

# KHODJALY

## ITS LAST DAY



FEBRUARY 25—26, 1992.

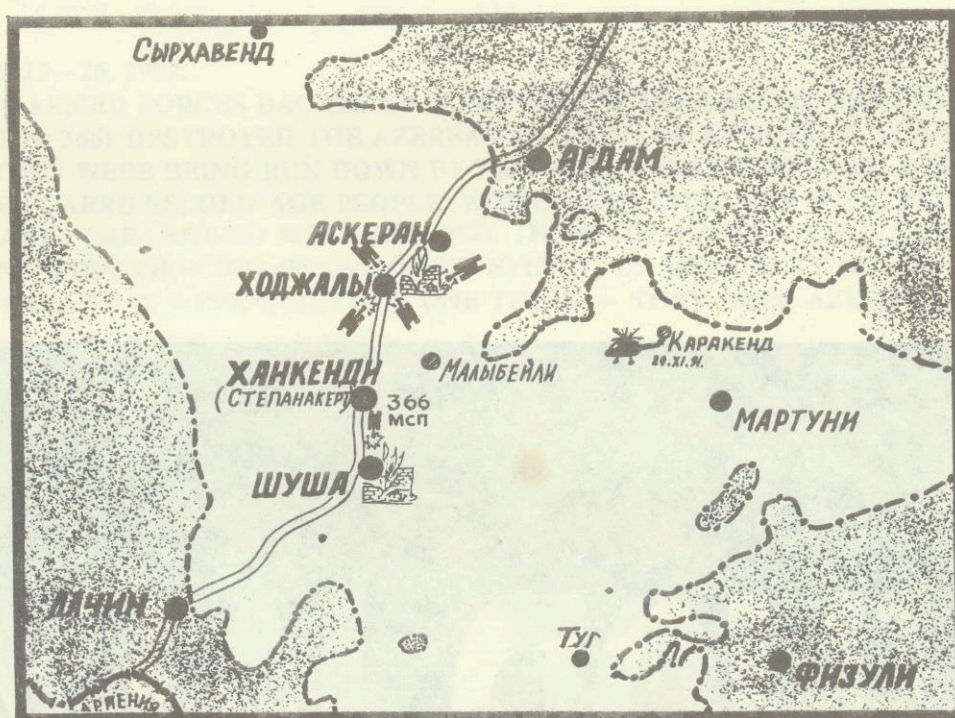
ARMENIAN ARMED FORCES BACKED BY SUB-UNITS OF CIS ARMY (INFANTRY GUARDS REGIMENT № 366) DESTROYED THE AZERBAIJAN TOWN OF KHODJALY. THE RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN WERE BEING RUN DOWN BY MOTORIZED INFANTRY VEHICLES AND ARMED PERSONNEL CARRIERS; OLD-AGE PEOPLE, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE BEING FIRED POINT-BLANK; THE INJURED WERE SCALPED, THEIR TOE-NAILS WERE PULLED OUT. ARMENIANS WERE PIERCING DEAD-BODIES' EYES, THEY WERE CUTTING OFF THEIR EARS. THESE POOR PEOPLE WERE GUILTY OF ONE THING — THEY WERE AZERBAIJANIS.



We are Eyewitnesses...

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**BRIEF INFORMATION:** Khodjaly is a settlement of Azerbaijan situated in the strategic point on the road Agdam-Shusha, Khankendi (Stepanakert) — Askeran near the only airport in Karabakh. Its population is more than 7 thousand people. It has recently acquired the status of the republican town due to the increase of the population (many Turks — meskhets with families escaping from Fergana and Azerbaijan refugees from Armenia took shelter here), construction of new blocks of flats and branches of powerful industrial enterprises.

Late on February 25 the city was under the intensive fire from the town of Khankendi and Askeran. The airport and neighboring houses were destroyed. More than 150 people defending the airport were killed by sporadic artillery shelling of regiment No 366. The next day, on February 26 the fire shooting grew heavier and more fierce. After powerful artillery shelling the armed men launched a massive attack. Armoured vehicles of Soviet Army regiment No 366 were in the first rows of the attackers. They were followed by Armenian armed bandit units. The weak self-defence of the town was overwhelmed by superior forces and artillery shelling. The fight continued even after the aggressors had entered the town. The residents defended every house and street. The Armenian armed men backed by armoured vehicles killed the defenders of the districts and houses. The most valuable property and personal possessions were loaded onto the trucks and taken away towards the town of Khankendi.

## We are Eyewitnesses...



Mushfig ALIMAMEDOV, the resident of Khodjaly. Escaping from the town he was injured and had been left to lie on the snow for 2 days:

...We had guns: machine-guns, rifles, shotguns. We didn't have any ammunition or food. We were exhausted by a long-term blockade. On February 25 Armenians started shooting at midnight, armed forces and vehicles launched the attack. First they captured the airport and burnt it down. They didn't spare anyone, either old-age people and women or children. Many people were burned alive in their homes, especially near the airport. An awful smell of burned meat haunts me even now...

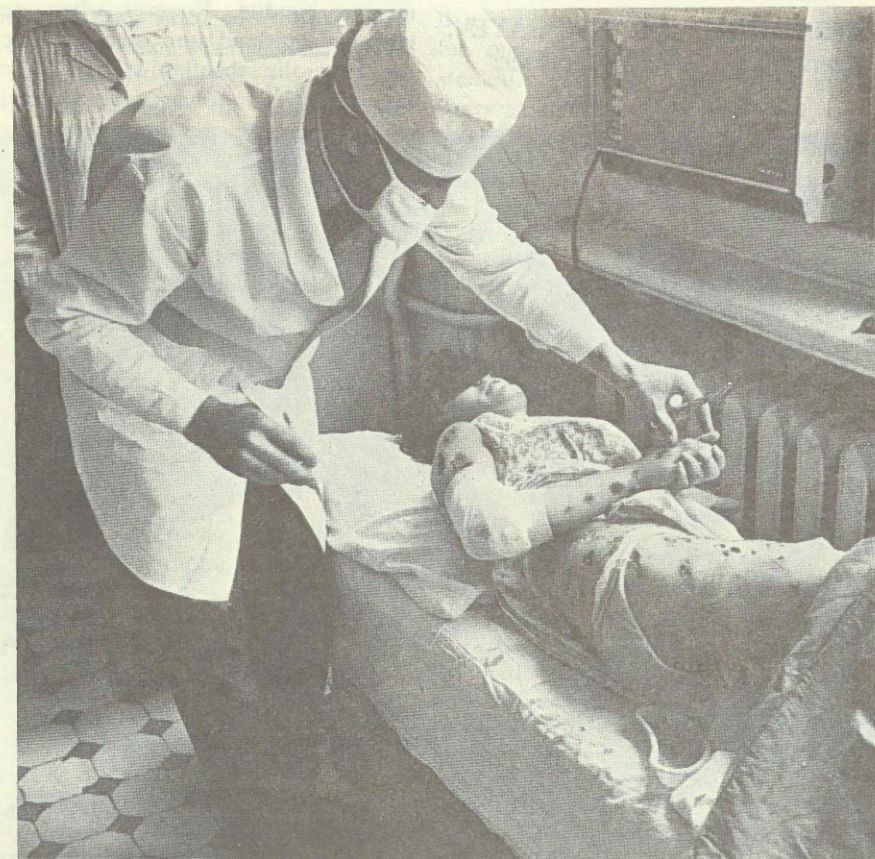
Most of town-defenders were killed in action. The survivors were trying to escape in the woods on the way to the village of Shelli to break through to Agdam. They were ambushed near the Armenian village of Nakhichevanik on the way to Agdam.

Many people were killed in the ambush near the village. The director of the airport Alif Hadjiyev was killed here. He was there to rescue women. He was the one to have organized the efficient work of the airport. Armenians had already promised the award for his life before.

**MINESH ALIYEVA, 50**, the resident of Khodjaly, with a bullet wound in the arm.

...We wandered along the woods falling through the deep snow. When we were crossing the road a bullet lodged in my arm. I fell down and couldn't get up.

A very intensive shooting started from the wood and shelters. Alif grabbed me and started pulling to the rear of the road. Then he rushed towards the bushes to hide and started retaliating shooting at Armenian armed men. Shooting from the woods ceased for some time. Alif started



# We are Eyewitnesses...

shouting at the women lying on the other side of the road and ordered them to cross the road as soon as possible. He used to shoot sporadically and every time he did the Armenians stopped shooting. About 20 women managed to run across the road. When Alif started to change the cartridge — drum Armenians shot in retaliation. At this moment he was shot through the forehead.

It was an awful sight...

**ELMAN MAMEDOV**, head of the executive power:

...The storming of the town started with artillery shelling that had been going on for 2 hours. Armenian armed men fired from tanks, armed personnel carriers, using shells of 'Alazan' type. We were blocked from three sides. The only break out line was Askeran gap. When Armenian infantry soldiers launched the attack everything in Khodjaly had been destroyed. Most of its residents had been shot dead. We defended the town down in trenches till 2 a.m. We failed to resist any more, the defenders and civilians started retreating. Having crossed the ice-cold river we

were moving towards Keteen mountain. A lot of people died on the way in the woods where they were frozen to death. We were walking until 7 a.m. when we came out of the woods near Armenian village of Nakhichevanik. We were trapped in a gorge, where Armenians armed with machine-guns and submachine guns were waiting for us in armed personnel carriers. That's when the real slaughter began. Armenians just shot and shot innocent defenceless people. Many children and women were shot dead here. Some people were fleeing towards the village of Gulably where about 200 people were taken hostage. We helped the survivors and some of the residents of the town managed to get to Agdam. Seven of my friends with me failed to get out of the ambush, it was too late, but we got lucky; we found the cover from fire. We were hiding there from 9 a.m. till 8 p.m. And only in the evening when it started snowing we managed to get out of it and reach Agdam early in the morning of February 27.

**CHINGHIZ MUSTAPHAYEV**,  
Azerbaijan Television reporter:

... Dozens and dozens of shot dead people (most of them point-blank through the head), children aged from 2 to 15, women, old age people. The location of the corpses proves that it was a cold-blooded slaughter, there were no signs of resistance or attempts to escape.

Some civilians were shot separately, the others were killed in groups, or families. Some corpses have several wounds but every corpse has at least one wound in the head. It means that the wounded were finished off afterwards.

The camera witnessed several children with their ears cut off. The skin from the left part of the old woman's face was missing. Men were scalped. There were corpses with the signs of pillage.

First time we arrived at the scene of massacre by two war helicopters on February 28. Up from the helicopter we saw the mountainside of about 500 metres long filled with corpses. The pilots were scared of landing because the area was controlled by Armenian bandits. However when we managed to land and stepped onto the land the shooting started. The Internal Ministry men were to load



the corpses and take them to the relatives of the dead. They managed to load only 4 corpses. We were all shocked. Two men after seeing so many dead and mutilated corpses fainted. Many people got sick.

The same thing happened on March 2, when we flew there with foreign journalists. Many dead-bodies were even more mutilated than before. They had been scooped at for several days...

**SANUBAR ALEKPEROVA**, the resident of Khodjaly

... Hasanabad, Mehdikend, Bozdagy — these are the places they were shooting from. The land shuddered at the sound of armoured infantry vehicles smashing into Khodjaly. At first women and children were told to hide in the basements.

Then Elman Mamedov, head of the executive power came and said that we had to escape, otherwise we would be exterminated. Alif Hadjiyev, director of the airport organized a breakthrough through Armenian lines to lead the civilians to Agdam. We were trapped in an ambush near the village of Nakhichevanik. I will never forget what I saw here: there were mountainsides filled with corpses. My mother was shot dead. My daughters Hidjran and Sevindj were injured. At the same moment the bullet lodged on me. Young women and children perished from the wounds on the snow.

We had radio station with us. We cried, we tried to report what was happening, we begged for help, but nobody helped us.

**DJAMIL MAMEDOV**, the resident of Khodjaly.

Tanks and armed personnel carriers destroyed the houses, smashed down the people.

Russian soldiers were followed by Armenian bandits. I took my 5-year-old grandson and 14,000 roubles and ran towards the woods. I took off my clothes and wrapped the child up in them so that he wouldn't die of cold. But it wouldn't help. We had to hide inside the snow with the child.

In the morning I realized that the child wouldn't stand the cold any more and I started walking towards



the nearest armenian village of Nakhichevanik where we were trapped by Armenian armed men. I begged them to take my money for the sake of the child and let us pass to Agdam. They cursed and beat me in response and brought me to their commander. He ordered to keep us locked up in the cattle-shed. There had already been Azerbaijani women and children. They kept us in the cattle-shed for 4 days without any food or water. But for one kind family that used to stealthily bring us some bread and water at night we could have died, we wouldn't have been able to stand all these tortures. But there is no limit to anger. When four days later I was brought to Askeran with my grandson the events I saw here were so awful that cattle-shed in Nakhichevanik seemed paradise to me.

Foreign mercenaries (I know Armenian and I can tell local Armenian people from foreign ones) pulled out my toe-nails. Negroes who were among Armenians were jumping high kicking me into the face. After these tortures I was exchanged for some Armenian. However they took away my grandson. I know nothing about the fate of my wife and my daughter.

**SARIYA TALYBOVA**, the resident of Khodjaly.

...They brought us to the Armenian cemetery. It is hard for me to describe what happened here. Four young Turks-meskhets (they fled from Uzbekistan and took shelter in

Azerbaijan — Editor's Commentary) were shot dead on the grave of an Armenian armed man to sacrifice for him. Then they cut off the dead men's heads. Later the soldiers and Armenian bandits started killing and torturing the children in front of their parents.

Then the truck arrived and it threw the corpses into the ravine. But they didn't satisfy their appetites yet, these predators with human appearance brought two Azerbaijanis wearing national army uniform and pierced their eyes with screwdrivers...

**DJANAN ORUDJEV**, the resident of Khodjaly.

...We tried to break through the woods to Agdam, but we were fired by sporadic shooting by armed soldiers near the village of Nakhichevanik. A lot of women and children were shot dead. My son was killed. He was 16 years old. They took away my daughter, 23, with her twin-babies and my second 18-year-old daughter who was pregnant. I beg you to rescue them...

**YURI YAKHOVITCH**, the private of infantry regiment № 366.

...They persuaded that we were Christians and we had to fight against Moslems. They kept us in awful subhuman conditions, we couldn't bear being there and we had to desert the regiment and escape to Khodjaly.

## We are Eyewitnesses...

**JEAN-IVE-YUNET,**  
journalist (France)

...We happened to be the witnesses of Khodjaly massacre, we saw the dead — bodies of hundreds of civilians — women, children, old-age people and defenders of Khodjaly. We managed to fly by helicopter, we were taking photographs of everything we saw around Khodjaly at a height of a bird's flight. However Armenians started shooting our helicopter and we couldn't manage to finish our job. That was a terrible scene. I heard a lot about wars, about cruelty of German fascists, but Armenians went beyond them, killing 5 or 6 year-old children, innocent people. We saw a lot of injured people in hospitals, carriages, even in kindergarten and school buildings.

**KHANLAR HADJIYEV,**  
the head of medical service of Azerbaijan Defence ministry.

It was here that one could see the real side of this cruel and meaningless war.

The soldier with his intestines out by fragments of the grenade, frozen to death fleeing women, a three-year old child with his bandaged stump of amputated leg. He had been shot by the heavy machine gun. The girl with her face carved by knife...

...Even our people in Baku couldn't suspect what was going on here. Our medical train was sent to the scene because local doctors were unable to treat so many injured people. All the doctors were volunteers. They were prepared for everything, but what they saw shocked them.

...There are a lot of people frozen to death. They are, as a rule, the fleeing Khodjaly residents escap-



ing to the woods and hostages who returned from captivity. I saw the way some people were returning from captivity, bare-footed with frozen feet that lost their sensitivity. Many people after being released had to be operated and their feet had to be amputated.

### Khodjaly's Refugees.

They recall the following scenes. Militiamen, soldiers of the local national guard were sorted out of the crowd of hostages and simultaneously their heads were cut off in front of the others.

They were kept in the cold. They were raped. Armenians never release hostage taken girls as a rule. They sort them out at once and take

somewhere. Now that the shooting around Agdam is becoming heavier many women who fear surprise attack are getting ready for burning themselves.

A 5-year-old daughter of Malik Ismailov, the local doctor, asked his father in a grown up manner. 'Dad, if something happens, first you kill my mum and me and only then you can die yourself'

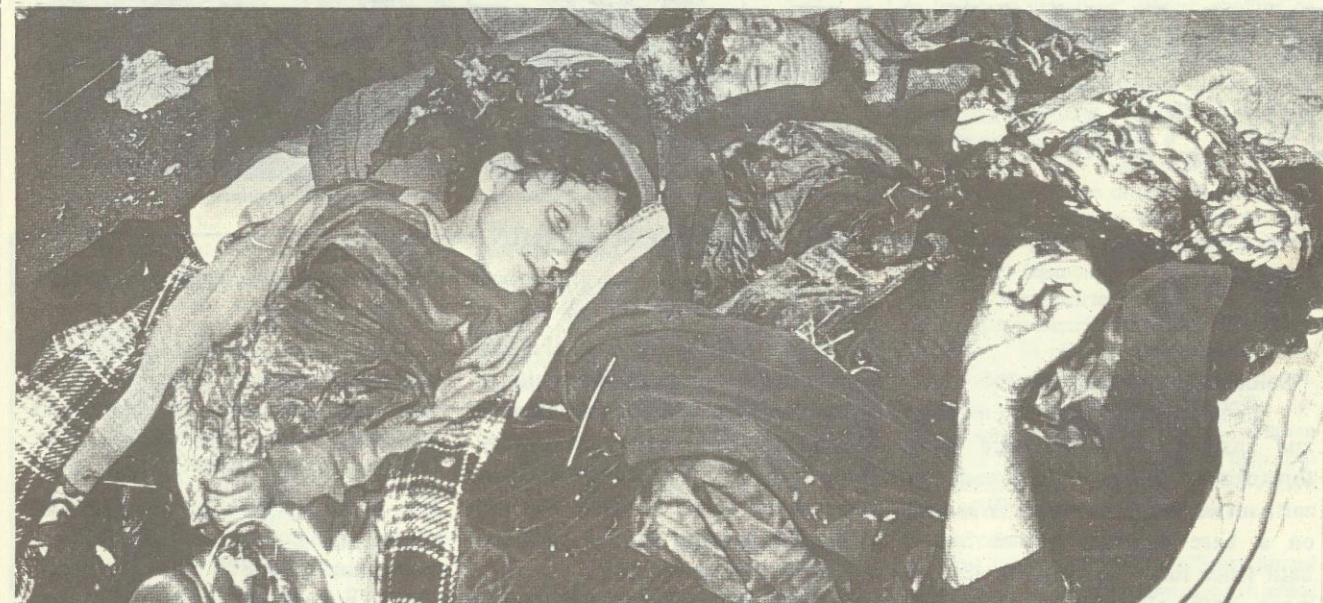
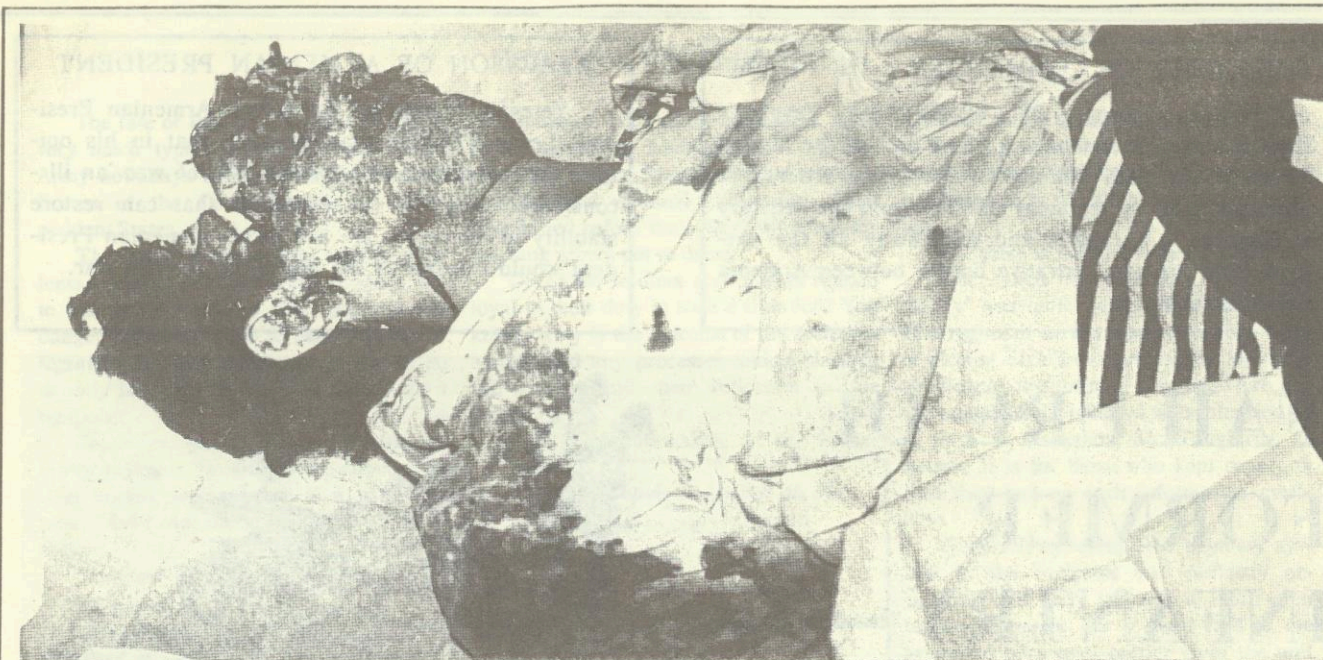
**V. Belykh** 'Izvestia' newspaper reporter

...The dead-bodies exchanged for the alive hostages are occasionally brought to Agdam. You won't see it even in a nightmare: pierced out eyes, cut off ears, scalped heads, cut off heads. A number of corpses were dragged by ropes after the armed personnel carriers. There was no limit to humiliation.

**Leonid Kravets,** officer, major.

On February 26 I was taking the wounded out of Stepanakert by helicopter and returning through

Askeran gap. Some bright spots downwards took my eye. We started to descend and my co-pilot cried: 'Look! There are women and children over there'. I saw about two hundred corpses scattered down the hillside. Armed men were walking among them. Then we flew there trying to pick up corpses. Militia captain, I can't remember his name, was with us. He found his 4-year-old son with crashed skull and he went out of his mind. The other child that we had managed to pick up before they started shooting had his head cut off. I saw mutilated bodies of women, children, old — age people everywhere...



## Their View Point

\*  
**ROBERT ARAKILOV,** the adviser to the Armenia's Permanent Representative in Moscow. "Talks about 'the extermination' of Khodjaly is nothing more but propagandistic action of Azerbaijan."

\*  
'PRO ARMENIA' AGENCY quoted the viewpoint of Head of Internal Affairs Department of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic as saying: 'Military actions didn't last long and there were no killed or dead people of Azerbaijan nationality among civilians inside the settlement of Khodjaly'. In the course of fighting in and around Khodjaly 30 or 40 soldiers of Azerbaijan army were killed, more than 100 people were taken prisoners. As for the corpses of the civilians, it was Azerbaijan army

that 'presented' them on the road leading from Khodjaly to Agdam. By the way, as Head of Internal Affairs Department said, many of them perished from cold.

Approximately the same coverage of the events was given by member of Armenian Parliament O. Kazaryan. 'I'd like to draw your attention to the willingness of putting two events together side by side: Armenian pogroms in Sumgait and Khodjaly tragedy. This parallel, however, doesn't hold water, because Khodjaly is the result of a military operation to destroy weapon emplacement of the enemy. It was Azerbaijan troops that prevented civilians to get out of the encirclement.'

\*  
ITAR - TASS - SNARK  
An independent journalist Igor Bur-

gansky on returning from Karabakh to Yerevan told the reporter of SNARK that the reports about massacre by Armenians in the village of Khodjaly were not real. Burgansky believes that photos and video tapes from Khodjaly that west mass media spreads are forged ones. As the journalist states he was the only one to film Khodjaly events. At any rate, I. Burgansky said — 'I didn't see any cameraman there.'

\*  
Armenian information centre 'Pro Armenia' in Moscow reported that TV France reporter Florence David called the photos of thousands of killed Azerbaijanis in Khodjaly to be forged ones.

Florence David in her letter denied categorically the citations that were reported to be hers.

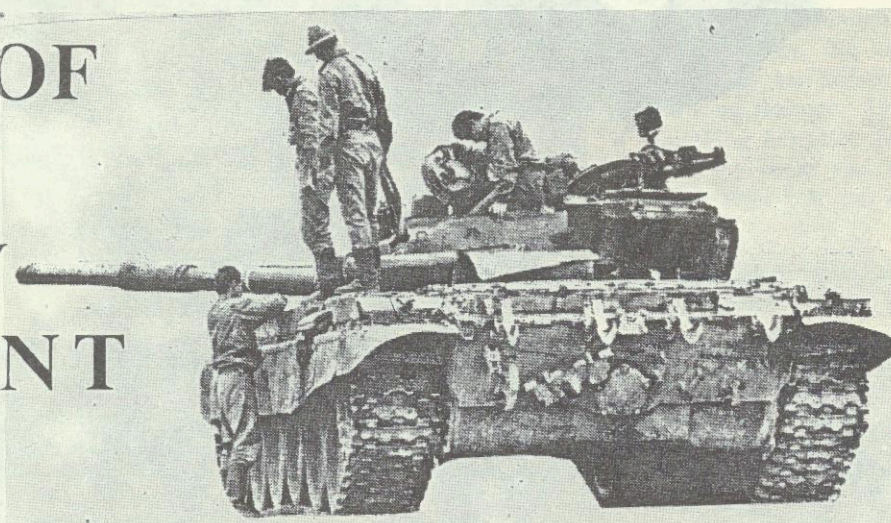
#### THE ORDER OF COMMANDER - IN - CHIEF

Moscow, February 28 (ITAR-TASS). Yevgheny Shaposhnikov, Commander - in - Chief of the United Forces of the CIS, Marshal of Air Force ordered to withdraw Infantry regiment № 366 from the territory of Nagorno - Karabakh and take away all the outposts from the administrative border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

#### REACTION OF ARMENIAN PRESIDENT

Yerevan, March 3 ('Izvestiya'). Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared that in his opinion the withdrawal of regiment № 366 was 'an ill - considered step'. If the measures that can restore stability in the region are not taken, Armenian President would consider it the beginning of great war.

# FAILURE OF FORMER INFANTRY REGIMENT № 366



#### THE VIEW FROM WITHIN

Pavel Zuyev,  
Alexey Bondarev,  
Pavel Natipin,  
Soldiers of regiment № 366

The uniform was taken away and instead of it we were given threadbare clothes. No bread, no salt, no letters from home. We sleep on a bare mattress. We've had a bath twice this year. The whole regiment, both soldiers and senior commanders have become lice - ridden, and the lice stings turn into abscesses and purulent feet. They say in the medical unit: 'You'll be treated at home'. You must pay for tablets and injections. Civilians freely stroll about the regiment and offer home-made distilled vodka. Where do soldiers get their money? The guys arrange matters with a sentry, 'steal' cartridge-pouches, then sell them to get money for a drink. And everybody is drunk in the unit, both soldiers and officers. They often start quarrelling. And it is very bad job to get into the guard-room. At night officers come with sticks, then they beat you unmercifully, make

you crawl on hands and knees stark naked; in winter they water you. As far as the relationship with the local population is concerned, it's quite incomprehensible. When the town of Shusha was fired from tanks, everything was O. K. Then the Armenians came to the check — point and shot a Kazakh soldier in the eye, and wounded another.

Once the commander of the 1st battalion secretly planned with the commander of battery artillery battalion to begin the withdrawal of the weapons and equipment as soon as they took over the watch, and at their own peril to break through and out of Karabakh. The commander of the regiment happened to know about that and changed the guard. But all the same soldiers keep deserting. Three or five soldiers a day. Though it is very dangerous. We remember two soldiers taking to their heels. And some days later we were informed that on the road between Khodjaly and Askeran there was a dead-body and we had to pick it up. It was Gorokhov Alexandre from the

artillery battalion, the second one was never found.

Once 11 soldiers deserted together. They were marching on the road with white flag. In Mardakert region they were fired on. Only six of them could reach Agdam alive. Two other run-aways were captured by the Armenians and changed in the regiment for 800 litres of diesel-oil. We were fired on too, and it was a wonder that we escaped.

Since October at nights battle turning movements from the regiment have begun. But only officers and old confident servicemen, chiefly operator drivers, sometimes tipper-offs took part in them. They used armoured personnel carriers, tanks, sometimes cannons. In the morning they return drunk with all the ammunition used up. Soldiers told that first they drank hard with the militants, and then at latters' bidding they went to the Azerbaijani villages and shelled them...

'Izvestiya', March 14, 1992.

#### THE VIEW FROM OUTSIDE

The fate of Infantry regiment № 366 is very much typical for the former Soviet Army nowadays called the United Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Army with its complicated problems referring not only to our country, but to the whole world as well, poses global danger, as there is the ferment and disintegration in this enormous structure so densely larded with the most ultramodern weapons.

So, is everything happened with Infantry regiment № 366 a mere chance? As it is known, even chance is a particular case of laws conformity. Let's adduce some facts.

Weapons and military property were regularly sold from the unit. And this fact is not uncommon for the present-day situation in the CIS. Almost every day we are convinced that all the country is plundered and sold. And there can be no doubt that in more than one local war the weapons are in need. The criminal underworld strengthening today also needs them. There is a want, there is goods, but no order, no responsibility. So buying and selling are in full swing in the guards regiment.

The regiment was stationed in Khankendi (Stepanakert), where there has been no normal life for already four years. In the regiment there were many Armenian officers and even more warrant officers holding key posts. Everything is quite clear with the warrant officers. They have mostly been recruited from the local population. Any other time or in any other situation it would be simply improper to speak about the nationality of the army officer of the State having united the representatives of more than hundred nationalities. What is the difference whether he is Russian or Ukrainian, Armenian, Kazakh or Azerbaijani? He is an army officer of the great state.

But just in this specific case, in Khankendi where forcing of anti-azerbaijani sentiments was at the top, this factor has played its part. The military unit of the then USSR, in point of fact, was international, but it was conformably 'worked on'.

And I'd say, the most important factor here was the situation of hysteria. Who said that Stepanakert was definitely inclined against Azerbaijanis? Impartial historians of the conflict in due course will tell how window-glasses were broken in the houses of those who didn't want to go out for a demonstration, how in the newspaper 'Sovetsky Karabakh' (under the heading 'traitors') there were the lists of the Armenians who decided to leave the town; how in broad daylight the recreants from 'the great struggle for the reunification with Armenia' were either unmercifully beaten or

exterminated. Let's recall the woman, chief of the airport in Khodjaly, or V. Grigorian, the former Soviet executive official, who opposed national chauvinists. They were killed before the eyes of witnesses for teaching others not to do so.

Could the soldiers and officers remain loyal to their duty in such a situation? You know, army is the outcome of the society it serves, and any processes taking place in the society find their reflection in the Army.

Raging of nationalism in the former

*Infantry Guards Regiment № 366:  
Strength (personnel) — 1800  
Actual strength — to 350  
Armoury — more than 100 units  
Place of stationing — the town  
of Khankendi.  
Commander — Colonel  
Y. Zarvigorov  
49 officers and warrant officers  
of the Regiment are Armenians.*

USSR (by the way it began in Karabakh) and impudent disregarding the laws, absolute irresponsibility had its impact on the Army as a whole, and regiment № 366 that was found in the hot spot, — in particular.

The cases of deserting the regiment became more frequent, the personnel was demoralized. Fresh forces brought to the regiment by fraud and the chemical battalion attached to it turned out to be unreliable...

But the ferment was not noticed by the leaders of the United Armed Forces of the CIS.

As far as mass media was concerned, there was a duel between the Azerbaijani side and the Headquarters of the UAF according to the scheme: 'Regiment № 366 takes part in destroying Azerbaijani villages. — No, it doesn't'. One side produced more and more new evidences of tens of the soldiers deserted the regiment, another side pedantically announced one and the same phrase: 'We have no such information'.

And now it is Khodjaly. Other 3 soldiers of the same regiment, deserted already in the middle of February, found themselves in Khodjaly which had already been encircled. Naturally that night together with others they stood up for the defence of the town from their own advancing regiment and Armenian troops. They saw with their own eyes both servicemen and Armenian bandits kill peaceful residents; parents were killed before the eyes of their children, and everybody was fired point-blank. Both at night and the next morning these monsters of cruelty fin-

ished off the wounded. Captives were shot to death, people were tormented in every possible way. And bastards following the bandits were busy plundering and marauding.

But there is nothing to be surprised at.

The habit of 'earning additional money' was quite stable in the regiment. The regiment servicemen got twenty litres of alcohol each from Armenians for every shelling of the town of Shusha. Here are the names of the soldiers who informed us of that: Y. Numanov, Sh. Tanghirov, S. Ezizov. It is for those who kept repeating that they had no such information available.

Generally speaking, the payment system in the regiment was perfectly organized, and there is much to learn even for businessmen. For a night raid of the armoured personnel carrier from the unit to 'military patrolling' (Read: shelling of Shusha) the commander got one thousand roubles. If there were five raids, then it made up five thousand roubles. Though, it is not too expensive if compared with nowadays prices.

However the Headquarters of the United Armed forces of the CIS denied the obvious facts, anyway they had to take some steps. Thus, approximately a month ago Iosif Oganyan, Lieutenant-general from the Headquarters of the Transcaucasian Military District came to the regiment. He came... to persuade the regiment officers to continue their service in Khankendi.

The officers' meeting decidedly declared against it. And here even Armenian lobby in the Soviet Army didn't help. But this lobby seized power in a well-known episode of capturing tanks, cannons and armoured personnel carriers.

Just think over it! The officers turned weapons on their own companions in arms! It happened on March 2—3 during the regiment withdrawal which was to be headed by the same general I. Oganyan.

Let's recollect now, that the leadership of Armenia was the first who recognized the CIS and unconditionally gave its troops under the command of the United Armed Forces of the CIS.

But how can we really speak about the Headquarters of the UAF when the operation of the regiment withdrawal, which attracted the attention of almost all the world, could be forcibly stopped by... the chief of the battalion?

And how are we supposed to consider other Armenian officers serving in the Army of the CIS? Who are they subordinated to? And whose orders do they fulfil?

Such is this criminal history with tragic end, and as we see this end is not accidental, but naturally developed.

Mazair SAHAR.

## SOME DETAILS OF THE SITUATION

### 'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA', March 4

In some mass media the fabrications about the participation of the servicemen and Infantry regiment № 366 as well, in the military operations between Karabakh 'self-defence forces' and Azerbaijani armed units are being published as before. It especially refers to the events of February 26—27 in the vicinity of Khodjaly.

AS OUR CORRESPONDENT WAS TOLD, PRESS-CENTRE OF THE UNITED ARMED FORCES OF THE CIS FLATLY REFUTES SUCH REASONLESS STATEMENTS. ACCORDING TO PRESS-CENTRE, SUCH MISINFORMATION IS PROVOCATIVE AND IT IS DIRECTED TO CASTING ASPERSIONS ON THE MILITARY MEN and, subsequently, involving them into the ceaseless interethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

### 'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA', March 11.

...Editorial staff have the data available that some servicemen of Infantry regiment № 366 while moving from Stepanakert to the place of stationing, nevertheless let the 'self-defence forces' have a part of the weapons, in particular some anti-aircraft self-propelled carriers 'Shilka', cannons, and etc. The causes of it are still being cleared up.

### 'IZVESTIYA', March 5.

Major S. Oganyan, chief of infantry battalion № 2, together with several Armenian officers and soldiers of different nationalities subordinated to him, occupied main positions 4 kilometres southward of the village of Balija blocking the way for two other battalions which were moving from Stepanakert. By the way, many soldiers deserted the subunit taking with them a tank, three armoured cars (according to other data — twenty armoured cars) and cannons.



### 'MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI', March 16, own correspondent.

...I didn't see soldiers of Infantry regiment № 366 during the assault of Khodjaly. But I watched with my own eyes the Army armoured technical equipment and artillery bombardment preceding the attack.

### 'IZVESTIYA', March 14.

...A black man (mercenary?) was apparently killed in the battle. His dead body was changed for the Azerbaijani hostages.

The soldiers of former Infantry regiment № 366 also state that they have seen armed and uniformed foreigners in Stepanakert (Khankendi) more than once. Many of those soldiers were even suggested joining the troops of Armenian fedains with a guaranteed payment of 3-4 thousand roubles a month plus free food, wine and women according to the contract.

THOUGH ARMENIAN SIDE ITSELF DOESN'T PARTICULARLY CONCEAL THE FACT OF HIRING FOREIGN SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE.

### 'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA', March 11.

...Despite explicit orders of the District Headquarters late in February, some servicemen of Infantry regiment № 366 did take part in the military operations in the vicinity of Khodjaly on the Armenian side. At least two such cases were witnessed. AND DURINC THE EVACUATION OF THE REGIMENT PERSONNEL PARATROOPERS CHECKED SOME SERVICEMEN AT RANDOM AND DISCOVERED GREAT SUMS OF MONEY, IN HARD CURRENCY AS WELL.

## Levon Ter-Petrosyan:

### 'National self-determination is the absolute for me'

GALINA STAROVOYTOVA, adviser to the Russian President on interethnic relations.

...I was very much astonished to learn that the session (the session of the District Deputies' Council of NKAO held on February 20, 1988 in the absence of the Azerbaijani deputies) adopted this resolution. And I thought: 'so, they have made up their mind, so they do not want to preserve everything as it has been'. And they did it in a civilized way enough appealing to one Supreme Soviet, another, and then to another... In accordance with the right of the nation to self-determination fixed in the international documents.

...I KNEW THAT IT WAS A BEGINNING OF A GREAT INCITEMENT, A BIG SERIES OF HISTORIC EVENTS THE RESULTS OF WHICH WOULD ECHO NOT ONLY IN THE USSR, BUT ALSO ALL OVER THE WORLD.

Here the correlation of such notions as sovereignty, territorial integrity, the rights of a nation to the self-determination is very important, but it is the theme of a special study.

...AT THAT TIME I WROTE TO YEREVAN THAT, IN PARTICULAR, I WAS SURE THAT THESE EVENTS WOULD GO DOWN IN HISTORY. I CALLED FOR THEM TO RECORD ALL DAILY EVENTS AND CHRONICLE THEM. I WROTE: 'I FEEL SORRY THAT MY RUSSIAN PEOPLE IS NOT READY FOR THE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY, BUT I AM HAPPY THAT THE OTHER NATION OF MY COUNTRY (i. e. ARMENIANS) IS READY FOR IT'.

...How the Russian army was welcomed in Armenia! Every Armenian textbook of literature is opened with the words of Khachatur Abovyan: 'Be that moment blessed when a Russian soldier stepped to the Armenian land'. And it has become a part of the consciousness of people.

This is the information given by Mrs. Starovoytova, the ethnopsychologist, expert of longevity investigation in this unique region of Nagorno-Karabakh, to the Azerbaijani television viewers before the massacre of Khodjaly.

The conflict in Karabakh exceeded the bounds of Transcaucasia long ago. MONSTROUS IN ITS ABSURDITY INTERPRETATION OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION AS THE PRIMACY OF THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL MINORITIES TO CREATE THEIR OWN STATE INEVITABLY LEADS, AND HAS ALREADY LED, NOT TO PRESERVING THE CULTURE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES, BUT TO THE EXPANDING MASSACRE FOR THE SAKE OF THE BOUNDARIES SEPARATING PEOPLE. However in Armenia, in fact there isn't any national minority now. After Azerbaijanis Kurds are successfully being driven away...

V. Djanashia, 'Komsomolskaya Pravda'

ANDREY NUYKIN, People's Deputy of Russia, publicist.

Azerbaijani side is going to settle the Karabakh problem.

And the quite definite ways of its settlement are expressed by forming the punitive troops of OMON (Special Internal Ministry Forces) and raising 200 thousand regular armed forces that has just started. According to categorical demands, they are to be consisted of the fourth army, two thirds of which are Azerbaijanis, with all its weaponry. In this respect the talks opened by Azerbaijani side can really be estimated as the attempt of gaining time for such strategic task to be settled. The question is whether the sovereignty gives anybody the right to exterminate and deport hundreds of thousands of people of other nationality or religion.

...BUT RUSSIA IS ALSO PARTICULARLY GUILTY TOWARDS ITS OLD FRIENDS AND ALLIES. Its army and military equipment were used mostly for unmerciful deportation of Armenian villages, for terrorizing peaceful residents of Karabakh. AND RUSSIAN PEOPLE DELUDED BY THE FALSE PROPAGANDA, ADHERED, ALAS, A SIT-ON-THE-FENCE POLICY. THIS FAULT MUST BE REDEEMED. Defence of rights and freedoms of the residents of this long — suffering region must be provided by all diplomatic, economic and intellectual potential of Russia, and in case of new large-scale attempts of genocide — by its MILITARY MIGHT MULTIPLIED BY ITS INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE AND MORAL PURITY OF ITS GOALS.

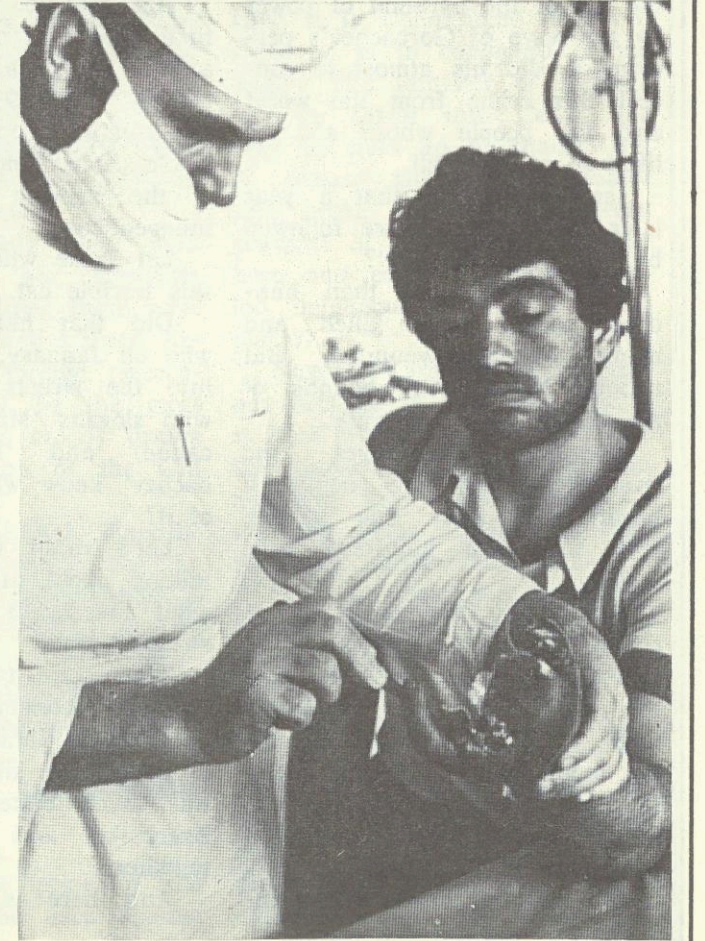
This is the prophecy of a well-known Russian thinker, essayist and publicist Mr. Nuykin given as far back as in October, 1991.

JOHN LLOYD, correspondent of 'Financial Times' in Moscow.

GROWING HORROR DOESN'T SEEM TO WORRY OTHER MEMBER-STATES OF THE CIS. IT DOESN'T LOOK AS IF THE COUNCIL OF PRESIDENTS OF THE CIS WERE PREPARING ANY INITIATIVE, or some meeting would take place before the meeting scheduled for March 20 in Kiev. In February this problem was considered in Minsk, but this discussion was not well prepared and it didn't yield any results.

From that a conclusion inevitably comes to mind, that the CIS didn't manage to form within its bounds a system of international structures in the framework of which there could be a common reaction to the events like those in Karabakh. No wonder! Ministries of foreign affairs and diplomatic services of new states are chiefly rudimentary. They lack information, resources and what is even more important — experienced personnel. The governments of the member-states of the CIS appeared to be up to the eyes in tasks they were not able to settle after being faced the problem of establishing a great number of international relations and joining international organizations some of which like the UN, demand the permanent representatives to be appointed. THUS, NAGORNO - KARABAKH TURNED OUT TO REFER TO THE FILE NAMED 'THIS IS NOT OUR PROBLEM' AND IT IS STILL IN THIS FILE NOW. AND I'D SAY THAT IT DECIDEDLY CONFIRMS THE FACT THAT THE CIS DOESN'T EXIST AS THE EFFICIENT POWER EITHER ON THE WORLD OR EVEN ON THE REGIONAL ARENA. Its incapability of taking difficult decisions, promoting the economic unity of its member-states became more apparent after the meeting in Minsk. However these shortcomings are the problem of the Commonwealth itself. But the fact that the CIS didn't consider the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh a problem worth paying a first and foremost attention to, now is the problem of all the world. And as the CIS doesn't raise this question, its settlement passes into the competence of other countries.

And that is the viewpoint of a European, Mr. Lloyd watching the development of the tragedy with a heavy heart and horror quite natural to any normal human being.





# ECLIPSE

We live in strange time in a strange country... No, we live in terrible time and in a terrible country.

What can be more terrible than the situation when human blood is depreciated?

Two azeri young men were killed four years ago in Askeran. Who learned about them?

Driving away about 200 thousand Azerbaijanis from their forefathers' lands in Armenia the monsters outraged them and cruelly killed 216 of them. Who, who learned about them at that time, if even in Azerbaijan a member of the Komsomol, already touched by age sclerosis, Abdul Rahman Vezirov raised to the top of the pyramid of power by the wave of Gorbachev's perestroika, did his utmost to conceal this crime from the world and the people whose son he liked to call himself.

Isn't it natural that a year later these events were followed by 'the black January'?

And again more than hundred people were killed and many hundreds-wounded. But nobody beyond the bounds of Azerbaijan knew the truth...

Impunity encourages the criminals. First the death-toll began with only few people, then tens and hundreds were added.

And today the death-toll includes thousands of people.

From now on and for ever the name of the Azerbaijan town of Khodjaly will become the mournful page in the memory of Azerbaijan people, and all the men of honour and good conscience in the world.

We bow our heads before the

memory of the peaceful Azerbaijani residents brutally killed, tormented and mutilated by the scums.

We demand the criminals to be punished.

But the criminals will not be punished. Alas, but this has happened more than once.

Far-fetched 'conflict' turned into the problem has been spreading with an ominous natural development and speed.

In the mountainous part of Karabakh there were killed:

5 men in 1988

32- in 1989

90- in 1990

more than 150 - in 1991

? in 1992

It's terrible to imagine the final figure, as only in Khodjaly and in the vicinity of it on February 26, 1992 there were killed more people than for the whole period since the beginning of the struggle of Artsakh for independence.

Let those who want continue this terrible iist.

Did that handful of people who on January, 1988 went out into the streets of Stepanakert with slogans 'Miatsum' (Reunification) and 'Lenin-Party-Gorbachev' know what would come of it?

Let's recall what they were talking about at that time and what the result of their 'great struggle' was.

They were talking about social and economic backwardness of Nagorno-Karabakh, that land of plenty the situation in which was much better than that in Azerbaijan and Armenia taken together.

And here is today's result:

Khodjaly was reduced to ashes, tens of Azerbaijani and Armenian villages were ruined, Khan-kendi (Stepanakert) was also destroyed.

This year there would hardly be any harvest on the bare land, and even if there would, then nobody would be able to gather it under bullets and rockets... Who started this bloody massacre? It's not the Azerbaijanis on whose land Armenians lived for centuries; and even in Baku, its heart, and in the most fertile parts of it there were over half a million of them, at the time when in Armenia there was not a single Azerbaijani left.

So, SCORCHED EARTH that once was abundant is the result of the struggle for overcoming the social and economic backwardness.

The second slogan was 'Miatsum!' and exaggerated thesis about historical possession of Artsakh by Armenia. Very soon they gave up the thesis of 'historical possession', as it was too weak even to be discussed. Anyway the Armenian side has not reverted to it for a long time. But as far as 'Miatsum' is concerned, it was preserved a little bit more. 'Only Reunification; there is no way back!' But they will have to seek the way back, as although the Armenian SSR recognized NKAO as its part, and fixed it by the legislation, now Mr. President Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated officially that 'the status' of autonomous republic in the bounds of Azerbaijan would completely satisfy all the sides, because in this case Karabakh would remain a part



of Azerbaijan, and the territorial integrity would be preserved, and the residents of Karabakh, in their turn, would have the guaranteed vital activity. It is our position'.

But where is 'Miatsum' then?

So, the Armenian side is for preserving territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, at least in words. But 'Miatsum' wasn't realized, and it couldn't be.

The third slogan was 'Lenin-Party — Gorbachev'. As it becomes clear today, that was not serious at all. They went wrong with Lenin and the Party. As far as Gorbachev is concerned, he helped as far as he could. And here the question arises: whom did he help? The answer is: he helped the chaos and bloody muddle to be established under the slogans of freedom and democracy. This policy was leading to the massacre of Khodjaly. And if the CIS inherits THIS POLICY from the USSR, it's not difficult to foretell what it will lead to. It will lead to the ALL-OUT CIVIL WAR. And civil war is always terrible, but in the nuclear age... But in the Russian empire, even former one (or all the more, former one!)

We are far from causing a scare and prophesying disaster. But we must say and repeat it,

and call out to all those who are 'sick and tired of these Karabakhs'. GIVE IT UP!

Yes, today the peaceful Azerbaijanis have been killed, but it is your house that is in danger, it is you for whom the bell tolls...

The tragedy of Sumgait was the tragedy of every honest Azerbaijani. It was committed by the rabble and riff-rafs. And who was its guiding force is still unknown, just like all the secret mainsprings of 'the black January' in Baku are still far from being revealed.

But in Khodjaly there were neither bandits nor criminals raging. The atrocities there were committed by a well trained Armenian army, foreign mercenaries. And may be the most tragic fact in this bloody drama is the participation of the CIS troops.

Of course, Marshal Shaposhnikov will say again that he 'didn't issue an order'. And it will not be a lie. May be he didn't.

But the participation of the Army and armoured military equipment in the massacre of Khodjaly is the fact witnessed by the survivors.

A terrible fact.

We know the price of the army that can be used against

people. But there's no limit for the worse.

And if the order on bringing the troops in Baku was issued by Yazov (by the way, already in the summer of 1990 A. Yevstigneyev, G. Malov, and other independent military experts took him into court, though in vain), then how much more terrible it is when some major S. Oganyan is in command of the Army. The Minister of Defence can be taken into Court. He may be held up to shame. But in present situation the major who broke his oath has every prospect of becoming a national hero and even a deputy. (Halloo, neighbors, is there a vacant place?).

Nagorno-Karabakh is dangerous because of the fact, that it is here where for the first time the words 'I'm first Armenian, and only then — a Prosecutor!' (or any other official, no matter) were implemented in life.

Such national self-determination in the army where the representatives of tens of nations serve, is a catastrophe. A universal catastrophe. The Apocalypse. And, alas, it is not far off, if at last there doesn't appear the force that can stop the logical, precise and well predicted (stop telling stories about unpredictability) way to it.

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**ALLAH TÄALA RUHUNUZU BEHIŞTLİK ELÄSİN**

**GOD GIVE PEACE TO THE SOULS OF THOSE  
INNOCENT KILLED!**





This victory has been 'forging' for a long time. In the photo taken from the magazine 'Armenia' of 1986 there are the militants of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia — ASALA (terrorist organization).

HAVE THEY WON?

YES, THEY WON RUINING THE TOWN OF KHODJALY! BUT THEY COULDN'T SUBDUE THE RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN. WOMEN AND CHILDREN, GREY - HAired OLD MEN WERE MARTYRIZED BY THE BUTCHERS. THEY WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO GAIN A VICTORY OVER THE PEOPLE UPHOLDING ITS LAND.