbaijani people committed by the Armenian extremists in Khojaly; the tragedy of January 20, 1990 when the Soviet army crushed civilians by tanks and fired on them; the Armenian occupation of 20 per cent of the Azerbaijani territory and turning more than one million people into refugees in their native land - all are the results of Gorbachev's perestroika! Perhaps, Azerbaijan has suffered more than other Soviet republics, just because it was the most “correct, courteous and obedient” republic in the USSR; it always gave more to the centre than took from it, and has always been a sincere friend of all the peoples of the USSR.

Once again I want to repeat that the influential lobbying structures in the USA and Moscow, secret and legal Armenian political organizations both in Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karabakh have never acted separately and independently in all these processes. In all the countries, in all the states where they acted, primarily in the US, they worked in coordination, in close connection and always had a strong patronage and support. This process continues even today!

I think what I said about the role of the Armenianism in the collapse of the USSR and in the Garabagh processes is only a very small part, drop in the ocean, and there is a need for more professional analysis in this sphere. Therefore, in conclusion, summing up what has been written, I return to the idea that the process of the collapse of the USSR began precisely with the Sumgayit events.

