

## APPEALS

- Heydar Aliyev's telegram to the CC of the CP of Azerbaijan, to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Republic (January 21, 1990).....2
- The Appeal of Sheikh ul-Islam Allahshukur Pashazadeh to the Secretary General of CC of CPSU, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of USSR Mikhail Gorbachyev (January 21, 1990) .....3
- The Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR to the Supreme Council of USSR, to the Supreme Councils of the Soviet Republics, to the Soviet nations, to Parliaments of all countries of the world, to the United Nations Organization (January 22, 1990) .....5
- To the party organization of the Cabinet of Ministers of USSR (July 19, 1991) .....7

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**Heydar Aliyev's telegram to the CC of the CP of Azerbaijan, to the Supreme Soviet and  
the Council of Ministers of the Republic  
(21 January, 1990)**

“It is with great sorrow that I learned about the tragedy which befell our people in connection with bringing in Baku of a large contingent of Soviet troops which resulted in many human losses. In these tragic days for us I express profound condolences to the families and near and dear ones of the deceased, to all Azerbaijani people. “I condemn this action; regard it as anti-human, undemocratic, illegal. In this hour of trial I urge you to show discretion, solidarity and unity. “Please, publish my telegram in the republican press, broadcast it over the radio and television and read it out at the funeral meeting.

**Heydar Aliyev**

**January 21, 1990, Moscow”**

**The Appeal of Sheikh ul-Islam Allahshukur Pashazadeh to the Secretary General of CC of  
CPSU, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of USSR Mickhail Gorbachyev  
(January 21, 1990)**

I can't express with words the whole sorrow of the Azerbaijani nation, its endless grief, which is stamped in our memory forever.

I tell you about it not with aim to let you share our pain and express your sympathy, it will be an insult for my people, it will be cynical regarding the memory of our perished compatriots. The crimes took place in Baku on January 19-20 are unthinkable. The streets of the city were stained with blood of hundreds innocent victims, among them the old men, children and women are. Mutilated dead bodies, pressed by tanks, shot from sub-machine guns make flesh creep.

There is no justification for this bloody massacre, for this shocking crime, sanctioned by you as the Head of the State. Azerbaijani people reject with the indignation and contempt the provocative charges, which allegedly became the cause of entering of troops, and one of the charges is so-called "Islamic factor", which was considered as threat for existing of the Soviet State.

In connection with this I want to say the following. Belonging to the religion, including Islam, challenges the nationalism, which is considered as sin. You are well informed, particularly from my words that Islamic clergy of Transcaucasia considered and now considers the using of religious ideas in the political struggle and international conflicts as inadmissible. You know well that even in the most difficult period in the region Islam called for the senses, peace and good-neighbor relations. Therefore the claims that "Islamic factor" is considered as destabilizing factor is the attempt to oppose Moslems to the Christians with aim to do conflict between the nations more cruel.

I assure you that we will do all possible to inform the world community about truth. The country which sows discord between the nations instead of to pacify them deserves disgrace. This is the country which turned its army into the army of killers of its compatriots, the country where the people have more rights for death than for life. The shots in Baku are the shots to the people's hearts, these are shots destroyed every hope in people for perestroika: you discredited the Soviet Regime by entering the punitive troops into Baku, where they behave themselves as occupants, you confirmed that this country doesn't know what is the sovereignty and respect of nations. You discredited yourself as political figure and as the head of the state. The myth of you as the "Fighter for peace" dispersed, because it is blasphemy to name so the man, who signs the agreement with the foreign country by one hand and by another sanctions the punitive actions against the citizens of his country. There was no else bloody war where the medical staffs, hospital attendants were killed. But you sanctioned the killing of the people including two doctors who hurried to help the injured people.

Expressing the will of all Azerbaijani people I demand the immediate withdraw of troops from Baku. It is impossible to speak to any nation with arms. It may continue ten days or ten years, as in Afghanistan, but sooner

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or later the justice will triumph in Azerbaijan, in the name of this the sons and daughters of our nation killed by Soviet soldiers gave their life.

With deep confidence in that I pray to God, and ask him for rest for innocent victims and heavy punishment for their killers.

Amen!

**Sheikh ul-Islam, Allahshukur Pashazadeh the Chairman of Clergy Council of Moslems of Transcaucasia**

**Baku city, January 21, 1990**

**The copies are sent to the Secretary of UN Peress de Quelyer, to the Heads of Governments and religions of the world.**

**The Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR to the Supreme Council of USSR, to the Supreme Councils of the Soviet Republics, to the Soviet nations, to Parliaments of all countries of the world, to the United Nations Organization**

**(January 22, 1990)**

The terrible unprecedented crime perpetrates against the peaceful population of Baku city and the whole Azerbaijan. The Soviet State signed the Helsinki and Viennese agreements, and planned to held in Moscow in 1991 the international conference on Human Rights, declared itself the supporter of democratization, new thinking, and stated about building of the legal state, ignored the laws, violated numerous articles of the Constitution of USSR over the night from 19th to 20th January, implemented the direct aggression against Azerbaijan without sanctions of the Supreme Council of USSR and consent of authorities of the republic.

Under conditions when of the situation in Baku became stabilize as a whole, Baku, Nakhichevan ASSR and other regions of the republic were attacked without advance notice with use of the various weapons (tanks, armored troop-carrier, submachine-guns, air forces and navy); cruel violence against the peaceful population which protested against the declaration of the state of emergency in Baku and entering of troops into the city took place there. There are many hundreds of the killed, thousands of the injured and missing people. There are the old men, children and women among the killed people. It is not the final sum of this bloody provocation.

War criminals loosed humanity ran over even the ambulance cars with tanks, and they didn't stop at killing of the doctors who tried to help the injured people. The military men took all measures to conceal the real number of the killed people, so they dropped the dead bodies from helicopters into the sea, burnt them, and took them away from the places of the crime on the military vehicle.

Using the disorder took place in Baku on 13-15 January, the real organizers of which should be identify, the top authorities of USSR carried out bloody actions on the basis of absurd figment about the armed coup d'etat in Azerbaijan, creation of the military groups here and dissemination of the Islamic fundamentalism.

As for the Constitution of USSR, the clause 14 of the article 119 about the declaration of the state of emergency provides the submitting of this issue to Presidium of the Supreme Council of the republic, on territory of which the state of emergency is planed to declare. As it is known, this question was not only submitted to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the republic, but was solved without permission of the Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR. The Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Council of USSR unauthorized violated the law, signed the illegal decree, instead of protection the sovereign rights of Azerbaijan that is the one of the soviet republics, as it is provided by the Constitution of USSR.

The Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR demands to end this crime against our nation, cancel the state of emergency, declared in Baku and other districts of the Azerbaijani SSR (except NKAO), withdraw immediately all punitive troops, and armed forces entered in connection with the state of emergency from the territory of the republic.

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Addressing to the public of the country and the whole world, the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR calls them to condemn this action of massacre that takes place on Azerbaijani land. The Supreme Council of the Azerbaijani SSR, the Azerbaijani people appeals to you with request to express your attitude to this bloody crime.

**The appeal adopted on January 22, 1990 on the extreme session of the Supreme Council of the  
Azerbaijani SSR**

**To the party organization of the Cabinet of Ministers of USSR**

**(19 July 1991)**

I am bringing to your notice that I have taken a decision to leave the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

I would like to note that it is not an act of following the "fashion", it is the end of a hard way of disappointment and reappraisal of values I have come to for the past years.

The main reasons impelling me to take this step are the following:

**FIRSTLY.** The motive to leave the CPSU appeared in January 20, 1990 after the military aggression against the people of Azerbaijan, carried out by the political leaders of the Center and the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. As a result of the January event hundreds of innocent civilians, among them the elderly men, women and children, were killed and wounded.

Condemning this inhuman, unconstitutional illegal act in my statements I hoped that the CPSU Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee would reveal this crime and unmask those who are guilty. I could hardly control my feelings but decided to wait patiently. The answer to my statements was the massive persecution organized against me by the media started by "Pravda" newspaper. All my attempts to try to disprove the untruthful facts have failed. "Glasnost" declared as the fundamental achievement of the "perestroika" process has proved to be one-sided.

The numerous demands of the people's deputies, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Majlis, various groups of the population, representatives of different circles of the society to reveal those who are guilty of the January tragedy and to punish them have been stubbornly rejected by the communist leaders of Azerbaijan.

A year and a half have passed. Not only nothing has been done to reveal this brutal crime, though the names of those who are guilty, have become obvious for everybody, on the contrary, all necessary efforts are being taken to hide and conceal it, hoping that the tragedy will be forgotten with time. However history has proved not for once that no matter how many years pass nothing can make you forget and forgive the crimes committed against your own people.

**SECONDLY.** As a result of the hypocritical policy of the Center it is over three years since an acute internal conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan have been going on inspired by the efforts of the Armenian nationalists under the patronage of the CPSU Central Committee. This region has been out of the state control of Azerbaijan now.

The state sovereignty, territorial integrity of Azerbaijan has been grossly violated as well as the Constitution. An undeclared war has been waged and is going on, people die on both sides, and all this is within the borders of the Soviet state with its "humanitarian" ideology.

I am convinced that the ethnic conflict provoked in connection with the so-called Nagorno-Karabakh problem in 1987-88, could have been prevented at the very beginning providing the party leaders wished it, the opposition could have been overcome as well as bloodshed which have brought disaster and suffering both to the

Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. The answer is: the political Center needed this conflict.

**THIRDLY.** The radical democratic movement launched in Azerbaijan in 1988, in the period of the democratization of the whole society, declaration of political and human rights freedom and pluralism is being persistently suppressed by the efforts of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Many people have been detained and their basic human rights abused for the past years.

The two million population of Azerbaijan's capital has been living under the conditions of the state of emergency imposed without any obvious reasons. It was under these conditions that the so-called "democratic" elections into the Supreme Soviet and the referendum everybody knew would result in full support of the preservation of the Union were carried out. It would be naive to believe that one could hope for the democratic expression of people's will under the conditions of the state of emergency. The democratic organization have raised this question many times insisting that the absolute majority of the electors in the Republic did not participate in the referendum angle its results have been falsified. However the communist leaders of Azerbaijan have ignored these statements.

I have been protesting against the new Union Agreement trusted on us by the Center. There can be no sovereignty of several states within one sovereign state, which has all political freedoms, authorities' angle functions.

All Union Republics should be secured real political and economic freedom and independence for the sake of their national and state revival. It will not interfere with the economic integration or traditional cultural ties of the Republics. On the contrary, it will facilitate their development and improvement on the bases of bilateral and multilateral contacts.

Being the people's deputy of Azerbaijan and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic I have raised there questions several times suggesting that the Communist Party of Azerbaijan which is no longer trusted, should give up being the central power in the country, create necessary conditions to secure free and equal activity of all political forces, to establish a democratic society, political pluralism and full glasnost.

However all my suggestions have not only been ignored by the communist leaders of Azerbaijan, they have been opposed by a new flow of well organized attacks on me. Newspaper editors and journalists have been fired and subjected to persecution if they have published any of my statements.

All foregoing has made me take this step and state officially that I have left the CPSU, although it has been a very difficult decision to make. I was brought up in the family of the communists and all my life has been connected with the Communist party. I linked my destiny with the Party when I was twenty years old, in 1943.

I believed in the ideals of the Communist Party and took an active part in the implementation of its plans. Now this belief has been ruined.

The endless assurance of the Party and the Union renovation is just another fraud.

It should be openly and honestly declared that the communist experiment, the socialist way has failed in our country, the Union of the

Republics created and supported by the military force has exhausted itself.

I can very well imagine those difficulties that will turn up after this publication; I can envisage all possible attacks and moral assaults. It is the sober analysis of the party's history that has brought me to the current position I have stated here, I am very well aware of my portion of responsibility.

Leaving the CPSU I would like to express my respect for all honest and decent communists who still believe and hope.

**19 July, 1991**

**Moscow**

**Aliyev Heydar. Steadfast position. – B.,1994. – P. 31-35.**