
DECISIONS

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**Resolution of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Mejlis on the political
evaluation of the Baku events of January 1990
(21 November, 1990)**

Evaluating the event which took place in Baku over the night from 19 to 20-th of January, 1990 and the following days the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic points out that Soviet Army detachment of special punitive character, Military Navy and Interior Ministry detachments invaded and occupied Baku and inflicted a massacre on the civilian population. Thus, the clauses of paragraph 14 of the USSR Constitution, Article 119, and the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR were grossly violated.

As a result of this military action directed against the fight of the Azerbaijan people for democracy and national liberation hundreds of innocent people-among them elderly men, women and children - were killed and wounded, numerous cases of unusual cruelty were registered.

Those who are directly responsible to people for this political and military violence are the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M.Gorbachev, the USSR Central Committee Secretary A. Girenko who was in Baku at that period, the Minister of the USSR Ministry of Defense D.Yazov, of Internal Affairs of the USSR V.Bakatin, the USSR Central Committee official A. Mikhailov, and also the leader of the Republic-the former First Secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee A.Vezirov, the Chairman of President of Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan SSR E.Kafarova, A. Moutalibov, being the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers then, members of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee Bureau V. Polyanichko, M. Mamedov, V. Huseinov.

Having betrayed their own people, the leaders of the Republic did not take any preventive measures, showed their inconsistency and being guilty of the crime committed, tried to avoid the responsibility.

Despite the pressing demand of the Republic's population to reveal the culprits of the bloody January events, to investigate and evaluate these events from the political point of view, no such measure was carried out. Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Council, convened in January 22, did not complete its work. Summoned to give political evaluation to the January events this session has not started its work so far, at the same time this matter has not been discussed at the following sessions.

It seems surprising too that Commission of the Supreme Council, created to investigate the January events has not completed its work either (the Chairman of the Commission M. Abbasov).

None of the leaders of the Union and the Republic Party, Soviet and Legal institutions have been revealed and unmasked or made responsible for the January events. This fact arouses righteous public indignation.

Estimating this action as unprovoked armed aggression, a plot devised against the country and as a gross violation of the Human Rights Declaration, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Mejlis has adopted a resolution.

1. To consider the bloody events that took place in Baku in January 1990 as a violence directed against the sovereign right of the Azerbaijan SSR and the democratic processes started in the Republic.

2. To condemn aggression against the people of Azerbaijan, the use of modern weapons causing superfluous suffering to the victims, helpless civilian population- elderly, women and children.

3. To express a strong protest against Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan SSR that did not yet give a political estimation of the tragically events in Baku, the deputies' commission created in this connection did not complete its work without any obvious reason, the culprits of the massacre have not been revealed and made to answer.

To demand from the Supreme Council to include these matters in the agenda of the Parliament Session.

4. From the date of adoption this resolution to declare 20-th of January the Day of National Mourning in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

5. To request from the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan SSR to declare 20th of January as the Day of National Mourning.

Nakhichevan City, 21st November, 1990

Aliyev Heydar. Steadfast position. – B.,1994. – P. 11-13.

The decision of the National Council of the Republic of Azerbaijan
"On tragic events taken place in Baku on January 20, 1990"
(March 29, 1994)

Over the night from 19 to 20-th January, 1990 without preliminary declaration of state of emergency military units of former Soviet Union were entered Baku city and some regions of Azerbaijan, reprisals were inflicted toward the peace population, hundreds people were killed, wounded, missing. The invasion into Baku of a large contingent of Soviet Army units, interior troops and special destination detachments was accompanied by particular cruelty and unprecedented atrocities.

Before declaration of the state of emergency 82 men were cruelly killed and 20 men were fatally wounded by military forces. After the declaration of the state of emergency on January 20 and the following days another 21 men were killed. In the districts, where the state of emergency was not introduced, 8 men were killed in Neftchala on January, 25 and in Lenkoran on January 26.

In total as a result of illegal entering of troops into Baku city and regions of the republic 133 men were killed, 744 men - wounded, 841 men - illegally arrested. The soldiers sacked and burnt 200 houses and apartments, 80 automobiles, including ambulance cars, the state and personal properties was destroyed. Women, children and old men, as well as ambulance and police employees also were among the killed persons. The USSR Constitution, Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan Republic was brutally violated.

The purpose of this beforehand elaborated and prepared act of aggression was suppression of struggle of the Azerbaijani people for democracy and national freedom, humiliation and insult of the dignity of the people. Policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, biased and prejudiced line of the Center, and personally of Mikhail Gorbachov, directed against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan in a period preceded January 20, became the reason of anger of broad masses.

Activity of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and its first secretary Abdurahman Vezirov also raised harsh discontent of the people. In the republic the judgement was generated, that the leadership of Azerbaijan, concerting with the Center on Nagorno-Karabakh problem, realized clandestine treacherous plans against its people.

By their inept and inefficient activities, leaders of Azerbaijan have created insuperable discrepancy between the people and authorities. Just in this period during several months at the mass-meetings in Baku, other cities and regions of the republic the demands on resignation of the Azerbaijani leadership were put forward.

The leadership of the Azerbaijani SSR has not taken advantage of available possibilities for settling by political means the opposition created in the society. The work of ruling circles with opposition was characterized by political games and intrigues, and was ineffective. The Azerbaijani leadership has appeared to be helpless in solution of many important issues that has led to the deep authority crisis in the republic.

Analysis of the measures implemented by party and state agencies and contradictory processes taken place in Baku on the eve of the 20th of January shows that the January tragedy was the result of prepared military

operation. The irrefutable evidence of that are encoded telegrams signed by leaders of the republic Abdurahman Vezirov and Ayaz Mutallibov, which were sending to Moscow from the end of 1989 right up to the January events. These encoded telegrams contained appeals for sending to Baku additional units of interior troops and forces of the Soviet Army. In this connection the various preparatory measures for billeting and security of military subdivisions were taken in Baku, beds in the hospitals were quickly freed several days before the events, the preparation for receptions of great amount of injured men was carried out, members of families of the servicemen of the Soviet Army urgently were evacuated from Baku. Thus, all conditions for realization of military aggression and entering of troops were created. Entering of troops into Baku pursued the purposes of preservation of communist regime and suppression of national-liberation movement. Suggestions about introduction of the state of emergency put forward on meeting of the bureau of Azerbaijan Communist Party's Central Committee on January 14, 1990, were caused by fear to lose the power. On January 15, 1990 under conditions of lack of quorum, when the chairwoman of Presidium of the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan SSR Elmira Gafarova was on her official trip in Moscow, illegal meeting of Presidium of the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan SSR was held, and the decision on consent for introduction of the state of emergency in Azerbaijan was accepted under pressure of the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdurahman Vezirov. It once more confirms that the January tragedy was a beforehand planned criminal act.

The illegal declaration of the state of emergency in Baku, invasion of the armed forces into the city and savage punishment of peaceful population with use of armored vehicles and weapons under conditions of full lack of any resistance of the population were the crime against the Azerbaijani people. These retaliatory measures were consciously planned and brutally realized.

The basic purpose of this action was suppression of the national movement in Azerbaijan, prevention of the collapse of the existing regime and destruction of forces struggling for independence.

This aggression against the Azerbaijani people was implemented stage by stage: the provocations resulted in pogroms were carried out; under the pretext of disarmament of the population, on the eve of the tragedy, arms were seized even from the police employees etc.

The next stage of military operation became an explosion of the power block of the Azerbaijani television and full stopping of broadcasting in the republic on January, 19. Since the day of the tragedy the activity of other mass media was suspended and the people were deprived of their rights to get information.

For realization of this planned criminal action, the Soviet defense minister Dmitriy Yazov, interior minister Vadim Bakatin and other former soviet high rank military officials arrived in Baku.

Acceptance of the Decree of Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council "On introduction of the state of emergency in Baku" in violation of item 14, clause 119 of the USSR Constitution and clause 71 of the Constitution of Azerbaijani SSR, its publication after introduction of the state of emergency and after the blood of hundreds of peaceful inhabitants of Baku city was shed, confirms that this military and political action was barefaced aggression and crime against the Azerbaijani people committed by the leadership of CPSU, Soviet state and personally by Mikhail Gorbachev.

In these tragic days for Azerbaijanis the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Abdurahman Vezirov, who betrayed his own people on January 19, was at the building of KGB (Committee of State Security) with KGB chairman Vagif Huseynov instead of being on January 19 and 20 on his working place. After that he secretly arrived at the Defense Ministry in Baku and over the night from 19 to 20-th January together with Dmitriy Yazov and Vadim Bakatin supervised the military operation here. And finally, on January, 21 he secretly flew on a military plane to Moscow with the only purpose to secure his own safety.

Former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdurahman Vezirov, who tried to keep power by any means, was the direct organizer and participant of this grave crime. The second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Viktor Polyanichko, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijani SSR Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Committee of the State Security of the Azerbaijani SSR Vagif Huseynov were also guilty because they held the posts and had the appropriate powers.

During the entering of the military units of the Soviet empire into Baku city the chairwoman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR, Elmira Gafarova, the first secretary of Baku City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Muslim Mamedov didn't take any concrete measures and didn't secure protection of citizens, and they as the persons held top state posts, couldn't cope with the duties, assigned to them.

This grave crime committed as a result of traitorous policy of the communist leadership of the Azerbaijani SSR, didn't break the will of freedom - loving Azerbaijani people, but caused even more indignation. The hatred of the people against Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the existing regime reached its extreme bounds, the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union discarded their Party - membership cards in a mass order and left ranks of the party.

The tragedy of January 20, which brought sorrow and suffering to the Azerbaijani people and evoked response from all over the world, anger and indignation of the progressive forces. The radio stations of many countries broadcasted full information about January tragedy and damned imperial forces.

In contrary to the norms, adopted in the civilized states, the political leadership of Azerbaijan didn't resigned, but they took position of silence in this situation. In those tragic days, when the people sacrificed their martyrs, they didn't express their official attitude to this tragedy. Fearing anger of the people they didn't participate in the ceremony of funeral and didn't express their condolences to the morning people. In this situation the statement of Elmira Gafarova gave hope and faith to the people. However the leadership of Azerbaijan pursuing the political line of the Center didn't support this statement in their further activity.

Most of political and state leaders of the republic didn't participate at extreme session of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR held on demand of the people and with the initiative of a deputy group on January 22, 1990. Absence of the leadership of the republic at the session which convened clue to January tragedy, showed their indifference to the destiny of the people and their involvement in perpetration of this crime.

Despite of it the session tried to evaluate the January events and has accepted series of documents. The appeals to the USSR Supreme Council, Supreme Councils of the Soviet Republics, parliaments of all world countries, Organization of United Nations, as well as to all nations and peoples living in the Azerbaijani SSR were adopted. At the same meeting the question on legal evaluation of events was raised and investigation commission is created.

The decisions of the session held in such extreme circumstances were not implemented by political leadership of Azerbaijan. The state of emergency in Baku city was not canceled in spite of the decision of the session. It is obvious from the materials of the Supreme Council that the Center agreed to cancel the state of emergency in Baku in 1,5 months after its introduction. However the leadership of the republic refused to cancel the state of emergency, fearing that it could allegedly lead to the stand off in the society. At the session of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan SSR held on February 9, 1991 chairwoman of the Presidium Elmira Gafarova answered to interpellation of the deputies: «When this decision was discussed at the union session on March 5 we have met Comrade Gorbachev. I have raised this question there. He answered us that beginning from tomorrow he would take off the state of emergency. I said: «Give us time». Later I called up Ayaz Mutallibov when I returned Baku, we discussed this question. I believe that we could not cancel the state of emergency in Baku because civil war could have flared up". The state of emergency was canceled only on August 30, 1991 on the eve of Ayaz Mutallibov's was being elected President. Thus, the leadership retaining the power by value of blood understood that they could rule the republic only through the mechanism of the state of emergency and tried to prolong it as long as it is possible.

The third session of the Supreme Council of USSR, held in March, 1990 instead of political evaluation of the January events in Baku accepted a rather peculiar resolution: "On situation in the Azerbaijani SSR and Armenian SSR and measures on normalization of situation in this region ". The Supreme Council of USSR taking into consideration the conclusion of the investigation commission of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR, gave instruction to the USSR Prosecutor Office, KGB and USSR Internal Ministry to investigate the crimes perpetrated on January, 20. On December 20, 1990 USSR Military Prosecutor Office had not considered actions of military servicemen during the January events in Baku as crime and had stopped the investigation. Thus, the Supreme Council of USSR, essentially, refused to give political and legal evaluation of the tragedy of the 20-th January. The political leadership of Azerbaijan didn't express its attitude to this unfair decision and two - faced position of the Center concerning the January tragedy. In fact the Supreme Council of the republic as the supreme body of power, according to the existing practice was the tacit executor of the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Azerbaijan. Thus, the Supreme Council in its activity after January 22, 1990 could not undertake independently any decisive steps for disclosure of this grave crime.

Over the night from 24 to 25-th of January, 1990 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan held the plenum devoted to the organizational issues. Under the pressure of the participants of the Plenum, the political situation in the republic also was included in the agenda. A commission chaired by Afrand Dashdamirov was created to investigate the circumstances of the introduction of the state of emergency on January 19-20, 1990 in Baku. This commission was charged to study all issues connected with introduction of the state of

emergency and to report at the next plenum. In spite of the fact that the question about existing situation was included in the agenda of the Plenum, the supreme body of communists of the republic didn't give the political evaluation of the tragedy and didn't make any announcement on this issue. Such an attitude of the Central Committee to the tragedy continued also in its further activity. On March 31, 1991 a report about the work of the commission chaired by Afrand Dashdamirov was done at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the decision about continuation of work was taken. Afterwards the commission without accepting any decision stopped its activity. As a result, the Central Committee completely evaded from political and legal evaluation of bloody January events.

The preliminary information of the commission of the Central Committee determined that the role of the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdurahman Vezirov in decision on introduction of the state of emergency was not established. The primary party organization of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on January 22, 1990 excluded Abdurahman Vezirov from CPSU and raised the question demanding him to account for the crimes committed against the Azerbaijani people. However Plenum of the Central Committee showed the unscrupulousness and was indifferent to the decision of the primary party organization, and only rebuked Abdurahman Vezirov and excluded him from the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, its bureau and first secretary of the CC Ayaz Mutallibov, who took over the political leadership in the republic in this severe period, didn't give any political evaluation of the events, so they systematically and sequentially carried out the line of concealment of the essence of the crime and its organizers.

Ayaz Mutallibov, one of the initiators of the tragedy of the 20th January, once again betrayed the people, as a result of which on March 9, 1991 the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR under his pressure took the decision about participation of the Azerbaijani SSR in referendum on conservation of USSR, the Soviet empire that implemented so grave crime against the Azerbaijani people. This political line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and its first secretary Ayaz Mutallibov had influence on the activity of the investigation commission. On February 11, 1990 commission issued its first statement. This statement did not exceed frameworks of decisions took by the extreme session of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR on January 22, 1990. The tragic situation in Azerbaijan in that period required from the investigation commission political evaluation of the tragedy of the 20th January, identification of organizers and accomplices of the crime and submission of these materials to the Supreme Council. All opportunities for that were available.

There was direct evidence of the crime and its consequences: the society was aware that the organizers of the crime are political leaders of the Soviet Union and the Azerbaijan SSR. However the investigation commission delaying the decision and taking it only in two years after the tragedy - just only after liquidation of Communist Party of the Soviet Union and collapse of the Soviet state - submitted its conclusion to the National Council of the Supreme Council. The conclusion of the Commission despite of gravity of the crime had superficial character and in fact consisted of well - known judgments and conclusions. The evaluation of the tragedy in this document did not meet the degree of its significance. The document considered guilty the leadership and the government of the Soviet state which didn't exist any more, but there was attempt to pass by in silence the responsibility of the

Azerbaijani leadership. There is no need to prove that it did not require two years to draw such conclusions. Despite of indicated shortages in the work and in the conclusion of the commission, actual materials and some inferences, contained in the submitted summary, gave the National Council the opportunity to give comprehensive political evaluation of the tragedy of the 20th January. However the National Council instead of evaluating the January events issued the resolution on January 19, 1992, which approved the conclusion of the investigation commission and admitted it as satisfactory.

Thus, the tragedy of the 20th January didn't get political and legal evaluation in the decision of the supreme legislative body of the Azerbaijan Republic. It is necessary to note, that the National Front of Azerbaijan repeatedly demanded the political evaluation of the tragedy during the period of the communist regime in the republic. Being in power for more than a year (former President of the Azerbaijan Republic Abulfaz Elchibey, former Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan Republic Isa Gambarov) it did not use its opportunities to give political evaluation of the tragedy. Thus except the decision of the extreme session of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR of January 22, 1990 the evaluation of the events of the Bloody January has not reflected in any decision, statement and other official documents at the state level. In spite of the fact that the actual materials selected by the investigation commission enabled to investigate this crime the law - enforcement agencies didn't take any concrete practical steps. During 4 years after these events, the grave crime committed against the people by the leadership of the former USSR and Azerbaijan, remained undisclosed.

In the Decree of the President of the Azerbaijan Republic Heydar Aliyev of January 5, 1994 "On commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the tragedy of the 20th January" it is noted that so far the legal evaluation of the tragic events in Baku on January 20, 1990 has not given, and holding of special meeting of the National Assembly is recommended. Materials available for the Supreme Council, Administration of the President, Prosecutor Office of the Azerbaijan Republic, Ministry of National Security, Interior Ministry, Central Archival Office, as well as the conclusion of the investigation commission were used by drafting committee created during consideration of this issue at the National Assembly of the Azerbaijan Republic. The National Assembly of the Azerbaijan Republic, taking into consideration the recommendations of the President of the Azerbaijan Republic about political and legal evaluation of the events of the 20th January and taking into account judgements and arguments expressed during the discussion of the issue, as well as detected facts, decrees

1. To consider the entering of the Soviet Armed Forces on January 20, 1990 into Baku city and some regions of the republic in order to suppress increasing national - liberation movement in Azerbaijan, to humiliate national dignity, to destroy faith and will of the people who stood up for creation of the democratic sovereign state, to demonstrate strength of the Soviet military machine to any people who embarks on this path and as a result to annihilate ruthlessly unarmed people who went into the streets to protect the truth and justice, as armed aggression and crime committed by totalitarian communist regime against the Azerbaijani people.

2. To note that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet state and government, and personally Mikhail Gorbachev, encroaching on the sovereignty of Azerbaijan and organizing the tragedy of

20th January for suppression of national movement with the purpose to realize their old imperial claims covered by notorious communist ideology, have committed grave crime against the Azerbaijani people.

3. Responsibility for the military aggression carried out against the people has to be taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. To note, that Abdurahman Vezirov as the direct organizer and participant of the aggression, Ayaz Mutallibov, Viktor Polyanichko, Vagif Huseynov as the direct accomplices of the crime who gave a permission for entering the soviet troops into Azerbaijan and used them against the people with purpose to suppress the national movement, didn't provide the safety of the citizens for the sake of holding their position and thus are betrayals of the Azerbaijani people.

4. To note that the Chairwoman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan SSR Elmira Gafarova, the first secretary of the Baku City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Muslim Mamedov, being high - ranking officials, have political responsibility for not taking any concrete measures in connection with entering military units into Baku city and for not providing security of the citizens.

5. To note that the commission created according to the decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (the chairman Afrand Dashdamirov), purposely concealed from the people the essence of the crime and real organizers of the January tragedy.

6. To note that the investigation commission of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan Republic (chairman - Mitat Abbasov, deputy chairman - Tamerlan Karayev) did some work for investigation of the tragedy of the 20th January. However with the purpose to cringe before the leadership of the republic it has delayed consideration of the issue and in the name of political situation it passed over in silence the fault of some persons.

To consider the conclusions of the Commission concerning the evaluation of the January events insufficient.

7. To note that the National Council later known as the National Assembly of the Azerbaijan Republic didn't express its attitude to the tragedy of the 20th of January which took place in the life of the Azerbaijani people, but only accepted the activity of the investigation commission as satisfactory.

8. To consider the activity of the former leaders of the law - enforcement agencies of the republic connected with investigation of this crime within four years after the events of January 20, 1990 as unsatisfactory.

To note that the activity of the law - enforcement agencies directed at defining the degree of fault of persons, who put obstacles in identification of the real organizers of the Bloody January which led to the death and injury of hundreds people in Baku and some regions of Azerbaijan, and at disclosure of the essence of this tragedy within last four years was unsatisfactory.

To charge the General Prosecutor of the Republic of Azerbaijan to ensure completion of this issue in the shortest possible time and bring to trial guilty persons according to the law.

9. Taking into account great political importance of the January tragedy in history of the Azerbaijani people, as well as with the purpose to perpetuate memory of persons perished for freedom and independence of Azerbaijan, to create memorial complex in Baku city.

Baku

March 29, 1994