

ЧАПАЙ СУЛТАНОВ

THE LAST BLOW FROM
THE EMPIRE

Baku, 20 January, 1990

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CHAPAY SULTANOV

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FOREWORD

In April, 1989 I worked in Russia on the post of the chairman of court of a large region. After short term of my work on this post my documents were directed to Moscow for the approval of my appointment as the chairman of regional court.

At that time in my home land, in Azerbaijan, fatal events for the republic were unfolding and when I received the invitation to the post of a rank-and-file employee of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Azerbaijan SSR, I agreed without hesitation.

On arrival in Baku I found myself at once in the thick of things.

I was the state prosecuting official at the process on Edward Grigoryan's case, one of instigators of Sumgayit events. My situation was rather difficult; it was only ten days that I have moved to Baku, and I knew virtually no one and nothing and had to understand everything by myself. When I got down to this case I immediately began to study the materials of the criminal case which consisted of 31 volumes. Getting familiarized with the materials of Sumgayit events, I was amazed by the fact that the leaders of the republic interpreted the events exactly how they had been dictated from Moscow to keep their posts.

The investigation of the case was conducted by inspectors of the Prosecutor General's Office of the USSR in which structure employees of the KGB of the USSR were as well. The group was headed by Galkin who subsequently became general.

Even today, when Sumgayit is mentioned, the Armenians never recollect that one of organizers and the most active participants of these events was no other than Edward Grigoryan, Armenian by nationality, born in Sumgayit in 1959, convicted three times in 1979, 1981, 1982. In their evidence the participants of these events say that at the storm of certain flats they were headed by Grigoryan who had a list of persons of the Armenian nationality. That is, thugs were directed by Grigoryan, and it is a proved fact.

At the trial I proved well-reasonably that Sumgayit events had been organized by forces outside the republic, and much remained secret.

It is not accidental that the famous writer Bunich rates the events in Sumgayit and Baku among the main undisclosed secret historical events that occurred at different times in the USSR.

We know today that the model of Sumgayit events was brilliantly built in public right before the Sumgayit events by C. Pashayan. On 12 December, 1985, the Armenian congressman C. Pashayan made the following statement in the meeting room of the US Congress, "...And today, I am standing here condemning any kind of terrorism, especially Armenian terrorism. At the same time, I must say that as long as its reason is unfairly denied, the KGB and the Communist Party, which are evidently committing this terrorism, will have fuel for this fire." "Fuel" was found in Sumgayit!

All events are so clear in this statement that there is no need for any comments. Everything and everyone is mentioned, the CPSU, the USSR KGB, and Armenian terrorists!

The first sensational statement was made by the ideologist of perestroika A. Yakovlev concerning Sumgayit events. In 1992, in "Moscow News" A. Yakovlev said that the events in Transdnistria had been initiated by the KGB.

He said the same in March 1993 on Azerbaijan TV, "Echo of Sumgayit", "Sumgayit events were organized by the USSR military industrial complex and the KGB."

All this sounded many years later but it was mentioned at that trial for the first time.

In connection with these events we would like to recall the following fact.

For many post-war years the Soviet propaganda asserted that the Socialist camp is an international organization in which friendship and brotherhood of peoples predominate. Certainly, very few people believed that but the true state of affairs was not clear to the end either.

I faced this problem closely in 1980 when I was just a student, during my trip to the German Democratic Republic. In conversations with different people in informal conditions I felt undisguised hostility to the USSR and its policy.

Subsequently from conversations with representatives from the different countries of the Socialist camp it became clear that GDR was not an exception but rather the general trend. The Soviet propaganda was such.

The second time I faced such propaganda was after Azerbaijan gained independence. In the course of the well-known events I repeatedly visited at the United Nations office in Geneva, the OSCE offices in Warsaw, Vienna, New York, repeatedly spoke at seminars in Strasbourg and always raised Karabakh

problem. What was amazing for me is the total lack of truthful information on the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict in these establishments.

All debates went round one question - who was the first to begin and who is more guilty; no one raised deep processes related to these problems, i.e. the principle - the less sources, the more facts from both sides! Certainly, at such approach there were few chances to reach truth!

The legal base of that time was completely ignored, making a start from which it would be possible to consider the conflict in legal aspect.

It became clear in those years that the mighty of this world are guided not by justice principles at the decision of similar conflicts, but by conjuncture political reasons.

It became clear in those years that the mighty of this world are guided not by justice principles at the decision of similar conflicts, but by conjuncture political reasons.

The book presented by Professor Chapay Sultanov *The Last Blow from the Empire*, recognized all over the world (suffice it to say that in the Internet it was visited by more than one million readers), opens many aspects of events of that time with scientific scrupulousness and systematically; the author of these lines was the witness and the active participant.

Ch. Sultanov studied the events of 20 January, 1990. For freedom and independence of their Motherland, the Azerbaijan people did not retreat in front of tanks of the dying empire and proved to the whole world that the USSR was doomed and this historical process was impossible to stop.

Using little-known facts, he showed in his book the deep processes preceding the intrusion of the Soviet troops into Baku on 20 January, 1990.

The author went into detail of the events in Khojaly. The author fairly reproaches the Azerbaijan and Turkish sides that they cannot tell the whole truth about these events.

It is especially important to note that the information base of this book consists of foreign sources, opinions of politicians and political analysts of different countries.

I am sure that this book will be read by readers of the different countries of the world with interest.

*Aslan Ismailov,
lawyer*

Chapay Sultanov
The Last Blow from the Empire
 Baku, 20 January, 1990

More than ten years after the events of 20 January, 1990 in Baku, the book considers them in a new perspective. Basing on, the author reveals the main intention of Gorbachev's blow on Baku, showing the whole political palette of the USSR and its connection with that blow.

The appendix gives some information on certain aspects of the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan.

1. WHY DID THE USSR COLLAPSE?

Before we deal the main subject of the book, it is necessary to dwell on some causes of the USSR collapse, since that predetermined the development of further events in the former Soviet Union in many ways. Certain events of Gorbachev's perestroika, in their turn, influenced the process of the USSR breakdown.

Most importantly, the analysis of these causes will throw light on some aspects of introduction of troops in Baku on 20 January, 1990. Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Yazov, Primakov and other members of Gorbachev's team claimed their actions to be aimed at the preservation of the USSR.

So, the USSR collapsed. It was gone on 25 December, 07.00 p.m., when Gorbachev in public signed the decree (N UP-3162) on divesting himself of Supreme Commander-in-Chief authority, which was broadcasted on TV.

"I praise the Motherland I have, and I praise thrice the one that's GONE"¹.
 Gone!

About Gorbachev. "While in March 1985, he entered top class politics as the authoritative leader of the world's largest superpower, in August 1991, he ended up sunk in intrigues, entangled in his own incessant lies, serving as a paid agent provocateur of the USSR-hostile western states. A phenomenal career that seems to be unprecedented in the world history of political scoundrelism", says Valery Legostayev, characterizing the initial and terminal points of Gorbachev's political course that ended together with the USSR collapse. The last empire had been existing for over 70 years and seemed solid not long before it fell like a

¹ Paraphrased words of a great Soviet poet V. Mayakovsky, "I praise the Motherland I have, and I praise thrice the one to be"

house of cards. Why did that happen, what is the reason? There are many of them.

As early as in the war years, the US ambassador Harriman observed that the society Russia had built was not the one of the future, but the one that belonged to the remote past of the mankind, which made its end inevitable. Later, in 1960, Richard Nixon, the then US vice-president, dared to assert that Khrushchev's grandchildren would live in a free society. Nearly at the same time, Nikita Sergeevich insisted that Communism would bury every kind of capitalism after a while once and for all.

The downfall of the CPSU, the core of the Empire, is described by A. Lukyanov in the following way, "The fact remains that the party surrendered almost without a struggle. Was it the whole party, the whole 19 million Communists? Certainly not. As Andropov had warned once, two wings were forming inside the party, the petit bourgeois bureaucratized layer was getting more pronounced; the layer was isolated from the general party mass, from the millions of honest members. Hence the outflow of a considerable number of Communists from the Party organizations in the period of Gorbachev's innovations. Hence the confusion in the bulk of the Party organizations during the fascist attacks (which is surely the right term) on the party committees and the ban on the CPSU in the end of August and beginning of September 1991."

However, such a plain explanation by no means reveals the essence of the complicated processes that were under way in the CPSU, especially in the post-Brezhnev period.

In 1986, the CPSU had 19 million members, which makes a record in the whole history of its existence. Yet that people mass was no longer a dynamic organization but a frozen, breathless one. There were neither centrists nor right or left deviationists, neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks, the party being run by a handful of semiliterate persons on the Marxism-Leninism basis, moreover, by means of different resolutions that generally had no realization mechanism and could not have it.

As the stability theory has it, every stable construction has to have certain vibration amplitude, otherwise it is doomed in extreme cases. No one in the CPSU CC wished to be "vibration amplitude" in the broad sense of the word, which showed itself in the election of every new General Secretary.

The academician V. Chelomey was not afraid of contradicting Stalin, Beriya, Malenkov and in the Brezhnev period D. Ustinov, who hated him. He said in 1984, "All that was built not on natural basis is to break!"

Everything was unnatural in the CPSU of those years, from with top officials to the majority of rank-and-file members. The thin layer of committed Communists had already no influence on the events inside the party.

It took Gorbachev and Yeltsin (they were unanimous in this case) little effort to shatter such a construction; party members, with few exceptions, did not complain taking the order to die on the spot.

Taking an interview from a famous dissident writer of the 1960s A. Gladilin, the correspondent remarked that oil reserves depletion was generally mentioned among the causes of the downfall of the Soviet system. Gladilin replied, "I have a different theory. The system crumbled because it was crashed by the only person who could do it, the chief person in the Soviet Union, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev."

This is possible in only one case, in case of a rigidly centred system.

In his book *On the Edge of 21st Century*, President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev notes that the USSR collapse was inevitable. According to him, one of the main reasons was the lack of national relationship theory basing on scientific concepts. He believes that the ethnic point of development of society and individual states is of a global, not local nature. Among other causes of the USSR collapse, he distinguishes economy inefficiency, back-breaking arms race, science stagnation, bureaucratization, human resources management mistakes, gerontocracy, concurrency of an administrative elite crisis and a general crisis of the socialist system. However, when Nazarbayev was ideology secretary of the Central Committee of Kazakhstan Communist Party, he would say quite the contrary.

THE COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY WAS FARFETCHED AND ITS CHIEF HERALDS WERE INSINCERE, WHICH IS ALSO CONFIRMED BY THE FACT THAT KRAVCHUK IN UKRAINE AND NAZARBAYEV IN KAZAKHSTAN AND GORBUNOV IN LATVIA WERE ALL COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THEIR REPUBLICS COMMUNIST PARTIES AND LATER CAME TO SUPPORT THE BREAKDOWN OF COMMUNISM.

Honest Soviet scientists also realized that the USSR, and especially its core, the Communist Russia, was on the verge of falling apart. "No one is going to fight us," scientists of Novosibirsk wrote then to the CPSU CC, "all the talk about Pershings and tense relationship is bluff. Why should anyone fight us if our sovereign state will collapse by itself in 12 or 15 years? A state, more than half population of which consists of alcoholics and drunkards, is disabled and incapable of defence in principle." V. Astafyev said the same, "Look around you

and you will see an impress of degeneration on every second child. Russian men live 50 years on average, and even less in the North, only 30-35. What kind of nation is this?! What can it give?! What gene pool can we talk about?! This is the problem our politicians should deal instead of arguing which one of them is more significant in history. Russia should live, gather strength, recover, give birth to children and not look for guilty ones!"

And that was not a fault but a disaster of Russia!

President of Turkmenistan S. Niyazov says, "The Russian people is not to blame for what is going on today. It was brought to this point by the system. I visited Russian villages when I worked in the CPSU CC, supervising Kursk and Belgorod regions. Peasants were ruining themselves by drinking even then. And that was in Black Earth Belt! The area has not become rich in the USSR, has not made profit at anyone's expense. Who was there to profit from, though? Khrushchev was building a 100,000 capacity stadium in Indonesia, while we did not have even an ordinary playground for our children. Heavy dump trucks were sent to Congo, while we were transporting oil by donkeys and camels. We have common past and take no offence at anyone, especially at Russia."

Discussing the USSR downfall, S. Zabelin and A. Shubin observe, "The events that led to the collapse of the USSR social political and social economic structures can be considered as a combination of several crises of growth limit in a system, relatively isolated from the world economy, which was our country.

First, it was a crisis of growth limit of the price a society can pay for extraction of natural resources. Such a crisis was described as early as in 1972, in the Club of Rome *Growth Limits* report. The simulation demonstrated that when deposits start to peter out "the use of ever growing capital investments in resource branches becomes necessary, as a result of which the share of investment in other branches decreases. In the end, investment is so small that it is incapable of covering even capital depreciation, and industrial production base crisis occurs". The above-mentioned was characteristic of the Soviet economy in the 1980s. Production cost rising, the means received from the resources exploitation was spent by the government not on modernization of the economy at all. The myth of inexhaustibility of resources stipulated the lack of demand for engineering proposals capable of increasing production efficiency. That led to the technologic fragility of the system. As long as resources were in abundance, technology update process was slow, with extensive development prevailing. When difficulties increased in resources extraction there were no means left for the necessary technology update. The USSR came to perestroika with outdated

technology and exhausted basic production facilities (the degree of exhaustion made up 70-80% in some fields)...

Second, the USSR economy was ruined by the crisis of monetary growth limit, crisis of hidden inflation rate in a closed system of finance. In 1992, when the money bubble burst the country ended up in debt and its every citizen lost their accumulated savings. As the financial crisis of the late 1997 in Pacific Region shows, financial obligations volume in the world considerably exceeds real output. So, the world financial market can burst any moment, as well as most stable currency systems.

Third, the crisis of environment pollution growth with respect to human ability to bear it. The crisis manifested itself in a disastrous decrease of human immunological status, increased delicacy among new-born children, life expectancy and population size reduction, death rate growth. Despite local successes in ecology related to removing some unhealthy and hazardous industries from developed countries, the world industry increases its devastating effect on humans.

And finally, it was the crisis of growth limits of the controlled system with respect to the controlling one, the crisis of bureaucratic and managerial principles of administration against self-administration and self-organization. Socialist system was a strictly hierarchical system of public administration, in which the final decision eventually depends on the ability of one man to choose the optimum alternative from the available variety. When interests or administration of actions of a hundred or a thousand subjects (facilities, battalions, organizations) are concerned, this is still possible if the decision-maker is intelligent and experienced and his assistants at least do not seek self-profit while suggesting alternatives. When subjects number millions and billions, no brain is capable of making an objectively weighted decision. He can guess it, but the more complicated the situation is, the less successful guesswork gets."

A book by P. Schweizer appeared in the West, titled *Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. The book gives a thorough and well-reasoned analysis of the victory of the West in the cold war. The author distinguishes the following factors among basic ones.

"Fatal" defects of the Soviet system that became pronounced by the 1980s.

Reagan's strategy of aggressive tactics of crashing Soviet forces in Afghanistan, in whole Eastern Europe and within the Soviet territory, instead of defensive doctrine of containment. The Soviet Union was forced to spend more than half its budget to maintain the balance.

To make the USSR spend vast amounts on quelling resistance, the Reagan's administration showed considerable financial assistance to Polish "Solidarity" and Afghani Mujahidins.

Soviet oil supplies to Western Europe were blocked.

Undercutting in the world markets."

ACCORDING TO SCHWEIZER, THE LATTER WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE, DEPRIVING THE USSR OF VAST CURRENCY SUPPLY.

AFTER REAGAN SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING SAUDI ARABIA TO SUPPORT THE USA IN THAT MATTER, THE USSR ECONOMY SUFFERED A POWERFUL BLOW (highlighted by the author).

Does not the influence of a large oil-producing country on the superpower seem strange? It does not if we remember that THE USSR UNHEALTHY ECONOMY LIVED ON A UNIQUE DRUG, THE DIFFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL OIL AND OIL PRODUCTS PRICES. That economic drug, alongside with subsidies invented by the Communist regime, and low oil and oil products prices allowed feeding the country, keeping it warm and underselling the manufactured production. When the drug ran out, even more sophisticated measures were introduced, such as dumping oil prices in the world market. Such a policy harmed oil producing republics in the first place.

Planned economy managed to transform such valuable product as oil, often referred to as "black gold", into an amazing economic drug. IN MANY OIL PRODUCING REGIONS, THIS BUSINESS YIELDED TWENTY-FIVE-FOLD BUDGET SURPLUS, THE PROFIT BEING INVESTED IN THE SAME FIELD AGAIN, AS THE MOST EFFICIENT. As other industries could not rise from ashes like a Phoenix (equipment exhaustion being almost extreme in most facilities), they could not enter foreign markets and had to stew in their own juice.

Economic efficiency of oil and gas deposits exploration was considerably decreased due to the socialist methods of management. Deposits in hard-to-reach areas (northern regions, marshland, shelf zone) are known to be explored in two ways, in rotating scheme and by housing infrastructure development. The rest of the civilization would choose the former, while the USSR chose mainly the latter, which entailed sharp price rise in this field. Later, rotating scheme was used in the USSR as well (repair crews were even sent from Baku to Siberia). However, that was at the advanced stage of exploitation when oil in those regions reached the limit of profitability.

The USSR increased production, trying to satisfy the sharp need of currency, as a result of which oil prices started to drop intensively. The Arabs

suffered considerable losses and the USSR budget got 50 billion dollars worth "hole".

The USSR debts to some countries are bewildering: Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Poland. Yet these debts are due to... the oil wealth of the USSR. The scheme of incurring of debt was simple. Oil was sold to those countries at ridiculous prices and their light and food industries products were purchased practically at world prices. We were fraternal peoples, weren't we?! The scheme cost the USSR 50 billion dollars annually for twenty years. "Druzha" oil pipeline made its contribution to the USSR collapse. PARADOXICAL AS IT IS, CHEAP OIL BANGED OTHER INDUSTRIES OF THE USSR ECONOMY, THE PHENOMENON TO BE CALLED "DUTCH DISEASE" AFTERWARDS.

One of the most informative characteristics of economy of one or another country is gold production and the volume of its state reserve.

According to Elmar Guseynov, the Russian Empire applied the classic form of absolute liquidity of gold, gold standard, when the volume of gold reserve was fully correspondent to the volume of paper currency in circulation. That ruled out the necessity of gold export and encouraged the accumulation of precious metal in the country's gold reserve. In the period from 1918 to 1991, the Soviet Union produced 11,000 tons of gold and sold 8,191 tons. The USSR entered the world gold market in 2953, after Stalin's death. The considerable amount of gold was spent on grain purchase.

The agriculture of the country never recovered after collectivization. In the period of collectivization, from 1929 to 1933, 25 million head of cattle was eliminated, including 10 million cows, 17.7 million horses, over 10 million pigs and sheep.

"Grain is the most important currency", Stalin used to say. Understanding that well, the Communist regime still failed to solve the problem in the whole 70 years. The state reserves now increased a little, then was eaten away slightly. The grain situation never reached the sound level fit for a great power; in the early 1960s the USSR had to start purchasing wheat for convertible currency regularly.

N.S. Leonov, General, a historian and analyst intelligence agent, writes, "In 1965-1979, we imported 15 million tons of grain from abroad. Russia put on the needle of imported food drug for the first time in history. The ruling lazybones considered this solution of food problem the most plain and pleasant. Injection after injection, the habit turned into an incurable disease... In 1981-1985 it made up already 170 million tons followed by ever chaotic purchases.

We, the intelligence, saw clearly the USA enjoying the open wound in the USSR body, through which living juices of the people were flowing out. Refusing to sell us complex technologies, they easily continued supplies of grain and food stuffs in general... The USA exchanged crop excess for our exhaustible resources, such as gold, oil stolen from our grandchildren and great-grandchildren... We kept on financing abundantly the flourishing West, turning the purchased grain into some kind of fertilizer."

Here are the lines from the book by the famous polar explorer Fridtjof Nansen, *Russia and the World*. "If we take four basic cereals, wheat, rye, barley and oats, we will see that before the war, in 1903-1913, the cultivated area in the European Russia alone was 81.7 million hectare, thus making up a little more than one third (34%) of the world cultivated area that covered nearly 240 million hectare.

The annual production in the European Russia both in the same period and with respect to the considered four cereals equalled to 65 million tons, that is made up more than a quarter (27%) of the grain production in the whole world. ...That concerns only the European region of Russia, the entire Russia producing 72 million tons. By comparison, the annual crop of cereals in Canada, the USA and Argentina reaches just 67 million tons in general. The annual export of grain from Russia reached 8.7 million tons, thus exceeding the general export of Canada, the USA and Argentina. ...The export of those three countries taken together made up merely 7.7 million tons per year."

According to the estimates of independent experts, the USSR could both provide grain for itself and export it. The whole point was in labour efficiency, in collective farms in particular. That can be demonstrated perfectly with the example of Azerbaijan. In 1913, when there were no collective farms or doctored records, 29.7 million pood² of grain was produced. In 1953, when there were both collective farms and doctored records, the figure was 27.7 million. In 1963, it reached 31.7 million.

Increase in grain consumption in the USSR was explained by the ideologists of that time by the fact that considerable amounts of it were used for feeding livestock. "Our grain is known to have been the cheapest in the world," the ex-director of the USSR KGB V. Kryuchkov writes, "About seven million tons of ready bakery products were annually disposed not accidentally at all. 10-12 million ton of grain was fed to livestock. At the same time, there were years

² =16 kg

when grain import made up 40-45 million tons. What a country could allow that? Can that be tolerable?"

We should say that there is a certain element of truth in that. But this truth is secondary, which was as usually hushed by the official propaganda. Due to the ludicrous fuel and equipment prices, grain was sold considerably below its cost. The latter made it profitable to feed grain to livestock and sell meat at higher prices, i.e. the main reason was absurd price regulation.

The USSR collapse and Mikhail Gorbachev are some kind of Siamese twins that cannot be separated by any surgery.

THE MODEL OF THE USSR COLLAPSE IMAGINED AS GLOBAL AND LOCAL ELEMENT, GORBACHEV'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE LOCAL ONE IS RATHER SIGNIFICANT. HE SPED UP THE PROCESS BY MEANS OF BLOOD AND, AS HE WOULD SAY, "THE PROCESS BECAME IRREVERSIBLE".

"Caucasus is a special region of the Russian Empire. According to a historical theory, Kievan Russia was preceded by a state situated in Tmutarakan (the present-day Taman). This state is associated with the fairyland of Tsar Dodon described by A. Pushkin in his *Tale of the Golden Cockerel*. In the 19th century, Caucasus became the area where valour or infidelity of the Russian nobility was checked. But the Mountains took cruel revenge upon the Empire. It was the Caucasian depths that gave birth to the one who turned the empire into its antipode, "evil empire". Another one came to Moscow from the Northern Caucasian outskirts at the end of the century to lay the foundation of its downfall. SUMGAYIT, KARABAKH, TBILISI, BAKU (highlighted by the author) virtually launched the chain reaction of the USSR breakdown," writes Anatoly Gutsal in his article *Caucasian Knot*.

That ANOTHER is to be the curse for ages, and not only for the Azerbaijan people!

The most dreadful thing is that the process of the collapse was going on the wave of mutual hate among the republics, hate of autonomous republics towards republics, hate of the "free republics brought together by the great Russia", as the Soviet hymn had it, towards the Centre, mutual hate of yesterday's forever "brothers". That was furthered by total political uncertainty, many political faces of Gorbachev, which irritated everyone and caused general nervousness and loathing. All speeches made by Gorbachev reminded a well-known expression often used in Odessa, "You are right in the way you speak."

In 1986, at the rise of perestroika, A. Zinovyev supposed that the launched reforms could lead to the collapse of the USSR. He wrote, "Gorbachev's

supporters intend to realize a drastic revision of the Soviet history. The future will show what it can look like in practice. What we have now is convincing examples of methods of revising a farther past."

An article was published in 1987, in the 12th issue of *Communist* magazine, devoted to the baptism of Russia by Prince Vladimir. It is apparent from the article that the present-day reformer of the Soviet Russia, Gorbachev, had a predecessor as far back as in the 10th century, Kievan Prince Vladimir. The author asserted that the baptism of Russia was merely an exterior form of the events of that time, their essence having been reformist activity of the leadership of Kievan Russia headed by Prince Vladimir. As it happens, "a breakthrough and mastering top achievements of progressive countries of the time were necessary in the country's development" as far back as 1,000 years ago, just like they are today.

Mark that a breakthrough in the country's development was necessary! Accelerated development, we could add. Not a prince, but kind of General Secretary of the Communist Party of Kievan Russian. What was the mentioned breakthrough needed for? For "mastering top achievements of progressive countries of the time" and "reaching the international standards level", it appears. This is exactly how Gorbachev called the Soviet people to rise up to the level of top world achievements.

The Soviet Russia was facing the task of rising to the level of the leading capitalist countries. In the 10th century, according to *Communist*, Kievan Russia was to be "abreast with developed feudal monarchies". At that time, the most progressive social system was feudalism, you see. We wonder if there was a slogan on the palace of Prince Vladimir, saying "Long live feudalism, the bright future of the mankind!"

By the way, Gorbachev was not the first to introduce the term "perestroika" in political sense. Ribbentrop used it in the distant 1941. "I want to restructure relations with Moscow," he wrote in a coded telegram to Molotov. We know well from history how that "restructuring" ended.

In the process of perestroika, Gorbachev's blatant economic ignorance led to the downfall of the entire commodity-money system of the USSR. The political analyst S. Kara-Murza is right, observing that "the Soviet industry was an extension of farming, the political economy of which was worked out by A.V. Chayanov. Work collectives of plants were a variant of community. Production and life of such kind of social organism are not regulated by money, the economy being non-monetarist in principle. In the USSR, product exchange inside the industry was regulated by means of conventional, fictitious money,

"non-cash" (there were different kinds of them). They circulated through a strictly closed system and could not turn into real money to be used in the consumer market. That is why there was no inflation, no "non-payment crisis". When Gorbachev's team "opened the veins" of economy and allowed turning that fictitious money into real one, the consumer market and financial system were ruined. Goods were swept away from shelves, inflation began, treasure emptied."

Gorbachev began with anti-alcohol campaign that banged the USSR finances and caused animosity in the society.

In his memoirs *The Fate of an Intelligence Officer*, the ex-deputy director of the USSR KGB, Colonel General V.F. Grushko summarized the anti-alcohol campaign in the following way. "We got a whole bunch of problems, including an astronomical surge of shadow income and accumulation of initial private capital, riot growth of corruption, disappearance of sugar out of sale for the purposes of homebrew manufacture... In brief, the results proved to be quite the contrary to the prospects and the treasury was short of vast budget sums with nothing to refund them."

The law on state enterprises and cooperatives passed in 1987 opened the valve, through which non-cash funds were turned into cash, not secured with goods in the consumer market. At the same time, the programme of "mechanic engineering recovery" was launched, which resulted in the empty inflating of the economy with non-cash funds.

These two steps finished the financial system of Russia and the shadow sector took hold of huge "official" funds.

The latter resulted in the unprecedented corruption in the USSR. Everyone received bribes from everyone. The country became a giant market, like in Odessa, where one could buy nearly anything, from modern weapons to any high public office.

The task of taking "test samples" was given to Komsomol functionaries, who began the "construction of capitalism" in 1987. The first type of "high-ranking business" was conversion of money into cash. Special organizations were established for this kind of financial activity, centres of technological creative work for youth that became the driving force of "Komsomol economy" (and inflation as well). Many of those Komsomol functionaries became rather dubious businessmen and bankers afterwards and inflicted enormous damage on the Russian economy.

We by no means say that the "non-cash rouble" situation was normal at the Soviet time. But Gorbachev's "credit" was that he made the already poor

economic situation even worse. First millionaires appeared after dubious banking operations had turned billions of bubble non-cash means into cash which had been in no time used for purchasing something. Later, those billionaires made a tangible contribution to the cause of breaking down the USSR.

The German *Die Zeit* wrote, "Gorbachev finally managed to lose Stalin's inheritance, and the majority of the Russians mock him today, like a fool from Russian fairytales, for he has got down the world power the Russians have been building for centuries and even its safety belt..."

The USSR was historically doomed, and the blame for its collapse is not to be laid on Gorbachev. Western experts once found 79 flash points in the disputable areas of the borders between various republics and national districts of the USSR. The question is different. Instead of attempting to find some ways of stabilization (like Antropov did) or at least make the process of collapse more civilized, Gorbachev cared about only one thing, wishing to look like a historic person against this background, receive various prizes and please the West.

The Karabakh conflict acted as a catalyst in the process of the USSR collapse.

K. Myalo writes, "Whereas Azerbaijan bears the palm in using criminal terror for the purposes of solving ethnic and territorial conflicts (Sumgayit events speak for themselves), Armenia initiated the transformation of the acute conflict into the weapon of a direct attack on the Union itself and its breakdown..."

...Neither Armenia nor Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast participated in the 17 March, 1991 referendum for the preservation of the Soviet Union. On 20 September, 1990, however, Levon Ter-Petrosyan (then the head of Armenian Armed Forces) demanded from Yeltsin that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn from the NKA0, alleging as his reason that the Soviet Armenia was used there as a repressive body by the Centre and by Azerbaijan. That disregard of the Soviet Union itself that was expressed in the choice of addressee (the USSR still existed, Etlsin was the head of the RSFSR) meant much. I heard the word "occupants" addressed to Soviet soldiers and officers from Karabakh children. It was surely put in their mouths by the grown-ups, and the latter outstripped even the Baltic republics in their demand to withdraw the Soviet troops."

We can add that Sumgayit events are mysterious and the answer is to be sought not in Baku. But we will touch on the subject later.

Major General of KGB V. Shironin writes, "We cannot deny the fact that the brewing of carnage in Armenia and Azerbaijan began in 1987, the second year of perestroika. In the beginning of 1987 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published an article by I. Belyayev *Islam*, the gist of which can be reduced to the statement

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that this confession is evil and dangerous for our state, Muslims being insidious and treacherous people. Let me remind you that battles were still on in Afghanistan at that time and sons of our land were sent back home from there in zinc coffins. The campaign on shattering the public consciousness and disrupting public views in all directions was launched in mass media as far back as then. The campaign pursued two basic aims, to sow doubts in everything and everyone and to make people quarrel with one another. Belyayev's article corresponded the spirit of this campaign.

Nevertheless, I support the opinion of Y. Pompeyev who wrote in his book *Bloody Whirlpool of Karabakh* that "the worst was yet to come. The worst was in the "Armenian issue" that had always been the West's trial balloon for intervention in internal affairs not only of Transcaucasia." In other words, we cannot totally ignore the fact that being an expert on the Middle East and a skilled journalist, I. Belyayev was well aware of the real objective of his article that attracted public attention. Especially as it was kind of synchronized with some other remarkable events.

Numerous political analysts appeared, including Russian State Duma member S. Baburin, who think that the USSR collapse and all negative consequences were caused by the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. Those events had adverse effect both on the USSR and Russia, both on partocrates and democrats. Ceausescu said to his wife before he died, "Goddamn Karabakh, everything started there!" These words were often repeated in the houses of those killed in the Karabakh war, regardless of nationality.

G. Shakhnazarov, the aid of Gorbachev, wrote about the latter, "Why did not he show his cards at once?.. A system is like a solid brick house and has not to be shattered with a heavy cannon ball but pulled down block by block, even brick by brick if necessary."

Gorbachev chose Karabakh as such a "brick".

Even the devoted supporter of the Armenians, the former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov had to admit, "That was a stab in the back of the state (Nagorno-Karabakh - *Author*) and he (Gorbachev - *Author*) stabbed himself."

Anatoly Chekhoyev, Russian State Duma member, said that the Karabakh conflict was worked out and prepared by Moscow and after the test was accepted as the universal model for other regions.

Heydar Aliyev observed that the Karabakh conflict had been organized with the purpose of preserving the USSR but it had become the beginning of its end.

With total connivance of the USSR authorities, criminals from the entire West rushed to Karabakh. Economically inexplicable route Beirut - Yerevan became he axis between Karabakh and soldiers of fortune all over the world. *Diena* newspaper reports that "even Lebanese sentenced to death for terrorism in thirteen countries fight in Nagorno-Karabakh."

Speaking of terrorist brigades of separatists, a defender of Karabakh separatists, Victor Sheinis admits without realizing it that terrorism was an element of the Karabakh separatism, "bands are formed mainly of local population, NOT OF NEWCOMER TERRORISTS (highlighted by the author), and the Armenians see them as their only protectors..." he writes in *Novoe Vremya*, N 33, August 1991.

Different forces were dealing different problems. Whereas Armenia had the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh as its single and main purpose, other, more powerful forces contemplated the breakdown of the USSR.

Ruslan Khasbulatov believes that the Chechen events also furthered the USSR collapse. "Let me stress it once again that these events cannot be regarded as the consequence of the USSR collapse. Quite the contrary, they caused this collapse. Just like Karabakh, Baltic republics, Dudayev supporters dealt a powerful blow on the Soviet Union and paved the way for Belavezha Accords using even psychological aspects of the charismatic leader."

The political analyst S. Kurghinyan went even further, "Chechnya is the Russian Karabakh. Many believed that the small Karabakh would not be able to blow up the superpower. But it did. Russia broke its back not in Chechnya but through Chechnya."

In another case, S. Kurghinyan wrote meaning the possible breakdown of Russia in connection with what he thought inadequate reaction to the Chechen events of the autumn 1991, "The start of this breakdown was almost symbolic - a visit to Nagorno-Karabakh, the point that laid the foundation of the USSR breakdown. Now, the leader of Russia goes there and fails, which is obvious to everyone. The point is not why he failed to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh... The one who dares to undertake this task will inevitably acquire a political "rupture"."

When asked how he could explain the fact that all security agencies and special services of the USSR could not withstand the country's downfall, the former KGB director of the Armenian SSR Usik Arutyunyan answered, "It is very difficult to give a brief answer to this question, since the Soviet Union was broken down in a day but systematically and gradually, by means of huge efforts made by the West. It is not secret that CIA and other intelligence agencies planned and implemented appropriate operations. I attended High school of KGB when I got acquainted with some documents and understood that the

USSR was on the way to its imminent failure. It was the question of actual immunity of party, Soviet, Komsomol workers even if they accidentally came in sight of the KGB. The point was when the breakdown will begin. Now we can probably disclose that copies of the Politburo draft decisions were brought from the CIA safes and shown to M. Gorbachev. Only members and candidate members of the Politburo had those draft decisions, that is 14-15 persons. And some of them fed the CIA with this information. The seeds sown in 1990 began yielding fruit.

Let us remember who headed the country in the so-called stagnation years. Take Brezhnev alone in the last years of his rule or the aged Chernenko! What existence of the state could be in question if the country was run by half-wits?

The state ruled by half-wits was doomed. The Soviet Empire fell as any other does in the period when power belongs to people that do not protect state interests or even do not understand them." Such a naïve and superficial approach to such a complicated matter, blaming two half-wits for everything! However, it is characteristic that the list of those half-wits who ruined the USSR does not include the main "hero", the windbag Mikhail Gorbachev, and such an affection of Usik Arutyunyan towards Gorbachev is understandable enough. NKAO events are not mentioned in these terms either.

But Arutyunyan's answer includes an interesting point of classified information leakage from the higher echelons of authorities. Who were the people surrounding Gorbachev and possessing all the important information concerned with various aspects of the USSR affairs? They are well-known, and Shakhnazarov, Aganbegyan, Sitaryan, Brutents were among them. As *Komsomolskaya Pravda* wrote, Aganbegyan established "KEPS" and sold important state economic information through "East-West-Project" joint venture. As for the source of information from the higher echelons of authorities, the USSR KGB director Kryuchkov made hints about Shakhnazarov.

When the events in Karabakh, Sumgayit, Baku, Vilnius, Osh, Ferghana, Tbilisi, Tskhinvali occurred, Gorbachev would invariably say that he was unaware of them and was nearly the last to hear. That was something new in history of empires. All emperors, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Peter I, Stalin etc., even if they tried to pass the desirable for reality, always emphasized that they were on top of issues in the whole empire. Certainly, Gorbachev knew about those events much more than others but denied that in public and very cynically. Such an attitude meant nothing but "do as you wish, and I sort of will know later, latest of all". During the February plenary session Y. Ligachev said that Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze had attended the Politburo meeting on 7 April, 1989, at which the decision had been taken on the introduction of troops in Tbilisi. According to the journalist A. Zhilin, "had General I. Rodionov

told the whole truth at the meeting and demonstrated the documents on the tragedy in the capital of Georgia, M. Gorbachev would not probably have become the first president of the USSR."

The USSR ambassador to England L.M. Zamyatin wrote about the Vilnius events, "Clearly, Gorbachev did not like the note on which his British companion (British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd – *Author's remark*) ended the conversation. All of a sudden, he said sarcastically, "To solve such a problem at the time of Zamyatin took only 24 hours. Fist on the table and everything is in the right order! But how long can we live in this way? Now, we should not slam fist on the table but remain cool facing pressure and seek political solution of the issue. If that goes wrong, we will have to send for Zamyatin for him to set things right in a week like they do it in Ulster."

...Several weeks later, he himself demonstrated the way he intended to "solve problems". On 13 January, "emergency forces" ploughed Vilnius streets with tank tracks, battles were on around the television broadcasting centre.

...Did Gorbachev know that this could happen? I assert that he did. When street fighting in Vilnius began, Gorbachev called to the Ministry of Defence in the presence of his aids and asked, "What is going on there in Vilnius? Where are your reports?" His interlocutor at the other end of the wire dropped his jaw, "Mikhail Sergeevich, but we had a detailed conversation on this matter yesterday..."

Cutting himself off the bloody events, Gorbachev did not see or did not wish to see that though such behaviour he openly admitted that THE STATE WAS LOSING CONTROL AND HE HIMSELF DID NOT POSSESS FULL INFORMATION ON THE EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY.

Did Gorbachev realize that those processes were leading to the USSR collapse? He certainly did. But we have an impression that Gorbachev believed the main thing was to avoid problems in Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia, that is Slavic countries, and the rest would be there any time!

It seems that considering the attitude of the West, he had doubts as to what he should do with the Baltic countries that had never been regarded as the USSR territory by the USA?

At the same time, it would be unfair to speak of the role of Gorbachev in the global component of the USSR collapse model, like Communists never get tired to say, for the eventual collapse was laid in the USSR at the moment of its formation.

Let us quote Doctor of Economy, the observer of *Izvestiya* Otto Latsis, "In the long chain of anniversaries and recently celebrated dates, a round date remained forgotten that would not be avoided by any newspaper of a different time. The fifth anniversary of the 28th CPSU Congress. That was a fair chance

for the country to walk the way of changes at minimum cost. Gorbachev could have divide the CPSU in the civilized way into the two parties that had been always hidden within it, thus leaving the reactionary part of his administration.

Similarly forgotten was the fifth anniversary of the constitutional convention of the Russian Communist Party at which (long before Elsin) weeping about sovereignty began... not sovereignty of Russia, the party bureaucracy was little concerned about the fate of the latter, but about their own party sovereignty. Gorbachev did not dare to loose that knot, take the side of democrats during the 28th Congress, split the party thereby saving it. That alone could give a chance of preserving the Soviet Union as well. The chance was missed.

Another cause of the breakdown of the country was the failure of the national economy where Gorbachev made more mistakes than anyone else. He did nothing to strengthen the belief that it would be a different Union, a democratic, not a Stalinist one. Then, he did not see the danger of strengthening national elites, moreover, he relied on many of them.

And finally, nothing was done to oppose the quite obvious plan of the Soviet special services that organized the bloodshed in Vilnius and tried to provoke it in Riga. That correlated perfectly to the so-called law on secession, with separate (for some reason) consideration of opinion in the regions of national minorities communities. In practice, that would mean that Estonia, for instance, could withdraw only without Narva, Latvia without Riga, Georgia without Abkhazia etc. It should be pointed out that some of those plans were realized, though in somewhat different form.

However, in August 1991 there still were chances of a weak, limited "Novo-Ogaryovo" confederation. In these terms, Gorbachev's attempts were not hopeless. But the putsch did away with them for good. Seeing this... no, not face but muzzle of Moscow, republics reacted immediately. In Belavezhsкая Pushcha, just the act of divorce was formalized (and not in its best form but rather rudely, using the situation against Gorbachev personally)."

The causes of the USSR collapse mentioned by the observer analyst are certainly informative but have little weight in comparison with other factors, in our opinion. However, there is one interesting fact in that statement. Readers can easily notice that Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh were not included in the list of the blackmailed republics. This is not without a reason. At the dawn of the Karabakh events, in his interview to the West German television O. Latsis characterized them as "national liberation movement". When the west-German journalist reasonable remarked that this could be the beginning of the USSR collapse, Latsis said. "No, these events are of local nature and can by no means

influence the USSR in general." With such an approach, Mr Latsis can enter the list of co-authors of double standard "democracy".

Some causes of the USSR collapse are pointed out by the former CIS executive secretary B. Berezovsky. In particular, he writes, "Alongside with working out the optimum model of interaction, the CIS members need to answer some other questions.

1. What other reasons beside the main one, the insolubility of national issue, furthered the USSR collapse?
2. What exactly has been done wrong in the last seven years, why did the model of united integration fail to be determined?"

The answer to the first question is of exceptional relevancy, for many proposals on the improvement of the CIS are subconsciously dictated by our past Soviet experience. We mechanically compare all losses and gains since 1991. Estimating advantages of integration, we also count from the time of the USSR. However the point is that the restoration of the USSR in its old form is impossible not only for political reasons but also for economic ones.

In 1991, it was not just the USSR that collapsed, but also the Russian Empire another form of which was the Soviet Union. Why did not the empire fall apart in 1917? Why did not it collapse in 1941 when Hitler hoped it would? It was transition to a market economy that pushed the Soviet Union to the collapse.

In 1917, economic system was changing in the entire territory of the Russian Empire mainly in one direction, as the war and devastation had led to the domination of the levelling ideas of military Communism. In 1941, there was no question of changing economic system at all.

The situation was different in 1991. An intensive process of searching for a new model of economy for the country had begun in 1985. By 1991, several of such models had appeared. Let us say two, for convenience, the liberal model of "shock therapy" and the model of "smooth" transition.

"The CIA report on the economic and domestic political situation in the USSR. Analytical account for President, Government and the US Congress. 1978" is very significant.

"...At the present time, a clear tendency shows itself towards the split in the central body of the CPSU and in the leadership of Communist parties of the Soviet republics. The main reason of that is the graceful degradation of economic situation in the country. Stagnation of all industries, sustained decline in production, catastrophic loss of labour efficiency, persistent crop failure were even aggravated with the drop in world prices for traditional Soviet export goods, such as oil, gas and raw timber. Voluminous and totally unbalanced military production is expanded annually, ruining all other industries and subjecting the

country to the import of wide range of essential goods, including food stuffs. Meanwhile, the aged leadership of the USSR does not see the fatality of this course and moreover draws the country into further global expenses that it cannot sustain either in theory or in practice. ... To maintain trade relations with the West at least on some level, the USSR is forced to explore unprofitable mines, which requires billions-worth state subsidies, produce low-quality oil in remote and hard-to-reach regions of the country where its prime cost is very high, driving itself into some kind of economic vicious circle with no exit in sight. ... Brezhnev visited India and signed an agreement on issuing a loan of 820 million dollars for the government of Gandhi. Besides, he promised to decrease oil supplies to India by 1 million tons. He also signed a secret agreement on weapon supplies, including 25 MIG-25 aircrafts totalling 1.6 billion dollars. The preferential credit for weapon supplies has been as usual drawn in the way that it makes one doubt if India is going to call it in at all. ... There is only evaluation data available how much those raw materials and finished products supplies to the satellite countries cost the USSR annually. However, the USSR annually spends convertible currency on the above-mentioned countries increasing its own debt to the West that makes up 17 billion 900 million dollars at the moment. Apart from that, Kremlin undertook obligations of Western loans guarantor for Eastern Europe countries, potentially shouldering another 60 billion dollars debt.

There is accurate data on annual dollar subsidies to the satellite countries (Table 1.27).

Table...

During the last 10 years, the USSR has spent 85.8 billion dollars distributing the means in the following way. Kuba – 15.4906 billion dollars; Vietnam – 9.1312; Syria – 7.426; Iraq – 3.7656; Ethiopia – 2.8605; North Korea – 2.2341; Mongolia – 9.5427; India – 8.9075; Poland – 4.955; Afghanistan – 3.055; Algeria – 2.5193; Angola – 2.0289 billion dollars.

... Furthermore, Kremlin makes investments in the capitals of well-known firms and companies that not only have nothing to do with the international Communist movement but quite the contrary are officially stigmatized by Moscow as ones constituting the military industrial complex of the West. Paradoxically enough, Moscow invests in our defence system instead of spending those funds on its own ailing economy. ... In the course of the recent contacts between the Soviet leaders and the leaders of the USA and Western European countries (visits of Brezhnev and Gromyko) repeatedly declared the acute need in receiving Western loans for modernization of the entire primary sector of economy as the basic purpose of these contacts. However, the proposals of the Western countries on the appropriate equipment supplies were rejected and a desire was expressed to receive purely money loans, since the Soviet party

had not chosen the vendors yet and intended to organize a competition for firms. The received loans almost fully accumulated on the Western bank accounts and are actually redistributed to personal accounts of high party officials. ... One can have the impression that some part of the CPSU leaders has seen the imminent disaster in the country much more clearly from inside than we have from outside and prepared to escape to the West by building up material resources for that. The latter fact obviously defines all the USSR home and foreign policy that has no other explanation. Such a policy led to the threefold gold reserves reduction in the last 30 years, and the gold reserves continue to decrease rapidly. The continually advancing industrial decline threatens to go out of control and entail a total economic chaos, which will create a perfect opportunity to eliminate the USSR as a great world power without resorting to military means. ... We regard it efficient to attempt to expand the list of the client countries of the USSR in the nearest future thereby increasing its prohibitive expenses (a better way is its direct involvement in some large regional conflict) and widening the split in the Kremlin leadership by means of the elaborate loan policy. ..."

To receive the Soviet aid, it was sufficient merely to declare war on "American imperialism" or accept Marxism as good for the people. There was a time when even the notorious cannibal emperor Bokassa received support from the USSR for abusing American imperialism.

The incompatibility of the USSR economy and the world economy also contributed to the collapse. According to the American scientist R. Keohane, "once the world capitalist system is established it is subject to favouring capitalist governments and damaging socialist ones."

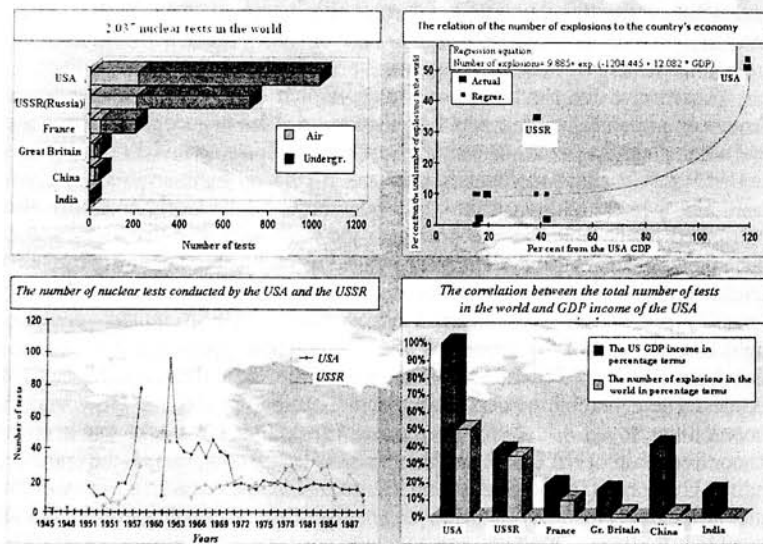
We can add here the destructive power of the USSR military doctrine. Right after the end of the Second World War, without even having its wounds healed, the USSR entered the "cold war" against the West, the war that lasted for decades. The economic powers were unequal in this war, for the US economy exceeded the Soviet one two or three times. In addition, if we take into account the confrontation of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries on the one side, and the USA, NATO and SEATO on the other side, the economic power of the latter will exceed that of the former four or five times. Geopolitics of the USSR generated the corresponding geo-economy that broke down as well. The colossus with feet of clay crumbled.

As far back as in 1968, General de Gaulle said that no country could be considered completely independent without nuclear weapon. Picture 1 gives the available data on nuclear tests in the USSR and the USA from 1945 to 1989. Politburo members at different times could not even suspect that every nuclear explosion they set off produced an economic explosion as well. The picture of air and underground nuclear tests conducted by these powers in the above-

mentioned years is as follows. 512 air explosions and 1,525 underground explosions were carried out in total. The underground (815) and air (215) explosions leader is the USA followed by the USSR, France, Great Britain, China and India.

Picture 1 reflects the data on the number of explosions in per cents from the totality of nuclear explosions in the world alongside with the US GDP income in percentage terms. It is obvious that the correlation between the total number of tests in the world and GDP income of the USA is within due limits both in the developed countries (the USA, France and Great Britain) and in the developing countries.

Pic.1 Nuclear tests in the world



The USSR is a phenomenon in this respect, as the considered correlation is different here. GDP of the USSR amounting to 38% from that of the USA, the USSR carried out 35.1% of the totality of nuclear explosions in the world. Such a destructive strategy can be understandable if a country prepares for a nuclear attack or expects it. In any other case this is economic insanity that was to and did lead to the breakdown of the USSR.

There is a model of the relation of the number of nuclear explosions to the economy of a country built up for the world nuclear powers. Picture 1 demonstrates that two nuclear strategies existed in the world in the period under review, one was nuclear sufficiency to repel aggression, which France, India, China, Great Britain stood by, the other being the achievement of nuclear power balance with the USA. The USSR stood by the latter strategy. Had the USSR chosen nuclear sufficiency strategy, it would have been enough to carry out three times less explosions.

Henry Kissinger wrote, "The paranoid feeling of insecurity made Russia produce 20,000 nuclear warheads." Only a country with a powerful free economy can afford such a programme, which was confirmed later by the historical events.

But the most dreadful thing was that the arms race could not provide the USSR full safety. The American professor Alexander Yanov said that in the beginning of the 1980s the Americans made a considerable breakthrough in the antimissile system technology. Had such systems been produced in full measure, the number of missiles and missile-carriers possessed by one or another country would have become of no significance at all. The "petrodollars - military-industrial complex" model proved to be untenable. By the way, according to Yanov, it was this fact that prompted Gorbachev to launch perestroika, for (and we agree) the USSR was incapable of constructing such systems and the nuclear pistol would be put to the country's head. Few people could be convinced then by the ardent speeches of Academician Velikhov on Central Television Channel, who tried to assure everyone that such antimissile systems were impossible to construct.

The Swedish economist Aslund calculated that the Soviet GDP made up only one fifth of the American one on average. Clearly, a nuclear competition with the entire world was to lead to the economic collapse of a country with such capabilities.

The mentioned data shows that the USSR thoughtless nuclear strategy that did not provide the country security was one of the causes of the USSR economic collapse. There were favourable conditions for a military industrial complex in the command and administration System. However, the balance between economy of the country and nuclear safety was not and could not be found.

The state leaders disclosed the USSR military strategy quite explicitly and clearly. L.M. Zamyatin writes in this connection, "Khrushchev, who was far from diplomatic refinement, bullied the West declaring in public that missiles come

off the assembly line at the USSR plants "like sausages." The discreet Brezhnev usually tried to avoid public statements but I happened to witness him expressing his "creed" to the minister of defence, "The Americans and NATO may have a certain number missiles, we will have as much plus 50%!"

This approach suited the US military industrial complex well, as it received huge military orders. To maintain the USSR on the rails of the destructive arms race, the US military industrial complex, that has a strong influence on the higher echelons of authorities of the country, kept the USSR leaders in constant fear. This campaign was particularly successful with the coward Gorbachev. "Sometimes, we would send our bomber aircrafts to the North Pole for the Soviet radars to locate them. Sometimes, we sent a bomber to the airspace of the border areas in Asia and Europe," remembers General Cheney, the head of the American strategic air forces in the 1980s, as Schweizer writes in his book *Victory*.

These actions recurred with frightening regularity. "Speaking at the Princeton University conference in May 1993, the last foreign minister of the USSR Alexander Bessmertnikh admitted that. Schweizer quotes him triumphantly, "...All the information leakage and reports from our intelligence service in the USA... demonstrated that Washington seriously thought about eliminating the Soviet Union at first attempt," Kalashnikov writes.

Considerable means were spent on the war against the Western anti-Soviet propaganda. For instance, the "voice" of the West has been jammed all over the USSR since 15 April, 1949. "Jamming stations" appeared in all the USSR cities and towns. The one in Baku, for instance, was a vast carefully guarded area packed with the most up-to-date equipment. According to expert estimations, this large-scale campaign required as much energy as the Dnieper hydroelectric power station produced.

Nonetheless, low-frequency waves were impossible to jam and the Soviet people could still listen to Western voices by means of the then popular radio receiver "Spidola". The West was well aware of the fact that its radio broadcasting was jammed and yet continued broadcasting understanding the volume of funds the USSR spent on jamming.

Another important cause of the USSR collapse was the fact that there were actually two scientific and technical and industrial bases in the USSR, civil and military ones. Best brains and most considerable funds were used in the military sphere. No elaborate system of interaction between those two monsters existed, each developing on its own. It was amazing that any technological innovation introduced in military industry was immediately secured and remained in such

state many years until it got out-of-date. So, best brains and most considerable funds invested in the military industrial complex were going waste. Their designation was to protect Motherland against enemies. Meanwhile, the "enemies" exhibited their achievements, except the classified, strictly military ones, seizing more and more markets.

- G. Tabachnik writes, the Soviet reality can be summarized in six points.
- 1) There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union but no one works either.
 - 2) No one works but production grows.
 - 3) Production grows but store shelves are empty.
 - 4) Store shelves are empty but tables groan with food at family celebrations.
 - 5) Tables groan but everyone is discontent.
 - 6) Everyone is discontent but everyone votes affirmatively.

If labour efficiency does not grow but aggregate income increases (such things can be observed in Russia as well), the reason can be only the sale of raw material resources. Clearly, such a perverse economy was unable to exist without currency inflow, which were petrodollars gained by means of setting speculative prices both at home and abroad.

The sociologist P.P Maslov, in his book *Statistics in sociology* published in the 1970s, discovered that the population distribution according to incomes was subject to Gauss's law that differs fundamentally from Pareto law functioning in Western capitalist countries. Let us remark without going into detail that those laws are the eventual result of command and market economy. Whereas Gauss's distribution distinctly reflects levelling (the modal value virtually reproducing cost of living), Pareto law says that... each gets income according his labour and abilities.

But the basic cause of the USSR collapse is undoubtedly planned economy. Plan is, geometrically said, when a straight line is drawn between two points with thousands of obstacles present and no economic lever functioning in proper way. By assigning certain values of obstacles, one can demonstrate through simple mathematic calculations that in such conditions plan is the beginning of chaos. Chiefs of different ranks tried a variety of tricks to fulfil the plan, since fulfilment of the plan meant high posts, material and moral remuneration, peace of mind etc., while non-fulfilment of the plan meant the reverse, often redoubled with initiation of criminal case. Planned economy led to giant economic perversion and eventually caused the downfall of the system. N.

Khrushchev once said, "If people could stop stealing just for one day we would have reached Communism a long ago." However, Khrushchev, who believed that he would be able to live till Communism, did not or did not want to understand that the political and economic mechanism of planned economy itself was thievish and had to be halted for good.

Turin University professor Roberto Ponizzi noted that "planned economy implies a great battle between the Soviet people and the State Planning Committee and ministries. This contradiction digs into the system sooner or later. That is why planned economy is incapable of developing and can be only extensive, stagnating and historically doomed."

Throughout the entire period of the existence of the Soviet power, Communists have been standing by a tragicomic model, hoping to improve the state of affairs by making some new efforts and patching up something somewhere. Nariman Narimanov wrote to his son on 28 January, 1925 in his letter of will, "Perhaps, you will read these lines when Bolsheviks are already gone. However, that does not mean Bolshevism was no good but that we failed to maintain it, that we underestimated it, did not work hard. To be quite honest about it, that power made us so arrogant that we missed the basic plunging in trifles and squabbles. Power spoils many. And that is the case already; power eventually spoiled many quite good, even outstanding workers who had dared to take the fate of a great state into their hands and become dictators without control... That was necessary in the beginning but to follow this course further would mean to bring Bolsheviks close to failure." These words show the heartache of the outstanding Azerbaijan Bolshevik who was unable to rise above the system and thought of improving it from within.

At the well-known State Emergency Committee conference, Yanayev said that the first thing they wanted to do was to revise material and technical and other resources available in the USSR and redistribute them fairly. With the nineties coming, Communist methods still remained the same, to take away and redistribute.

The perversity of planned economy is demonstrated by means of the following example. In the stagnation period, an economic experiment was conducted under the guidance of Melnikov, the deputy head of the CPSU CC construction department. The experiment was widely covered on Central Television Channel. The point of that "Rzhev" experiment was that equipment, workers, engineers etc. were drawn up from the entire USSR to speed up the construction of new objects. As a result, objects were delivered turnkey before the scheduled date. Optimality of the process was of no importance, the

necessary amount of equipment was not defined, no one estimated what happened to the object, where the machinery was taken from etc. The amount of equipment available for the experiment exceeded the necessary amount several times. This example is characteristic of the command-and-control method.

We live, as the economist N. Shmelev fairly noted, in a false mirrors kingdom, where everyone says one thing but does another. This is the lot of all rigidly determined models imposed on the probabilistic diverse world, in which everyone has his own peculiarities. Hoare's law of big problem says, "Inside any big problem there is a smaller one trying to break through." In the case of free liberal entrepreneurship and market economy this law gets full scale. In the case of command and administration system not a single smaller problem can break through if it contradicts the main line drawn by the party.

We cannot say that the leaders of the country did not take some measures from time to time in attempts to change the situation drastically. There were periods, especially in the beginning, when Bolsheviks realized that administrative planned system was gradually ruining the country's economy. That is why Lenin launched New Economic Policy and his loyal supporter F. Dzerzhinsky noted the weakness of the situation when "foreign trade monopoly belonged to only one organization... incredible abuse and stagnation... occurred owing to that fact."

Another attempt was planned after Stalin's death. S. Beria writes in his book that his father, L. Beria, prepared new economic strategy. To be impartial, we should point out that the recently declassified documents confirm that. Isaac Deitscher wrote in 1953 in *Reporter* magazine that Beria was killed right at the moment when drastic reforms were being carried out, the ultimate purpose of the latter being decentralization of management of the country and establishment of autonomous formations.

A third attempt was made by N. Khrushchev who set up two party bureaus managing agriculture and industry, introduced councils of national economy that functioned alongside with the Council of Ministers, etc.

A fourth attempt was made by A. Kosyghin in the late 1960s who declared self-support the basic factor of economy.

The next was Y. Andropov who believed that the situation could be profoundly improved by corruption control and establishment of order all over the country.

And the final attempt was made by M. Gorbachev.

Even one of the most active members of State Emergency Committee V. Kryuchkov understood that a powerful destruction process was on the run in the country, "Policy fully built on ideology and devoid of sound pragmatism was not

optimal and had to be changed sooner or later," he observes. What hampered those changes? "Those changes were hampered by our closed-minded world outlook that immediately rejected any ideas going beyond the rigid frames of the extremely ideologized official doctrine."

It is obvious that all those attempts were doomed to fail, since "socialism with human face" remained the foundation of the society. A number of the suggested measures were naïve. How could self-support be in question in the case of rigid price regulation? Or what could Khrushchev's management system yield in the administrative command system? And surely, M. Gorbachev miscalculated his undertakings. "We did not expect such a collapse," he confessed to his associates.

But Bolsheviks could not give up administrative command system and monopoly, as those were the core of their existence in power.

The total price regulation, which was the basis of planned economy, hit currency-consuming products worst (oil, cotton etc.). It follows from Le Chatelier-Samuelson principle that change in price of a certain product accepted as money measure of another product is the maximal in case if all prices can change freely.

As a system, the USSR could not exist for the reason that it could not exist as a system!

The second law of thermodynamics formulated by Carnot says that every self-contained system, i.e. fully isolated and connected with others in no way, approaches its most probable state, which is total chaos. In accordance with this principle, all self-contained systems disintegrate eventually, become disorganized and die. This process is called amortization in engineering, ageing in biology, destruction in chemistry and breakdown in history. The degree of uncertainty is measured by entropy. Applying the notion of entropy, we can express the second law of thermodynamics in the following way. Entropy of a self-contained system does not decrease. In other words, a self-contained system cannot be regulated by itself.

Living behind the iron curtain and then building the image of enemy in the face of the entire civilization, the USSR actually existed in closed space, the end of which is historical collapse, according to S. Carnot. The second law of thermodynamics does not rule out the possibility of local entropy decrease even in closed systems, that is it allows local organization but at the expense of more intensive destruction of the rest. Local adjustment of a certain part of a self-contained system is only possible if the remaining part will be more disorganized. The summary order will not increase.

POURING CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF ENTROPY INTO MILITARY INDUSTRY (ACTUALLY BUILDING A STATE IN THE STATE), KGB, GLOBAL WORLD STRATEGY, THE USSR ESTABLISHED A POWERFUL MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX ON ACCOUNT OF OTHER EXPENSE ITEMS. THAT LED TO THE ACCELERATION OF ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND CONSEQUENTLY TO THE USSR COLLAPSE.

Ashby says, "When a system grows big and the difference in size between a part and the whole becomes considerable, it often happens that properties of the whole differ a lot from properties of parts." Such a process generates emergent properties that seem to contradict properties of elementary phenomena constituting a complex one. For instance, all stones fall down but it is not improbable that a group of stones can be found in an avalanche that lift up exactly due to the complex system of collisions in the process of falling down.

WITH ECONOMY DYING, DISCOVERY AND BARBAROUS EXPLORATION OF LARGE OIL DEPOSITS AND CURRENCY RECEIVED FROM THE SALE OF THIS OIL BY NO MEANS RESULTED IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC SITUATION IN GENERAL.

The USSR collapse can also be explained in terms of physics. As we know, the transition from laminar (organized) flow to turbulent (disorderly) one is expressed through Reynolds number that has the following form.

$$Re = \frac{Vdb}{m}$$

where:

- V – is the fluid velocity,
- d – is the diameter of the pipe,
- b – is the density of the fluid,
- m – is the fluid viscosity.

Overwhelmingly, planned economy is similar to this model, i.e. the planned work turns into chaos at a certain stage. If we take that transition to chaos is expressed through Reynolds number, then fluid velocity and the diameter of the pipe is the plan execution time and its absolute value, viscosity is the team play of all units of facilities, density is equipment, machinery, material etc. SINCE ALL CONTROL PARAMETERS ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO

MAINTAIN ON ONE CERTAIN LEVEL, THE TRANSITION TO CHAOS IS INEVITABLE.

Cyberneticists mention inefficient management system and considerable "background noises" in the course of information transmission bottom-upwards among main causes of the downfall of the Roman Empire. The most important thing in control systems is the closure of control process proceeding from the feedback principle.

Control exists only where connection exists that begins at the control object and ends at it as well. The function of this connection, according to Norbert Wiener, "is to control the mechanical tendency for disorganization, in other words, to cause a change of the usual direction of entropy in time and space." There is always a closed relation loop. If it cannot be observed directly, there is delay, probably a very long-term one. But it is to continue, to close, otherwise control loses its meaning, otherwise there is no control.

The above-mentioned is illustrated by the following data demonstrating a sheer incomprehension of the root of the Communist regime control in the last years of the USSR. "48 Politburo meetings and 42 meetings of the CC Secretariat were held in 1984, with 3,760 Politburo resolutions passed, 529 of them at the meetings and 3,231 by absent voting. The CC Secretariat passed 5,452 resolutions, including 980 at the meetings, and 4,471 by absent voting. Committee worked on the Party Programme, fuel and energy complex, Food Programme, secondary schools reform, on Poland, China, Afghanistan, foreign policy propaganda, consumer goods etc.

...During the year 225,000 copies of various office mail were received by the CC. The number of letters reached more than 600,000."

Here are extracts from Politburo resolutions passed in 1985.

"On the celebration march, 1 May, 1985 (4 April, 1985).

On preparation and progress of spring sowing (11 April, 1985).

On technical upgrading of Gorky motor works (6 May, 1985).

On increasing demand in grain use (6 May, 1985).

On uniform, food and weapon supplies for the Sandinista army (6 May, 1985).

On the results of the meeting of the CC secretaries of fraternal countries - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance members (23 May, 1985).

On retail prices of fruit juices and bakery yeast (1 August, 1985).

On the plan of economic and social development of the USSR for 1986 and 12th five-year-plan (29 August, 1985)...

...in 1985, Politburo passed 4,112 resolutions, ...241 joint resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. In addition, 5,512 resolutions were passed by the CPSU CC Secretariat."

We can easily see that both the content and unsystematic character of those resolutions were to lead the country to a dead-end. NOT A SINGLE CIVILIZED COUNTRY DOES NOT AND CANNOT HAVE SUCH A BUNCH OF GOOD-FOR-NOTHING CONTROL ACTIONS ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF HIERARCHY SYSTEM, FOR IT CONTRADICTS COMMON SENSE. Gazing at these crazy figures, one involuntarily remembers the words of N. Khrushchev, "We built a system allowing any fool rule the country." However, he meant quite the contrary by saying so.

Despite the rigidity and centrality of the USSR management system, in the last decades, it has been inadequate to the numerous large- and small-scale processes in the country. One of the basic cybernetic laws formulated by Ashby was broken, "The variety of control actions corresponds to the diversity of the controlled object."

THE RESOLUTIONS OF VARIOUS LEVELS LIVED A LIFE OF THEIR OWN, DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE COUNTRY. A number of reputable scientists assert that the main source of the situation was the absence of a mechanism of realization of different resolutions. IN OUR OPINION, THIS IS A DELUSION, AS THERE COULD BE NO SUCH MECHANISM, GIVEN THAT SITUATION WITH CONTROL OBJECT AND CONTROL ACTIONS. The determined control system come into obvious conflict with the practically probabilistic control object, which entailed a deep system conflict (remember a traditional cybernetic example, Grey's "turtle" or Calbratson's "car").

Active interference of the party in the scientific sphere led to the regress in the big science. Large scientific institutions with centuries-old traditions were headed not by the leading scientists but by functionaries loyal to Lenin's cause. Party bodies interfered actively in the election in the academies of sciences of the USSR and republics. All this led to the gradual but inevitable decline in the prestige of science.

The USSR "big brother" model began to fail. Whereas there were 83% of Russians in the state, they made up merely 52% by 1985, which resulted in more and more frequent grudges against the "big brother".

Intellectuals of science and technology and art also made their contribution to the process of the USSR collapse. The famous playwright V.

Rozov remarked that "intellectuals play a suspicious part sometimes." Here is the viewpoint of the editor-in-chief of *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* V. Tretyakov, 1999.

"First. In 1991, the Russian intellectuals betrayed their country that was called the Soviet Union then, as well as all its peoples, by not qualifying the December overthrow of the rightful president of the USSR as an overthrow and the USSR liquidation as a coup d'état.

Second. In 1993, the Russian intellectuals betrayed the idea of democracy by not qualifying the illegal disbanding and shooting of the duly elected parliament of the country as a coup d'état.

Third. In 1996, the Russian intellectuals again betrayed the idea of democracy as self-determination of the people and the idea of liberalism as availability of alternatives, by marching under the banner of the absence of alternatives to the candidate that clearly embodied economic and political dead end.

Fourth. Every day, in the period from the beginning of cooperative movement and to 17 August, 1998 the Russian intellectuals betrayed themselves, intellectually serving the authorities in all its bends including the most lascivious ones for a recompense that was small by the measures of the authorities but enormous compared to the living standard of the people. That way the way the Russian intellectuals sold freedom of thought for a piece of bread and involvement in the power.

Fifth. The Russian intellectuals betrayed the great Russian idea, the idea of social justice (its utopianism is obvious, its idealism is quintessence of mentality of noble, common and Soviet intellectuals), the left idea. Roughly speaking, the Russian intellectuals betrayed their people by separating their own satiety from that of the people, moreover turning a blind eye to the people's poverty.

The sixth betrayal also took place, though "inside the circle", when the intellectuals of the highest ranks betrayed many millions of intellectuals, such as teachers, librarians, college professors and scientists, by separating themselves as "the cultural elite" from their fellows through property."

The author deems it his duty to add to the words of Tretyakov the attitude of the intellectuals in question towards the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. In a few words, it was unrestrained and unreserved support they showed to Armenian separatists against the insults directed at the Azerbaijan people! They thirsted after blood, moreover, Azerbaijan blood. Sometimes we felt dread for Russia

that had such intellectuals and remembered the well-known Stalin's intellectuals that had been, according to Khrushchev, "bribed by Stalin".

The trifle the Armenians gave them could not even be called a bribe, as the Armenians believed they did not deserve more!

A quite amazing and original interpretation of the USSR collapse was suggested by Régis Debray, one of the most outstanding representatives of the world culture phenomenon called "Paris intellectuals". Here is his interview.

"In your book *Empires Against Europe*, the downfall of the Soviet Union."

'Yes, because it seems to me that the USSR lost its competitiveness in the sphere of production of symbols. The point is that the USSR stopped producing a sufficient amount of songs, films, music, film and fashion stars... thereby losing the opportunity to form symbolic imagination of the people.'

'What is the exact reverse of the first years of the Bolshevik revolution?'

'Nearly the entire world imagination in the 1920s depended on revolution. The whole Bolshevik agitation and propaganda was uncommonly dynamic. Just remember Eisenstein, Mayakovsky.'

'Even political practice of the Bolsheviks was extremely symbolic.'

'I think that exactly was the reason why America won the competition with the USSR without increasing either missile production or number of divisions. The Soviet leaders failed to understand that the nature of relations between strength and power itself had changed. Roughly speaking, a tank division cannot rival rock-n-roll. The latter is stronger. The USSR politicians did not see that because Marx had not either. Marx believed that ideology is the reflection of basis, which is quite wrong. Ideology is a creative and dynamic force. People in dreams and so they need films, songs, music and so one, in short, they need elements of culture which the USSR produced no longer. I wrote in 1984 that Communism was gone and the USSR would fall apart. I saw that the material forces of the USSR are those of the 19th century.'

'The period of industrial revolution?'

'Exactly. Of the first one, not third, computer revolution. Therefore, it was clear that the USSR would be over and done soon.'"

And here, Debray is undoubtedly right.

Art, especially motion pictures, used to inspire the Soviet people in the thirties. Such films as *Jolly Fellows*, *Volga-Volga*, *Tractor Drivers*, *A Rich Bride*, *Hearts of Four*, *Musical Story* and many others were truly phenomenal. People would go to watch them as if to a feast. Those films were like drugs.

People thought of the future happiness and on the whole took little interest in camps. Meetings with famous actors were remarkable events to be remembered till the end of one's life. Such film actors as M. Zharov, I. Ilyinsky, L. Orlova, M. Ladynina, L. Tselikovskaya, L. Smirnova, P. Aleynikov, I. Pereverzev, Y. Samoylov and others, were idols of the public. Charming songs of love and friendship were spreading all over the country, hummed by millions of Soviet people. We thought we were flying towards the bright future but ended up nowhere. However, it became evident much later!

Angelina Stepanova, the People's Artist of the USSR, wrote, "I had two beloveds killed by the Soviet power, Fadeyev for loving it too much, and Erdman for hating it."

"It was not in 1991 that the USSR broke down. Not even in 1985. The collapse of the Empire began when we forgot our heroes and turned them into nothing. Those supermen that did prodigies of valour in the hottest furnace for human persons, in the war.

Let us ask the first young passer-by we meet in the street, like ten or fifteen years ago, "What do you know about those who fought in Formosa in 1951? About those who sank Japanese ships in the Yangtze mouth in 1938? Or those who set American Supersabres on fire in the sky over North Korea? Or those who knocked down Israeli Skyhawks and Phantoms in the haze heat of Sinai in 1973?" If you are fortunate, silent amazement will be an answer.

By 1985, thousands of unknown heroes lived in the Soviet Union, and each example could become a torch firing millions of hearts with pride for the Empire. Could become a light, an example for youth. A source of indomitable martial spirit. Those were the heroes we lost so foolishly and uselessly," Kalashnikov writes. Kalashnikov's style provokes objections, being too defiant, but shows the eye of the problem quite right. The USSR lost its inspiring heroes it had had in the thirties, like Papanin, Chkalov, Serov, Stakhanov, Schmidt etc. Several generations of the Soviet people heartily tried to be like them. Those lights went out in the time of Gorbachev! Furthermore, files were opened on each of them, funny stories were told about them! A spiritual vacuum formed that began filling with some surrogate, in accordance with the "nature abhors a vacuum" principle.

Alexander Goryanin is quite convincing in his interpretation of the USSR collapse without going deep into underground processes (that rather concern ideology). The unshakeable USSR was gone all of a sudden. We did not draw a lesson from the rapid downfall of the Soviet system. This downfall had neither

economic nor foreign policy foundation, as many may assert. The reason was that the system had suddenly become boring for the majority of the USSR active population and lost its supporters at the crucial moment. The system had overlooked the latent processes of separation of the society from the power. Being dull-witted, it could not take into account that fact that the share of brainworkers (together with their families) reached one third of the USSR population. That the eroding skepticism tends to penetrate rapidly into all social and educational groups. That nationalism had not disappear, moreover, the closed lid of ideology does not let it escape in the natural way. And so on. It had become a sign of dullness by the mid-eighties in any social layer without exception not to express contempt for everything Soviet, even the positive that undoubtedly existed in the USSR in the sphere of science, industry, social sphere, education, the positive being too closely intertwined with Soviet oddities and falsehood. The people had never been too trustful towards officials and this distrust had become total by the 1980s. Quite veracious statements of the Soviet propaganda were interpreted as common lies. Even the CPSU members were telling anti-Soviet anecdotes, listening to foreign radio channels and believing them whole-heartedly. Such attitude came into fashion, and fashion is an almost irresistible power. Those sentiments rarely broke to the surface, being still controlled by inertial fear. In the conditions of remaining strict censorship, passive oppositionists did not suspect that they had actually turned into majority. Intoxicated by their rare far-sightedness, they were certain that the society would remain stagnant and Communist and therefore it was pointless to stock their necks out, you can't break down walls by beating your head against them. The abolition of censorship by Gorbachev equaled to the elimination of the fear factor. Gaining their liberty, the mass media hurried to help the society realize the degree of it unanimity and desire of getting rid of everything Soviet. The rest is well-known. The Communist power had nothing to oppose many millions of democratic marchers in Moscow and many thousands of them in provinces. The rest was finished during the first free election against the background of emptying shop counters. The USSR lost its legitimacy in the eyes of its own population and as a consequence crumbled with almost total public indifference.

An indirectly, but rather effective way of destruction of Russia and therefore the USSR as well was alcohol.

According to G. Tabachnik, in 1986, a group of members of Novosibirsk department of the USSR Academy of Sciences sent the following letter to the West, "A public opinion poll was conducted in 1913 in the provinces of Central

Russia, which showed that 43% of men in those provinces were total abstainers. The poll was re-conducted in the same regions in 1979 and showed 0.9% of total abstainers. 99.4% of our men drink. 90% of women were total abstainers in 1943, in 1979 there were 2.4% of them. 97.6% of our women drink. Female alcoholism is the shortest way to our end.

In 1913, the number of total abstainers among underage young men and women made up 95%. In 1979, they made up already less than 5%."

Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* concerning the policy in the territories of East Slavs. "No hygiene, no vaccination for them (Slavs), just vodka and tobacco." It appears that the USSR carried out this recommendation of Hitler; it was difficult to deal serious problems the system created for them and they did for the system in their turn. A VICIOUS CIRCLE APPEARED.

The actions Yeltsin and his both public and shadow team took also furthered the USSR collapse. By eliminating Gorbachev as a politician, Yeltsin eliminated everything that concerned him, including the USSR, which could not but affect the general process of the destruction of the USSR.

A. Agafyan writes in his article *Cutthroats with Epaulets* published in *Duel* newspaper, "In the period of Gorbachev, Barannikov, the head of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs GUBKhSS where Yerin had come as well, was appointed the first deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan, and Yerin became his counterpart in Armenia. Earthquakes and ruins in Transcaucasia, corpses in Spitak and Leninakan. Then Karabakh – Baku, the escape of Azerbaijanis from Armenia and Armenians from Azerbaijan. A BUREAUCRATIC TANDEM OF BARANNIKOV AND YERIN WAS FORMED (highlighted by the author)..."

Barannikov was sick on 19 August, 1991. His first deputy Yerin reigned in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He was called by B. Pugo, the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs and asked if he knew about State Emergency Committee and how the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs intended to carry out its decisions. Yerin answered that the Ministry was subordinate to the Russian government and would follow its line. Pugo softly hinted on the liability for disobedience to a Soviet ministry and when Yerin asked for permission to leave, said after him thoughtfully, "Maybe you are right..." (instead of arresting him on spot!). AS WE CAN SEE THEY DID NOT TALK ABOUT THEIR OATHS AND MOTHERLAND, JUST THE LEADERSHIP (highlighted by the author). It is no surprise that in a phone conversation with the first deputy of B. Pugo, V. Trushin, "Yerin was rude, though he had always expressed pointed outward

regard and servility. THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF RUSSIA HAD ACTUALLY GONE OUT OF CONTROL OF THE USSR MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND OBEYED THE ORDERS OF THE FIRST LEADERS OF RUSSIA (highlighted by the author). "The army had long come over to Yeltsin, and after losing the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Gorbachev remained alone. All that accumulated and led to the Belavezha Accords," Trushin declines the responsibility. Ex-minister Kulikov explains that by the example of 1993 events as "a very complex psychological factor due to which even the best trained general cannot withstand the situation. Dozens of general and officers were at a loss and hesitated as to whether to execute (illegitimate) commands or not." What a turn-up!

Yerin managed to pay off his debt to Pugo. Ivanchenko, Yerin and Yavlinsky went to arrest him. (Anyone including Yerin could not answer what Yavlinsky needed that for). Being an operative agent, Yerin suggested that he go to the negotiations on his own, since Pugo would not resist, taking into consideration their normal relations. And then he could say to him calmly, in a matter-of-fact way, "I am sorry, Boris Karlovich, but it is time for you to go (to prison)." Here are an extract concerning Yerin from B. Yeltsin's *President's Notes*. "Victor Yerin. I believed him like myself. Later I happened to get to know him better and I found a serious, clever and contrite man. I do not even mention his respect in militia, his professional skills. He is a remarkable man..." Yerin himself thinks so. "I chanced to work under the guidance of Y.M. Primakov. We had had good relationship before, both having worked in the Security Council of Russia, and everything remained the same after my transfer to that service. We had a conversation once with the new head of foreign intelligence service V.I. Turbnikov, as to whether I was appropriate there. He replied, "Do not worry and work, you are our man now".

A curious company, isn't it? Let us observe that all of them were "Caucasian"! And something more. Fatekh Vergasov writes, "In the summer of 1991, Arkady Volsky together with Vadim Bakatin, Gavriil Popov, Anatoly Sobchak, Nikolay Travkin, Eduard Shevardnadze, Alexander and Yegor Yakovlev were establishing the organizing committee of the United Democratic Party. The conspirators, most of which were still the CPSU members, prepared the documents secretly suggesting that those curious should inquire of Kryuchkov." Volsky dealt the Karabakh issue in a similar or slightly different company, in the same secret way, the author has no doubts in that.

After the USSR collapse the "Caucasians" "castled" in the following way.

Before the USSR collapse	After the USSR collapse
Yerin – Minister of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR	Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia
Lobov – second secretary of the Armenian CPSU CC	Secretary of Security Council of Russia
Primakov – head of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR, the main South Caucasus ideologist of Gorbachev	Head of Russian intelligence service, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Prime Minister of Russia etc.
Mikhaylov – deputy head of the CPSU CC Department, Gorbachev's representative in Baku in January 1990	Minister of Nationalities of Russia
Kulikov – commander of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Armed Forces in Transcaucasia and Northern Caucasia	Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia
Barannikov - deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan	Head of the Federal Security Service of Russia
Polyanichko – second secretary of the Azerbaijan CPSU CC, head of the republican organizing committee on NKAO of Azerbaijan	Deputy Prime Minister of Russia
Volsky – head of the Committee of Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast	Head of Industrialists Council of Russia

As we can see, all the "Caucasians" took high official posts after the collapse of the USSR. A question suggests itself, why? Had they put out the flame of separatism with their activity in hot points or made a considerable contribution to the preservation of the USSR? As a matter of fact, everything was quite the reverse; they all can be ranged on the principle of Mendeleev's table, according to their "specific contribution" to the destabilization of the situation in the region and the breakdown of the USSR. So why did those former comrades, then gentlemen, receive so much attention? Because they appeased Yeltsin in every possible way, explicitly or implicitly, to the detriment of the USSR!

Certainly, the West contributed to the USSR collapse as well. Nuclear explosions in Japan, military preparations and the notorious speech of Churchill in Fulton on 11 March, 1946 with the appeal for a crusade against the Soviet Union were the beginning of the cold war.

American Congress passed Public Law 86-90 as early as in 1959, according to which the USA were to split the "Soviet monster" into 22 states.

One thing is interesting. The USSR did collapse, yet Public Law 89-90 was not abolished, which, according to Alexander Drozdov, allows to draw the only possible conclusion that Washington plots further disintegration of Russia.

In June 1982, the US President R. Reagan said to his colleagues at an unofficial meeting in Versailles that "...the main enemy we are combating is Kremlin..." In 1995, B. Clinton declared at the meeting of Joint Chiefs of Staff, "...there will be only one empire, the USA..."

E.A. Tarasov, Ph. D, a people's deputy of the RSFSR, convocation of 1990-1995, suggests his view of true causes and consequences of the USSR collapse in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 13 March, 1999

"The loss of old ideological and geopolitical guidelines and the gradual transformation of the party, state and intellectual elite into a conglomerate of greedy consumers wishing to turn power into the source of their enrichment on account of redistribution of people's property in their own favour;

the emergence of dozens of thousands of new-born businessmen due to the "restructuring reforms" carried out from above, who were offensively dubbed as "new Russians" and formed a special clan of so-called oligarchs. The activity of those "mutants", in whose hands huge sums of money concentrated, presents entails the destruction of production and control of the country, placing it into total dependence on Western transnational companies and financial structures;

antinational propaganda in mass media, especially on TV, financed by the new class of proprietors and Western organizations;

integration of largest countries led by the USA in a single block of "seven" in the beginning of the 1970s, this block concentrating basic financial power of the world and aimed against the USSR as the main obstacle on the way to the unrestricted world control in the form of "new world order";

mass recruiting of pro-Western "influence agents" inside the country and understatement of the imminent threat of unleashing a new kind of war against our Motherland, financial, psychotropic, or demographic one."

Here is an extract from *Postwar Military Doctrine of America* by head of the CIA Allen Dulles.

The former head of the CIA Allen Dulles wrote in 1945, "...The war will be over and everything will settle, come right somehow. And we will give everything we have. all gold, all material power to make fools of people! Human brain. human conscience are changeable and by planting chaos there, we will imperceptibly substitute their values for false ones and make them believe in those false values. How? We will find supporters and allies in Russia itself. Episode by episode, the large-scale tragedy of the most unruly people on earth will unfold, the final irreversible extinction of its self-consciousness. In literature and art, for instance, we will erase their social essence, discourage artists from creating images... from studying the processes going deep in people masses. Literature, theaters, cinema, all this will depict and praise the meanest human feelings. We will support and raise the so-called "artists" that will inculcate and ram into human conscience the cult of sex, violence, sadism, treachery, in a word, every kind of immorality. We will create chaos and disorder in state control. We will imperceptibly but actively and continuously favour petty tyranny of officials, bribery and unscrupulousness. Bureaucracy and red-tape will be made virtues. Honesty and decency will be mocked and become an unwanted survival of times past. Rudeness and impudence, lies and deceit, inebriety and drug addiction, animal fear of one another and shamelessness, betrayal, nationalism and enmity between peoples, first of all enmity and hatred towards the Russian people, all this will be skillfully and imperceptibly cultivated to flourish like double. And few, very few will guess or realize the situation. But we will make such people helpless and object of mockery, we will find a way to smear them and mark them as scum of society. We will take spiritual roots out, debase and destroy the basis of national morality. We will undermine generation after generation. We will start working at people from childhood, from youth, biggest stakes will always be placed on the youth; we will demoralize, corrupt, deprave them. We will make them cynic, vulgar and cosmopolitan."

It is amazing how this plan was one-for-one put into practice! It is hard to find such an incident in the history of the mankind, when one side confronting the other managed to realize its destructive plan so seamlessly, without a single shot! The CIA chief Allen Dulles was undoubtedly talented.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the cold war, the last great confrontation of the century ended, the Soviet Union collapsed. What was the part of the USA, the main rival of the USSR in the cold war, in those events? This matter is concerned in the memoirs of President George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, his national security adviser modestly titled *A World Transformed*. Having devoted their whole conscious life to the struggle against the USSR, they mastered to the full extent the strategy and tactics of "Communism containment". The entire US policy has been built around this objective for many decades. The authors sincerely admit that coming to rule the administration in 1989, they did not even dream of the total and final victory in the cold war. And there it was, that victory. The memoirs are quite frank about how amazed and stunned Washington was, watching the self-destruction of the USSR after the August 1991 events.

Surely, the US leader were not mere spectators of a historical drama. Skilled professionals rigorously and confidently used every small chance to gain points in the global competition. The USSR perestroika, according to the authors, offered a possibility of step-by-step weakening of the enemy of America. Bush speaks quite warmly about Gorbachev, however the policy of the US president was guided not by his emotions but by good judgement. Every initiative of Gorbachev was interpreted by Washington as merely another pretext for pressure increase and demand of new concessions from his part. The administration of Bush and Scowcroft did not hurry to make response concessions, trying to impose American rules of the game on the USSR. That was the reason they denied Gorbachev large-scale economic assistance that (who knows?) could help stop the wave of disintegration in the spring and summer of 1991. Such a strictly pragmatic approach of the West played a significant part in the failure of Gorbachev's attempt of reforming the USSR by evolution. Officially, the US administration supported Gorbachev but at was playing a double game. Bush and Scowcroft make no secret that they did not mind Yeltsin, who was propelled by the urge to get rid rather of Gorbachev than of the USSR, dismantling the Soviet Union "brick by brick". Anything different was unlikely to be expected from the politicians whose entire career was associated with American-Soviet confrontation.

Was that outcome inevitable? Washington had undoubtedly done its best to weaken and exhaust Moscow but, as the memoirs demonstrate, it was not

Americans but we ourselves that broke the USSR down. We think that Bush rather sincerely defined his role as follows, "I was extremely lucky to be given the honour of being President at that time."

So, the end of August 1991, Gorbachev has just returned from Foros. Scowcroft described the whole situation in his peculiar laconic, almost epigrammatic manner as follows.

"The unsuccessful coup d'état sped up the process of disintegration of the Soviet power in the centre, particularly the power of the CPSU that had been discredited even more, and eventually the power of Gorbachev himself. It also became a sign for the growth of influence of the Soviet republics and for Yeltsin's rise to the political Olympus. How much the unsuccessful coup had affected the relationship of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, became clear after Yeltsin banned Gorbachev from the meeting of the Russian Federation Supreme Council on 23 August. Yeltsin used every opportunity to humiliate Gorbachev and made it clear who was at the helm then. The meaning was obvious. The era of Gorbachev was over."

Bush writes about it in a different way, he is anxious and distressed, "Although Yeltsin called to return Gorbachev to power, as he was required to do, he was acting too tough after the attempted coup, in my opinion. I know that they were not particularly warm to each other, however sometimes Yeltsin was downright scornful to Gorbachev who was weaker politically. He could be a bit milder and kinder, since Gorbachev was receding to the background."

The events started that led to the total collapse of the USSR, as we know. There were moments when the US president had to literally clutch at the arms of his chair, as the process was too rapid. The Baltic republics were the first to split off. Bush says, "Gorbachev kept on refusing to recognize the Baltic countries, insisting that it was the mission of the People's Deputies Congress, but the situation was already disadvantageous. Russia had recognized them, and Yeltsin made a request for us to do the same."

For the sake of saving Gorbachev as politician and developing Soviet-American relations, I hoped that he would grant independence to the Baltic republics before the West did it. The more he waited, the stronger the impression grew that new tension would emerge. I wanted to avoid both international and domestic political pressure on Gorbachev, which was bound to follow the recognition of independence of the Baltic countries by the US. Nor did I want to make the impression that he and his supporters had been influenced by any one. I believed that it had to be said (and understood) in the Soviet Union and, whatever happened, we would give them enough time for them to free the Baltic

countries. I intended to use our backstage influence in order to work easily at the procedure of reforms that we and the whole world wanted to see there."

Further, Bush writes, "In the following months, the main subject of discussion inside the administration remained the question about what we wanted to see in Russia and in the former USSR republics and the best way to use the considerably increased influence of the reformers there, while we could do that. What is better, a number of independent republics or economically weak centre with some kind of federation? Personally, I believed the perfect alternative would be division of the USSR into different states, none of them possessing the dreadful power of the USSR."

Brent Scowcroft writes, "Though I did not touch on that question directly at the meeting of the National Security Council, I reckoned that it would be better for us if the USSR collapsed. That was not the perfect decision economically, however the collapse would be beneficial to us in the settlement of our high-priority security issues, since the military threat we are facing now would be divided. At the same time, I do not think that this should be the official policy of America. Such a position would almost guarantee a long-time hostile attitude of majority of Russians citizens that constitute the majority population in the Soviet Union."

The problem of the USA was to maintain the independence of Ukraine and at the same time not to spoil relations with Gorbachev thus making themselves additional troubles. Here is an incident described by the US president.

"Mikhail was obviously anything but pleased with the reports on our tendency to recognize Ukraine, which had unfortunately leaked to the press already after my meeting with some Ukraine-born Americans. He complained that "The USA seem not just to be trying to influence the course of events but also to interfere in it." He pointed out that even if most republics declared their independence that would not stop them from participating in the formation of the Union."

He pointed out that if Ukraine withdrew from the Union, then Russians living there and other non-Ukrainians would be made citizens of the foreign country. Besides, the Crimea (that had been a part of Russia until Brezhnev returned it to Ukraine) threatened to "revise its status" as a part of Ukraine if the republic gained independence. Yeltsin supported the return of all territories to Russia, including those in Kazakhstan, Ukraine and other republics. "If the process is launched," he warned, "it will be catastrophic for Russia, Ukraine and the rest of the world." I assured Mikhail that we intended to cooperate but

welcomed independence as a shield against radicalism in Russia and Ukraine. I never tried to puzzle him or Yeltsin or interfered in their internal affairs.”

Brent Scowcroft specifies, “After the CIS formation agreement reached on 8 December, Yeltsin zealously worked at the completion of the USSR disintegration. He actually started that process when he appeared together with Gorbachev at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Council after the unsuccessful coup. The aim of his attacks was rather Gorbachev than the USSR. Was it a long-standing challenge of Yeltsin, as many consider, or was he just using the unexpected opportunity due to the weakened positions of Gorbachev and the attempted coup?”

It was hard to watch Yeltsin taking the Soviet Union away from Gorbachev stone by stone and giving most of them to Russia. Finally, Gorbachev controlled merely a bit more than General Shaposhnikov, the commander of the Soviet Army, whose forces were rapidly distributed among the former republics. The time of Gorbachev was over; however he did not deserve such a shameful end.”

Here is the end. On 21 December, Bush remembers, “in Alma Ata, all republics except the Baltic ones and Georgia signed the declaration on participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States. There was nothing left of the Soviet Union.”

It seems that what the US president remembered best was Gorbachev’s phone call to Camp David on Christmas to congratulate George and Barbara, Gorbachev told that the USSR president had his own resignation lying on the table in front of him, that there must not be any cataclysms in the former USSR, that Gorbachev was passing power and the “nuclear case” with dignity and that Bush (and America) can celebrate Christmas without worry.

“...You are going to have a very quiet Christmas night. As for Russia again... Let me tell you that we are to do our best to support it. I will try my best to support it. But our partners should do the same and make their contribution to supporting and assisting it.”

Those were the final words of Gorbachev in that conversation. Bush comments, “That was the voice of a good friend, the voice of a man that will be rewarded by history in full measure.

There was something very important in that call. That was the voice of history. During the conversation, I actually felt as a part of historical process. It was a significant event, a kind of fundamental turning point. Lord, we are so lucky in our country, we have been blessed to have Your grace.”

And here is Brent Scowcroft’s view of the events. “So, everything was over. Actually, I could never guess that something like that would happen in my life. It petrifies me, it is so hard to believe. Not that I did not see what was going on. I had already got used and kind of stopped noticing Gorbachev constantly defending himself but the signs of a rapid breakdown after the unsuccessful coup were obvious/ The events themselves defined a clear trend; the point is rather impossibility for one to realize immediately that such a epoch-making can really happen.

My first reaction to the final descent of the flag over Kremlin was sense of pride for the part we had played to achieve this. We had been working hard to move the USSR in this direction, moreover so that it would not cause an explosion in Moscow all the more a global disaster, which is not very unexpected in history at the time of agony of great empires. We contributed to the search of the most favourable way out of this great drama, but the key figure of final scenes was rather Gorbachev himself.”

Mr. Bush should not have to distinguish himself in the work at Gorbachev, since it made no difference to Gorbachev which US president to lie under. He had had eleven meetings with US presidents, five with Reagan and six with G. Bush.

During the division of the postwar Europe, Stalin met the US presidents, Roosevelt and Truman, twice.

We know today that at one time CIA intentionally caused vacuum situation in certain developing countries, where KGB agents were sent and afterwards, considerable gratuitous financial aid was rendered to those countries for their “loyalty to socialism”, which adversely affected the USSR economy. A dispute began once at the debate in the US Congress concerning new grain supplies to the USSR. Where is logic? Why should we feed the USSR if it spends all its money on tanks against America? The then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger answered sagely, “They better sit in their tanks satiated. That would be safer. Otherwise shooting can hamper the dollar attack.”

The influential newspaper *Christian Science Monitor* wrote in August 1989, “The great dollar attack on the USSR is developing successfully. 30,000 nuclear warheads and the biggest army of the world equipped with up-to-date weapon proved incapable to shield the territory of the country against the pervasive dollar that had already eliminated half the Russian industry, finished off the Communist ideology and corrupted the Soviet society. The USSR is incapable of resisting any longer, and experts predict its downfall in the nearest two or three years... We should do justice to the great plan worked out in a draft form by President Taft, polished by President Roosevelt and consistently carried

out by all American president in merely 50 years instead of the scheduled 100 years."

We can say today that the forecast made by *Christian Science Monitor* in August 1989 was brilliant; at the present time, Russia is so stuck in dollar that it is afraid of its downing, as it immediately affects its economy.

And of course, the CIA was watchful.

The memoirs of the ex-head of the CIA Robert Gates *From the Shadows* were published in the West. Gates worked in Langley as five presidents replaced one another, from Nixon to Bush. Gates makes it no secret that the CIA furthered the USSR collapse directly and indirectly. At the same time, Gates is self-critical to admit that the CIA "overlooked the signs of the near breakdown of Communism in the early eighties and turned out to be unprepared for the problems that followed, such as separatism, nationalism and terrorism in the republics, ethnic conflicts and lack of control over the nuclear potential of the former Communists."

According to the journalist D. Radyshevsky, "many political analysts and researchers of the cold war argue that in the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s, the CIA continued intentionally (or unintentionally, as Gates says) to exaggerate the potential of the Soviet Army in its reports to the White House (that reminds us of the CIA report made thirty years later on the presence of mass destruction weapon in Iraq that actually was not there). It was the exaggerated idea of the Soviet military threat that made the Americans to boost the arms race and work out the programme of "star wars", which resulted in the economic crash of the USSR that had overstrained itself in the attempt to keep up with the USA."

Sometimes it was awkward actions of the Soviet leaders that provoked new rounds of arms race. The journalist I. Martynov writes, "In 1955 an infinite number of long-range bombers flew over the American military advisers at the aviation parade in Tushino. In reality, those were the same few bombers that just turned around over Moscow and returned to Tushino several times. As a result, the US Congress urgently allocated huge funds to "fill the deficiency in heavy bombers". Similarly, the elite intelligence officers swallowed the "satellite" bait. After launching the first satellite, Khrushchev convinced the Americans that the USSR was able to easily produce intercontinental missiles in any amount."

The author has certain doubts concerning American intelligence officers swallowing the bait. It is well-known that both the CIA and the military industrial complex of the USA have always tried to exaggerate the military power of the USSR to get as many military orders as possible. So, that is a big question as to who it was that swallowed the bait!

According to the recent discoveries, Pope John Paul II contributed to the USSR collapse in his own way. Pope John Paul II and the US president Reagan concluded a secret agreement aimed at the overthrow of Communism. Besides, a regular exchange of exclusive information was arranged between Vatican and the CIA. This sensation can be found in the book by Bernstein and Politi *His Holiness: John Paul II & the History of Our Time* published by the American "Doubleday" publishing company.

...It was not accidental that in the spring of 1981 American secret services succeeded, as the authors of the book believe, in establishing the fixed connection between Pope and White House. In the following six years, Pope personally met the then head of the CIA Casey and his deputy Vernon Walters. Pope John Paul II regularly received classified data of the American intelligence and materials prepared by the analysts of that department. The Americans, in their turn, received valuable information from Pope concerning the processes in the socialist countries.

Major General of KGB V. Shironin writes, "In the beginning of the eighties, Z. Brzezinski submitted to the Department of State "The plan of the game. Geostrategic structure of warfare between the USA and the USSR". Brzezinski wrote, "to decentralize the Soviet empire is to cause its collapse... Any considerable decentralization, even just in the sphere of economy, will strengthen potential separatist sentiments among the USSR citizens of non-Russian nationality. Economic decentralization will inevitable entail political one."

What were the foundation of Brzezinski's conclusions? First of all, demographic trends demonstrating weakening of the commanding situation of the Russians. In the seventies statistics showed that the Russians no longer made up the majority of the Soviet people. The further decrease of the share of the Russians was inevitable, according to Brzezinski. By 1980, the Russians numbered 48% among eighteen-year-olds, other Slavs making up 19%, Muslims 13% and other 20%. According to his forecast for 1990, the number of the Russians would drop to 43%.

..."Where is the actual dividing line between the Russians and other nations, given the intensive merging of nations of the recent decades?" Brzezinski asked the US Department of State Policy Planning Council. And he answered it himself, directly indicating the USSR regions to become the field of the future ethnic conflicts, "Real conflicts can first of all break out in the Baltic republics densely populated by the unwelcome Russians, in Byelorussia and Ukraine culturally kindred to Russia, and especially in the Caucasus and Central Asia."

The famous "Heritage Foundation" research centre (established in 1973 on the initiative of large-scale business representatives) worked out the so-called "liberation doctrine" specially for Reagan. It considered the USSR as an empire formed by "four concentric circles spreading from the centre to periphery". It was suggested that the US president should formulate the strategic aim of the doctrine as the final disintegration of the Soviet empire."

There are other documents confirming the strategy of the White House that aimed at removing the main geopolitical rival of the USA from the globe. They demonstrate the secret aggression against the USSR, the direct intervention in the domestic affairs of our country. In particular, it became known that in the beginning of 1982 President Reagan together with the group of closest advisers started developing the offensive strategy on the disintegration of the "Soviet empire". The aims and means of that global offensive were determined in the series of classified National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) signed by the president. What did those directives say? Here is the main point of some of them.

- in March 1982 NSDD-32 demanded "neutralization" of the Soviet influence in the Eastern Europe and taking secret measures and other methods of supporting anti-Soviet organizations in that region;

- in May 1982 Reagan signed he directive in eight pages that defined the US economic strategy towards the USSR. It contained guidelines for certain departments of the president administration and the emphasis was laid on "using" weak sides of the Soviet economy. The aim was to undermine it by means of the forced involvement of Moscow in technology race;

- in November 1982 NSDD-66 declared that the aim of the US policy was to undermine the Soviet economy by attacking its "strategic triad", i.e. basic industries that form the foundation of the Soviet economy;

- finally, in January 1983 Reagan signed NSDD-75 setting the aim of "fundamental changes in the Soviet system."

The new NSDD-75 prepared for the US president Reagan by the Harvard historian Richard Pipes suggested escalation of hostile actions against Russia. "The directive made it clear", the American political analyst Peter Schweizer writes, "that our new goal was no longer coexistence with the USSR but changing the Soviet system. The directive was based on the conviction that we have enough power to change the Soviet system by means of external pressure."

The former US president Reagan admitted once that only after Pope had approved the new "crusade against the USSR" in the beginning of the eighties, the grand global campaign had become possible which ended with the defeat of Moscow. Further revelations of Reagan show that the most important landmark of that crusade was October 1986 when his meeting with Gorbachev was held in

Reykjavik. Reagan had not revealed details of those conversations but later, French journalists managed to find out something. This is how it happened.

In May 1993, Gorbachev was on a private visit in France and answered questions on the possible "foreign assistance" in the liquidation of the USSR. At first, he said that foreign influence had had its place but as an objective factor, domestic trends prevailing. However finally he let something out, which caused a rather curious headline in *Figaro* newspaper, "We should do justice to Ronald Reagan."

According to *Figaro*, in the interview, Gorbachev acknowledges for the first time that at the meeting with Reagan in Reykjavik he had actually thrown the USSR on the mercy of the USA. Here are his words, "Reykjavik was really a tragedy, a great one. You will soon learn why. I think that the process would not have started but for such a strong personality as Ronald Reagan... At that summit meeting, you know, we went so far that there was no turning back already..."

It should be noted that French journalists, while highly estimating the role of Reagan who acted as a mediator in the meetings of Gorbachev and John Paul II, clearly underestimated the role of Pope who had been leading the so-called "eastern policy" in those years.

And moreover, the most ardent opponent of the USSR Brzezinski headed the activity of Columbia University Russian Institute up to 1976. It was the Soviet studies centre A.N. Yakovlev attended, as well as some of the activists that were to become main participants of the events of perestroika.

The Chinese researcher Fan Isin in his article *Gorbachev and the USSR Collapse* writes that the first and last president of the USSR, complaining of the humiliation he had suffered from Yeltsin, conceals his major humiliation. The US Secretary of State Baker arrived in Moscow immediately after the Belavezha Accords and talked to Yeltsin for four hours, after which deigned to meet the USSR president. Well, the Moor has done his duty, let him go.

In January 1990, Baker said openly, "The circumstances are such that Gorbachev will not survive... The danger facing him is not to be overthrown by means of a palace revolution but the cause of it will be the streets."

According to Richard Ovchinnikov, Bush said to his national security adviser Brent Scowcroft in private, "I can hardly keep myself from declaring, 'Wouldn't it be great if the Soviet empire broke down?' But it is not very pragmatic or smart, isn't it?"

Alexander Drozdov, Foreign Intelligence Service Colonel in retirement and the head of "Namakon" research centre, explains the logic of the US actions in his own way. "I will answer the question with a question in detail. Do you

know what the Soviet Union that fell apart in 1991 not because of atmospheric precipitation at all was? I can explain. It was not so much "smithy and recreation" as in our favourite film *A Prisoner Girl in the Caucasus*, as 22 trillion dollars of mineral reserves explored by the Ministry of Geology of the USSR by 1909. Are you impressed by the price of the issue? And what is the USA? Just 6% of the planet population spending, however, about one third of natural resources. The stable trend of the direct dependence of America on minerals import is evident. Note that those minerals unfortunately lie in other countries, which defined the logic of the American policy towards the rest of the world."

This is surely a simplified approach to the US international policy; however the utmost importance of the above-mentioned factor is beyond any doubts. The US policy towards Baku is another confirmation of the fact. "Friendship is friendship, business is business," Putin said concerning Byelorussia, implying the separation of friendship and economy. "Oil is oil, Karabakh is Karabakh," say the US diplomats in Baku.

Even the above-mentioned information makes it evident that the US contribution to the disintegration of the USSR was considerable. But the most dreadful thing for the USSR was that it could not resist that powerful destructive force; Communist and patriotic slogans were not taken in by the hungry and deceived people, and the economy that had been based on the export of natural resources was crumbling slow but steady.

The US allies also undoubtedly did their best to contribute to the collapse of the USSR. In February 1990 the English *Independent* reported, "Foreign Ministry of Great Britain decided to deny public access to the fifty-year-old document that contained the plans of the English intelligence service on organizing destabilization in the southern Soviet republics." The secrecy of the document (unlike others that were declassified in accordance with the rules of time limitation) was extended to 2015 by an appropriate resolution. The matter concerned a document of 1940. According to the same newspaper, this document suggested using hostile sentiments among Muslims and other non-Russian nations towards the Russians with the assistance of the English intelligence in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan," A. Drozdov writes.

The head of the KGB V. Kryuchkov testifies that the competent authorities of the USSR knew about the US plans. "We were flooded with the information on profoundly alerting plans of some countries, especially the USA, concerning our state. For instance, some of them alleged that the population of the Soviet Union was too large and should be reduced in different ways. Even appropriate calculations were given, according to which it was efficient to reduce

the Soviet population to 150-160 million people. The period of 25-30 years was set. The territory of our country, its bowels and other wealth were to become the common property of certain world countries as "universal values", that is we were sort of share these "universal values."

Even opponents of Putin admit the fact that he managed to "assemble" the country after Yeltsin's lawlessness when, following Yeltsin's suggestion, the regions of Russia "had been swallowing as much sovereignty each as they could" and close friends of the Family could steal as much as they could. Today, the regions of Russia can "swallow as much sovereignty" as Constitution allows, and oligarchs are asked to "share". However, this undoubtedly health-improving activity does not mean at all that the question on the disintegration of Russia has been closed for all times. Oil prices can change a lot and the powers that be (and that do not sit in Russia) are always eager to divide someone or to unite someone, otherwise they get bored!

B. Clinton said in his annual presidential report in 1994, "After Second World War we learned the lessons of the past. Facing the new threat of totalitarianism, our great nation has taken the challenge of time. We chose the way of development of international relations, reconstruction of security and leadership structures. The determination of the previous generations to defeat Communism by means of forming new international structures allowed to create a more transparent, secure and free world. THIS SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE INSPIRES US FOR A NEW STAGE OF THE LONG-STANDING DIFFICULT STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE WON IN THE COLD WAR (highlighted by the author)."

Other outstanding political figures of the US express themselves more clearly. Brzezinski said toughly during one of his lectures, "Russia will be split and warded" and in October 1997 suggested dividing Russia into three parts, European Russia, Siberian Russia and Far East Republic. "Decentralized Russia is a real and desired possibility," said Brzezinski.

Another famous politician H. Kissinger says. "I would prefer chaos and civil war in Russia to the trend of its reunion in a single centralized and powerful state."

Western mass media regularly publish articles concerning claims; claims of Germany on Kaliningrad region, claims of Finland on a part of Leningrad region and Karelia, claims of Estonia on a part of Pskov region, claims of the US on the greater part of Siberia. Such voices can sometimes be heard even from China! So Russia should not relax in connection with this problem!

During the trial of State Emergency Committee, Shenin said, "Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich in the Belavezha Pushcha did what Hitler had failed to do in 1941-1945."

The naïve reasoning that Yeltsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich destroyed the USSR with their Belavezha Accords is the last and probably the most naïve myth of Soviet ideologists. Those three furthered the downfall of the USSR but were not by any means the chief culprits but rather the finale of the process. If the heads of the "seven" gather together with all their ministers and officials they would not be able to change political systems in their countries no matter how much they may wish, for their countries have stable statehood based on law standards and strong economy.

State Duma of Russia took the decision on the denunciation of the Belavezha Accords. Only naïve politicians may believe that they can easily destroy or build again a great state by signing an agreement or voting. Historically, the USSR has been doomed since the day of its formation.

Well, paraphrasing the great Englishman, Churchill, we can possibly say that "those who do not regret the collapse of the USSR are heartless; those who dream to restore it are brainless."

There are many questions concerning both variants, though.

The things socialism gave to the peoples of the USSR is discussed now and will be discussed for a long time. But let us cite some facts that are not disputed but accepted as reality. A century of socialist policy transformed the Russian giant into an economic dwarf. These are the words of the head of Economic Analysis Institute A. Illarionov. Speaking about a century, he means the post-Soviet period as well and calls it socialist with a criminal shade. He writes, being launched by the tsarist governments in the First World War in 1914-1917, continued by Provisional government in 1917 and then by Soviet governments from 1917 to 1990 and by the governments of the independent Russia in 1991-1999, the socialist economic policy has led to an unprecedented catastrophe. The economic giant that was Russia in the beginning of the century has turned into a dwarf barely distinguishable in the world map. The 20th century appears to be lost for Russia in many ways.

Several years ago it was hard to imagine that economically, our country would yield not only to the USA, China, Japan, Germany, India, France, Great Britain, Italy but also Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Canada, Spain and South Korea."

For some reason that they know alone, Communist ideologists always compare the development of peoples before and after the 1917 coup, ascribing the natural development to Communism. The global element of this comparison

is the economy the Communists left after 70 years of their rule. Oil producing and oil processing industries, the basic source of currency supply, are in a grave condition. So are mining, metal and other industries. 53% of the territory of Russia are assessed as ecologically unfavourable. According to the estimates of Western experts, dozens of trillions dollars are required for the rehabilitation of industry of the former Soviet republics. The only sphere the Soviet power succeeded in is creating opportunity to eliminate the earth ten times with its nuclear-missile potential. As M. Thatcher observed, "The USSR is Upper Volta with missiles."

And the last thing: what global sacrifice was the USSR and Communist ideology in general worth?

The list of the USSR "feats" is given by Yuri Afanasyev, a member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, rector of the Russian State Humanitarian University, "At the same time, we are quite right to consider those events (the question is not the invitation of Russia to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the allies landing in Normandy – *Author's remark*) as the direct participation of the USSR in the Second World War (and not only in the Great Patriotic one) and for this purpose, for instance, to arrange the following fact in the order: the Soviet-German "parade of the winners" in Brest in autumn 1939, the war of aggression in Finland, then occupation of the Baltic countries, West Ukraine, West Byelorussia, Bessarabia and North Bukovina in 1940, Stalin congratulating Hitler on each of the "victories" the latter gained in Europe until June 1941; toasts to Fuehrer's health in Kremlin, and more generally, the actual participation of the USSR in the war on the side of Germany against the Western allies till the mid-1941. That prewar row could be continued with the postwar one: the annexation of half Europe by the Soviet Union, capture of several bridgeheads on other continents; such landmarks of the process as Berlin (1950), Budapest (1962), Prague (1968), Afghanistan (1969), later Tbilisi, Vilnius, Baku, Moldova (under Gorbachev), and then Tajikistan, Abkhazia and in a new but similar fashion: Azerbaijan, Georgia (under Yeltsin) and quite recently, Chechnya."

Y. Felshinsky writes that "...Comrade Molotov and Comrade Ribbentrop had a nice conversation on 13 November, 1940 in Berlin. The place was bomb shelter in the building of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Why did the two ministers talk in a bomb shelter? Because the British aviation was ruthlessly bombing Berlin that night. The night before, Comrade Molotov had a meeting with Hitler. They did not go down into a bomb shelter but "due to the possible air raid alarm, the talks were stopped and rescheduled."

At peacetime in the 20th century, 170 million people were annihilated in different states of the world. 110 million of them or about two thirds account for the Communism-oriented countries.

So, "Communist regimes killed 110 million people." This phrase appeared in "Izvestiya" on the eve of the anniversary of the 1917 events that had shaken the world indeed and that had been referred to as nothing but the Great October for a long time in our history. Far from prejudice and bias of powerful mortals, time impartially and cruelly assesses the events the country has endured in this century that is close to its end. It puts everything in their right place, drastically changing characteristics of persons and phenomena we have been trained to by the monopolist ruling party for seven decades.

Referring the October revolution or, as they call it now, October coup, to the most significant events of our century, of very complicated and contradictory events, we would like to remind what and how was happening then in reality and what consequences it had.

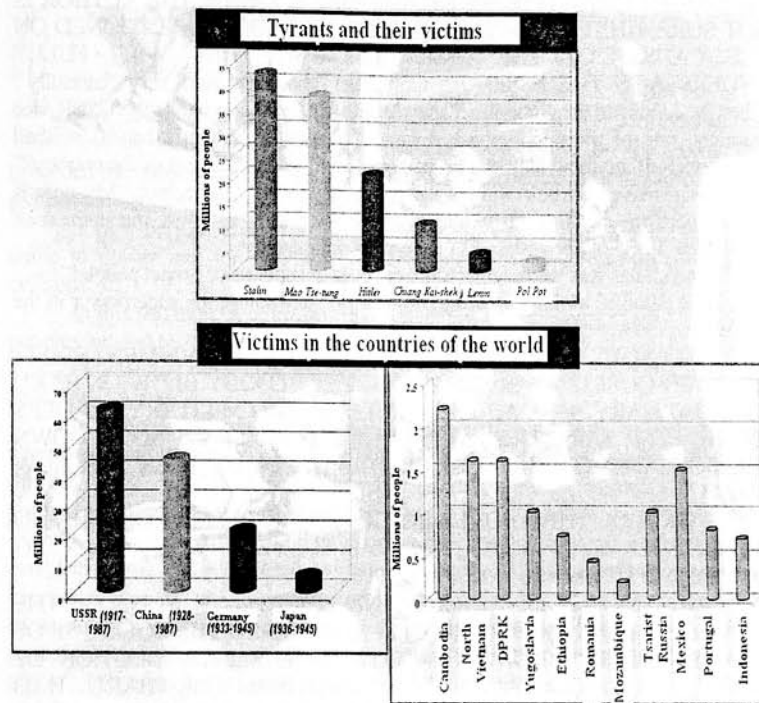
This scary information is given in the book *Open Wound* by Per Almark, a famous Swedish politician who once headed People's Party and was a member of the Swedish government as deputy prime minister. Per Almark is the first of European authors to apply demographic data of Rudolf Rummel from the Hawaiian University who has devoted his entire life to the collection of information on mass murders on earth.

Genocide caused almost four times more human victims in the past century than the rest of the wars in the 20th century. The Communist leader of Cambodian regime Pol Pot is the "absolute leader" in mass murder in the relation to the population size and the time of his rule. Annually, he killed 8.16% of Cambodians. 0.42% of the population was exterminated in the USSR but the nightmare lasted for many decades.

Per Almark makes a special emphasis on the actions of the Soviet Union, calling it the "state of GULAG". "Many citizens," he writes, "were killed just for belonging to the wrong social class. Those were (had to be) bourgeoisie, aristocrats, wealthy peasants. Others suffered for belonging to the wrong nation or race, such as Ukrainians, Black Sea Greeks, Volga Germans; others for bad political "fractions" (Picture 2).

At the same time, we should not forget, as the West tries to do, that it was THE USSR THAT DEFEATED FASCISM. As D. Granin says, yes, Soviet commanders fought dreadfully, generals did not spare soldiers, military strategists did not spare Soviet towns and civilian population, and 26 million people were killed, according to the official information, but at the cost of incredible efforts, THE SOVIET PEOPLE SURVIVED AND WON.

Pic. 2



No matter how much blockbusters about the Second World War Hollywood may shoot praising the allies, it cannot erase the truth about the war!

Returning to the main issue of the chapter, the causes of the USSR collapse, let us point out that the above-mentioned causes alone (and the list is far from being complete) demonstrate that the USSR was doomed and Gorbachev's perestroika financed the process in the worst possible way. Not any Chinese or other way would not have helped the USSR for many reasons, at least because the multinational USSR was not like China, and a Russian is not like a Chinese in many ways, but the most important point is that Chinese socialism, as Dan Chiao Ping said, is "Socialism with Chinese peculiarity, where peculiarity prevails..."

The Soviet socialism also had much peculiarity and it differed sharply from the Chinese one, and not in a better way.

The process also started so rapidly because politicians that were very far from the systematic analysis of politics had been ruling in Kremlin. THE AUTHOR IS NOT SURE WHETHER AFTER READING THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ON THE CAUSES OF THE USSR COLLAPSE, THEY WILL FULLY UNDERSTAND THE ESSENCE! Gorbachev chose his staff very "carefully". When he appointed the alcoholic Yanayev with his trembling hands the USSR vice president, one of the deputies asked him, "We are all in God's hands, Mikhail Sergeevich. If anything happens do you see Yanayev as President of the country?" Yanayev answered himself without ceremony, instead of Gorbachev, "My wife is pleased with my health!" "It would be more interesting to know the opinion of Gorbachev's wife of her husband," the deputy continued.

And all this was happening before the eyes of millions of Soviet people!

It is dreadful to think what kind of people were ruling the superpower in the last years of its existence!

AND NOW, AFTER COMPREHENDING THE ABOVE-MENTIONED, THE MAIN QUESTION ARISES. COULD THE BLOODY BLOW ON BAKU ON 20 JANUARY, 1990, AS THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERS OF THE USSR SAID LOUDLY, PREVENT OR AT LEAST SLOW DOWN THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR, AND IF IT COULD, THEN FOR HOW LONG?

WHICH OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE EXISTENCE OF THE USSR WAS SOLVED BY INTRODUCING TROOPS IN BAKU ON 20 JANUARY, 1990?

THE ANSWER IS DEFINITE AND DOUBTLESS. NONE OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED FACTORS THAT FURTHERED THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF TROOPS IN BAKU ON 20 JANUARY, 1990, FOR BAKU HAD INSUFFICIENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEIGHT TO INFLUENCE THE LARGE-SCALE EVENTS IN THE USSR.

WE SHOULD EXTEND THE QUESTION. EVEN HAD GORBACHEV BROUGHT TROOPS IN ALL LARGE CITIES OF THE USSR AND DECLARED EMERGENCY SITUATION IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY, THAT WOULD HAVE MERELY SPED UP THE BREAKDOWN; ECONOMIC COLLAPSE WOULD HAVE OCCURRED IN SEVERAL MONTHS AND FAMINE WOULD HAVE BEGUN - THE USSR HAD ALREADY BEEN DOOMED!

THE INTRODUCTION OF TROOPS IN BAKU ON 20 JANUARY, 1990 HAD DIFFERENT AIMS.

BUT WE WILL CONSIDER THEM LATER!

2. THE BEGINNING OF KARABAKH SEPARATISM IN MODERN HISTORY

The narration on the last blow from the Empire, the events of 20 January, 1990, will be incomplete unless we dwell at least briefly on the events that preceded the introduction of troops in Baku, since they were used by Gorbachev to explain the very introduction of troops.

A new period came in the long-suffering history of the USSR, Gorbachev came to power and the doomed USSR began taking great strides towards its collapse.

In this situation, Azerbaijan was to face new tragic events in the "family" of peoples headed by "big brother". Bloody separatism in Nagorno-Karabakh began.

Few people remember the systematic and crafty initiation of the Karabakh problem in Armenia.

In accordance with the USSR government resolution, a high-capacity chemistry complex was to have been built in Kazan by 1992. Armenian officials in the CPSU CC and the USSR State Planning Committee managed to get the authority to move the construction to Abovyan.

In the end of the eighties, a non-governmental ecology committee was established all of a sudden, which organized protest marches against the construction of that complex under the following slogans. "Crystal air is the wealth of Armenia", "The air of Armenia is the future of Armenia" etc. And suddenly (or as if suddenly), these slogans disappear, replaced by those supporting separatism in NKAO, "Karabakh is a test of perestroika!", "Moscow, redress the injustice!" etc., and the ecology committee is transformed into the Karabakh committee.

Separatism in NKAO began under social slogans.

One of the chief arguments of Karabakh separatists was that the number of Armenians in NKAO was decreasing in terms of percentage points.

That main PR-argument of the Armenian side was a big lie, though it is still unfortunately used by them to deceive the international public opinion. The percent was falling indeed; however the reasons were quite different from those given by Armenian ideologists.

So what is the true point of the problem?

Let us review the official statistic data for 1959-1970.

The Armenian population increase in the Azerbaijan SSR made up 9.38% in 1959-1970 and 1.66% in 1970-1979.

In absolute figures, the number of Armenians rose from 442,000 to 475,000 in 1959-1970, i.e. by 7.47%. The Armenian population increase in the Georgian SSR made up 2.12% in 1959-1970 and 0.05% in 1970-1979.

Thus, the Armenian population increase in the Muslim Azerbaijan in terms in the period from 1959 to 1970 of percentage points exceeded that in the Christian Georgia 6.6 times!

Any literate reader familiar with the basics of arithmetic can clearly see that the ethnic factor of the Armenian argument is ruled out.

THEY ALSO HUSHED UP ANOTHER FACT. BIRTH RATE IN NKAO WAS HIGHER THAN IN ARMENIA AND DEATH RATE WAS LOWER.

Such are the facts, which are known to be hard to get away from unless you stick to "If the facts are true, the worse for the facts!" principle.

Note that the information was taken from Moscow and Armenian sources.

To be impartial, we should add that against the background of different demographic situation with the number of Armenians in Azerbaijan and Georgia, the Armenian population rate was falling in both republics.

And there is a clear reason for that, not ethnic at all. It is well-known that there was latent unemployment in the Soviet time, especially in mountainous regions. Many teachers, doctors and other specialists from those regions could not find them job in their home places. That was also the case in NKAO. After graduating from colleges in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, they would move to Russia and settle there, finding job and, what is more important, prospects. Note that they went not to Armenia but Russia! They appeared in Armenia much later when seized power there by terror.

It should be remarked that in the Soviet period, the Armenians were the second most socially mobile nations after the Russians, changing their place of living. But whereas the Russians did that mainly by the call of the party and government, the migration of the Armenians was of social nature. They were well aware of the economic situation in certain regions of the USSR where they believed they could have some prospects. In the sixties, a considerable number of Armenians moved to the southern regions of Russia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Many Armenians from NKAO can still be found there; they migrated there long before the notorious events.

The former chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers E. Alikhanov told to the author that in the sixties, when Ministry of Oil Industry was established in Moscow, the republic received the proposal on the voluntary transfer of Azerbaijan Communists to work in Moscow. However, none of the Azerbaijan

candidates wished to move to Moscow. One Russian specialist (Zaytsev) and over twenty Armenian specialists gave their consent.

The above-mentioned facts clearly demonstrate that ARMENIAN PROPAGANDA GAVE ETHNIC, ANTIMUSLIM SHADE TO THE COMMON EVERYDAY PRINCIPLE "FISH LOOKS FOR DEEPER WATER, MAN FOR BETTER PLACES TO LIVE".

And finally, the main question. Did the population of Armenia and NKAO increase after the well-known events? It did, in terms of percentage points; both Armenia and NKAO became monoethnic, all other nations being driven away from there. However, the picture is different, considered in absolute figures. While they moved from there in a civilized way in the Soviet time, THEY RUN SCATTER IN ALL DIRECTIONS after those events!

The ideology of the Karabakh separatism was handsomely designed "infringement of the rights of the NKAO Armenians" in the Azerbaijan SSR. All mass media in the USSR began trumpeting about that and articles appeared in foreign periodicals. Well-known persons of the country began, mildly speaking, express their discontent in this regard.

Social problems of the Karabakh Armenians and NKAO were discussed by all mass media of the USSR. Moscow "democratic beau monde" was particularly zealous in this task. Their brightest representative Yegor Yakovlev considers the problems of the old national policy. In particular, he says in "Moscow News", 11'1989, "...they spoke of the united family of Soviet peoples, actually setting obstacles of cultural exchange, difficulties were created for children studying in their mother tongue. Such was the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh where many-sided and traditional ties with the fraternal Armenia were broken." A former advocate of Leninism, then anti-Communist, supporter of Karabakh separatists, Yegor Yakovlev does not mention a word of the innocent victims of Khodjaly! Such attitude was typical of Moscow "democratic beau monde".

Official organs did not remain aside.

The CPSU CC resolution on NKAO said that social sphere was neglected, Leninist principles of staff selection and arrangement were roughly violated, and the rights of NKAO Armenians were impaired, and so on. And that was the simple truth, though it was not the way the CPSU CC interpreted it but quite the contrary.

Here is the official information from the Archive of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party Central Committee.

"In 1983-1984, the organization of party activity department of the CP CC prepared the research on the NKAO officials, establishing the facts of flagrant violation of the party principle of their selection and arrangement, especially in relation to ethnic Azerbaijanis.

This alerting trend was brought to the notice of the department administration and the supervising secretary of the Central Committee; it was not however taken into account, which had an important part to play in the future course of events in NKAO, especially in 1988," writes R. Akhundov, 1984-1985.

Regional committee of the party violated Leninism principles and the CPSU policy, did not observe the norm of ethnic minority in many issues.

There is not a single Azerbaijani in:

- the administration of the regional committee of people's control;
- the administration of Askeran district committees of the party and Komsomol, though the district was organized in 1978 and formed by the regional committee;
- in the administration of Gadrut district committees of the party and Komsomol;
- in the administration of Gadrut district executive committee.

Equality is broken in staff arrangement in:

- in the administrations of the regional committee, regional executive committee and its departments, regional council of trade unions, the regional committee of Komsomol and other organizations;
- in many collective farms, state farms and other organizations with multinational staff;
- leadership of some industrial facilities with multinational staff.

Certain carelessness and negligence are observed in:

- admittance to the CPSU and VLKSM;
- nomination for different awards;
- election of the panel for solemn occasions and of some delegations going outside the region;
- in election of members of district city committees and Komsomol, as well as bureau of party and Komsomol organizations;
- installation of telephones in Stepanakert (only 56 out of 1,344 in Azerbaijan flats) and other settlement.

The lack of visual agitation in the Azerbaijani language is observed in many establishments, even signboards are absent in some of them.

- the correlation of deputies is broken;
- other nations are treated preferentially.

Speeches at plenary sessions and party activists meetings in Askeran district, 1980-1981

N	Type of meeting	Date	Totality of speakers	Of them, ethnic Azerbaijani
1	Plenary session	27.12.80	10	-
2	Plenary session	30.08.80	10	1
3	Party activists	19.07.80	9	1
4	Plenary session	7.01.80.	9	1
5	Plenary session	20.02.80	10	1
6	Party activists	19.01.80	10	1
7	Plenary session	19.02.81	10	1
8	Party activists	7.01.81	9	-
9	Party activists	10.04.81	10	1
Total			94	7

From the Archive of the

Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee

According to the party principles, all the above-mentioned was indeed a flagrant violation of the party regulations. However, despite the assertions of the CPSU CC ideologists, everything was quite the reverse, it was Azerbaijanis in NKAO whose rights were impaired.

The assessment of the social situation in NKAO was also false, superficial and unscientific. "Let us at least remember the process of emergence and development of the Karabakh movement. Why did the people raise the question on joining Armenia? Because they saw that the leaders of Azerbaijan were leading the region to a dead end, trying to cut the natural cultural ties of the Armenian population with Armenia, putting obstacles in the way of the Armenian-speaking

intellectuals. Al this *is the reality!* All this *is true!* Travelling around the country, I had never seen such neglect to the fate of the people as in Nagorno-Karabakh," wrote A. Volsky on 15 January, 1989 in his article "Peace for the Karabakh Land" published in "Pravda".

That was the lies of a "man of a thousand faces", the former party organizer of Likhachev plant, Andropov's economy adviser, the bloody representative of Gorbachev in Karabakh, the double-dealer representative of Yeltsin in Chechnya, the honorary leader of oligarchs (turning to be their betrayer in the hour of need), a double or triple (depending on the situation) agent of secret services, from the KGB to the FSB (Federal Security Service) of Russia (not a complete image, though, there still versions possible), Comrade-Mister, the head of the Committee of Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, A. Volsky.

The table shows the social data on the USSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR and NKAO...

As we can see, the key figures illustrating the social situation in NKAO were better than in Azerbaijan and Armenia and a bit worse than in the USSR on average. It gets especially pronounced when compared with Armenia.

Let us remember the well-known documentary of the Armenian film studio broadcasted on the Central Television Channel several months before the Karabakh events and demonstrating the extreme poverty in the settlement situated 30 km from Yerevan.

Doctor of Historical Studies S.V. Vostrikov (Smolensk), who wrote several articles about the "suffering" of the Karabakh Armenians, writes in his article "Karabakh knot as a conflictogenic factor of Transcaucasia", "Considerable disproportion of the levels of social and economic development became an important conflictogenic factor. THE POINT WAS NOT THAT THE ARMENIANS OF NKAO LIVED WORSE THAN THEIR AZERBAIJAN NEIGHBOURS. QUITE THE CONTRARY, THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE FORMER WAS BETTER IN MANY PARAMETERS THAN THAT OF THE LATTER (highlighted by the author). However, the NKAO Armenians knew well how they brothers lived in Armenia and naturally supposed that they would be able to improve their welfare considerably by gaining independence. The living standard of Armenia (excelling Azerbaijan considerably in most per capita indices of welfare) kind of guided them." Armenia did not guide the NKAO Armenians, for leaving the region, they mainly went not to Armenia.

Karabakh Armenians excelled their "brothers" from Armenia in many ways, which shows that their life in Azerbaijan was not that bad at all. It was not accident that after the well-known events Karabakh Armenians easily seized

power in Armenia getting their yesterday "brothers" under and did not looked like an oppressed people!

The editorial in "St. Petersburg University" journal, N21 (3517), 20 October, 1999, titled "Particular Perplexity of a Voter, or In Defence of the Nonpartisan General Secretary", gives a deep analysis of social problems and ethnic relations citing NKAO as an example. It is a pity that editorial did not appear in the beginning of separatism problem, it was much more relevant then. "It is easy to destruct our society. It is already oversaturated with electricity like a fireball, ready to explode at a slightest touch. Especially at a touch upon

Table

Name	AzSSR	NKAO	USSR	ArmSSR
Quantity of hospital beds per 10,000 person (pieces)	97.7 38.4	101.7 29.1	130.1 42.7	86.22 38.6
Number of doctors of all specialties per 10,000 person	93.5	122.7	114.7	93.5
Number of paramedical personnel per 10,000 person	6	13	4.8	4.1
Number of public libraries per 10,000 person	5	15	4.8	3.8
Number of clubs per 10,000 person	3	11.2	5.4	2.9
Quantity of film projector units per 10,000 person	20	35	57	39
Coverage of children by preschool institutions (percent from the size of the corresponding population group)	74.3	92.5	78.2	87.8
Number of students in the first shift (percent from the total number of students)	10.9	14.6	14.9	13.7
Housing resources per 1 citizen (square meter); in rural area	12.2	14.6	14.3	13.1
in urban area	9.2	14.6	16.1	15.0

Source: Statistic information of the State Planning Committee

national strings. It is hard to think of that war in NKAO but we must not hush it up either. It was clear from the very start that the Karabakh knot cannot be undone on the current legal level. This is a political dead end, to go out of which a certain law-making way should be walked. Is it sensible to interpret this emergency situation as a national tragedy of the Armenian people and demand the immediate change of the NKAO status?

Surely, social living conditions are difficult there. But let us look at the centres of the countries, Yerevan, Baku, Tbilisi. How do – no, not sales or consumer service workers – simple workers of an engineering plant, for instance, live there? I can answer. Its is hard life on the verge of poverty, amid half-legalized Soviet theft. Not only now but for many decades. And generally speaking, give me such a place in our state where a man living on his wage could easily earn his daily bread without being humiliated by authority? There is no place like that. However, it does not mean that we all are to bring forward some ultimatums, snatch sporting guns and antihail units and shoot one another down as fast as possible. We have already passed that in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and cannot recover so far. Would not it be better to advance in a civilized way, in conformity with the general law of complex system dynamics, according to the method of small perturbations, not deviating too much from the equilibrium? Otherwise, it is a failure, a disaster like the one we observe in NKAO.”

The authors of the article do not or do not want to understand that the separatists from NKAO WISHED EXACTLY TO DESTROY OUR SOCIETY AND LEAD IT TO A CATASTROPHE TO ACHIEVE THEIR OWN AIMS.

When the Soviet mass media and central authority of the USSR spoke in unison about social problems in NKAO, the impression was that Azerbaijan and its capital Baku lived in clover, while the population of NKAO hardly managed to make both ends meet.

Major Soviet economists made their contribution to this interpretation, arguing that Azerbaijan had always been in preferential economic conditions in the USSR but that had not influenced the economy of NKAO properly. Aganbegyan, Sitaryan, Volsky and others were particularly zealous in such statements.

Let us cite the facts. 23.3 billion roubles were invested in Azerbaijan industry in the period from 1920 to 1985. Net oil income (taking into account the development of the world oil prices) amounts to over 100 billion dollars. Even if we take into consideration rouble-to-dollar rate set by Stalin (when asked about rouble-to-dollar rate, he set it as 92 kopecks for a dollar), then oil income alone exceeds the investments four times. The actual oil income exceeds the investments dozens times. Moreover, if we consider that 80% of the investments

turned into a heap of metal scraps and that ecologically, the oilfields are a silent reproach to the Communist regime, the picture will be complete.

“Builds a bridge, engineer deals every molecule,” said one of founding fathers of cybernetics Ashby. When assessing the things Azerbaijan gave and gained, one should not remember something built somewhere, for the above-mentioned information clears the issue up.

According to S. Mamedov, in the period from 1913 to 1988, industrial production increased 99 times in the Azerbaijan SSR, 220 times in the USSR on the whole, 369 times in Byelorussia and 563 times in Armenia, although Azerbaijan had much better starting position than Byelorussia and Armenia. There was no relation between awards, orders, challenge banners and living standard. The population of Azerbaijan considerable excelled that of the Baltic republics both in received orders and in the poverty level 8-10 times, since national wealth turned not into national values but into orders and medals, various banners etc.

We should stress it once again that in the seventies, owing to the personality of H. Aliyev, currency-consuming equipment was delivered in Azerbaijan. Owing not to the nobility of the Soviet power (leaders of other republics could not use it for some reason) but to the personal qualities of H. Aliyev.

We should deduct the damage Armenia inflicted on Azerbaijan from the investments made in it in the Soviet period.

Had been the position of the Soviet Moscow impartial and fair, Armenia would not have been able to inflict so much damage on Azerbaijan.

One can often find naïve reasoning that oil was cheaper than mineral water and oil price rise would have solved all problems. Even if world oil prices had been fixed, Azerbaijan would have not benefited much, there existing Politburo, State Planning Committee of the USSR. And this is comprehensible, as the formation of republican budgets had not economic but political basis (“there is a Politburo resolution”, “we must first of all help the cradle of revolution”, “Moscow will be made a model city”, “relatives often come to see the population of this republic, we want to make it model” and so on).

It so happened that the extremity of the situation in the years of the Soviet state formation, Great Patriotic War and economy development each time required intensification of deposits exploration exceeding acceptable bounds several times. All this was accompanied with considerable lag in facilities construction, formation of the appropriate industry, capital renewals, formation of the social complex.

The intensity of operation of oil producing facilities and the low rates of their renewal are demonstrated by the fact that the initial cost of basic assets

decreased 2.5 times today, 80% of oil wells have worked through several lives and are virtually unfit for efficient exploitation.

The emphasis was laid not on the systematic drilling-out and improved oil deposit development but on the rapid extraction of most actual reserves, which inflicted the irreversible damage on the bowels. The Soviet principle of spending as little means as possible on producing as much oil as possible has led to a natural end.

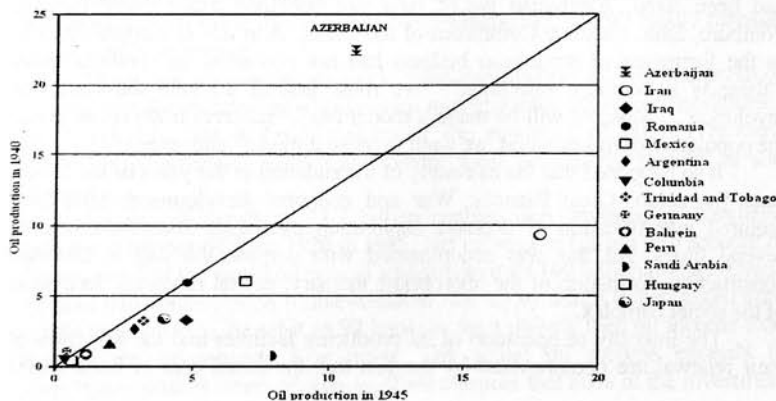
Oilfields of Baku were considerably destroyed during the war. World oil production in 1941-1945 was analyzed to make the full assessment of the degree of breakdown. Experts integrated data on the USA, Venezuela, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, Romania, Mexico, Argentina, Columbia, Trinidad and Tobago, Germany, Bahrain, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Hungary and Japan. This data is given in Picture 3 in the form of relation of oil production in 1945 to that in 1940. As the chart shows, oil production in a number of countries remained on the level of 1941; these countries are Romania, Argentina, Columbia, Trinidad and Tobago, Bahrain, Peru, Hungary and Japan. In some countries, oil production increased; these are the USA, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia. It increased most noticeably in Venezuela, the USA and Iraq. The example of Azerbaijan is dreadful, the country having lost half oil production in the years in question. And that destruction was not natural but man-made. Romanian oilfields had been occupied by the German and the Soviet army by turns, and still they suffered much less than those in Baku.

Picture 3. World oil production in 1940-1945

(From *Would the Allies Have Won without Baku Oil?*)

World oil production in 1940 - 1945

Tendency of oil production development in some countries in 1940 - 1945 (thousand tons)



The model of oil production development in 1945 versus that in 1940 demonstrates that oilfields of Germany and Azerbaijan underwent fundamental destruction. However, whereas important industrial facilities of Germany were destroyed by incessant bombardments of the allies and occupied afterwards, oilfields of Baku were destroyed by terrible loads on favoured oil pools of Absheron! It is astounding that the eventual results were equal in both cases! In Germany, oil production was 1 million tons per year in 1941, while in Azerbaijan it amounted to 24 million tons per year. Take into account that not a single bomb fell on Baku oilfields and no serious diversions were made. That is the cost Azerbaijan oilfields and bowels had to pay for the confrontation with petrochemical industry of Germany headed by the ingenious scientist patronized by Hitler himself, Fischer, and oil refining industry of Europe occupied by the fascists!

Baku oilfields were neither bombed nor occupied, but they were damaged the worst in the world. Stalinist regime proved to be much more terrible than numerous bombings and occupations. The model of oil production development in 1945 versus that in 1940 demonstrates that OILFIELDS OF GERMANY AND AZERBAIJAN UNDERWENT FUNDAMENTAL DESTRUCTION. HOWEVER, WHEREAS IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES OF GERMANY WERE DESTROYED BY INCESSANT BOMBARDMENTS OF THE ALLIES AND OCCUPIED AFTERWARDS, OILFIELDS OF BAKU WERE DESTROYED BY TERRIBLE LOADS ON FAVOURED OIL POOLS OF ABSHERON! IT IS ASTOUNDING THAT THE EVENTUAL RESULTS WERE EQUAL IN BOTH CASES! IN GERMANY, OIL PRODUCTION WAS 1 MILLION TONS PER YEAR IN 1941, WHILE IN AZERBAIJAN IT AMOUNTED TO 24 MILLION TONS PER YEAR.

All this caused grave environmental problems in the republic.

In more than century-long period of oil production in Azerbaijan, a complex of deep social and ecological problems formed here that hinders positive processes in the republic, adversely affecting the life and mood of the people and causing serious political tension recently.

Social and ecological tension in Baku and on Absheron peninsula is especially alerting, as major oil producing, oil refining and petrochemical facilities are concentrated there in a small territory, with their dense network of extended communications crossing the area of residential communities, public centres, national parks, recreational zones. The centre of the city, a large amphitheatre with the area of 30,000 hectares, is encircled by the wide ring of 20,000 hectares of field territories, lifeless masout-covered lands, numerous

polluted reservoirs. For many decades, the share of means for social development of the republic made up less than 5% of the total amount of capital investments. As a consequence, considerable number of families lives in shabby repair houses in the gas-polluted field territory. All Slavic towns that had been damaged were restored after the war. However, the hell of ecology of Absheron peninsula was not rehabilitated even in part.

The situation is particularly tense in Baku and Sumgayit. Those cities became most ecologically unfavourable in the country. Atmosphere is exposed to serious pollution. Industrial facilities annually disperse to the air over 550,000 ton of detrimental substances containing sulphur and fluorine compounds, nitrogen, hydrocarbons, chlorine and fluorine. There are 798 ton of detrimental substances dispersed to the atmosphere per square km in Sugayit, 217 ton in Baku, which is 20 times more than in the republic on average. Concentration of some high-toxic substances exceeds the accepted standard two or three times, which accounts for the high sickness rate and children's mortality of the population.

The analysis carried out by the Radiation Research Sector of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan demonstrates that "the capacity of oil production making up 10 million tons per year, about 161 ton nitrogen oxides, 2,658 ton sulphur oxides and 9,877 ton carbon oxides are dispersed to the atmosphere from electric power systems in thermochemical preparation and processing alone. These figures do not include detrimental substances ejection in burning of flare gases. Oil production increase and more advanced processing will entail three- or fourfold increase in the ejection of detrimental substances into atmosphere."

The sphere of protection of water resources is in complete disorder. Over 1 billion cubic meters of crude sewage is poured into the Caspian Sea. The crude sewage bring such detrimental substance as chlorides, sulphates, nitrates, oil products, phenols, surfactant species, organic and other pollutants. Their concentration in the bay of Baku, on Sumgayit seaside and other parts of the Caspian water area exceeds the allowed standard several times. According to the calculations of experts, 100,000 ton oil products, 1,000 ton phenols, 1,500 ton copper, 7,000 ton zinc and other harmful substances are poured into the Caspian annually through the Volga, Kura, Terek and Samur alone.

Professor Kasymov estimated that up to 11 billion cubic meters of polluted waters get into the Caspian annually, the figure including up to 10 billion cubic meters from the Volga, up to 0.7 billion cubic meters from the Kura. These waters are kind of "tincture" of pesticides, domestic and industrial

waste from the facilities of Tbilisi and Rustavi. The table gives the data on the quantitative and qualitative sewage disposal into the Caspian in 1995 in the area of activity of Baku Ecology Committee.

"Trend" new agency reported that according to the head of "Isotope" special facilities B. Guseynov, 55% of the territory of Baku and Sumgayit and 37% of the territory of Absheron are exposed to radioactive contamination. The chief sources of radioactive contamination are the waste left after the withdrawal of the Soviet Army and radioactive waste from the Armenian nuclear station. Radioactive waste from the latter has been disposed in the occupied territory of Azerbaijan and amounts to over 30 tons. 150 points of nuclear-waste disposal left after the withdrawal of the Soviet Army have been found in Gazakh alone.

The process of construction and operation of treatment facilities is unsatisfactory either. The full capacity operation of the largest water-protective object in the republic, Big Baku Ductwork, has not been provided so far.

41.8% of 8,641,000 hectares (which makes 3,610,000 hectares) is exposed to erosion, 36% of 1,520,000 hectares of irrigated area is saline. More than 7,000 hectares in Absheron have been ruined; 7,200 hectares of once fertile lands are polluted and subject to revegetation. There are 80 dumps for domestic and industrial waste in Baku alone. Due to the lack of organization in waste and sewage disposal of facilities and communal services, ground-water level has risen, over 10,000 hectares are watered and swampy. A striking example of negligence toward nature is the current difficult situation in Lokbatan residential area surrounded with numerous man-made lake full of domestic waste. Many years of discharging domestic and industrial waste have made the lakes Beyuk-Shor, Chukhur-Dara, Ganly-Gol and other turn into catch pit and burst their banks, polluting the adjacent area.

Academician V. Gadjiyev said that "the flora of Azerbaijan includes over 800 species of medicinal plants, 825 contain essential oils, 200 - rubber, more than 200 - tannin, 460 - dye-stuff, 400 - vitamins, 600 - alkaloids. 150 species of fruit and berry plants are spread in the territory of our republic. Once forests made up 25-20% of the Azerbaijan territory, but their area has reduced to 11% by today. 225 hectares of valuable forest lands and more than 70,000 hectares of small and big shrubs have been ruined in the republic in the last 25-30 years."

According to expert calculations, the realization of the full complex of measures on environmental sanitation in Baku, revegetation, biological recovery, draining and cleaning of settling lakes, construction of drainage systems, cleaning of the Caspian bay, including special technical equipment for the building organizations, requires dozens of millions dollars. The situation is

aggravated by the lack of free area for the development of Baku, which forces to use agricultural lands of Absheron peninsula for these purposes.

Over a billion tons of oil was produced in Azerbaijan in the period of the Soviet power. There are many countries in the world that have produced dozens times more oil than us. But if we compare the ecological situation, the condition of Azerbaijan is poor.

Deputy Minister of Economy O. Akhverdiyev said to "Trend" news agency that 600,000 hectares of once fertile land are so saline that they could not be used in agriculture any more. Other sources tell us that swampy, eroded and residual lands can be found virtually everywhere today. They have recently taken space photographs of our croplands through special optical filters. When the films were developed and prints were made, scientists lost their tongue, seeing that every hectare was covered with many layers of waste dust...

According to many experts, landscape diversity produces a favourable effect on ethnos and allows the people to express its own diversity. In this regard, Azerbaijan is unique. The estimation of the diversity of Azerbaijan allows us to be included in the elite of world countries. However, a centralized administrative system has a particularly sensitive impact on such countries as ours. Depriving the people of freedom closely related to the natural diversity, the system deprives it of the future.

THE SOCIAL SITUATION IN NKAO SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AGAINST THIS GENERAL BACKGROUND, FOR THE SITUATION IN NKAO LOOKED NOT THAT BAD AS COMPARED TO THE REPUBLIC ON THE WHOLE.

HENCE A NATURAL QUESTION. WHY SHOULD HAVE NKAO FLOURISH AGAINST SUCH GENERAL BACKGROUND?

Was the social situation in Nakhchivan better than in NKAO? Did Azerbaijan cotton growers who toiled under trying conditions live better than NKAO? Was the everyday life of Balakhany oil workers better than that of furniture makers from NKAO? Such comparisons are endless. As was mentioned above, despite enormous subsidies (unofficial information says that Armenia ranked first in the USSR in subsidies), the social situation in Armenia (with the exception of Yerevan that was prospering on account of shadow economy) was not better than in NKAO.

AND FINALLY, MOST IMPORTANTLY, WAS IT AZERBAIJAN THAT BROUGHT COMMUNISM TO THE PEOPLES LEADING ALL PEOPLES, INCLUDING THAT OF NKAO, TO THIS DISMAL SOCIAL SITUATION? WAS IT NOT AZERBAIJAN THAT SUFFERED FROM

COMMUNISM THE WORST OF ALL IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS, WHICH COULD NOT BUT AFFECT NKAO? RHETORICAL QUESTIONS ARE THESE!

Familiarizing with this information, any impartial reader will understand that the Karabakh Armenians by no means reminded a people "oppressed by Azerbaijan", as virtually as Soviet mass media asserted.

This information is quite sufficient to assess the situation in NKAO as a part of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The CPSU CC was familiar with all this information as well but it was ignored completely as inconvenient for the authors of resolutions on NKAO. The CPSU Central Committee officials had the cheek to phone to different departments of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party Central Committee asking to send more critical information on the political and social situation in NKAO. Clearly, they were not interested in other materials giving an objective assessment to the situation in NKAO.

THE ABOVE-MENTIONED INFORMATION DEMONSTRATES THAT LOUD DECLARATIONS OF OVERALL "RIGHTS INFRINGEMENT" IN THE AZERBAIJAN SSR MADE BY THE ARMENIANS WERE A BIG LIE AND THE FIRST LARGE-SCALE ACTION OF BLACK PR IN THE USSR AFTER THE BEGINNING OF GORBACHEV'S PERESTROIKA.

The then deputy head of the USSR KGB Philipp Denisovich Bobkov writes in connection with the Karabakh separatism, "In two or three months, I met the former first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia in Moscow. He was in retirement. Kirokosyan spent much time explaining why the Karabakh problem was to be solved in the Armenians' favour and gave ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS (highlighted by the author).

'We need land badly'

I was surprised.

'Why?'

'Armenians leave Armenia because they have no land.'

'And where do they go?'

'Stavropol, Siberia, Central Russia.'

'Is it that bad?'

'Well, the nation gets scattered. We need land to stop Armenians from moving to other regions of the Soviet Union.'"(Armenia still occupies considerable amounts of territory, however the nation continues to move as far from those lands as possible. - Author)

When the events began, one of the ideologists of Karabakh separatists, Igor Muradyan, said, "Armenia will not survive without new territories, it needs new agricultural lands."

"We are like in prison cell!" exclaims Sylvia Kaputikyan.

"Gorbachev! Give us our land back!" these words are heard at all meetings in Armenia.

Armenian clergy did not remain aside either, speaking about the ethnic persecution of the Karabakh Armenians, thereby adding ethnic factor to the separatist movement. But that was not truth either.

The truth also becomes clear, if we familiarize with the appeal of Catholics of all Armenians dated 12.06.1988, given in the book "Destiny" by G. Shakhnazarov (pp.50-52, in Armenian). "It is no secret that not all of our lands belong to us yet. But there will come the time to conquer them and populate them. In the last 40 years, the Armenians have returned the land of their fathers. They make up 60%. The territories in Krasnodar and Stavropol regions are gradually coming out of the Russian control... There are 80% of our land in Armavir (Northern Armenia) (the Armenian name for Rostov region – *A. Alekperov*)... so, if we are sensible we will populate Rostov region as well... There is no reason to worry, we have the support of the Russian Church and many our followers of high rank. I believe that 480,000 Armenians in Moscow do mean something. My dear children, buy houses slowly... persuade the local population to move, take root in your home land... The USSR is breaking down now, and soon we will be furthering the downfall of Russia... It is time for a crusade against those who has driven away our long-suffering nation from its land! Echmiadzin – 12.06.1988."

In "The Gulag Archipelago", 1991, v.5, p.223, A.I. Solzhenitsyn writes, "When the Hitlerites seized our South, the number of volunteer battalions (in Vlasov's army - *Author*) increased again with a Georgian, an Armenian, a Northern Caucasian and 16 Kalmyk ones... There were almost no Soviet guerillas in the south." The USSR was believed to be on the brink of defeat then, and the considerable number of Armenian battalions was getting ready for the process of division of the USSR. In Gorbachev's period, it became clear in several years after his rise to power that the USSR would collapse and the formation of Armenian battalions began again to occupy another's land. The perspicacious A.I. Solzhenitsyn could not fail to comprehend that, and yet he chose to protect Karabakh separatists.

These facts (that are by far not solitary ones) finish any reasoning of Karabakh separatists and their heralds on lofty matters of the Karabakh movement. **THE CHIEF AND SOLE AIM OF ARMENIA WAS AND IS ONLY SEIZURE OF THE LANDS NOT BELONGING TO THEM!**

Fine statements of different circles and persons about spirituality, demography, social problems and so on were intended for the civilized world that is known to overreact to such problems and is very far from a deep analysis.

This was also observed by an Israeli publicist Robert David. He expressed his opinion after his visit to Yerevan and Baku in May 1991, "NKAO would not have sawn the branch it was sitting on without being stirred up from outside. It was the Armenians, the nation with a huge sisterhood in the USA, that played the part of a Trojan Horse in the Soviet camp, which surely has its reason. Nagorno-Karabakh was the first ulcer of the nationalistic plague. It did not occur to anyone that if at one moment the Armenians needed national self-determination rights most of any other rights, they could use it freely in full measure, moving from NKAO to Armenia. However, they desire to move together with the territory they live in! Without the territory, they do not want to go. So, territory is most important for these people and not self-determination. The Armenians already have independence. How many times can one nation gain it?"

The main political slogan of the Karabakh movement was "Miatsum!" "Miatsum!" the shouted in Khankendi, "Miatsum!" they cried in the Theatre Square in Yerevan, "Miatsum!" echoed Russian democrats, "Miatsum!" screamed headlines in the Soviet press, "Miatsum!" flashed on the screen of central TV channels; everything seemed to have melted in some kind of miatsum ecstasy!

And no one remembered in that ecstasy that "miatsum" means "reunion", Reunion is Anschluss, Anschluss is War, War is A TRAGEDY FOR PEOPLES!

No one remembered that the enslavement of Europe by the fascist Germany had begun with "miatsum", with Anschluss of Austria and Sudeten.

In October 1987, the first meeting of "Karabakh" Committee took place in Pushkin Park in Yerevan. It was convened by the leaders Igor Muradyan and Levon Ter-Petrosyan. The combat hymn played at that meeting "Karabakh needs living idols today" with a rather warlike ending "We will overcome death and fear of prison to save our Karabakh". On 25 January, 1988, after those meetings, first hundreds of refugees began arriving in Azerbaijan that had been driven from Kafan and Megri regions of the Armenian SSR. Three months later, 24 February, 1988, first blood was shed in the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict; two Azerbaijanis were killed in NKAO.

The eviction of Azerbaijanis from Armenia has a long history.

The process started in the Soviet Union, in Stalin's times.

THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, RESOLUTION N4083, 23 December, 1947. Moscow, Kremlin. On the resettlement of collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population from the Armenian SSR to Kura-Araks lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR. sup. 10.03.48 N754

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers I. Stalin. Execute secretary of the USSR Council of Ministers Y. Chadayev

The USSR Council of Ministers found it necessary to supplement its first resolution with N547 resolution dated 10 March, 1948. The second document suggested further development of the resolution adopted on 23 December and was again signed by Stalin. It intensified the measures on the resettlement of Azerbaijanis. The first part of 23 December, 1947 resolution read that from 1948 to 1950 100,000 collective farmers and other representatives of the Azerbaijan population living in the territory of Armenia were to be voluntarily moved to Kura-Araks lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR, 10,000 of them in 1948, 40,000 in 1949 and 50,000 in 1950.

Vazghen I was unfair to Stalin, saying that "the period of Stalin's personality cult was a disaster for everyone. Leninism, the true Socialist doctrine was distorted. I wish Lenin had not died so early, he could live long!"

The period of Stalin's personality cult was indeed a disaster for everyone, including the Armenian people. However, Stalin shared the same ideas on the eviction of Azerbaijanis with the then leader of Armenia.

After Gorbachev's rise to power, Armenia continued Stalin's cause with renewed strength. The proper process of eviction have never stopped but it became definite in the time of Gorbachev.

The ideology of that process was briefly but essentially expressed by S. Kaputikyan, "...Turks, especially their Azerbaijan wing, are to be broken all the time. The struggle against every Azerbaijani is to be conducted on the level of a state programme." Hitler used to say something like that about Jews!

This appeal of the weak-sighted lady was heard all over Armenia, both by the authority and informal groups.

Leaflets and posters were hanging throughout Armenia, at bus stops, on the gates, in house blocks where Azerbaijanis lived, with the full support of the authorities.

"People of Armenia!

Do not ever forget the bloody days of 1915, the terror brought by Talat pasha, Enver pasha, Jamal pasha! Live and remember!

Everyone who calls himself Armenian!

Drive the Turks from our land!

Do not give them water from Armenian springs!

Do not give him bread baked with the hands of Armenian woman!

Turks, out of our city!"

A corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia Rafael Kazaryan spoke before many thousands of marchers during the meeting in the Theatre Square in Yerevan in the beginning of the events, "For the first time in

decades, we have a unique opportunity to clear Armenia." He repeated one-to-one the words of Ribbentrop about the Jews.

His appeals, like those of Kaputikyan, were heard and their mass realization began.

On 12 November, 1988, in the town of Spitak, the first secretary of Spitak City Committee of the Communist Party N. Muradyan, the first secretary of the regional executive committee of the Communist Party F. Abuchyan, the head doctor of the region R. Bagdaryan, Judge E. Nazaryan, the head of militia V. Sarkisyan, public prosecutor Arakisyanyan with several armed bearded men evicted Azerbaijan families from their flats and administered "justice". 36 persons died, unable to endure refined tortures. 70 children at the age from 5 to 12 were immured alive before their parents' eyes in the prepared pipe of 20 meters length and 1.5 meters diameter. Another 27 Azerbaijan children were taken away in the unknown direction.

"The eviction of Azerbaijanis in Shauman settlement of the Armenian SSR was carried out with the participation of the chairman of the village Soviet and other officials," even "Pravda", the newspaper far from sympathies towards Baku, wrote on 7 January, 1989.

Even the earthquake in Armenia on 7 December was used by the Armenian authorities to suit their filthy ends. Entire Azerbaijan villages were extinguished and that was accounted for the earthquake.

That earthquake was also used against Azerbaijan by well-known forces. It was disgusting when famous journalists of Moscow wrote that people in Baku were celebrating the Armenian earthquake in the squares. During the "round table" in Baku, where the situation in the region was steadily discussed, the commandant of the special region Colonel General Tyagunov suddenly began reproaching the Azerbaijan people for "gloating over another's woe". That shocked both the participants of the round table and the TV audience. Colonel general as a common agent provocateur!

History of the mankind knows many earthquakes that took hundreds of thousands of human lives; however we do not know any single case when such a tragedy was used as black PR action against other people!

"The whole Russia was supporting Armenian people," remember KGB agents Vladimir Lutsenko and Valery Khmelev, "but few know that militants shot our paratroopers in the back when the latter were standing in cordon around the earthquake source. Extremists had begun arming themselves by that time."

Not just arming themselves.

According to the materials of the Azerbaijan Republic Prisoners of War, Hostages and Missing Citizens State Committee, petty groups were organized in Spitak after the destructive earthquake from among the activists of the Armenian

“Karabakh” terrorist organization. They were engaged in car theft, embezzlement of medicines coming to the Yerevan “Zvartnots” airport from all around the world, pillage of shops in the damaged cities, removing watches, jewellery, money etc. from the corpses.

Such facts are also confirmed in Russian sources.

Victor Nikolaev writes about the earthquake in Spitak, “Don’t move! Don’t move or I’m shooting!” Right off the bat, the tunnel sight of the captain spotted shadows that had slipped behind the building ruins. Battle experience is for ever. ‘Get down, everyone! Mugs to the ground! Arms to the sides, legs apart!’

Fighting, constrained wheeze and certainly foul words for a minute. Then four single shots from Kalashnikov and here they are – two thrashing about in convulsions, four screaming excitedly interrupting one another, ‘Doncha shoot, noo! Bin goin’ to bury our sis... Doncha shoot, we’re lyin’...’

After being replaced, Victor and other men were thinking of one and the same thing, remembering the opened coffin, ripped up belly of a dirty woman and a pile of jewellery in it. Those inhuman monsters had been taking gold so hastily that they had cut off swollen fingers and ears together with rings and earrings.”

The KGB agents Vladimir Lutsenko and Valery Khmelev write, “A considerable amount of different kind of weapon was supplied to Armenia under the guise of humanitarian aid to the victims of the earthquake in Spitak.”

Alexei Vaschenko echoes, “Many Armenians came to Armenia from France to take part in the Karabakh conflict, in which many mercenaries also participated. The Armenian community rendered humanitarian aid to the victims of the earthquake in Spitan and Leninakan, delivering weapon and ammunition together with that humanitarian aid.” This is how the natural disaster was used!

The earthquake in Spitak cleared up some other things as well. Broadcasts of “Vremya” programme began every day with report on the support some or other Russian region rendered to Armenia, which was only welcome. But something stunned us and we understood that there was something wrong in Russia. On 3 June, 1989, 23:14, a train crash occurred due to the explosion of the gas pipeline near Ufa, on Novosibirsk – Adler and Adler – Novosibirsk routes, with the trains being occupied mainly by children that had been going to summer sea resorts and back from there. 1,100 people suffered. 40 children died of wounds and burns in just one day, according to the Central Television. The rest was silence. NOT A SINGLE OUTSTANDING RUSSIAN PUBLIC FIGURE, WRITER, SCIENTIST ETC. BROUGHT FORWARD ANY INITIATIVE ON THE ASSISTANCE TO MORE THAN 1,000 OF VICTIMS, THE MOST OF

WHICH REMAINED DISABLED! INSPITE OF THEIR BEING RUSSIANS! The head of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov did not appear on the site of the tragedy either, though he had refused to leave Armenia during the earthquake in Spitak.

Dozens of thousands Russian soldiers coming home from the Afghan war, the war that had not been theirs, needed everything. Instead, as they would say themselves, they had the impression that AFTER THE AFGHAN WAR THEY CAME TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY.

Another striking example of such attitude to their own people was G. Starovoytova. The aid of the president of Russia Yeltsin, G. Starovoytova took absolutely no interest in the Russian affairs, constantly lobbying for the interests of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. According to Armenian sources, during meetings with a number of outstanding politicians (M. Thatcher, F. Mitterrand, V. Havel, L. Wałęsa, A. Kwasniewski, D. Baker, J. Carter, B. Ghali and others), she always raised only the Karabakh issue.

To the detriment of Russia, Starovoytova took part in lobbying for the transfer and further reconstruction of two Armenian churches of St. Petersburg and the adjacent buildings and areas under the jurisdiction of Moscow and Nor-Nakhchivan eparchy of Armenian apostolic church. had it depended on G. Starovoytova, she would have transferred Russia itself under the jurisdiction of Armenia!

David Petrosyan writes that “in 1988-1989 G. Starovoytova took part in more than 40 symposiums, conferences and workshops held by large research centres and international organizations, where she defended the self-determination right of the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians, up to the formation of an independent state;

- in the same period, she delivered lectures in ethnography, ethnopsychology and ethnic conflicts in more than 20 prestigious universities of the USA, Great Britain, Canada and other countries, continuously citing the example of the self-determination demand of the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians as the most indisputable;

- in mass media of over 20 countries, G. Starovoytova published interview and articles, reasoning the self-determination right of the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians, up to the formation of an independent state.”

As we can see, this is a rather impressive record of service in anti-Azerbaijan activity of a Russian deputy and public figure, which is totally out of place, for Russia never declared war on Azerbaijan officially! Another natural and important question arises. What has G. Starovoytova done for Russia? Fighting Communists. And as became clear after her murder, on finding a

featherbed, she got into criminal business (according to the report in the Russian press, her capital at the moment of murder amounted to a million dollars).

In this connection, we can remember the following extract from "Anna Karenina". "Here am I too," said the old prince. "I've been staying abroad and reading the papers, and I must own, up to the time of the Bulgarian atrocities, I couldn't make out why it was all the Russians were all of a sudden so fond of their Slavonic brethren, while I didn't feel the slightest affection for them. I was very much upset, thought I was a monster, or that it was the influence of Carlsbad on me. But since I have been here, my mind's been set at rest. I see that there are people besides me who're only interested in Russia, and not in their Slavonic brethren." Time has made some amendments in this brilliant description of the Russian mass conscience, now the Armenians are a headache of Russia. Perhaps, the recipe of the great old man, Count Tolstoy, is applicable to the today's Russia? Perhaps, it is time indeed it dealt its own problem? An amazing country is Russia! One would understand it neither by means of common sense, nor by means of common economic calculations!

Here are the results of the deportation of Azerbaijanis from Armenia.

Over 230,000 our compatriots were driven from 185 Azerbaijan villages in Armenia. Up to 31,000 houses, 165 collective farms and state farms were pillaged, considerable amount of livestock was taken, 216 persons were killed, 1,154 injured, hundreds of brave sons of the people were tortured and had their eyes put out.

Here is the list of Azerbaijan victims in another ethnic purge in Armenia.

- 2 persons were killed by doctors in a hospital;
- 3 persons died due to failure to assist sick person;
- 35 persons were killed in tortures;
- 41 persons died of battery;
- 11 persons were burned alive;
- 2 persons had their heads cut off after tortures;
- 4 persons were killed and burned;
- 1 person was hung;
- 3 persons were drowned;
- 7 persons were run over with cars;
- 16 persons were shot from firearms;
- 49 persons froze to death in mountains trying to escape;
- 8 persons were kidnapped and are missing;
- 1 person was killed with electricity;
- 10 persons died of heart attack due to the shock, including one pregnant woman.

In total, 216 people were killed, including 57 women, 5 infants and 18 children of different age.

The number of internally displaced people in the regions of dislocation (%)

Regions, cities	Number	%
Agdam	22,812	3.7
Agdash	3,501	0.5
Agjabedi	33,747	5.5
Absheron	17,660	1.2
Baku and adjacent regions	130,350	21.3
Barda	67,486	11.0
Beylagan	22,528	3.6
Bilasuvar	29,299	4.8
Alibayramly	4,656	0.7
Fizuli	37,590	6.1
Goranboy	5,916	0.9
Ganja	14,438	2.3
Khanlar	5,174	0.8
Imishli	36,882	6.0
Gazakh	6,202	1.0
Mingachevir	19,153	3.1
Neftchala	3,183	0.5
Saatly	14,240	2.3
Sabirabad	21,289	3.4
Sumgayit	48,199	7.9
Sheki	6,010	0.9
Terter	17,880	2.9
Yevlakh	13,024	2.1
Other regions	38,856	6.3
Total	610,070	100

Source: UNHCR Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR. 1996 Statistical Overview; Geneva, July, 1997.

The surviving refugees from Armenia have undergone inhumane ordeal.

"Heart-rending scenes: a young Azerbaijan woman with a tiny girl in her arms and a boy clutching at the hem of her skirt. They were crossing a snow-covered mountain pass. An old teacher, whose face bore bitterness besides the common-for-all expression of stupefaction, for he had told children of some fundamentals of life that had crumbled in a flash right before their eyes. Azerbaijan peasants from the villages Lermontovo and Fioletovo where their neighbours were Russian Molokans, whose old-fashioned beards and even manner of speech they adopted. Faces, many faces of people driven like lambs to the slaughter heaven knows why and by heaven knows whom. A great sacrifice offering to the funeral pyre of the Soviet Union began," Ksenya Myalo writes in her book "Russia and the last wars of the 20th century. On the history of the downfall of the superpower", in the second chapter "Break".

Armenia was the first in the modern history of the USSR to put into practice "no man, no problem" aphorism of Stalin, by evicting all Azerbaijanis from Armenia.

The USSR mass media again hushed up this tragedy of the Azerbaijanis.

The head of Z department of KGB Vladimir Lutsenko and head of a section Valery Khmelev write, "Somehow, no one has said so far, for instance, that in the Armenian village of Gukark happened almost the same that had been in Sumgayit. They taunted Azerbaijanis, killed them, pillaged houses."

No doubt, the well-informed intelligence officers Lutsenko and Khmelev tell half-truth, whereas such cases require precision, a woman cannot be a bit pregnant, you know. The precise figures are the following. 26 people were killed in Sumgayit, 216 people were killed in Gukar and Masis regions of Armenia.

Armenian "initiative" of dealing ethnic issue was adopted in different regions of the USSR, and "the process started".

On 2 June, 1989, at the first congress of the USSR people's deputies, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia S.G. Arutyunyan reviewed the eviction of Azerbaijanis from Armenia. "AS OF 1 JUNE, 1989, THERE IS NOT A SINGLE AZERBAIJAN FAMILY IN ARMENIA..." (highlighted by the author). In a little more than a decade the same statement will be made by the "president" of "Nagomo-Karabakh Republic" R. Kocharyan.

Armenian extremists "successfully" solved two problems, they both evicted all Azerbaijanis from Armenia with the silent consent of Moscow, and created an explosive situation in Azerbaijan.

In January 1988, the following leaflet from Yerevan was spread in NKAO. "It is time to conduct general party, trade union and Komsomol

meetings at major facilities, in collective farms and state farms of the region, with the agenda including the issue of reunion of Karabakh with Motherland. The spirit of glasnost and democracy is to become an impulse for an open and honest discussion of this issue. Excerpt from resolutions of these meetings must be certified with appropriate seals and sent to the CPSU CC, with signature of participants attached."

And fabricated excerpts and records were surely sent to Moscow in an enormous quantity!

This trick had already been tested in Khrushchev's time. When the latter began the struggle against personality cult, under the slogan of cleaning of personality cult and with the name of Baghirov mentioned, they began collect signatures for... becoming a part of Armenia.

Khrushchev understood their intentions well and nipped them in the bud. But in the time of Gorbachev, it all was greeted in Moscow and the bloody drama started.

Before the beginning of the bloody events in Azerbaijan, many Armenian writers and public figures were welcome visitors of the USSR officials of different ranks.

"On 8 January, 1988, an Armenian delegation arrived in Moscow. It was received by Politburo member Petr Demchev who confirmed that the "movement is neither anti-Soviet nor nationalistic."

After that, Gorbachev invites Z. Balayan and S. Kaputikyan in Moscow and receives them. Returning from Moscow to Yerevan, they immediately set for a big meeting in the Theatre Square and declare that "Gorbachev deeply feels the problems of Karabakh population..."

None of the members of Gorbachev's Politburo knew the depth of the problem to make proposals. Nor did they want to know, realizing too well that the General Secretary and his closest circle took pro-Armenian stand, which was quite sufficient for them.

The "depth" of comprehension of the conflict by Gorbachev's associates can be demonstrated with the following examples.

In February 1988, the CPSU CC secretary V. Dolgikh, who had been sent to Yerevan from Moscow to examine the Karabakh conflict on the spot, said the following in one of his speeches, "What have you got to argue about with their Azerbaijanis, being long-time neighbours and Muslims as well."

As it became known, when G. RAZUMOVSKY was in Baku he was sure that NKAO had been given to Azerbaijan by Khrushchev just at the time he had given the Crimea to Ukraine.

Party and state officials that had always been clear in expressing their opinion on "socialism with human face" and "grin of capitalism", suddenly became too much like Aesop in relation to the Karabakh events, for one had to guess what they meant after each their statement.

There were the following words in Gorbachev's address to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, "to raise the question of transferring NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR..." and further without comments on this. And it meant nothing but that there was a problem but no solution to it yet.

On 8 February, 1988, signatures are collected in Stepanakert with demands to transfer NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

Baku thinks that it takes a resolute step that however ends with a total failure. A dreadful blow on the Azerbaijan statehood was administered willy-nilly by the second secretary of the CC of Communist Party of Azerbaijan Vasily Konovalov. Moderately intelligent, moderately weak-willed, always hiding his own opinion under quotes of Marxism-Leninism, checking his every step up with Moscow, he was the first to cross the line of fire of the blossoming separatism, without even realizing that.

On 11 February, 1988, a big delegation of high-ranking officials from Azerbaijan arrived in Stepanakert. The delegation was headed by the second secretary of the CC of Communist Party of Azerbaijan Vasily Konovalov. He was accompanied by representatives of security agencies of Azerbaijan – KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, public prosecutor's office, Supreme Court etc.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the bureau of regional committee of the party headed by the first secretary Boris Kevorkov and of the bureau of city committee of the party headed by the first secretary Zaven Movsesyan.

Konovalov was the first to speak. His speech was full of Communist quotes and ended as follows. "We know each of the organizers by names and promise to isolate them from society. Wisdom of the people, including activists, comes to the condemnation of this separatism. Karabakh has always been flourishing as a part of the republic; it was, is and will be an inseparable part of Azerbaijan."

Kevorkov actually repeated the words of Konovalov, "Be sure, Karabakh was and will be an inseparable part of Azerbaijan, this is the only way we see the future of our people" and somehow remembered mixed marriages.

Several trained participants spoke after him, expressing their perplexity at the "actions of some extremists" in a studied voice. The headmaster of School N10 A. Pogosyan complained that the school roof is leaky and that people

should do real work instead of collecting signature. The chairman of the furniture plant trade union M. Shakhramanyan said that in the Great Patriotic War Azerbaijanis and Armenians had defended Motherland together and would continue living together and different emissaries would not stop them. It was evident that all speakers had some studied unenthusiastic tone.

Then, all of a sudden, the head of motorcade 2718 of Stepanakert transport association Maxim Mirzoyan appeared on the rostrum. Here are some extracts from his speech.

"My father once wrote foul words about Hitler on Reichstag walls. Now they write such words about my mother Karabakh... With your consent, Comrade Konovalov, a spring is being built in Shusha symbolizing the coat of arms of Turkey, a member of NATO... Signboards in Armenian completely disappeared from Shusha. There are those in Azerbaijani, Russian and even English, though Englishmen do not come here. But perhaps, you want them to come like in 1918? Everyone knows how it ended for the Armenians... Baku is getting fat, Stepanakert is getting sick..." and so on.

It was clear that he was a well-trained PROVOCATEUR, a kind of local Ighityan! A provocateur that was to define the mood of the audience like a litmus paper. The panel grew agitated, beginning to realize what was going on. Konovalov tried to calm down... the panel. The suddenly limp Konovalov addressed the speaker with the words, "What are you suggesting?" "A referendum," snapped Mirzoyan and came down from the rostrum. THE MOMENT OF TRUTH CAME. It was the moment when much if not all depended on Konovalov and his resolute actions. It was the moment when bright speeches were required, giving numerous facts on the provocative activity of domestic and foreign forces in the region that had been breaking peace in the region. It was the meeting where it should have been declared that most strict measures would be taken right after the meeting against those violating Soviet laws. The USSR still existed and such measures were within the frame of the Constitution. According to one of the eyewitnesses, Konovalov rose up and addressed the audience peacefully, "We should not strain the situation but seek a compromise solution!" THAT WAS THE FIRST MISTAKE OF KONOVALOV! After him, Kevorkov threw some unintelligible remark, "We will stay a part of Azerbaijan anyway!" The audience realized that Baku representatives wavered and a turning point came.

The first to speak was V. Sarkisyan, who attacked Kevorkov and secretary of the city committee Mirzoyan, swearing.

A member of the regional committee, the director of Carshelkokombinat R. Atayan mounted the rostrum, took some piece of paper out of his pocket and said, "This is the speech I received from you, but I myself support referendum" and left the rostrum.

No sooner had the next speaker, the party organizer of Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute B. Farajev, reach the rostrum than the entire audience started catcalling him immediately, as if at a command; people were shouting, bellowing, stamping their feet, waving their fists. The well-known joke "The difference between democracy and democratization is nearly the same as between a canal and canalization" suited there perfectly well.

Farajev was desperately looking at the panel. Instead of supporting the speaker and enter a fierce debate with provocateurs who were still in minority, Konovalov stood up and left the room. He was followed by the members of the panel. **THAT WAS THE SECOND MISTAKE OF KONOVALOV!**

To support the "results" of the meeting, many thousands of marchers gather to conduct a demonstration in Stepanakert the next day. The marchers demand that Konovalov speak, whereas the latter demands that the demonstration be broken up, demands a phone call to someone in Moscow, that is makes an impression of a totally lost person.

According to one of the CC employees who witnessed those events, the head of administrative department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee M. Asadov suggested conducting new meeting of the active, inviting ministers that had their own departments in NKAO, organizing an alternative meeting of Azerbaijanis living in Stepanakert, Shusha and adjacent villages, in one word, so as not to miss the initiative. And he was right!

As for Konovalov, he kept on saying the same, that the situation should not be strained! **THAT WAS HIS THIRD MISTAKE!** Just the opposite, such behaviour of the delegation only continued to strain the situation!

Instead of gathering forces and striking the chief ideological blow on the centre of the dawning separatism, Stepanakert, Konovalov organizes such a meeting in Askeran and Gadrut to restore his reputation. **THAT WAS HIS FOURTH MISTAKE!**

According to Armenian sources, during the meeting of activists in Stepanakert A. Karapetyan, known in Karabakh as "Dashnak Ago" laid chickie and rushed to Askeran to tell the news about the failure of the delegation from Baku.

That gave them opportunity to prepare for the arrival of the Baku delegation. Hardly had the meeting begun when the director of Nakhchivan state

farm Y. Israelyan and the headmaster of the secondary school A. Avanesyan forced their way to the stage.

The former said that he could not solve any problem in Baku without a bribe, so, he would not submit to Baku any longer. The latter declared that he had already dug his grave and would fight for the reunion with Armenia to the end. They played the same part as Mirzoyan in Stepanakert. In Gadrut region, the delegation was met by a crowd blocking the road, and the delegation returned to Baku.

Both in Askeran and in Gadrut region, the pitch was set by the "mobile group" from Stepanakert. The most active members of that group were obviously not from among the local population. It became clear afterwards that they had been emissaries from Yerevan.

Baku lost the opening of the fierce confrontation with Armenia. It is generally known that when you play against a skilled opponent, it is very hard to correct opening mistakes. Both Baku and Moscow knew that NKAO separatism had been initiated by Armenia!

The author by no means blames Konovalov for all that happened in Stepanakert, since it was rather his misfortune than fault. Before he arrived in Baku, he had supervised the Baltic republics, which he knew nothing about, as the head of a branch in the CPSU CC.

Protégés of Moscow in republics performed mainly gendarme functions and had little interest in their long-standing problems. Konovalov was worried about the Karabakh problem nearly as much as the health of his mother-in-law; however he was rather concerned about his political career. His peasant mind realized that something uncharacteristic of the USSR political life was going on. Moscow did not express its attitude towards the events clearly, which could not but alert him and affect his actions.

Nothing human was alien to Konovalov, as it often was the case in the USSR with the "hands of Moscow".

According to one of Konovalov's employees, when Konovalov was leaving Baku his belongings hardly went into three carriages, as bribes then were taken in the form of furniture, refrigerators, carpets, paintings, jewellery etc.

When Vasily Nikolaevich arrived in Baku for the first time, he had only his party membership card, appointment resolution and a travelling bag.

On 12 February, the first meeting took place in Stepanakert, the participants of which demanded annexing NKAO to Armenia. These meetings became days-long.

It became evident immediately that those meetings were not spontaneous as the Armenian side tried to show to the public; they were well considered and organized as a deep echelon system.

"This is confirmed with numerous facts, in particular, TV and radio appearances of certain individuals on the eve and during the events, purposeful rumours and conjectures, long-term preparation of well-tested mass manifestations on the pattern of American shows (dramatized strikes, organized transfer of people masses, dividing thousands and hundreds of thousands people into groups of five, ten, hundred, moving to the targets at the command; provocative performances with blood-stained clothes of allegedly killed people, and demonstrating a corpse of a man that actually was dead drunk). That required years, directors and experts with experience in provocations of the world scale."

These lines are an excerpt from the official document of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The same estimation to those demonstrations was given by the Baku Armenian Karen Brutents, deputy head of the department of CPSU CC, the representative of the Karabakh Armenians in the CPSU CC, who visited NKAO on Gorbachev's instructions.

"Conversations were held against the background of the continuous meeting outside, which resonated the agitation. I felt good organization in the rhythm of the meeting, in the regular food supply, alcohol ban (though there were two attempts to deliver it in the city), in the lack of violations, finally in the night watches at the regional committee. It was clearly the doing of "initiative groups" and their leaders..."

The party organization was guided. That is also demonstrated by the fact that on 17 March, 1988, after mass manifestations and the resolution of the regional Soviet, the plenum of the party regional committee passed the following resolution. "Expressing the expectations of the Armenian population of the autonomy, the will of the overwhelming majority of the Communists of Nagorno-Karabakh, we ask the Politburo of the CPSU CC to consider and give an approval to the issue of annexing Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Armenian SSR, thereby correcting the historical mistake made in the beginning of the 1920s in the determination of the territorial belonging of nagorno-Karabakh."

Both the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party and the ardent advocate of Karabakh separatists have the same opinion of those meetings. Meanwhile, all Soviet and foreign mass media were shouting about spontaneous public disturbance.

A new stage of the organized separatism, strikes began.

Totally, there were 10 strikes in the regions in 1988-1989. 1988: 22 February – 2 March, 15 March – 17 March, 24 March – 5 April, 12 May – 13 May, 23 May – 24 July, 12 September – 9 October, 14 November – 7 December. 1989: 13 February, 6 March – 13 March, 3 May – 21 August. In other words, the region actually did not work for two years and still did not live worse than when it had worked. This means that the "strikers" had good sponsors, since such a large-scale action costs dozens of millions dollars.

The Central TV Channel many times showed interviews with the "strikers" but not a single correspondent asked them the obvious question, "What do you live on?"

On the eve of 14 February when the first demonstration was held in Stepanakert, the first black PR provocative action appeared from the separatist side, which was immediately covered by the USSR mass media. The head of the department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Asadov had allegedly said at the regional committee meeting that "hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis are ready to burst into Karabakh any time and make a slaughter there." He certainly had never said anything of the like. Afterwards, such provocative actions became usual practice of the Armenian side, and publication of them - usual practice of the Soviet mass media.

Collection of signatures among the NKAO population, then demonstrations, then strikes and finally, on 21 February, 1988, the regional Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in Stepanakert passed the following resolution. 110 voted for and 17 against the secession from Azerbaijan and joining Armenia.

The address to the presidiums of Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia was also passed with the request to approve the resolution. On 27 February, all facilities stopped working in Stepanakert. A meeting was held in the city under the slogans, "We need neither bread nor water, we need only our mother Armenia!", "Never again with Azerbaijan!"

Everything was following the well-thought out plan of Armenia.

After those events, the Centre decides to take some "measures". On 19 February, 1988, 160 military servicemen of the special motorized militia battalion dislocated in Tbilisi were sent to NKAO by the order of the minister of internal affairs Alexander Vlasov. They were armed with plastic shields and rubber truncheons, with strict instructions on when to use them. Most funny, the officers with government-issue weapon were not recommended to take it into the city.

Those soldiers were crowding together, looking at what was going on with fear!

On 25 February, 1988, Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information organized a phone conversation between M. Gorbachev and G. Pogosyan. The employees of this organization were the first to appear in NKAO (so, Gorbachev was well aware of all details of the events), according to its head. As the press reported, "both sides were satisfied with the conversation". The authorities of Baku were not let into the details of it.

The intensity of separatist actions after the conversation did not wane, moreover, it considerably increased.

On 29 February, 1988, M. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting of Politburo, "There was a clash between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Karabakh, two Azerbaijanis were killed. Leaflets spread in Yerevan, "Stop the meetings, Armenians, take weapons and kill the Turks". There was one long-range shot at the headquarters of the Soviet Army. BUT I SHOULD SAY THAT EVEN WHEN HALF A MILLION PEOPLE CAME OUT TO THE STREETS OF YEREVAN, THE ARMENIANS MAINTAINED DISCIPLINE ON A HIGH LEVEL (highlighted by the author)." In other words, continue your rallies, kill Azerbaijanis but do maintain discipline on a high level!

Speaking on Azerbaijani and Armenian television on 26 February, 1988, with the information on Askeran events, the deputy public prosecutor of the USSR Katusev directly pointed the address of the murderers. The killed people were Azerbaijanis, however the Armenian black PR worker and Stepanakert began talking of 6 Armenians and closed coffins were carried around the city, which was immediately broadcast by the Central Television.

On 9 March, 1988, the first secretaries of the Armenian and the Azerbaijan Communist Parties Central Committees Demirchan and Baghirov spoke in the Central Committee of the CPSU. On 10 March, 1988, "Pravda" wrote that "the leader of our party" M.S. Gorbachev also spoke at the meeting, saying that "the most important thing now is the consistent realization of Leninist principles of national policy and consolidation of friendship between the Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples..." Gorbachev concluded, "Any aggravation of the situation can throw us back from the uneasy achievements of friendship between peoples our country has reached in the seven decades of its existence."

In that particular situation, when Armenia openly laid territorial claims to Azerbaijan and evicted Azerbaijanis from Armenia, such twaddle of Gorbachev could mean only one thing – go on, just be careful, which was further realized by Armenian extremists.

NKAO separatists were so confident in their impunity that they made Demichev, the member of Politburo and the USSR minister of culture, a sick old man, who came to Khankendi on a visit, sleep on two armchairs in the accounting department of the party regional committee.

That weak-willed man was scared of everything and everyone.

K. Brutents remembers about their joint visit in Stepanakert. "And that happened. However, before coming out of the regional committee building and rise to the stage (15 or 20 meters), he halted. Petr Nilovich was standing in front of the door, obviously scared. His face was grey, even white, and he said, "They are going to catcall me now." Then he walked the distance to the rostrum, though not too confidently. He was met with cries, "Lenin, Party, Gorbachev!" Demichev told them of Gorbachev's appeal, said some more phrases, turned round sharply and walked towards the awaiting cars without looking back. Getting in the car, I heard the rally shouting in reply to something Pogosyan has said, "We don't believe! We don't believe!"

The USSR KGB officers confirm Brutents' impressions. "Georgy Razumovsky and, for some reason, minister of culture Petr Demichev arrived in Stepanakert. None of them even knew what to talk to the rally about. Both in modern musquash caps, strict and unapproachable. We saw how much they were scared. They were always hiding in the regional committee. We hardly persuaded Razumovsky to speak before the rally. He unsuccessfully tried to persuade them to break up."

It should be pointed out that Gorbachev sent to NKAO either those who sympathized with the separatists or indifferent and weak-willed ones who were easy meat for separatists.

Those who would come from Baku for civilized negotiations were immediately violently attacked by the separatists.

On 18 March, 1988, the plenum of Nagorno-Karabakh regional committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party made the decision on annexing NKAO to Armenia.

K. Brutents writes in his memoirs, "I visited A.N. Yakovlev on 24 February. He told that several hours ago Gorbachev had received (as far as I understood, with Yakovlev's support) the poetess S. Kaputikyan and the writer Z. Balayan. According to Yakovlev, the conversation impressed Mikhail Serghyevich and allowed him to perceive the problem of Artsakh (the ancient name for Nagorno-Karabakh) for the first time and he felt sympathy for it. Yakovlev, who seemed to share this approach himself, encouraged me."

On arriving in Armenia, S. Kaputikyan spoke on Armenian television, sharing her impressions from her meeting with Gorbachev, "The conversation lasted about four hours... When Comrade Gorbachev noticed that we often repeated the words "Nagorno-Karabakh", he said, "I think this word means "Artsakh"... Isn't it a call for action?!"

One could not be more clear! Gorbachev and Yakovlev stuck to this position all their time in power, which in many ways determined the following events.

K. Brutents remembers, "I informed A. Chernyayev (the very Chernyayev who declared to the whole USSR that Islamic fundamentalism gained a foothold in Azerbaijan), Gorbachev's aid, about my intention and asked for support. Anatoly Sergheyevich called back very quickly and said that Gorbachev "blessed" me for such a step and entrusted me with telling the rally that a) the previous decision qualifying demonstrations and the entire movement as "nationalistic" and "extremist" was cancelled; b) a committee would be established to consider the desires and claims of the Karabakh population, the committee would consist not of officials but of impartial authoritative public figures."

That new decision of Gorbachev was the first departure from the common USSR principles: not to solve political problems through meetings and not to demand anything from the authorities but only welcome them.

Gorbachev actually gave the Karabakh separatists *carte blanche*.

They realized that quickly and continued their cause with renewed strength.

K. Brutents remembers further, "Returning to Moscow from the actually vain but very instructive trip, I reported its results and my impressions to M.S. Gorbachev.

1. The mood in Nagorno-Karabakh covers wide sections of the population and is actually shared by the party activists and even the heads of the party organization;

a) they are convinced that only outside Azerbaijan can they normally develop and be preserved as an ethnic group in the given territory."

Gorbachev's message where the previous decision qualifying demonstrations and the entire movement as "nationalistic" and "extremist" was cancelled and a committee was to be established to consider the desires and claims of the Karabakh population, consisting not of officials but of impartial authoritative public figures, gradually turned into the belief that only outside Azerbaijan can they normally develop and be preserved as an ethnic group in the given territory. That was the first official docking on the anti-Azerbaijan orbit Moscow – Stepanakert.

During the visit of the head of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev in the United States of America in December, his spouse Raisa Gorbacheva met the representatives of "Dashnaksutyun". The famous journalist T. Chaladze writes, "In the Caucasus, that meeting had the same effect as the one that would obviously be produced by some message of the following kind, "The head of the state visited Rudolf Hess in "Schpan-dau" and had a long and friendly conversation with him at breakfast." For "Dashnaksutyun" is an organization having a wide foreign network everywhere representatives of Armenian diaspora live and was banned as nationalistic. However, after the top-level reception a report appeared in the Soviet press that for the first time since the anti-Soviet mutiny in 1921, "Dashnaksutyun" party would have its own central office, publishing organ and information centre in Armenia."

D. Furman and S. Asenius write, "...whereas nationalistic mentality with its trends for self-deceit and mythologems considered the return of the Turkish Armenia as a distant and hardly achievable task, to get Nagorno-Karabakh with the assistance of Moscow seemed quite realistic." And that was getting more and more realistic after Gorbachev's each step on the Karabakh problem.

In March 1988, the high party authorities changed in Armenia and Azerbaijan ("due to health reasons"), K. Demirchan and K. Baghirova were correspondingly replaced with S. Arutyunyan and A. Vezirov.

The same month, "Karabakh" committee appeared on the political stage with the blessing of A. Yakovlev, immediately declaring its support for Gorbachev's perestroika, in the process of which the Karabakh issue was to be solved.

On 24 March, 1988, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers passed the resolution "On the measures to accelerate economic development of NKAO of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995". That meant nothing but encouragement to move from the current stage and go further!

The Armenians needed not any other blessing from the head of the country!

"Ostankino" dares to take an uncommon step (surely, with a certain purpose) and secretly prepares a programme titled "Nagorno-Karabakh. Thinking aloud" where mainly Sumgayit events were considered. The programme was not announced in advance to stop Baku from taking preventive measures. It was suddenly broadcast in prime time in April 1988, as a special issue, and Baku suffered a powerful information blow.

After numerous speeches of the Armenian leader, Baku was looking forward to the first appearance of Vezirov on TV. Finally, it happened. In the

conversation with his old friend Anatoly Lysenko, Vezirov spoke of mafioso groups in Azerbaijan for a whole hour, showing in gestures how we were to fight them, of friendship between peoples, of the unused potential of Socialism etc.

The Karabakh issue was touched upon just in passing, like an unfortunate misunderstanding in the process of perestroika, that would end soon with a strong handshake of both sides.

Vezirov obviously appealed to the Moscow intellectuals. It should be said that the most difficult and irresistible problem for Baku was the attitude of intellectuals and democrats in the period of perestroika, since their position was unambiguous and stable... pro-Armenian.

Those democrats included committed ones, and those who hated Muslim world, and those who were sincere in their assessment of the events. However, none of them actually understood what was going on in the USSR. Even if there were few who did, they did not want to. Vezirov had many friends among the intellectuals of Moscow and was sure of their support. But he was mistaken.

As we were told, A. Vezirov tried to convince the representative of Interregional group G. Popov ("one of the darkest and most repulsive figures of that period of the Russian history", according to Legostayev) in something for a solid hour, while the latter listened to him with a bored look and clearly wanted to end the conversation as soon as possible. Other democrat deputies had the same look while listening to Vezirov.

Even if some of them were genuine democrats they were Christian ones. After the well-known events, Baku understood what it meant.

With regard to anti-Azerbaijan statements of Moscow intellectuals in press in the beginning of the events, Baku believed that they had simply been misled by Armenian separatists and soon would realize the meaning of what was going on and change their attitude to the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict.

A certain amount of time passed and it became evident that if someone was naïve, it was Baku. Moscow intellectuals knew everything about the matter but nevertheless they did not change their attitude a bit.

Dmitry Bykov described the liberal intellectuals in connection with the events in the USSR and Gorbachev's attitude to them precisely and neatly, "One thing is clear. Instead of condemning definitely any nationalism, any attempt to put national interests before universal ones at the very start, Gorbachev considered national interests a demonstration of freedom and endured all this, trying to save his face before the liberal intellectuals. I must say that I have never seen anything more disgusting than liberal intellectuals in my life. They are the very scoundrels and cowards described by Blok, who cheerfully fuss around the

fire, putting more slivers into it, and then start to yell, "We're burning!" The crudest nationalism had full attention and respect of a considerable part of Russian liberals in the end of the eighties. Gorbachev failed to take a definite and sound position in this issue." We can only add that when the favourites of liberal intellectuals made a slaughter in Khodjaly, liberal intellectuals should have shouted in unison, "We're burning!", if they had had a bit of decency. But they pretended that nothing happened! And they were bought again, for umpteenth time, both by wholesale and retail!

In the Soviet period, liberal intellectuals expressed their loathing for Communists at their kitchen get-togethers and in the time of Gorbachev's perestroika the Karabakh events made them shift all their bilious hatred (they always have to hate someone) to Azerbaijan that had suffered from the Soviet power much more than these liberal intellectuals who had lived not that bad owing to their unscrupulousness.

There is an essay on the site of A. Goryanin. "1987. Rallies in Stepanakert. What is that? Glasnost together with the speech of Avel Aganbegyan in Paris yielded its bitter fruit. Shall we gather in the first harvest? NKAO should belong not to the Azerbaijan SSR but to the Armenian SSR. The existence of the USSR is actually forgotten somehow. Have we ever seen something like that before? Perhaps, after 1918-1920? Oh, sorry, my fault, it happened once. In 1978. A fight during dancing with a lethal outcome. Comrade Andropyan (mother's maiden name) came and everything faded away of itself (?) somehow. In 1987 there was no such Andropyan. But there they are, Bonner-Sakharov, Starovoytova and other vociferous crowd of human rights activists (Sheynis, Batkin, Oskotsky). Abkhasiz, Central Asia, North Caucasia are looking and biting on that already. Happy first conflict! Ethnic one. Something Hitler dreamed of. Could he ever poke his nose here without a hope for an ethnic issue? Newspapers... TV screens... are swarming with Korotich, Bella Shkurkova, Natan Rybak, Shatrov. "Ogonyok, Moscow News, Noviy mir and Drujba narodov" Repentance, View, Fifth Wheel! Grossman, Konetskym Zhvanetsky. And here it is Askeran (two Azerbaijanis, first victims of "miatsum"). And here it is Sumgayit, disorders, pillage and rape of Armenians. Yakovlev (democrap) in Yerevan, Ligachev (conservative) in Baku. Historical excursions of both sides. "Stone of Mashtots or trace of the hoop of Shakh Ismail's horse", who will win?"

Everyone has a right for their own view of the Karabakh events without insulting peoples, which is what the author of this essay does, saying certain names. He skilfully covered the liberal intellectuals who actively interfered in the Karabakh events. We can add that that circle of persons not only took pro-

Armenian position, which they had a right for, but also repeatedly made insulting statements about the Azerbaijani people.

On 18 July, 1988, the meeting of the USSR Supreme Council Presidium was held where the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed. H. Aliyev remembers, "Remember the meeting of the USSR Supreme Council Presidium (the part where the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed - *Author*). Gromyko remained silent throughout the whole meeting. Gorbachev, a member of the Supreme Council, never let him even open his mouth. He was acting like the secretary of a district committee at the collective farm party meeting, interrupting anyone, suppressing everyone. With 2 years of perestroika left behind, he was never tired of speaking about new mentality, pluralism, democracy. Yet, his behaviour remained that of a dictator."

The first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional committee of the party Ghenrikh Pogosyan spoke at that meeting, emphasizing the impossibility for NKAO to further remain a part of the Azerbaijan SSR. Gorbachev did not interrupt *him*. He did not receive the appropriate rebuff from anyone. Everyone was saying that the USSR borders were unchangeable but that they nevertheless felt sympathy for the Karabakh Armenians. The scenario was that human feelings of the Karabakh separatists were understandable but the USSR Constitution must not be changed.

At the same meeting the resolution was passed on allocating 400 million roubles (about 600 million US dollars) subsidy for Nagorno-Karabakh, which was unprecedented aid at that time.

Stepanakert immediately "responded" to that aid by hanging a big poster at the entrance to the city, "The demand for the reunion with Armenia is not a demand of a hungry stomach but that of a yearning soul." Yet they took the money.

Social "problems" that had been worrying the Soviet public so much were forgotten.

It was well-known then how to fight separatism and associated terrorism. An effective method was found after many years of unsuccessful struggle against Irish separatism. All economic channels to separatists were blocked and they were virtually defeated.

Gorbachev was also well aware of that, so were those who had to know that duty-bound.

However, there was totally different approach to the Karabakh separatism, material and other aid to separatists after the beginning of the movement both from the state and from private individuals being increased manifold!

The meeting of the Presidium was broadcast on the Central Television of the USSR and caused compassion of the Soviet people for Karabakh separatists; they knew the worth of the USSR Constitution that said one thing, while different things happened in reality.

None of the Soviet mass media or famous politicians then paid no attention to the fact that all the chief demands included in the regulations of "KrunK" and voiced at the meetings in Stepanakert in the beginning of the separatist movement, at the 18 July meeting of the USSR Supreme Council Presidium, HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT! Only several years later, though in a different aspect, "Zerkalo mirovoy pressy" N7, 27 February – 6 March, 1991, wrote, "Meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council on 18 July, 1988. In July 1988, a resolution was passed reduced to the support of economic and cultural development of NKAO including its economic and cultural relations with Armenia. That was very important in February and might have helped to ease the tension but in July, the resolution was lagging behind the changes in people's minds and therefore was almost useless." The statement is correct as a fact but it is far from reality as it fails to estimate the depth of the processes in NKAO. All talks of cultural, economic and similar demands of the Karabakh separatists were just a cover for the main thing, the occupation of the Azerbaijan territory by Armenia! They had a clear and intelligent way of measuring their steps with the dynamics of Gorbachev's perestroika, taking into consideration the specific character of the time. Gorbachev began his perestroika with glasnost, continues with criticism of everything and everyone and consistently did away with the CPSU as the only political power in the USSR etc. And the process started moving from one place to another! Karabakh separatism developed according to the similar scheme. Their demands toughened as the disorders grew; when Gorbachev's process started Armenian unleashed direct aggression against Azerbaijan. Vezirov made another strategic mistake. It was Volsky and not Vezirov who invited first secretaries of Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Parties Central Committees A. Vezirov and S. Arutyunyan to NKAO; and Vezirov agreed to come. In March 1988, S. Arutyunyan was appointed first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. On 15 June, 1988, the new first secretary Suren Arutyunyan conducted the session of the Supreme Council of Armenia where he approved the annexation of NKAO to Armenia; on 27 July, 1988, feeling his duty complete, he arrived in NKAO together with Vezirov, where A. Volsky demonstrated who was the host in NKAO, treating Vezirov like a honourable guest, speaking of some projects that he had arranged with Moscow, of additional investments in the region, and

the most important thing, of the new intensity in the development of economic and cultural relations with Armenia.

On 12 September, 1988, an organized crowd in Stepanakert attacked the district public prosecutor's office, demanding release of all who had been detained recently and attempting to punish the public prosecutor's office employees that escaped from the building under convoy of armed guards. Stepanakert was left without the "eye of the state" and disorders began against Azerbaijanis; 125 Azerbaijan houses were burned in Stepanakert and 200 were pillaged.

In the late September 1988, more than 12,000 Azerbaijanis were evicted from Stepanakert.

On 16 November, 1988 deforestation began in Topkhane near Shusha, as Kanaker aluminium plant started an illegal construction of a timber shop. The authorities in Baku responded with a march of protest. That authorized meeting made a strange impression. The well-trained speakers spoke as if the main problem in the "united family of peoples" was preservation of forest in Topkhane. Karabakh was set on fire by separatists, blood was flowing, Azerbaijanis were driven away from NKAO, while speakers at the meeting were talking of the valuable trees in Topkhane and some of them sharing nostalgic memories of childhood spent in that forest.

On 1 December, 1988 Gorbachev met representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Here are some of his statements at the meeting, "party and Soviet organs in both Caucasian republics lost control of the events...", "not just confusion but unscrupulousness... some of party activists shifted from internationalist positions", "the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh became a convenient cover for anti-state activity", "under the guise of demand of fair solution of the Karabakh issue an open struggle for power is going on", "anti-perestroika forces, corrupted elements..." Gorbachev demanded change "the position of all our staff in key issues...", "staff decides everything...", "it is necessary to conduct uncompromised struggle against those who provoke people disorders, sow rumours, stir up ethnic hatred", punish those who discharge "people according to their ethnicity". And finally, "there should be neither "winners" nor "losers".

Vezirov spoke to Gorbachev as if his heart was breaking, "Armenia has unilaterally annexed Nagorno-Karabakh!" and heard a jeer in response, "If they annexed it unilaterally, then you release it unilaterally, too."

Gorbachev's aid G. Shakhnazarov attacked Vezirov physically, in literal sense.

According to eyewitnesses, G. Shakhnazarov seized Vezirov at the sleeve of the jacket and cried out, "History will not forgive you. Today, you have trampled an entire people!"

An old friend of Vezirov, a well-known publicist A. Kiknadze writes in his book "Baku Horseshoe", "Vezirov said in a conversation with Gorbachev, "The events are unfolding threateningly fast. The leadership of Azerbaijan deems it necessary to declare the state of emergency in the regions bordering with Armenia and also in NKAO where armed assaults on our villages became more frequent." Gorbachev answered, "I agree, but our comrades suggest declaring the state of emergency in Baku as well. What do you think about it?" Vezirov: "We should not do it by any means. Blood will be shed..."

"Free-tongued, Gorbachev curses the separatists and promises emotionally, "You can rely on my full support and assistance."

When the time comes for that support and assistance, when the ice floe starts sinking, Mikhail Sergeyevich will take a step aside, break his promises and betray."

The author knew well the remarkable publicist, deep and polymathic analyst and, most importantly, a very decent man Alexander Kiknadze and is grateful to his for remembering the author of these lines among other Bakuvians in his sincere book "Baku Horseshoe". And not only in that one. And the author is more than convinced that Vezirov consulted Kiknadze about the personality of Gorbachev and that Kiknadze certainly told him about Gorbachev's both personal and political unreliability. The author remembers the predictive estimates Kiknadze gave in the fifties to political and sports figures, scientists, journalists, sportsmen, the estimates that were inevitably bound to be confirmed afterwards. "He is not just a great scientist, but he is also a man that loves his Motherland infinitely!" Kiknadze said about Khudu Mamedov. Time showed that he had been right! Kiknadze could not but figure Gorbachev out and share his finding with his old friend!

On 24 December, 1988 a famous civil activist Academician Andrey Sakharov visited Stepanakert. He poured all the bile he had accumulated in the exile in Gorky on Baku. He repeated all his accusations against the USSR in Stepanakert, only then they were directed against Azerbaijan.

Shaghen Mkrtchyan writes in his book "Artsakh" (Yerevan, "Ayastan", 1991), "The great humanist Sakharov also visited Karabakh and its capital. He saw no difference between Czechoslovakia of 1968 and Karabakh of 1988.

between Berlin wall and Lachin road, between self-determination right of Baltic countries and that of Artshakh." Shaghen Mkrtchyan does not finish. "The great humanist Sakharov" directly called in Stepanakert for "the armed struggle against the oppressors."

"The old and helpless Sakharov was in cold blood stirring up a war in Nagorno-Karabakh, but as soon as someone dared to make an objection, a swarm of his sensitive associates began put the "aggressive majority" to shame, and that majority shyly hid again," Information and Technology Centre of Central Committee of the Russian Federation Communist Party writes. It should be said that the centre made a precise observation of this peculiarity in the discussion of the Karabakh problem at all Soviet forums. A democrat and anti-Communist, A. Sakharov writes to Gorbachev concerning NKAO, "A people that denies another people its right of self-determination cannot be free itself. Marx, Engels and Lenin said that." At that time the author used to listen to "Western voices" that did not conceal their sympathy when commenting his speeches in Stepanakert. It was clear that the informational blow Sakharov struck at Baku was comparable to that Baku received after Sumgayit events.

Baku took "counteractions" common for Soviet propaganda. Some scientists and Heroes of Socialist Labour were speaking on local TV, throwing mud on Sakharov from all their hearts, though not to the point. Fortunately, those broadcasts were not seen anywhere except Azerbaijan itself. Informational blockade can sometimes be useful!

Owing to the efforts of Sakharov's wife Y. Bonner-Alikhanyan, this tradition was continued; after Sakharov's death, on 19 July, 1991 a delegation of the First International Academician Sakharov Congress headed by the vice speaker of the House of Lords of the British Parliament Caroline Cox visited NKAO. Baroness Cox, who has visited Nagorno-Karabakh over 30 times since then, more than her family estate, continues to protect the "self-determination right of the Karabakh Armenians" actively and persistently, both internationally and in the parliament of Great Britain.

Though the leaders of England say that Caroline Cox does not express the official attitude of the English government, her opinion is not reputed. So much like the policy of good old England!

The powerful Armenian propaganda reached actually all corners of the world. After meetings with Gorbachev, a slogan was heard at the meetings in Stepanakert, "Lenin - Party = Gorbachev. Hitler - Stalin - Ligachev". In Yerevan, before many thousands of marchers, the secretary of the CPSU CC Yakovlev called the separatism of Stepanakert "national-liberation movement".

For the sake of objectivity, let us say that this behaviour of Yakovlev was openly pointed out by A. Mutalibov at the congress of people's deputies.

The main ideologist of this doctrine and the entire perestroika was the secretary of the PSU CC Alexander Yakovlev, this defrocked ideologist (according to N. Zenkovich).

Vladimir Lutsenko was the head of Z department of the USSR KGB; Valery Khmelev took the post of the head of a section at the same department. According to them, Z department was engaged in ethnic issues. Information on ethnic issues in Russia and the USSR was stored here. They received requests for aid and information from the Central Committee of the Party, Ministry of Justice, Supreme Council and other offices. Both of them were on official business in Azerbaijan and Armenia those days.

"How could the leaders of the country, having both Z special department and historical experience, miss the brewing conflict between the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians?" they were asked.

'Both Politburo and the Supreme Council knew that the conflict was brewing,' they replied. 'We submitted all the appropriate information. However, no measures were taken before the first open actions in Stepanakert, though there was that alerting march in October 1987 from Abovyan to Yerevan. Thousands of greens expressed their protest against the construction of a nuclear power plant and operation of "Nairit" chemical plant. Calls for taking Karabakh from Azerbaijan could be heard as early as then. When people with posters, red flags and banners saying "Lenin, Party, Gorbachev!", "Independence for Karabakh!" appeared in the streets of Stepanakert, Politburo decided to act in old fashion, that is, if there is a problem, officials should be sent.

No matter what officials, what is important is the fact of sending them.

Georgy Razumovsky and, for some reason, minister of culture Petr Demichev arrived in Stepanakert. None of them even knew what to talk to the rally about. Both in modern musquash caps, strict and unapproachable. We saw how much they were scared.

They were always hiding in the regional committee. We hardly persuaded Razumovsky to speak before the rally. He unsuccessfully tried to persuade them to break up. But the crowd did not want to. People got down on their knees and asked independence for Karabakh. Razumovsky retreated, he and Demichev got in the car and rushed to Baku. They had packed so quickly that Razumovsky even forgot his coat in the regional committee, so then they had to come back for it from Baku, almost 300 km.'

'Surely, you reported all disorders to Moscow. What kind of answers did you receive from Kremlin?' asked the correspondent.

'After Sumgayit events, a meeting of Politburo was held in Moscow. A closed one. After which Yegor Ligachev went to Baku and Alexander Yakovlev to Yerevan. However, one of them suddenly said that Karabakh was a historical territory of Armenia, while the other said just the opposite, no borders revision, Karabakh would stay a part of Azerbaijan. We do not know who handed over the information on the decision made at the closed Politburo meeting, but the fact remains. Every week, memos were sent to Gorbachev with detailed description of the situation and the KGB proposals on the settlement of the conflict. They were signed by V. Kryuchkov. Sometimes the memos were prepared together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice. Alexander Yakovlev happened to sign such a document once. But Mikhail Gorbachev appended the following instructions on all of them, "Make your proposals"..."

Armenia made its proposal at the very start and Gorbachev and his circle realized it stringently!

In his book *Diary of the Aide of the USSR President*, chapter 1 *On the Bumps of Perestroika*, 9 October, 1988, A.S. Chernyayev writes, "On Friday, Gorbachev sent for me and Shakhnazarov. He kissed him congratulating on the occasion of his 64th birthday. We talked about the coming trip to the UN, and to Kuba and London as well. Then in passing, we made Kvitsinsky the head of the International department of the Central Committee instead of Dobrynin. And suddenly he burst out concerning Karabakh. He stood up in front of us, while we were sitting, and said, "I want it to be humanly, for the people start talking to one another again, I don't want blood there... There are corrupted figures. Demirchan (the first secretary of Armenia) gathers his folks, Baku mobilized its forces, Armenian intellectuals are broke, with nothing to suggest, nothing that could help to solve the whole thing. BUT I DON'T KNOW THE SOLUTION MYSELF. IF I DID I WOULD NOT CONSIDER ANYTHING THAT WE HAVE NOW OR ANYTHING THAT HAS FORMED ALREADY AND SO ON. BUT I DON'T KNOW!" (highlighted by the author) Then he mentioned Aliyev's case and said that they were digging and the case promised to be more serious than that of Rashid." This conversation of the three sworn enemies of Azerbaijan contains important information. The man, who has full authority in a superpower and necessary information from the whole world, does not know how to solve a problem in his state and tells that to the strong and aggressive side, Armenia. Only those too far from politics can doubt if Shakhnazarov immediately reported about that conversation to the Armenian side through his own channels.

V.I. Boldin writes, "He (Gorbachev – *Author*) did not trust even Shakhnazarov in everything (yet he consulted him on every issue – *Author*), often complaining that solutions on the Karabakh problem leaked to the Armenian diaspora..."

After the leakage of extremely important foreign information from one meeting of Security Council and became known to those it concerned, Gorbachev charged V.A. Kryuchkov with investigating the circumstances and also ordered that aids and advisers should not attend the Security Council meetings any more."

According to the memoirs of V.A. Kryuchkov, the leakage of important information, to the Armenian diaspora as well, continued and he hints at certain persons who were close to Shakhnazarov.

Knowing about the pressure exerted upon the actually defenceless Azerbaijan, the General Secretary has no solution but relies on Armenian intellectuals. He realized that whereas he had no solution, others, lower in ranks, would always have solutions of local issues under the pressure and owing to the bribes of the powerful Armenian lobby in the USSR, which formed a whole anti-Azerbaijan system in total. He was well aware that unlike Yerevan, Baku had no support either in the USSR or in the world. The lack of a clear position of the USSR leaders on the Karabakh problem put Baku in a desperate situation, as the leaders of the republic pinned all their hopes on the Centre. For Yerevan, it meant that no position is a position, too!

The numerous facts of constitutional abuses, months-long strikes in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, eviction of Azerbaijanis from their long-occupied places, disarmament of Soviet military units and seizure of their weapons, formation of armed groups, unpunished murders and many other things... but the head of the state has no solution! And all this happens within the limits of a united state! A conclusion suggests itself for the Armenian side after receiving this important information: go on, margin of safety has not been reached yet, Gorbachev is not going to take any steps! And they went on and on, even on a larger scale! Not only did the Armenian side understand but also was informed in detail on all subtleties of the situation and modified its actions accordingly.

Baku felt the danger and sounded the alarm, though without informing the public, which was quite in the manner of socialist "friendship" of peoples.

KGB Lieutenant Colonel Aydyn Abdullayev wrote, "In the course of 1987, Stepanakert department of the KGB informed Baku about the actions of Yerevan emissaries and activity of "Krunk", including the party leaders of

NKAO Armenian districts. (Among the four NKAO districts, Mardakert, Martuni, Gadрут and Shusha, only the latter was Azerbaijani.) The republican KGB reported to the Soviet KGB and of course to the leadership of Azerbaijan. The USSR KGB as usually reported to the CPSU CC. Baku department of the KGB received no guidelines from there, except one "Do not interfere". Requests from the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party had the same response, "Do not take any measures!"

The passive position of Moscow and Baku led to what was bound to happen. On 12 July, 1988, the session of the district Soviet of people's deputies of NKAO made a decision on the secession from the Azerbaijan SSR.

With regard to that session, A. Yakovlev said to the Azerbaijan side, "The Armenians are a proud people, we can consider the application of the NKAO deputies later, when dust settles in Yerevan." But everything was only beginning!

In full accordance with Gorbachev's style, a resolution was passed by the CC Politburo, which said that borders of the republics were unchangeable and "the problem of perestroika should be finally resolved". Everyone could interpret this resolution in their own way but it was in favour of the Armenians on the whole, since for the first time after Lenin and Stalin, the Centre made some concessions and actually suggested that the republics should decide the problems themselves, thereby cancelling the common notion of the "friendship of peoples".

The head of the USSR KGB V. Kryuchkov knew the point of what was going on in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh better than anyone. He knew everything, owing to the information from abroad and Azerbaijan KGB as well.

However, his speeches are full of general meaningless words. "Vyshka" wrote on 9 September, 1988, "He said, 'The KGB has the information that the secret services, anti-Socialist centres of imperialistic states are carefully watching the ethnic relations situation in our country... They have recently increased their efforts in stirring up nationalistic, chauvinistic and separatist sentiments in different regions with the purpose of undermining the unity of the Soviet state, weakening its economic and defensive power, and even direct inspiration of extremism and mass disorders.'"

Incorruptible and high principled Soviet generals (not all of them were like Lebed), who tried to fight separatism in NKAO, immediately became objects of persecution and terrorism. And most painfully, the supreme command did not protect them.

Major General Yuri Kosolapov was appointed the first commandant of the state of emergency region in NKAO. His first order banned all mass actions, closed anti-Constitutional "Miatsum" movement, all unofficial organizations and their publishing organs. Persons without NKAO registration were to leave Nagorno-Karabakh within three days. Curfew was declared in the region. Mass media were censored, censorship being carried out by a representative of the military commandant's office. Major General did not add anything on his behalf, the whole order was based on the emergency provision. No sooner had he issued the order than the USSR people's deputies Vachagan Grigoryan and Boris Damyan began hunting him. They told him directly that they "will throw you out of here". And they did. Three days later Kosolapov were transferred to another place to continue his service.

Kosolapov was replaced by Land Forces General Vladimir Safonov who showed himself as a principled supporter of the state on the very first day of his arrival.

Several attempts on his life were committed by separatists in Stepanakert itself but he escaped death. They tried to get at him in Rostov where he live permanently but killed by mistake his neighbour Colonel Blakhotin.

Separatists have a powerful front in Moscow, on the highest political and state level, so they could get away with all their illegal actions."

On 1 March, 1988, "Krunk" social political organization was established in NKAO, headed by the director of Stepanakert building materials complex Arkady Manucharov, "for the purpose of controlling national liberation movement of the Karabakh Armenians". Before that, law-enforcement agencies had conducted a complex inspection of the facility and grand larceny had been discovered. Manucharov was arrested for his economic crimes. The arrest was made by the USSR public prosecutor's office. And then suddenly the USSR Prosecutor General Sukharev received a phone call from the ideologist of perestroika, secretary of the CPSU CC A. Yakovlev, demanding to release Manucharov as an innocent victim of Azerbaijan intrigues. An interesting connection, isn't it? A member of the high leadership of the country and an ordinary provincial thief...

Sukharev promises Yakovlev to consider Manucharov's case carefully.

Another call follows after a while; Yakovlev reminds of his request and hears in response that it is impossible, since Manucharov's guilt is proved and unquestionable.

Nevertheless, Manucharov was soon released. It is unknown who else of the USSR leadership could call Sukharev. And that was not a single case. Two

aids of the secretary of the CPSU CC Alexander Yakovlev, Valery Kuznetsov and Nikolay Kosolapov dealt all problems of Armenia and caused problems for Baku.

The well-known writer Alexander Kabakov, who took an insulting position towards the Azerbaijanis in the conflict (just read the sentence, "Two cliffs are hanging over the gorge. To the right is Shusha, the city where Azerbaijanis live today."), had nonetheless to admit that mafia had been running the "democratic" movement in NKAO. "There was plenty of underground wealth. Businessmen of shadow economy controlling hundreds of thousands and having distant and high relations lived next to the people deprived of basic conveniences. It is sufficient to say that the money returned after the arrest of one of them (Manucharov - *Author*) would be enough to pay month wages to hundreds of people. Capital gave those "godfathers" actual power. The frauds could compromise honest Karabakh people (! - *Author*) fighting for the awakening of national self-consciousness."

Soon, those "fighting for the awakening of national self-consciousness" and mafia organizations merged.

Lieutenant Colonel of "Vympel" special operations group Erkebek Abdullayev remembers, "On 18 January, 1989 the major part of people from "Alfa" and "Vympel", a "speckled berets" platoon, a special operations company of the Soviet Army were urgently redeployed to Karabakh. I was in that composite detachment. In Stepanakert, we were given the list of seventeen activists, thirteen of whom were later seized and sent to Rostov by helicopters. They were released in 30 days." Here it is!

"Soviet Karabakh" published a provocative and hateful article against the Azerbaijanis wrote by the future "president" of NKR A. Gukasyan. In accordance with the clause 2 of the emergency provision, the author of the article was arrested and transported to Russia. Next day "Pravda" wrote, "Deputy editor-in-chief of "Soviet Karabakh" A.A. Gukasyan was arrested by administrative order in Stepanakert for rousing national hatred." The same appeared on Central Television. A high-ranking official of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee spoke on the Azerbaijan TV and said that "Moscow would nip such attacks on the friendship of peoples in the bud." Two weeks later Gukasyan was released and he appeared at a meeting in Stepanakert like a hero with new filthy statements against the Azerbaijan people.

On 23 March, 1975, the first secretary of LKSM CC of Nagorno-Karabakh Yasha Bablyan read a poem in public, in which nostalgia for "Armenian" lands in Turkey was felt. He was discharged and banished from

Karabakh for that. Public readings of such poems stopped. Such were the government actions in Brezhnev's time of stagnation.

By the direct order of Gorbachev, General A. Makashov put his own life and lives of his family (General remembered that afterwards in an interview to "Komsomolskaya pravda") and arrested five leaders A. Akopyan, K. Vartanyan, S. Ghevorkyan, V. Manukyan and L. Ter-Petrosyan. By the personal directions of Gorbachev, they were given... thirty days of administrative detention and were forwarded to Butyrka.

In those thirty days Butyrka turned into a centre of Karabakh separatism. Journalists were devouring every word those "great martyrs" uttered.

Western TV channels showed portraits of those "great martyrs" against the background of Butyrka every day, presenting them just as fighters for freedom of Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians. Appeals signed by them were spread both in Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The authority of the prisoners became incredible. "If you are not with "Karabakh" committee you are not a patriot," the entire Armenia would say.

Whereas extremism in Armenia and Karabakh was reaching its peak, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov received the newly-elected president of Armenia Ter-Petrosyan and said that "Armenia was and will be a fraternal republic of the USSR" and allocated it additional means.

In those years, following the political course of Gorbachev, the USSR Council of Ministers under the leadership of N. Ryzhkov adopted a number of resolutions that withdrew NKAO from the economic territory of Azerbaijan.

On 24 March, 1988, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers passed the resolution "On the measures to accelerate economic development of NKAO of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995", providing measures of social economic and cultural development for all regions of Armenian communities in the Azerbaijan SSR, including Baku (!).

By those resolutions, the Centre stressed its special treatment of the Armenians living in Azerbaijan. There were a considerable number of regions in Azerbaijan with much worse social economic development than in NKAO. The resolutions caused indignation in Baku, while pro-Armenian "democrats" in Moscow mocked Gorbachev who "had given a piece of sausage instead of freedom."

On 12 January, 1989, a special form of government was introduced in NKAO, Committee of Special Administration that legalized all unlawful acts of the separatists.

Numerous meetings gradually transform into disorders and gangster attacks. Law enforcement groups are inactive. On 11 July, 1989 a new "support group" arrives in NKAO from Yerevan, and the situation becomes sharply aggravated. "Rallying brigades" make blockages on the roads guarded by "duty groups". In the course of clearing one of such blockages near Stepanakert, 19 servicemen of the Soviet Army were injured, some of them seriously. Gunmen ambushed three Azerbaijanis in Stepanakert. Two were killed, one wounded. The USSR mass media hushed up these facts.

Abroad, active propaganda was under way. In July 1989, a medal was produced in Venice, with the map of Armenia together with NKAO and Nakhchivan on the head. The reverse had the following words, "Oh Armenian people, your salvation is in your unity", "We are few but we are Armenians", "Karabakh is our Artsakh". Many copies of this medal were given to foreigners, especially outstanding ones. In the time of Shevardnadze, it somehow got in Soviet embassies abroad and spread everywhere. 16 years have passed and the trick is repeated. Fake, empty "money" of NKR is issued in Switzerland for the same purposes.

In September 1989 highways to Shusha district of NKAO populated by Azerbaijanis were totally blocked.

Armenian support for the NKAO separatists did not make them wait long. In November 1989, a little more than a month later, numerous attacks on Azerbaijan border villages from the territory of Armenia were registered. Gunmen from Armenia landed in Khanlar and Shaumyan regions of Azerbaijan.

Moscow acted simultaneously with the separatists. On 13 January, 1989, on the initiative of Ryzhkov, the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution "On measures related to the introduction of Special form of government in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast". First of all, the USSR Council of Ministers obliged to distinguish the rates of social and economic development in NKAO as special ones (detached from the Azerbaijan SSR). That was undoubtedly Sitaryan's doing.

NKAO Department of the Interior was placed under the direct authority of the USSR, thereby giving the NKAO separatists permission to evict all Azerbaijanis, since there was no one left to protect them.

Nagorno-Karabakh territorial edition and production department was formed by the order of Goskomstat of the USSR.

On 6 May the USSR Council of Ministers passed another resolution approving withdrawal of industrial facilities and organizations of NKAO from

the authority of the Azerbaijan SSR and passing them under the authority of facilities of Russia.

A resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers subsidized and realized on a most tight timetable the construction of Yerevan – Goris radio relay link. That high-capacity relay station provided broadcasting of Armenian TV programmes in Stepanakert and actually in the whole NKAO. At that moment it was a deadly informational blow on Baku.

On 12 January, 1989, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council establishes the Committee of Special Administration of NKAO headed by A. Volsky. Thus, NKAO was actually withdrawn from the administrative authority of Azerbaijan. At the same time, the activity of the regional committee of the party and regional Soviet of people's deputies was temporarily suspended, working apparatus of these organizations being subordinated to the Committee of Special Administration. Volsky describes his arrival in NKAO, "1988. Gorbachev called me and said, "Here are Ligachev, Razumovsky and Chebrikov. They insist that you should go to Karabakh" I pressed for a personal meeting and asked what the reason for this exile was. And he answered, "You know, Arkady, you are too excited about some people, not everyone likes that. You refused to go to MGK when Yeltsin was removed, you refused to speak at the plenary session... I respect you, but comrades still insist." I grew hysterical and said that I would rather work at a plant but you know Mikhail Sergeevich, he can persuade anyone. So I found myself in Karabakh."

We are convinced that Volsky lies, so easily and almost theatrically describing his appointment in NKAO. Everything was much more serious, better-thought and purposeful. He was not appointed by Gorbachev, who was nothing but a hand, but by the LODGE, and his strategy in NKAO was worked out in minute detail!

From 16 September, 1988 to February 1990 Volsky was the representative of the Supreme Council of the USSR and the CPSU CC in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the chairman of the Committee of Special Administration of NKAO. His first order was to open the episcopacy of Armenian Gregorian Church that immediately became the official centre of separatism in NKAO. It sent its messages about "the suffering of NKAO Armenians and the destruction of Christian monuments by the official authorities of Azerbaijan" to many Christian institutions. On the recommendation of Aganbegyan, Volsky gathered expert economists in Stepanakert where they prepared a number of economic documents completely withdrawing NKAO

from the economic territory of Azerbaijan. Those documents were sent to the deputy of Nikolay Ryzhkov, Voronin, who approved them. Volsky's activities did not go unnoticed by the separatists and he was elected a people's deputy of the USSR in NKAO by 97% of votes – a very Soviet result, indeed. He was then automatically elected a member of the Supreme Council and the Committee of Armed Forces in the matters of defence and state security, where he dealt with the problems of the separatists again.

On 19 May, 1989, the NKAO issue was discussed at the meeting of the Politburo Ethnic Relations Committee.

The meeting and the resulting documents played nearly the crucial part in the Karabakh problem. The documents of the committee (advocated by A. Yakovlev and G. Shakhnazarov) were approved by Gorbachev and became the foundation of all following numerous committees and meetings on different political levels devoted to the Karabakh issue.

THOSE DOCUMENTS HAD NO WORD IN THEM ABOUT SEPARATISM AND THE WORD NATURALLY DID NOT APPEAR IN ANY OF THE SUBSEQUENT ONES CONCERNING THE KARABAKH PROBLEM!

The documents with some reservations were the ideological guarantee of the Karabakh separatism from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

In June 1989 the first congress of the USSR people's deputies decided to establish the Nagorno-Karabakh Committee of the USSR Supreme Council. A month later, 20-27 July, 1989, that committee was operating in NKAO. The document it worked out in full accordance with the documents approved at the meeting of the Politburo Ethnic Relations Committee on 19 May, 1989 was unique in its content, condemning some virtual extremists from both sides. However, the document said, on the whole, the pain of the Karabakh people (naturally, Baku was to blame for that) was understandable, in connection with which a number of recommendations were given to Baku for the purpose of improving the political and social situation in the region.

Based on this document, the resolution "On the measures of stabilization of the situation in NKAO" was passed by the USSR Supreme Council on 28 November, 1989. The decision was made to establish the NKAO republican committee and resume the activity of the regional Soviet of people's deputies, abolishing the Committee of Special Administration of NKAO.

Thus, the document drawn by Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shakhnazarov at the Politburo Ethnic Relations Committee followed all formal procedures and stuck a crushing blow on the integrity of Azerbaijan.

Smoothly, the decisions of Moscow completely withdrew NKAO from the authority of Baku.

The results did not take long to appear. In summer 1989, Armenian armed groups launched the operations on the eviction of Azerbaijanis from Karabakh, shifting from elimination of individual citizens to the attacks on settlements and communities. Special efforts were concentrated on the destruction and blocking of economic and transport infrastructures ensuring life activity of the Azerbaijani population. The attacks were carried out by mobile combat teams dispersing in Armenian settlements after operations. Automatic arms were widely used in the course of operations, beginning from autumn heavy artillery (100 mm KS-19 cannons) and missiles ("Alazan"), improvised small-calibre mortars, and explosive devices were used.

In the very beginning of the conflict, the political heavyweight Y. Primakov actively joined the process and immediately conducted a "small Armenian council" in Moscow. He remembers in this connection, "Before speaking at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council, in spring 1989, in Moscow, I met two actual leaders of the Karabakh movement. I am not talking of those who pretended to be such, sitting far from Stepanakert and sometimes playing instigators but never risking their lives and avoiding the flame of the fire they kindled. Robert Kocharyan and Maxim Mirzoyan arrived for a meeting with one the leaders of the CPSU CC. After conversations in the Old square, they asked Nami Mikoyan, a close friend of my late wife, to arrange a private meeting with me, the then chairman of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

There were also my friend and fellow student, an observer of "Izvestiya" Kostya Gheyvandov, N. Mikoyan and her son, then already famous musician Stas Namin. The good hostess was my daughter Nana who inherited this wonderful trait from her mother."

In warm private atmosphere, blows on Azerbaijan were prepared, no doubt, for all the mentioned participants of that little council, as the further events showed, were fervent "hawks", except perhaps the musician Stas Namin who was obsessed by the idea of demonstrating... the mummy of Lenin to the whole world for currency.

Soviet and then Russian military had a considerable part in the Karabakh events.

"In the last decade," wrote Komsomolskaya Pravda, "nearly 150 Russian generals and admirals committed misdemeanours that come under Criminal Code. But only a few of them have been convicted." Now, there are 1,380 generals and admirals in the Russian army. It seems that nearly every tenth of them allowed criminal acts. No such thing has ever happened in the entire history of armed forces.

N22 in the list is the name of Colonel General Fedor Reut, the commander of the Russian group of troops in Transcaucasia. He was accused of organizing delivery of weapons, equipment and ammunition to Armenia (Clause 286) in 1992-1996...

Compare: when there were over 3,030-3200 generals and admirals (1970-1980) in the Soviet Army, criminal proceedings were instituted only against 17 officers, 12 of them for "serious oversights in service". That thievish army helped to Karabakh separatists in every possible way. They were well aware that in this case they were playing up to Gorbachev and his team, sticking to Christian factor, acquiring relations in the Ministry of Defence where the Armenians were quite influential (Reut's case was stopped owing to the unprecedented pressure of these forces and, most importantly, to a decent material remuneration). At that time, Baku could rely only on honest and incorruptible generals. There were few of such, but there they were. General Rokhlin paid with his life for the exposure of illegal weapons supply.

Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin wrote in the beginning of the conflict, "This year (1990 - *Author*) organized militarized groups ("armies") formed in the territory of Armenia, which were armed with small arms, rocket weapon and artillery systems taken from DOSAAF. Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Army units... The government of the Armenian SSR was obliged to take measures on banning gangster formations, their full disarmament and armoury liquidation, to propagate inadmissibility of violent measures in settlement of any conflicts. However, this did not happen."

Meanwhile, the geography of provocations against Baku expanded On 14 January, 1990 Lezghins living in north-eastern regions of the republics organized meetings demanding self-determination and separation from the Azerbaijan SSR. It became clear later that Armenian trace and the trace of secret services (former KGB general Sterligov) was left here as well. The friendship between A. Sakharov and R. Gamzatov played its certain part.

In the south of the country, the well-known forces tried to raise the Talyshs against the Azerbaijani.

Instead of calling people to defend Motherland, Vezirov and his team pretended that nothing special was going on and that a turning point was about to come.

NKAO separatists began forming armed units. K. Myalo writes, "Against this background, self-defence groups that had appeared in Karabakh as far back as in autumn 1988 (when the regional staff of self-defence forces of Artsakh was formed of the commanders of all groups) began to merge into platoons and companies. In the beginning of 1991 and at the end of 1992 there were about ten of them in Karabakh, uniting over a thousand volunteers. Thus, Karabakh was the first of all so-called "self-proclaimed states" took a step towards organization of regular army, making a precedent soon to be followed by Transdniestria and Abkhazia."

Mercenaries from all over the world started gathering in NKAO.

Ogonyok writes, "The first stage of mercenary recruitment (from the beginning of the conflict in 1988 to till the USSR collapse in the end of 1991) was mainly connected with the Armenian foreign diaspora and its organizations. First reports on soldiers of fortune in Karabakh appeared in summer 1989. Mass media reported about ASALA (secret army of liberation of Armenia) with headquarters in Beirut, which had started preparing subversive groups for terrorist actions in Azerbaijan."

The USA and Europe also hurried to help Armenia and Karabakh separatists.

A powerful impetus was given to the Armenian side by the meeting of the Armenian Catholicos with the US president Reagan who promised to do away with the "evil empire" and saw the Armenians as allies in his plans. Catholicos was speaking about the "suffering of the Karabakh Armenians."

At the most strained moment of the Armenian-Azerbaijan confrontation, Bush Sr. sent his son and grandson to Armenia. He clearly and unambiguously supported the Armenians then, which inspired Gorbachev in many ways, since the attitude of the Americans was equal to law for him.

On 19 July, 1989, the Senate of the US Congress unanimously approved the resolution expressing "the US support for the expectations of the Soviet Armenian people about the peaceful and fair settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute."

On 19 November, 1989, the US Senate adopted a resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh, "...Due to the fact that 80% of the Armenian majority living in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are concerned about... due to the fact that the Soviet government qualified the murders of Armenians on 28-29

February, 1988 in the city of Sumgayit as disorders, due to the fact that at first, the people and government of the Soviet Union... took positive measures consisting in the establishment of the Committee of Special Administration of NKAO...., due to the fact that the Committee proved to be inefficient... to further, in the course of bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union, the fair settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict that would actually reflect the people's views on the subject."

The US Senate continued to strengthen its anti-Azerbaijan position in the course of time.

It should be noted that it was hard to understand such an attitude of the US Senate towards Azerbaijan, both humanly and politically, and in any other aspect.

The following table shows the number of executions performed by law and by Lynch law from 1884 to 1889 in the USA.

Year	Executions performed by law	Executions performed by Lynch law
1884	103	219
1885	108	181
1886	83	133
1887	79	123
1888	87	144
1889	98	175

Source: "Criminal Crowd", KSP+ Publishing House, Institute of Psychology of Russian Academy of Sciences, 1998, Moscow.

Today, we have the impression that in their attitudes towards Azerbaijan American senators returned to the 1880s and judge it not by international laws but by some principles that only they alone know and lynch Baku on every occasion. At the same time they do not give a damn about the doings of the Armenian side in Azerbaijan, as the US Senate has not ever passed a single resolution against Armenia yet despite the political disorder in that country.

On 7 August, 1989, at the UN Human Rights Subcommittee meeting in Geneva, the USSR received the recommendation to conduct a referendum in NKAO "with the purpose of determining the will of the majority population in the regions..."

On 17 January, 1990 the European Parliament passed a resolution appealing the European Council of Foreign Ministers and the Council of Europe

to support the Armenians before the Soviet government and demanding immediate assistance for Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. On 18 January, 1990, a group of American senators sent a letter to Gorbachev calling for the reunion of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia.

The US Senate resolved to "continue to support and encourage the efforts on the restoration of Armenia, to encourage President Gorbachev and continue the dialogue with the Armenian representatives at the Congress of people's deputies" and... included the passed resolution in the draft bill on assignments for 1990 fiscal year as an amendment.

O. Platonov states that "the 'fifth column' of traitors to the country was formed in the USSR, which was a part of Interregional deputy group and 'Democratic Russia'."

According to Platonov, A.D. Sakharov and Y.G. Bonner became an important element of the US influence agents network in the late 1960s. Their unrestricted praises for the Western political system and biased criticism of the Soviet one by means of propaganda financed by the CIA had a significant role to play in the cold war of the West against Russia. The former physicist that had broken up with science (by the way, it has been discovered recently that the initiators of thermonuclear researches were not I.Y. Tamm and A.D. Sakharov but a young soldier, who even had no secondary education by then, Oleg Lavrentyev. In his letter to Moscow, he set forth brilliant ideas related to thermonuclear research. - *Author*), and his wife, a daughter of frenzied Jewish Communists, took a major place among other public figures and anti-Russian dissidents, turning into some kind of symbol of opposing historical values of Russia, the banner of the struggle for its dismemberment and humiliation.

Hundreds of people that constituted the staff backbone of the USSR destructors and of the future Yeltsin's regime passed the training of influence agents in the network of Krieble Institute offices and similar establishments. Among them were G. Popov, G. Starovoytova, M. Poltoranin, A. Murashov, S. Stankevich, Y. Gaydar, M. Bocharov, G. Yavlinsky, Y. Boldyrev, V. Lukin, A. Chubays, A. Nuykin, A. Shabad, V. Bokser, many shadow people from Yeltsin's circle, in particular, the manager of his election campaign in Yekaterinburg A. Urmanov, as well as I. Vityutin, M. Reznikov, N. Andriyevskaya, A. Nazarov, outstanding journalists and TV men.

The author is far from such radical estimates of Platonov, but one fact is striking. Platonov, an undoubtedly talented writer, hushes up this fact, for some reason, it seems. All the people he mentions and mildly accuses of commitment and active participation in the USSR collapse, were ardent advocates of Karabakh separatists and enemies of the Azerbaijani people. IN OTHER WORDS, THE CLOSE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TWO EVENTS

("HIDDEN" CORRELATION), THE USSR COLLAPSE AND NKAO SEPARATISM, ARE NOT OF PROBABILISTIC NATURE BUT A DETERMINISTIC LAW, LIKE NEWTON'S LAW OF UNIVERSAL GRAVITATION.

The law has a clear logic meaning: supporting NKAO separatism, the above-mentioned people certainly realized that they thereby contribute to the USSR collapse.

THUS, AZERBAIJAN UNCONSCIOUSLY FOUND ITSELF IN A PARADOXICAL AND ACTUALLY DREADFUL SITUATION. PROTECTING ITS OWN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, IT STOPPED IN THE WAY OF POWERFUL FORCES STRIVING AFTER BREAKING DOWN THE USSR, WHICH WAS FULLY USED BY KARABAKH SEPARATISTS.

According to the minister of foreign affairs of Latvia, from 1985 to 1992 the West (first of all, the USA) invested 90 billion dollars in the "process of democratization in the USSR". The money was used to pay for the services of right people, to train and pay influence agents, to buy necessary equipment, instructors, literature etc.

No doubt, some of these means got into the pocket of Karabakh separatists.

American press raised to defend Karabakh separatists. For instance, "Time" wrote on 23 October, 1989 concerning the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, "One side fairly demands that what belongs to it by right be returned, while the other resists piling up lies and not disdaining to use any means, including a political crime, a blockade. Strange enough, the judge still favours the boxer in the green corner with the image of half-moon." Isn't this informational terrorism?

Of course, the omnipotent CIA was wide awake, realizing well that interesting events shaking the USSR were beginning there.

"Novoye vremya" and "Or" report that recently declassified materials of the US CIA say that the fact of recognition of Karabakh as a historical part of Armenia has never been doubted by this organization. For instance, according to "Novoye vremya", Karabakh chronology prepared by the CIA in August 1990 begins with the preamble, "In 1921-1931 the new Soviet government turns Nagorno-Karabakh, a historical Armenian territory, into an autonomous region inside the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan." The 1988 CIA research mentions Karabakh as the cultural and religious centre of Armenia. It says, "Karabakh has been Armenian for millenniums. Even when some other parts of Armenia were under Persian and Turkish influence." In the very 1988 the CIA made an attempt to analyse the reasons of anti-Armenian policy of the Azerbaijan state. The conclusion was that the reason for the aggression against the Armenians was not

the Karabakh issue but the internal frustration of the Azerbaijan society, as a consequence of the overstrain proceeding from the inability of the state to provide work and education for the huge young population of the country... Hence the difference between living standards of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, and the solution of the problem through aggression. Earlier, in 1978, the CIA report on the problems of ethnic minorities had almost a recommendation, "The population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are capable to insist more forcefully on their legitimate demand that the regions should be handed over from one republic to another. Karabakh is a part of Azerbaijan, though more than 80% of its population is Armenians and the region itself is situated close to the Armenian border."

This is confirmed, though in somewhat different aspect, by the head of the USSR intelligence Shebarshin, who writes, "The omnipresent CIA strengthened its residency in Yerevan... The provocative methods used by the Western secret services to further the USSR collapse were also applied to the destabilization and then disintegration of Russia itself..."

Continuing the subject of the activities of foreign secret services in Transcaucasia, let us give the following fact. Among other things, we found out that there was some Monte Avo commander in Nagorno-Karabakh, an American Armenian, officer who coordinated the actions of the troops in Martuni region. Under his command, the Karabakh Armenians seized Goradiz, Fizuli, and many other settlements. People feared him, respected and obeyed him. Monte Avo was killed and buried in Armenia like a national hero. In the course of time, other cases of direct involvement of foreign experts in the internal conflicts provoked in the USSR are made public."

This position of senators and the CIA is explained, among other things, by the fact that the USA did not and do not regard the Karabakh events as separatism and terrorism. Much is cleared up by the position of Fiona Hill, a specialist from Brookings Institute, famous expert on Eastern Europe, the former USSR countries and international relations.

Question: Our reader from Azerbaijan sent the following questions. "Why Armenian terrorist organizations such as ASALA and others are not included in the list of terrorist organizations? How much does it fit the US government interests to support separatism in Nagorno-Karabakh of the Azerbaijan Republic? Isn't it time that major world powers stopped their double standard policy?"

Hill: That is a very difficult question, as there is even no accurate definition of terrorism today. The US actually had no serious discussion of the matter. Of course, we have some notion of terrorism, in particular owing to the activities of Al-Qaeda. However, a totally different approach is required to

determine the activities of organizations operating not in the whole world but in some certain place, in Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya, Basque Provinces, Northern Ireland. For these organizations are related to certain ethnic groups and have certain political purposes.

Hill: Methods of terror were used not only for "ethnic purposes", if one can say so. Russia had Lenin. We could say that he was a terrorist. Of course, he himself did not commit terrorist acts but his own brother was executed for the organization of the tsar's murder, quite a typical terrorist act. And many people connected with Lenin in the Bolshevik Party also used terrorist methods. Lenin was not alone, since many political movements in Russia at the end of the 19th century professed terror. So we can say that the roots of terrorism lay in the pre-revolution Russia. For the serious ideology of terrorism, exactly ideology, since terrorist acts had been carried out before in other countries as well, was born in Russia. Remember Tkachev, Nachayev, Savinkov...

That is, modern terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon, it is just using old methods to achieve some political goal."

The US diplomats never say that, loyal to the following principle "A diplomat has a tongue to conceal his thoughts", but they actually do that, proceeding from the above-mentioned principles.

The above-mentioned facts that make up merely 1-2% of the totality of similar well-known facts (and so many unknown ones!) demonstrate that after Gorbachev came to power Azerbaijan was exposed to many-dimensional aggression of different, sometimes rival forces within a single state. Such an example can hardly be found in modern history.

Numerous facts of constitutional abuses, months-long strikes in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, eviction of Azerbaijanis from their long-occupied places, disarmament of Soviet military units and seizure of their weapons, formation of armed groups, unpunished murders and many other things... but the head of the state, Gorbachev, who calls NKAO "Artsakh", has no solution! But the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov had a "solution". Under his guidance, a number of resolutions were passed that withdrew NKAO from the economic territory of Azerbaijan.

As a rule, all central bodies of the USSR always accused Baku of something and then suggested solving the Karabakh problem in the frames of "Leninist friendship of peoples". If we open any document on the Karabakh problem issued those years by highest authorities of the USSR, we will see that the preamble invariably mentions certain shortcomings in Nagorno-Karabakh that were rather inherent in the USSR on the whole, and all this is followed by general meaningless phrases. The first part of these resolutions was the chief argument of the forces that supported separatists both in the USSR and abroad.

None of the resolutions has any single reproach against Armenia as the initiator of these bloody events. At best, Armenia and Azerbaijan were treated equally!

New-sprung democrats kept up with the official authorities. Their hatred for the USSR seemed to shift to Azerbaijan, as if Baku had been the cradle of revolution and not Petersburg.

Up to a million people gather in the Theater Square in Yerevan, demanding from their leaders the opportunity to arm and begin a war against Azerbaijan, while Moscow calls them "a handful of extremists". Under the guidance of the state bodies, all Azerbaijanis are driven away from Armenia, while Moscow says, "they will be back, that was caused by certain forces standing in the way of perestroika."

Ominous events occur in Sumgayit, while Moscow is talking about "declassified elements". President of Armenia openly declares that he begins to form the army of Armenia, while Moscow speaks about some "mafia groups in Azerbaijan and Armenia". Considerable number of well-trained militants from all around the world, including Russia, arrive in Armenia, while Moscow mentions allegedly "isolated cases of penetration of suspicious persons in the territory of Armenia". Weapons are taken by force from whole military units in Armenia, while Moscow calls that "extremist attacks". The list can be continued.

One of the first persons to sense the duplicity of the position of the Centre in the events was Z. Alizade. He writes, "In general, the analysis of the CPSU CC policy in the Karabakh issue allowed to draw one of the two following conclusions. 1) There was no planned policy at all, the spontaneity of the events running before the reflections of the strategists from the CPSU. Decision-making mechanism moved obviously more slowly than the events. 2) The CPSU CC was breaking down the Soviet Union intentionally. Paradoxical as the latter theory may seem, a series of decisions taken by the Centre, which were allegedly aimed at the stabilization of the situation in the autonomous oblast and resulted in something totally opposite, does not rule it out at all."

All Azerbaijanis are evicted from Armenia and NKAO, blood is shed, while Karabakh separatism receives considerable support from the West. Finally, when Gorbachev came to power they realized that their demands and their opinion would be considered!

Neither Moscow nor Washington would not take into account the chief aim of Karabakh separatists and the forces behind them, which they undoubtedly were aware of, the destruction of the USSR, the subsequent chaos and the occupation of Azerbaijan territories in this uneasy situation.

Kseniya Myalo describes the ideology of Karabakh separatists proceeding from the general Armenian ideology. It is so closely entwined with the general system that any shortening can distort its meaning. So, we give it unabridged.

"...In the 12 years that have passed since that time, the generation of then children grew up. For this generation, both Sumgayit and all that happened afterwards are events of the remote past, moreover, the events that occurred in the different country, not theirs. It is therefore difficult for them to sense the connection between those events and the "iron ring around Russia's neck", and it is even more impossible to imagine what an acute trauma for the social, still imperial, consciousness was the fact that the first impetus for the destruction of the power had been given by Armenia. For Armenia was traditionally regarded as Russian-centric and, on the whole, that was in accordance with the main historical trend, though did not reflect the entire complexity of the issue.

The other side of the issue was thoroughly analyzed by the young Russian philosopher (and Slavophil of German origin) Vladimir Ern. Almost simultaneously with Sergey Sazonov, the minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Empire, who submitted his report on the Armenian issue to the Council of Ministers in 1916, which proceeded from the concept of a cloudless Russian-Armenian alliance, he reflected a different aspect of the problem in his essay "Autonomous Armenia" (1915), which has been unfortunately forgotten and not considered with due attention.

Considering the project nurtured by some part of Armenian intellectuals, which provided not annexing Turkish Armenia to the Russian Empire (in case if the latter won the war) but granting it special autonomous status, Ern drew the following conclusion. That quite crafty plan expressed the hidden desire of some part of Armenian intellectuals to increase independence from Russia, however without losing the opportunity to use its power for defence, if necessary. They did not think how destructive for the saving Russian power such games could be, and were guided not by the interests of the victims of a brutal genocide at all.

"Certainly, those poor people need no "autonomy";" Ern wrote. "They would be happy if they were not robbed, raped, burnt and killed any more in the literal, physical sense of the world (as we know, Armenians and Azerbaijanis enjoyed equal rights in both in Azerbaijan and NKAO, which cannot be said of the Azerbaijanis in Armenia. - *Author*). "Autonomy" is for those who are not content with the relatively wide rights that the Russian Armenians enjoy. Armenians in Russia have the absolute freedom of conscience, full church autonomy, secondary education in mother tongue and full political equality with the native Russian population. The advocates of "autonomy" are not satisfied even with that. If so, they want to have more rights than the Russian population itself enjoy in the Russian state."

IT WAS THE TREND (highlighted by the author) was declared in the Karabakh movement, whereas the actual (which one? - *Author*) but particular problem in the row of many ones, which the huge multinational state was facing, became the occasion and excuse for stirring up anti-imperial and anti-Russian

sentiments. The Karabakh movement gave the impetus to the organization of national People's fronts that (at the time when they still considered some or another variant of preserving the USSR) put forward the characteristic demand for more rights for the title nation than those used by the rest and first of all by the Russians who immediately became the embodiment of the "imperial evil". Nothing could have had more destructive power. As Ern wrote, "STRIVING AFTER THE ADVANTAGE NOT POSSESSED BY THE WHOLE POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE IS ANTISTATE AND SEPARATIST IN ITS CORE... GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW STATE FORMS ARE TO BE THE AFFAIR OF THE WHOLE RUSSIA, PASSING THROUGH THE NATIVE POPULATION OF RUSSIA TO THE PERIPHERY, AND NOT VICE VERSA (highlighted by the author)."

There is nothing to add. The concept of the Russian philosopher and Slavophil of German origin Vladimir Ern and the minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Empire Sergey Sazonov concerning the Armenian claims in those years remains as relevant as more than a hundred years ago.

Since no one robbed or killed the Armenians in NKAO, new arguments were invented in modern history, such as social, demographic, cultural etc. problems.

BUT THE CHIEF AIM BOTH THEN AND NOW, AFTER MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS, IS INVARIABLE - THE OCCUPATION OF OTHER TERRITORIES IN THE PROCESS OF DESTRUCTION OF THE COMMON STATE!

Different forces got immediately involved in Karabakh separatism, both in the USSR and abroad. Those forces had different political interests but Baku had no common interest with any of them.

IT WAS GETTING CLEAR THAT AZERBAIJAN WAS FACING TERRIBLE ORDEALS, BEING CHOSEN AS A TRAINING GROUND FOR ARMENIAN SEPARATISTS, DIFFERENT FORCES, INCLUDING WESTERN ONES, THAT STRIVED AFTER THE USSR COLLAPSE, PERESTROIKA AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES THAT WERE ASSERTING THEMSELVES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE KARABAKH PROBLEM, PARTOCRATS WHO WANTED TO LOOK LIKE DEMOCRATS, AND SO ON. IN MODERN HISTORY KARABAKH SEPARATISTS MANAGED TO GIVE THEIR MOVEMENTS THE CHRISTIAN FACTOR AS WELL. ALL THESE FORCES ENCIRCLED AZERBAIJAN THAT WAS LEFT TOTALLY ALONE.

3. SUMGAYIT PROVOCATION ORGANIZED BY EXTERNAL FORCES AS A POWERFUL INFORMATIONAL BLOW ON BAKU

Sumgayit events were a powerful informational weapon in the hands of Armenian separatists directed against Baku. They had nearly crucial influence on the international public opinion, as a result of which Baku was left all along in the beginning of the well-known events. And today, after more than ten years, this issue is not completely clear, though many things started to clarify gradually owing to the principle of interests and the new facts that leaked to the press.

The model of Sumgayit events was brilliantly built in public right before the Sumgayit events by C. Pashayan. On 12 December, 1985, the Armenian congressman C. Pashayan made the following statement in the meeting room of the US Congress, "...AND TODAY, I AM STANDING HERE CONDEMNING ANY KIND OF TERRORISM, ESPECIALLY ARMENIAN TERRORISM. AT THE SAME TIME, I MUST SAY THAT AS LONG AS ITS REASON IS UNFAIRLY DENIED, THE KGB AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH ARE EVIDENTLY COMMITTING THIS TERRORISM, WILL HAVE FUEL FOR THIS FIRE" (highlighted by the author).

All accents are so clear in this statement that there is no need for any comments. Everything and everyone is mentioned, the CPSU, the USSR KGB, and Armenian terrorists! It is not accidental that the famous writer Bunich rates the events in Sumgayit and Baku among the main undisclosed secret historical events that occurred at different times in the USSR. Here they are.

1. Who brought Bolsheviks to power and why?
2. What was the fate of the tsar family?
3. What happened to Lenin in January 1924?
4. By whose order was Kirov murdered?
5. How did the catastrophe of 22 June, 1941 happen?
6. What happened to Stalin himself in February 1953?
7. What happened to Lavrenty Beria a year later?
8. How many of the "spies" annihilated by SMERSH were innocent victims?
9. Who blew up "Novorossiysk" battleship?
10. Who published Solzhenitsyn abroad and flooded the USSR with his books?

11. Who provoked the slaughter in Vilnius? In Sumgayit? In Baku? In Tbilisi?
12. Who organized the channels for the party funds to flow abroad?
13. Who initiated and unleashed the Chechen war?
14. Who finances "economical" election campaigns of today's Zyuganovs?

Even Victor Nikolaev, who, judging by his publications, hates the Azerbaijanis vehemently just like Lebed, expresses his puzzlement concerning Sumgayit events through the words of his character. He writes in his book "Alive in Help", "In the evening, the group of officers that had arrived from Shamkhor got their berths in officers dormitory. Overinstructed by the local command, they gathered in the room of the blokes from the Interior Ministry for the deplorable sizing up. The commander, Captain Slavka Krivoshapka was so legendary personality that heroic stories about him were spread in the entire Transcaucasia. In two years he was contused twice in Sumgayit. Slavka became convinced there that hatred is brought up in man fastest of all and forgiveness has the longest way to go. He was thrown into that most Russian city in the south of the country where the slaughter could not be explained with any imagination of the government. He could not understand how such a disaster could happen in the city with the secret centre of the Ministry of Defence, a missile unit, a large steel works dubbed "mailbox", a large chemical complex, a frontier unit, strongest family relations among the local population, not a smallest attempt being made to prevent or stop it."

Being a military man, Captain Slavka Krivoshapka reasons quite logically but common sense is not to be sought in Sumgayit events, since a different logic was used there.

The terrible events in Sumgayit were an amazing paradox, the result of merging of different dark and often rival forces. The resultant became a horrible brand craftily stamped upon the Azerbaijan people by the Armenian propaganda.

Dmitry Furman and Ali Abasov write in their book "Azerbaijan Revolution", "Sumgayit is the first of the dreadful events in the modern Azerbaijan history, which is almost impossible to clarify, for in a society run by unofficial mafia relations and corruption, policy is actually to a great extent carried out by the shadow powers, plots and provocations and is even more interpreted through them. If we add Moscow striving to hush up Sumgayit events to "appease" the society, the Armenians striving to blow them up, presenting them as the continuation of the 1915 genocide, the Azerbaijanis striving to shift all the blame on the Armenian provocation, blowing up the mysterious role of one of the most active participants

of the disorders, a Sumgayit criminal worker E. Grigoryan, we will have to admit that the truthful picture of Sumgayit events is unlikely to be ever recollected. But it is clear that the combustible mass of newcomers from villages, bearers of the traditional mentality that acquires a specific lumpen criminal shade in urban conditions, who formed lower classes of the urban society, exploded in Sumgayit (by itself or someone threw a match). The mass was increased in Azerbaijan by the dozens of thousands of peasant refugees from Armenia (unlike the urban and intellectual Armenian population in Azerbaijan, Azerbaijanis of Armenia were mainly peasants, since Azerbaijan intellectuals who appeared there used to move to Azerbaijan), who had been deprived of all their belongings and suddenly found themselves in big towns, not knowing what to do, disoriented and resentful. (Later, Nagorno-Karabakh refugees joined them.)

They are certainly right, Sumgayit events are among the most mysterious ones in the USSR history. However, as time passes, much of them, like in most of such events, begins to clear up. The world-famous writer Eduard Topol shares his opinion concerning Sumgayit events with Tenghiz Gudava, Radio Liberty.

"It was a provocation. I am deeply convinced in this. I began my journalist career in Sumgayit, Sumgayit was built by international Soviet workers. People with permanent good job do not go anywhere, you know, they do not discover America, just like none of European physicians or scientists went to America as poor people did. Poor people went there and built a wonderful country, the same was with Sumgayit. Different people from all around the country came there under the slogan of "High-powered Construction". I worked in that paper, writing of an Armenian today and of an Azerbaijani tomorrow. We had five columnists in the editorial office, two and a half of us were Jews, one Armenian woman, one Azerbaijani, and we were of the same age and completely equal in everything. And when I heard that then everything had started with Sumgayit, with disorders, slaughter, it was terrible, a nightmare, all my friends were in that hell. When I was 20 and worked in Sumgayit, I was keen on mountain tourism, alpinism. I remember once – it was either 50th anniversary of the Soviet power or some other holiday – we went on foot, we went across Nagorno-Karabakh, I myself, with my feet, went across the entire Nagorno-Karabakh. We came out of the forest, descend to a village, Martuni, Madrasa, if you know these names. Villagers saw a file of people coming, they could not make out our faces or else, but when we approached to any of them, no matter if it was Azerbaijani or Armenian village, we were met by women with pitchers of wine and bread in their hands and always welcome. They would say wonderful words to us in Armenian, in Azerbaijani... There was, I say this because I went

there and drank wine both in the Armenian and the neighbouring Azerbaijan village, there was no enmity..."

A correspondent mentioned to the famous writer Leonid Zorin, "In your autobiography "Proscenium" you wrote about the happiness of life in Baku." "Baku was an amazing city. A huge, with one and half a million population and extremely homelike at the same time. A home city, you were a part of its family everywhere. Special magic... it is the South, you see. A kind of Soviet Gascony. Life was much colder "far in the north, in Paris". But there, in Baku, on one hand, you have siesta and time passes not so rapidly, on the other hand, incandescent passions. All those humpbacked streets flying to the boulevard, to the sea, to the sunny masout wave... But the main wealth here is people. The moron disease, nationalism, was unknown to this city. In my team boys of six nationalities played shoulder to shoulder. Not without reason was it always said with a challenge in Baku, "Nationality: Bakuvian". Then it all was gone..."

Yes, everything is not the same. There was Sumgayit, there was Karabkh. The virus walking over the planet reached this home."

It is well known from where different viruses were and are delivered in Azerbaijan!

K. Myalo writes of tragic events, including Sumgayit, "The so-called "ethnic conflicts" unfolded in the USSR in quite a stable orderly society, in the conditions of quite decent incomes, and also, which is important, quite a high level of education of the overwhelming majority of the population. To shift from the heavy-weight statistics that distinguished the infamous stagnation period to the sharp dynamics, drastic means should have been applied and they were found.

First of all, it was general and conscious involvement of criminals in the disorders, thugs whose task was to shed the first blood in such ways that were to make people freeze with horror. It was the case in Sumgayit, Ferghana, Osh and later, during the Georgian-Abkhazian war, Shevardnadze actually legalized using of criminals as the impact force of the state.

Drugs were widely used to form agitated crowds and to involve youth, almost teenagers in them (which in the Soviet time secured that militia will not use firearms against thugs)...

Considerable part of financing had shadow sources.

They paid for the work of ideologists and those who provided informational cover, raising a clamour for militia about every victim (though you could count them on the fingers of one hand). While the thugs were doing their work, nationalistic intellectuals diligently toiled in their sphere, forging new

historical myths about someone's birth rights and slogans to attract wide masses that had nothing to do with the disorders but that on the contrary were driven by the most noble feelings, patriotism, humility for the distortion of the national history and indignation at the violence caused their congeners."

It is a clear and very meaningful model, but it has one big fault. It is not illustrated with facts, without which it remains uncertain.

If we gather facts concerning the strategic component of this model and place numerical coefficients before each factor (which is easy given modern methods of formalization of some or other process), much will be clear, including certain moments of Sumgayit events.

"Sumgayit events are a tragedy of the mankind in the modern history. It is another genocide of the Armenian people," deputy Ighityan said at the congress of people's deputies.

Such statements are a part of the strategy of Armenian ideologists. After every certain period of time Armenia needs a new "genocide". The events in Turkey in 1915 were presented as "genocide" by Armenian ideologists. To refresh this problem in modern history and raise the Karabakh issue, Sugayit events were used.

Finally, here is the comment of the first president of Azerbaijan A. Motalibov in "Molodezh Azerbaijana" concerning Sumgayit events, "Peace was not included in the plans of the organizers of the bloody performance under a number of conventional titles one of which is "struggle for self-determination of Artsakh Armenians". They needed... a large-scale massacre. An the evil nationalistic plan worked soon. Panic was artificially raised among Azerbaijanis in Kafan and other regions, causing them leave Armenia under the threat of death. It was in May 1988. In November, the same year, not a single Azerbaijani was left there. The republic was ablaze those days. First fires of confrontation flared up... We managed to suppress conflicts in Ganja, Baku. But we failed to stop Sumgayit events. What had to happen happened."

Such a vague explanation, unlike the clear Armenian interpretation.

The author is sure that had Sumgayit events failed for some reasons, it would have inevitably happened in some other place in Azerbaijan, with inevitable victims among the Armenian population. It is one of the most important elements of Armenian "genocides".

In 1985-1990 the chairman of the CPA CC Party Committee R. Akhundov remembers his conversation with Bobkov in Stepanakert, "In the course of a common sluggish conversation about the events in Stepanakert Bobkov suddenly asked me, "What is your projection of the further actions of

the Armenians?" I thought and answered, "I think they will undertake some provocation in one of Azerbaijan towns." "Which one?" continued Bobkov. I mentioned one of Azerbaijan towns, Sumgayit did not occur to me as I had always associated it with Komsomol past. Bobkov became thoughtful and did not comment on this. He never returned to the subject."

Many documents and facts that became known after more than 15 years demonstrate that Sumgayit events (certain politicians from Gorbachev's circle agree) were arranged by the Centre together with Armenian separatists and not without assistance of the KGB. The Armenians have always had strong positions in this organization, we should say.

For instance, according to the memoirs of former Soviet officials, one of the chief participants of anti-Khrushchev conspiracy, the head of the USSR KGB, was the first to familiarize the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party CC Zarobyan with the plan of the conspiracy. And according to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Council M. Iskenderov, when the Azerbaijan delegation arrived in Moscow, it did not know what issue would be discussed at the plenary session of the CPSU CC. The KGB knew well whom to rely on in dirty work

In the course of time, many obscure aspects of Sumgayit events begin to clarify gradually.

K. Myalo writes, "Then, in Baku and Sumgayit, for the first time in my life and rather close I got familiarized both the technique of roundups (this is exactly the way Russians will later be driven away from Chechnya, with the complete silence of the "international community") and organization of pogroms I was yet to see again in Ferghana Valley. As early as then, basing on that dreadful experience, hourly chronicle of the events, I drew the following conclusion, which has not been refuted so far, in my opinion. MASS POGROM WITH BIG BLOOD AND CHILLING VIOLENCE SCENES (THAT IS, WHAT CAN BE QUALIFIED EXACTLY AS POGROM AND NOT A FIGHT OF SEVERAL PEOPLE) IS NEVER SPONTANEOUS BUT ORGANIZED. QUITE POWERFUL POLITICAL FORCES ALWAYS STAND BEHIND IT, USING IT AS AN EFFICIENT MEANS OF ACTIVATION OF A SCPEIAL WEAPON, THE WEAPON OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS. ON SUCH A SCALE AND IN SUCH A VAST AREA AS THE COLLAPSING (OR, MORE ACCURATELY, PURPOSEFULLY DESTROYED) SOVIET UNION, IT HAS NOT BEEN USED ANYWHERE ELSE EXCEPT IN YUGOSLAVIA NEARLY AT THE SAME TIME (highlighted by the author)."

Many anti-Muslim articles were written by A. Krukilin, but an interesting fact is that there is one remarkable phrase in another libellous article written by him in "Literaturnaya gazeta" on 14 March, "The CC... was informed twenty times about the disorders being organized!... The force that provoked the disorders is very serious. It should be found in the top circles. Moreover, found, exposed and punished, regardless of ranks and titles."

That force operated actually in the entire area of the USSR, in a different way in different regions, in accordance with the situation in each of them. Sumgayit was a perfect training ground for these forces, in many senses.

A member of Politburo, President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov told Gorbachev roundly, "Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is time we stopped pretending as if everything that is going on in the party and the county now was spontaneous. It is evident that there are special centres and people arranging all these dangerous processes. We must speak of them openly, saying their names."

As time passed chief personalities of that time began to speak on many events, including those in Sumgayit.

The first sensational statement was made by the ideologist of perestroika A. Yakovlev concerning Sumgayit events. In 1992, in "Moscow News" A. Yakovlev said that **THE EVENTS IN TRANSNISTRIA HAD BEEN INITIATED BY THE KGB** (highlighted by the author).

He said the same in March 1993 on Azerbaijan TV, "Echo of Sumgayit", "Sumgayit events were organized by the USSR military industrial complex and the KGB."

He repeated that word-by-word ten years later.

"Despite some decrease in the influence of secret services in the times of Khrushchev, they naturally were not idle. The regime (about in the second half of Khrushchev's rule) could not find again another way out but to strengthen security agencies. Any expression of protest was suppressed in most ruthless way. Punishing bodies heartened up, making up new opportunities for themselves. In some cases they provoked unrest and conflict situations themselves to prove their own utility. That was the case in the times of Khrushchev in Novocherkassk. **THAT WAS THE CASE IN SUMGAYIT** (highlighted by the author), Vilnius, Riga in the period of Perestroika."

Another striking fact. His recently published memoirs "Whirlpool of Memory" devoted to the period of perestroika contain not a single word about the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. Not a single word! As if there had been no such events and he had not been one of its key figures. We are deeply convinced that there are some reasons for it. Yakovlev realized in what a

dirty game he had been used and actually disassociated himself from his previous views and actions, trying to whitewash himself.

These statements A. Yakovlev made concerning Sumgayit events had nothing to do with the assistance to Baku. He realized well that certain forces in the KGB, which were unable to stomach him, hit him with his actions as the ideologist of perestroika.

That sensational statement of the chief ideologist of perestroika, one of the main patrons of Nagorno-Karabakh separatists, who used Sumgayit events many times in those years to justify the Armenian point, dots all i's in Sumgayit events. As a matter of fact, it was clear even then but this though belated confession is quite remarkable.

"Voice of Armenia" wrote on 18 May, 1993, "...It is useful for us to remember that Alexander Yakovlev and his circle had a significant part to play in the stimulation of the Karabakh process (collection of signatures in Karabakh etc.). The same people changed their position sharply after Sumgayit, Kirovabad and Baku and opposed the legitimate demand of the Armenians confirmed by the results of the Karabakh referendum. Now, like Margaret Thatcher, they advocate the integrity of Azerbaijan."

The famous financier George Soros said in "Znamya", June 1989, that the provocations against Armenians in Azerbaijan, in particular in Sumgayit, had been arranged by mafia.

Y. Ligachev was of the same opinion. He said in an interview to Azerbaijan TV, "Sumgayit events were organized by mafia groups."

In that case, the following question arises. Was there mafia in the USSR that was capable of arranging something like that and not related to the CPSU or the KGB? The business of "red mafia" and their connection with the CPSU or the KGB became public after the downfall of the CPSU.

"Mafia is armed bourgeoisie," I heard that from one Columbian political emigrant in Kuba; the similar scenario was about to be staged in the Caucasus, with the only difference that the Soviet specificity inevitably supposed an especially large-scale involvement of secret services."

There is another interesting fact concerning Sumgayit events. We all remember well that A. Sakharov in all his speeches demanded careful investigation of Sumgayit events. Academician Sakharov demanded that the USSR General Prosecutor Sukharev in public give explanation as to how Galkin who headed Sumgayit events inquiry committee of the USSR People's Prosecutor's Office "had buried the investigation of pogroms in Sumgayit."

"People will not be appeased with any half-measures, any talks of friendship between peoples. If someone could doubt that before Sumgayit, then after this tragedy no one has any moral opportunity to insist on preservation of the territorial belonging of NKAO to Azerbaijan," A. Sakharov exclaimed.

But then he suddenly fell silent and stopped demanding. He must have understood that a thorough investigation of the tragedy would not be in favour of his pets.

He was well aware of the KGB methods and as he received the information he began to realize the point of what was going on.

"February 1988. Mass disorders in Sumgayit (Azerbaijan) due to ethnic reasons, numerous victims. A special unit of the USSR KGB ("Vympel") was dispatched to the site," veterans of "Vympel" remember.

It was for some reasons that Vladimir Galkin who had headed Sumgayit events inquiry committee of the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office became General of counterintelligence afterwards, so it is obscure what forces he had represented under the cover of the Public Prosecutor's Office.

"Agentura.ru" tells of one incident with the participation of Vladimir Galkin.

"A former officer of foreign intelligence Galkin arrested in the USA.

A former officer of the USSR foreign intelligence Vladimir Galkin was arrested by the FBI agents in New York on 29 October. He had worked in T department (scientific and technological intelligence). Let us remind that Vladimir Galkin arrived in the USA among the delegation of Russian militia to purchase police equipment. By that time, he had been retired for five years and was the general director of "Knowledge Express" firm. Submitting documents for visa, Mr. Galkin did not hide his association with the foreign intelligence up to 1992. He had never been to America before. He was accused of the attempt of obtaining information on the American "strategic defence initiative" at the scientific symposium in Cyprus in 1991. According to the case documents, Mr. Galkin offered 30,000 dollars to the "Data General Corporation" employee for three reports on star wars.

According to the documents submitted to the court by the public prosecutor, Galkin was charged with the collection of information on strategic defence initiative of the USA. With this purpose he allegedly tried to enter a deal in the territory of a third country with some Indian citizen Aluru Prasad who in his turn showed interest in the star wars programme. Prasad was arrested and appeared in court. But the trial was suspended in the summer 1995 due to procedure complications.

On 15 December, Vladimir Galkin was released. Moscow asserted that the FBI had drawn Klinton's administration into a blatant provocation and only Chernomyrdin's interference allowed the Americans to "save their face". However, the USSR Department of Justice said that the decision to withdraw accusations against Galkin had been made by the government proceeding from national interests.

Meanwhile, since the moment of Galkin's arrest, Foreign Intelligence Service has been threatening with retaliation and the Federal Security Service director Nikolay Kovalev, as he himself told yesterday, even ordered drawing the list of future prisoners and demonstrated the paper to the official representatives of the FBI and the CIA in Moscow. Moreover, Foreign Intelligence Service accused the American secret services of ungentlemanly behaviour, saying that the trap set for Galkin contradicted professional spy ethics. Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded the immediate and unconditional release of the prisoner. Finally, Moscow said that Galkin's case would impair the bilateral relations if court did not acquit him. Vladimir Galkin himself told journalists immediately after his release that the FBI agents had tried to incline him to betrayal but received a resolute refusal.

By the way, two days after Galkin's release, Harold Nickolson was arrested in the international airport of Washington."

Colleague veterans immediately rose to support the intelligence officer ("the are no former intelligence agents").

IMA Press

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KGB VETERANS WARN THEIR WESTERN COUNTERPARTS THAT THEY CAN BECOME HOSTAGES IN THE COLD WAR BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

MOSCOW (IMA Press)

On 20 December, the president of the Russian KGB Veterans Club Valery Velichko circulated an appeal on the behalf of the members of this organization to former intelligence officers of NATO countries, many of whom have their business in the CIS republics. They can be the first to suffer moral and material damage, becoming hostages in the cold war of intelligence services. Its beginning, according to the authors of the appeal, is indicated by the recent arrest of a former KGB officer Vladimir Galkin in the USA. Though the appointment of Anthony Lake, a professional and not a politician, to the post of the CIA director inspires optimism, veterans of the invisible front should use their influence all together for such a situation not to happen again.

As we can see, Sumgayit events were investigated by a talented and versatile personality and Vladimir Galkin could have easily dot all i's had he wanted to. Had he wanted to!

How can we compare Sumgayit events with the attempt of obtaining information on star wars from the only superpower in the world?!

There was no need for such an important person as Galkin to expose Akhmedov the lunger and shoot him. A sledge-hammer to crack nuts!

Andrey Cherchenko, a correspondent of "Pravda" wrote ambiguous articles on Sumgayit events. It was hard to make out from them who was to blame the most for all that had happened. Building his quite logical models of the events, at the same time he mentioned some mysterious forces to make his model seem complete, like the scientists who, unable to fully explain some or other phenomena in their research and leaving that for the future, would introduce a conventional "demon" into the process at a certain stage of it, after which the entire process cleared up. When Chernenko inserted his own "demon" in his reasoning, everything took its right place; the essence of the "demon" was not explained, though. At the same time, we should point out, unlike the Armenian side, he did not see the local authorities as the organizers of these events.

In connection with Sumgayit events, the further fate of Chernenko is of a considerable interest. "How have you come to secret services?" asks him Valery Beresnev. "I was called to the Central Committee where I received the appropriate proposal. I accepted it."

He rose to Major General of state security and then, by invitation of the governor Valentina Matviyenko, became vice-governor of Petersburg and the most mysterious person in Smolny.

As we can see, two witnesses of Sumgayit events had similar fates!

Stepashin Sergey Vadimovich made a breathtaking career in the time of Yeltsin and later of Putin, in 1988-1990 took part in the operations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops in "flash points" of the USSR, Baku, Ferghana, Sumgayit, Nagorno-Karabakh, Sukhumi. You will find not a single word concerning his actions in Sumgayit in Baku in the well-known days in any of his numerous interviews.

Victor Nikolaevich Nikolaev. A member of the Russian Union of Writers. Born in 1958 in Kazakhstan. Did his military service in the Air Forces of Moscow military district. Graduated from high military school in Kurgan, special intelligence, and Military Political Academy in Moscow. Major in reserve, holder of the Red Star. In 1987-1989 fought in Afghanistan. Performed contingency tasks in Sumgayit, Stepanakert, Karabakh, and Tbilisi. In a

conversation with Valentina Maystrenko he speaks of many things but not a word about his "contingency tasks in Sumgayit, Stepanakert, Karabakh, and Tbilisi".

Special units of Red Banner Caspian Fleet also took part in Sumgayit events. Captain 1st rank Y.Y. writes, "I stayed three weeks in Sumgayit. German Alekseyevich (the future deputy director, the head of the FSB Constitution Protection and Antiterrorism Department Vice Admiral Ugryumov German Alekseyevich) came there, though we permanently kept him informed of the events through the communication line. He wanted to see everything with his own eyes to take an accurate decision." His decisions and proposals remain a secret.

The part of T. Gdlyan in Karabakh and Sumgayit events is unknown yet. We knew of his close relations with "Krunk" leaders and "Karabakh" society. And the commonly known fact is that those years Gdlyan had considerable political influence (a people's deputy of the USSR and the Armenian SSR) and considerable capital (according to the Moscow lawyer I. Reznik, during his "exploits" in Uzbekistan he used to confiscate valuables even from distant relatives of suspects).

In connection with the events in Sumgayit, Gdlyan raised all Zelenograd, the Soviet Silicon Valley, and became a people's deputy of the USSR and the Armenian SSR on the wave of anticorruption struggle, support for Karabakh separatists and condemnation of Sumgayit events.

His methods were imitated by Stepan Mikoyan, the son of A. Mikoyan, who tried to make his way to a deputy mandate. S. Mikoyan unfolded heavy activity in the Soviet mass media condemning Sumgayit events and demonstrating his wild fantasy in that. Then he hurried to Yerevan for a deputy mandate but Yerevan preferred Starovoytova, Gdlyan and Ivanov, since they were reputed to be tough democrats then, though turned out to be bribers later.

Any cat is out of the bag somehow. According to numerous sources, Gdlyan was placed on the political stage by the head of the USSR KGB Fedorchuk, which explains many things.

Some day we will find out what circles in the KGB he was related to (there were different groups there, as far as we know), what tasks he performed. And that will clarify much, including Sumgayit events.

As became known later, the KGB also had agents among democrats. The general public today is familiar with the materials demonstrating the relations of the leaders of national independence struggle – Prunskens, Landsbergis, Chepytis in Lithuania, Druk in Moldova, the future president of Estonia Lennart

Meri and many others to the state security services that fostered them for their numerous purposes. There were such fighters for independence in Azerbaijan as well, which has been repeatedly reported in the local press and concrete names have been given.

The participation of such local "democrats" in Sumgayit events is not ruled out.

When Gorbachev was being appointed General Secretary at the Politburo meeting, the then head of the KGB Chebrikov said a mysterious phrase, "intelligence entrusted me with advising the candidacy of Comrade Gorbachev M.S. for the post of General Secretary of the CPSU CC. You must understand that the voice of intelligence, the voice of our activists is the voice of the people as well." No one has given unambiguous interpretation of Chebrikov's words so far.

As an example of the systematic approach to information processing a story is often quoted about a journalist of the early 20th century who lost all his money playing cards and, to pay back his debt, decided to sell to the foreign intelligence service the plan of military units disposition, names and posts of the command. Of course, the counterintelligence arrested the amateur spy but when the information he possessed was shown to the representative of General Staff the latter were shocked for the information was precise and classified. In the progress of the inquiry the journalist pleaded guilty and proving his repentance shared his method of learning "state secrets". He turned out to have read local newspapers in his trips to regions, being especially interested in society columns, "In the district town N the commander of the 17th hussar regiment quartered here Colonel V., Chief of the regimental staff Colonel M. attended the wedding ceremony of Lieutenant K. and so on and so forth".

What if we apply this universal method based on "hidden correlation" principles to Sumgayit events and trace who else besides Galkin, Chernenko, Stepashin, Nikolaev and many other USSR secret service agents received high appointments so quickly and why?

A question arises. What services did participants of Sumgayit events obtain so quick promotion for? They did not man any breaches in Sumgayit (besides, there was no such thing there), did not stabilize the situation in the region, or revealed the real picture of the events. What services then?

They could not obtain so quick promotion for exposing the lunger Akhmedov who had killed one man and for killing him, "by law" though (on 18 November, 1989 Akhmedov was sentenced to death as the result of his trial in Moscow and immediately executed by shooting), could they?

We are sure that the results would be very interesting!

The response of the KGB did not take long to appear, as it was expected.

Chernenko said to the journalist Valery Beresnev, "I had to see all flash points in the USSR as "Pravda" correspondent, from tragedy of 1986 in Alma Ata and to Sumgayit, Tbilisi, Baku... I hate to seem obscurantist but it is obvious today that the political leadership of that time encouraged (by action or inaction) involvement of ultranationalists in the open social processes. That was a fatal mistake that led to numerous tragedies and death of hundreds of thousands people." So, Chernenko repeated what he had said over ten years earlier.

By saying that, the KGB agent Chernenko makes a transparent allusion to A. Yakovlev, the ideologist of perestroika, and his team. He is not alone in this; Yakovlev was accused of such actions by many high-ranking KGB officers and not by hints but directly.

The former head of the KGB V. Kryuchkov recalls Yakovlev, "in the Caucasus, he "sympathized" with Armenia, but in reality provoked it to oppose Azerbaijan, straining the situation with the Karabakh problem. In general, he always spoke of Azerbaijan with evident aversion"...

This is confirmed by other sources. According to former high-ranking officials from the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party, the leaders of the CPSU CC did not support NKAO separatists and the counterparts from Baku received the name of the chief enemy of Azerbaijan in the CPSU CC, Alexander Yakovlev.

"In February 1993," Kryuchkov continues, "a big article of mine was published in "Sovetskaya Rossia" where I told of his (A. Yakovlev's - *Author*) activities in detail. By the way, I did not call him an influence agent there but I think that the conclusion was obvious. I directly said in one part of the article that I have no questions on the matter." Kryuchkov said that A. Yakovlev had been recruited by the CIA during his study in Columbia University. The head of General Staff S. Akhromeyev confirmed that the military intelligence had had nearly the same information as the KGB. Gorbachev kept silence as ever on these accusations against the "ideologist of perestroika". V. Boldin remembers that "once, signing the Politburo resolution on Yakovlev's trip to Spain or some other country, he said half in joke, "It seems that the resident calls him there."

Kryuchkov writes in his memoirs, "He was undergoing training in the USA, Columbia University and was noticed in establishing relations with American secret services. However, then he managed to present the case as if he had done that to take the opportunity of obtaining important information for the

USSR from a closed library. Be as it may, but Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov once told me directly, "Yakovlev is anti-Soviet!"

In the fifties, a photograph was published in the emigrant "Russian Voice" newspaper, portraying A. Yakovlev and O. Kalugin (a high-ranking intelligence officer, traitor to the country) in the company of CIA agents.

Platonov asserts something like that, "We do not know exactly what pieces of silver and how much were paid to influence agents by the masters of the world backstage, but it is clear that these agents sharply became more active in the mid-eighties. In particular, on the initiative of G. Arbatov (the director of the USA Institute) closely related to the Western circles and with the direct assistance of Gorbachev, A. Yakovlev returns and immediately takes the key position in orchestrating anti-Russian processes. He gathered around himself a number of odious personalities who played a dramatic part in the history of our country: V. Korotich, Y. Afanasyev, Y. Yakovlev, G. Popov, Y. Primakov, G. Arbatov. The circle was very narrow at first but Gorbachev's stable support made them confident."

Such accusations against the "fathers of perestroika" were at different times voiced by Ligachev, Bobkov, Yazov, Varennikov, Achalov and many others.

When A. Yakovlev declares that Sumgayit events were the doing of the Soviet secret services, we must certainly pay due attention to this statement. It should be admitted that it requires certain courage to make such a statement. At the same time, it is a simplified approach to the problem. The statement does not relieve Yakovlev of the responsibility for the disorders in the country, the ideologists of which were Yakovlev himself and his boss Gorbachev. Was it not clear that along with genuine democrats, dubious and mafia forces would pour into the organizations of democratic movement Yakovlev established all around the country? Was it not clear that the supporting separatism would lead to slaughter? Was it not clear that the main weapon of Armenian separatism would be terror? Was it not clear that all ulcers of the Soviet society, which could not be cured easily, would come to the surface? And finally, was it not clear that foreign secret services become active after having waited for such a moment for decades?

Lumping all the blame for Sumgayit events onto the KGB alone, Yakovlev tried to whitewash himself, choosing an easy but clearly naïve way! It would be more logical and truthful for him to reveal the entire chain of the organizers of Sumgayit and similar events, from his home CPSU CC and to the KGB. The author has no doubt that the USSR secret services were active in Sumgayit. In that case, why were Gorbachev and his team inactive? The author

knows for sure that several hours after the beginning of Sumgayit events Gorbachev was informed, moreover, he received the information through different channels. In that case, why were the troops inactive, like it was later in Baku? They were not subordinate to the KGB, were they? Something is wrong, some link is missing here!

A link is missing because all sides are to blame for creating the situation where it was hard to build a hierarchy system without comprehensive information.

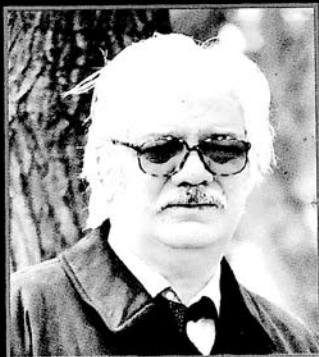
It is clear today that to put the plans into practice, BOTH SIDES NEEDED CERTAIN CHAOS; THE DIFFERENCE WAS JUST IN THE SCALE OF IT FOR EACH OF THEM. GORBACHEV WANTED A CONTROLLABLE ONE. It was not accidental that in the beginning of perestroika Gorbachev jumped up from his seat and cheerfully clapped his hands at a meeting of the congress of the USSR people's deputies, when deputy Travkin said, "Everyone here says that we should not let the gin out of the bottle. We should not let him out, we should push him out! Seventy years have passed; everyone is in their own bottle asleep." Speaking to Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, Gorbachev says, "We are stormy now. But it will do us good." At the well-known meeting in the USSR Supreme Council, after Sumgayit events, when asked by an Azerbaijan deputy, "Is it possible that Sumgayit events were organized by certain forces?" Gorbachev answered with irritation, "No one organized anything, the troops were just several hours (! - *Author*) late, that's all!" Nobody reminded Gorbachev that Baku, where considerable number of Russia military was deployed, is in 20 minutes' journey from Sumgayit, the nearest military base in Nasony is in 5-7 minutes. Furthermore, since 1989 near Baku, in Pereshkul (a little to the south of Sumgayit; two detachments of the KGB special units were located in Azerbaijan, Pereshkul), an assault combat brigade withdrawn from Afghanistan had been deployed. So, it was totally strange how it all could take hours.

The point was that according to the scenario, the troops were to be brought in the town when all would have been over, which happened in practice. A controllable chaos was what they needed!

This theory is indirectly confirmed by Anatoly Mostovoy who has carried out his own journalist investigation concerning Sumgayit events. He speaks rather of Gorbachev's uncertainty, though.

"The first report on the disorders, somewhat traditionally softened, came the same day, first in the daily summary of operations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, then as a special report several hours later through the KGB channels.

THE LAST BLOW FROM
THE EMPIRE
March, 20 January, 1990



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