

**Arif Mansourov**

**THE GENES OF HYENAS**

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Translated into English by **Zia K. Neymatoulin**

**A. Mansourov** "The Genes of Hyenas"

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The names of those acting in this play-pamphlet are, beyond any doubt, well-known to the readers. The pro-armenian intrigues and plots carried on by its heroes against the Azerbaijani people at different times are not the author's artistic invention, but real historical facts based on documents

It is very likely that having read this small-volume play-pamphlet, the reader may find it not difficult to rightly guess who pursued, when and what kind of policy against us, and probably will draw for himself an appropriate conclusion.

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The author of this play-pamphlet is Arif Enver ogly Mansourov, one of the renowned public figures, representatives of intelligentsia, who enjoys well-deserved respect and authority in our republic.

While holding important managerial and public offices, he, at the same time, is actively involved in scientific, social and political journalism. He is the author of ten scientific works, as well as the book "White Spots of History and Peristroika" which was published in several languages and had a wide public response in the republic and far beyond its borders, as also of many splendid articles on social and political affairs which were taken in by the readers with great interest.

Remaining true to the noble traditions of his ancestors, Arif Mansourov, one may say, occupies the first place among contemporary patrons of art in the republic. The erection of monuments to beloved-by-the-whole-people Haji Zeinalabdin Tagiev, immortal poet Aliaga Vahid, and many other charity deeds are connected with his name.

At present Arif Mansourov is working on new themes. He attaches special importance to preparing for publication of a "Red Book" of Azerbaijan nature, a work in many volumes.

### **IN LIEU OF A PREFACE**

The roots of today tragedies fallen upon our heads go far to the remote past. We know only a little bit of this history.

Recently, the interest to the study of its white spots both on a serious scientific-theoretical and artistic-publicistic level has greatly grown up. The documents of those years, made public, terrify us. We see that for "the leaders" whom we once believed, to be more exact, whom we were forced to believe, Azerbaijan was an instrument in games of the big-times politics.

Arif Mansourov's play-pamphlet just reveals the rotten essence of these politicians. Through artistic means the author brings to the reader a number of real facts. Skilfully depicted are bloody periods of our past and present, the deeds of separate personalities who have been acting in the name of our "well-being and happiness".

The author has also accomplished much in the matter of establishing the irreversible regularity in the development of the communist stage of history, of the continuity of the moral successive links.

One would like to believe that this play-pamphlet will be properly understood by the readers, and will create with them a notion of the complicated times in the past 70 years, of true culprits-organisers of the crying events of the bygone decades.

GABIL HUSEINLY  
Doctor of Philosophy,  
Professor

## PART 1

Actors playing the parts of Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev at the beginning appear wearing masks (identical) with divine images and a halo, and loose robes.

As the Man of the theatre introduces them, each in turn throws off the mask and the robe and emerges before the audience in his own true appearance.

Either all are barebooted, or there is camouflage over their footwear which is taken off together with the clothes.

MOSCOW, KREMLIN, 1918  
End of August

(Lenin's study. 22 o'clock. A secretary enters as the bell rings.)

**Lenin:** Comrade Manucharyants, invite to me comrades Trotsky, Stalin, Bukharin and ... (Pausing as if deliberating) Kamenev and Zinoviev.

We shall have a confidential meeting. There'll be no need of stenographers...However, hm... warn Glyasser and Flakserman, perhaps they'll also be needed. We'll start the meeting at 23 sharp. And now connect me with Avanesov (secretary and member of the Presidium of the Vtsik (\*), member of the All-Russian Commission for Repair of Railroad Transport, member of the Narkomat (\*) of Goscontrol Board (\*\*), Belenky (commissar of the Vecheka (\*), official of the department for the struggle against malfeasance, from 1919 to 1924 was head of Lenin's personal bodyguards), Berman (after October 1917 - chairman of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal), Boky (member of the Petrograd Defence Committee, deputy chairman, chairman of the Petrograd Cheka (\*)), Bregman (chairman of the Kronshtadt Party Committee, chairman of the Kronshtadt Defence Committee), Karakhanyan (member of the Narkomindel (\*) Board, deputy Narkom (\*)), Peters (from July 1918, acting chairman of the Vecheka (\*), extraordinary

commissar in Petrograd), Sheinkman (chairman of the military-investigating commission of the VRK (\*), chairman of the Kazan Revkom (\*)), Proshyan (People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraph). Find Kamo! Where is he? I need him badly!

Well, there's something else. Take it. I have signed the appeal of the SNK (\*) to all railway workers and the resolution, send these telegrams immediately and see that the reply is received (holds out sheets)... - This is to Penza Gubispolkom (\*), they are excessively soft there, whereas one but ought to mercilessly crash the mutiny of Kulaks (\*) and confiscate all their property, this is to the Tula Cheka, this is a decree on the struggle against profiteering...

(While Lenin is speaking, holding out the papers, Manucharyants goes behind the desk and stands too close, ready to cling to him. Lenin, as if paying no heed to that, continues holding out the documents.)

**Lenin:** And one thing more (lowering his voice to intimacy) connect me with her, Inessa.

**Manucharyants** (hesitatingly): Vladimir Ilyich, Nadezhda Konstantinovna is in the reception room, it's like, somehow, improper.

**Lenin:** Comrade Manucharyants, do what you are told to do! I am not interested who is in my reception room, that is the security's business and, incidentally, yours.

(Embarrassed Manucharyants exits. Lenin bends over the desk and writes something with concentration, speaks over the telephone.)

**The Man of the theatre** (appears on the stage. He wears a torn and shot-through padded jacket, tarpaulin boots, a fur cap with a torn off ear-flap):

Ulyanov (Lenin) Vladimir Ilyich, was 47 years old in 1917.

Despises his immediate and close comrades-in-arms, and even is afraid of some of them (Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, for instance). There are interesting facts.

During his life abroad in Switzerland, Germany, Austria, England, Poland, Finland up to April 1917 he was accompanied by Tsederbaum Yuly Abramovich (1873-1923), known in the post-Leninist party literature as menshevik (\*) Martov. Tsederbaum substituted Lenin his secretary, and a bodyguard, an attorney and a procurer. When living in Geneva, Tsederbaum introduced Lenin to a well-known belle, Inessa Feodorovna Armand (1874-1920). This love affair, of which not only Krupskaya, but the whole leadership of the Party knew, continued till her very last breath and served as a subject for teasing Lenin.

Thus, when F.E.Dzerzhinsky gave an order to arrest Tsederbaum, then Lenin secretly from the "iron" Felix, with the help of an old acquaintance, got a ticket for the train Moscow-Minsk-Warsaw and covertly sent Yuly abroad. Only in this way Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vladimir Ulyanov managed to "thank" his friend, though as head of the state could have ordered Dzerzhinsky to cancel the arrest. As any cowardly man, Lenin was a tyrant. It was

by his orders and directives that tens, hundreds, thousands of people were arrested and executed by shooting. It was by his disguised order that an infamous "diamond rain" had fallen, when in Yekaterinburg the members of Nicolas II's family were brutally shot and then their bodies soaked with acid to cover all traces of this crime.

It was he who for the first time in the history of Russia ordered to create and created concentration camps. Stalin and Hitler were just merely promising pupils of the great inquisitor.

It was on his initiative and insistence of the Tseka RKP (B) (\*) that on February 4, 1919 there were formed revolutionary tribunals (revtribunals), composed of 3 persons, the famous "troiki" (\*), which were authorized to pass sentences. At the same time Lenin was a sensitive man. In 1921 a group of criminals committed a theft in Gohran (\*). The case involved millions of golden roubles. On August 8, 1921 Lenin writes a note to deputy chairman of the Vecheka GPU (\*) Josef Stanislavovich Unshliht (Why not to Dzerzhinsky? - the author):

To Vecheka  
Com. Unshliht

"Please inform me of the reasons for arrest of a citizen Shelehes Jacob Savelievich, and whether it is possible to release him before the trial on bail of his party comrades." (Lenin's hand never trembled, when just with a stroke of the pen he sent people to be shot, but in this case?! - the author)

It should be noted that there were many cases of Lenin's interference in the investigations, in the Cheka (\*) affairs, and the executors and the immediate investigators got quite tired of this, therefore not once he got a polite refusal (They in the Cheka remembered a rush around financing Lenin's staying abroad, but of this later - the author).

Unshliht skilfully parries the blow making an inscription on the note: "Comrade Boky, send me urgently a reference" (Boky Gleb Ivanovich (1879-1940), member of the party since 1900, member of the VRK (\*), member of the Petrograd Defence Committee, chairman of the Petrograd Cheka, member of the Vecheka Board).

On the Lenin's note, Boky on August 9th writes a reply: "Comrade Unshliht, J.S.Shelehes has been arrested in connection with the Gohran case and is prosecuted for theft of valuables. His release before trial in the course of proceedings, do not find possible".

At the same time Boky informs that he got worried and that kind of "inquiries" were interfering with his pleading the cases.

Lenin was furious with this outright disregard of his disguised request, and defying an elementary official ethics, being enraged, on August 9th he writes a letter... to Dzerzhinsky? No, to the same Boky. Here is Lenin's humaneness and

efficiency in getting things done, he had never left people in the lurch. The Bolshevik Russia is waging an internecine battle with internal and external enemies, and the head of the state is in real earnest involved in just another human fate.

Thus: "Comrade Boky!

In the letter about Shelehes (Jacob Savelyevich) You say: "he is being solicited by right up to Lenin, and ask "to allow you not to take any notice of all kinds of intercessions and pressure in connection with the Gohran case... "I can not allow this. The inquiry sent by me is neither "pleadings", nor "pressure", nor "intercession".

I am obliged (to whom? - the author) to inquire, as I am pointed to doubts in the rightness. You have to answer me to the point: "the arguments or evidence are serious, so and so, I am against the mitigation" (So Lenin, no doubt, knew that the case meant shooting - the author), and so on and so forth. Just in this way, to the point, you must answer me.

Intercessions and "pleadings" you may refuse, "pressure" is an unlawful action (Lenin tries to justify himself before history - the author), but I repeat, your mixing up the inquiry from Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars with an intercession, "pleading" or pressure is erroneous".

What is Shelehes, anyway, and why does Lenin so interestedly interfere in this case? Who points him to "doubt", at whose dictation does he press upon the investigation? To clarify this fact the author had to thoroughly work in the archives, and as a result, some interesting details came to light.

In 1887, 17-year-old Volodya Ulyanov for organizing the students unrest, which followed the execution of his elder brother Alexander (1866-1887), was exiled to the village of Kokushkino situated some tens of kilometers from Kazan, and lived there in a luxurious estate.

And there he closely got together with his cousin, 13 year-old... Yasha Shelehes (1874-1921). It turned out that this estate belonged, don't be surprised, spectator, to Volodya's grandfather on mother side - Abram Danovich Blank (Alexander Dmitriyevich Blank). Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna (Abramovna) Blank served at the court of Alexander III (in those days the nationality was identified not by origin, but by religion), and got pregnant from the czar. Then she was sent to Kokushkino where she was married to Ilya Ulyanov, the latter being promised promotion at his service and a decent salary. The born son was named in honour of his real father, Alexander. Sasha, consequently, having learned about this story, tried to revenge the czar. Vladimir Ulyanov also learned about this family secret and was revenging the Romanovs both for his brother and mother's outraged honour.

Subsequently, the family of Shelehes settled in Moscow and Yasha, having inherited from his father a big jewelery and watchmaker's shop, frequently

supported Lenin materially. Soon after October 1917 Jacob Shelehes got fixed up in a job in "Glavzoloto" (\*) of the Council of Mines of the VSNH (\*), and from March 1920 occupied the post of a chief assessor in Gohran of Russia, where he became the head of a group of embezzlers.

In 1921 he was arrested by the Vecheka. After a brief investigation, in October 1921 he was executed by shooting. All the same, on December 2, 1921 Lenin writes to the Vecheka again: "Please send me secretly through comrade Gorbunov a report on the state of things with the case in Gohran".

No one answered him. Lenin himself didn't raise this question any more, but having a revengeful and rancorous nature could not forgive neither Stalin, nor Dzerzhinsky this and other cases, and at every suitable moment tried to sting them. And there had been such cases and Lenin used them skilfully. On December 30-31, 1922 in his notes to the Politburo he wrote:

"...I think that at this point Stalin's impatience and administrative inclination, as well as his animosity against the notorious "social-nationalism", have played here a fateful role. Animosity, in general, usually plays in politics the worst part. I am also afraid that comrade Dzerzhinsky, who had traveled to the Caucasus to investigate the case connected with "crimes" of these "social-nationalists", made himself notable there also only with his truly Russian mood (it is known that Russified Non Russians always go too far in the line of truly Russian mood). I think that neither by any provocation, nor by any insult one can justify this Russian assault and battery, and that comrade Dzerzhinsky is irreparably guilty in that he treated these assault and battery frivolously".

Lenin with a virtuosity plays off Russian, Polish and Georgian bolsheviks against Stalin and Dzerzhinsky.

"That Georgian who scornfully throws accusation in "social-nationalism" (who meanwhile himself is a real and true, not only "social-nationalist", but also a rude and Great Russian derzhimorda (\*)), that Georgian, in fact, infringes the interests of the proletarian class solidarity..."

And not concealing his animosity, Lenin openly calls for dealing with them: "Politically responsible for all this really Great Russian-nationalistic campaign is necessary to make, of course, Stalin and Dzerzhinsky".

Another stroke to Lenin's portrait. For decades he had been working, made friends, collaborated, disputed, corresponded, brought closer some and estranged others. Lenin felt acute need of them and this feeling was mutual.

This was when a menace hung over all of them, but when they would come to POWER, all the deep hatred they had felt towards each other for years came out rushing. And here Lenin served a model in his noted "testament", which for decades Stalin carefully concealed from the people. And, if to believe Lenin to the end, then it turns out that the powers that be have flourishing in them the



meanest human features: baseness, treachery, whimsiness, incompetence, double-dealing and others.

Thus, Lenin writes about his closest comrades-in-arms: "Pyatakov (1890-1937 - the author) - a man of, no doubt, outstanding abilities, but is too easily carried away with ruling by orders and decrees and the administrative aspect of affair to be trusted in a serious political matter..."

Bukharin (1888-1938 - the author) - is not only the most valuable and the most prominent theoretician of the party, he is also considered, by all rights, a favourite of the whole party, but his theoretical views can, with great doubt, be referred to as fully marxist, for there is something scholastic about him, he has never studied and, I think, he never quite understood the dialectics. ...I will not further characterize other members of the Central Committee with regard to their personal qualities. I would only remind that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev, of course, was not an accident, but they may also be little blamed for it personally as well as Trotsky for his neo-bolshevism.

...Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, concentrated in his hands the absolute power, and I am not sure whether he will always be able to, carefully enough, use this power..."

This was written by Lenin on December 24, 1922; no doubt, Krupskaya had read it all, and she told Lenin how Stalin once rudely treated her. Then on January 4, 1923 Lenin makes an additional remark: "Stalin is too rude, and this short-coming, quite tolerable amidst us and in relations between us, the communists (an interesting approach of Lenin to rudeness - the author), becomes intolerable in the capacity of Gensec. Therefore I suggest the comrades should think over the way of moving (not move or dismiss, but "find a way", that is do it stealthily, behind the back of Stalin himself - the author) Stalin from this place and appoint to this place another man (But whom, if Lenin himself had flung mud at all of them ? - the author)..."

...Comrade Trotsky is notable for his outstanding abilities. Personally, he is perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee, but excessively boasting of self-confidence and excessive enthusiasm for the purely administrative aspect of the business"...

Lenin, being a Philistine by nature, could in the name of his personal interests neglect the interests of the party and his associates.

After Stalin had been elected General Secretary, Lenin conceived still more hatred for him, and tried on occasion to deal with him. However, being simple-looking in appearance, but in reality cunning and insidious, Stalin didn't give Lenin the slightest chance, constantly manoeuvring, and with his concessions and agreements disarmed him.

And, finally, this chance came. During Lenin's illness in 1922-1923, by special resolution the Politburo made Stalin responsible for control of Lenin's

health. The doctors categorically forbade Lenin to be involved in state and political affairs. Stalin set up rigid rules and there was no admittance to Lenin for anyone, except the doctors and himself.

And when it became known to Stalin that Krupskaya without his knowledge advised Lenin of the current affairs, he scolded her on the telephone using foul language, and threatened to expel her from the party.

Very frightened, Krupskaya immediately informs about this conversation, first Kamenev and Zinovyev, and then Lenin himself. Lenin without any delay takes up the pen:

"To comrade Stalin. Top Secret. Personal.  
Copy to Comrades Kamenev and Zinoviev.

Dear Comrade Stalin!

You were rude enough to call my wife to the telephone and scold her. Though she expressed you her agreement to forget what had been said, nevertheless, this fact became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamenev.

I have no intention to forget so easily what is done against me and, it goes without saying that what is done against my wife I consider as done also against me. Therefore I ask you to weigh whether you agree to take back the said and apologise or prefer to break relations between us.

Respectfully Lenin."

Of course, Stalin didn't apologise, and in March 1923 Lenin had suffered a stroke, and until the very death he was unable either to speak, or to move, or to understand.

In return, until Krupskaya's last breath Stalin systematically scoffed at her - it is known that this married couple had no children, and Stalin named every newly built maternity hospital after Krupskaya's name.

Yet the leader of the world revolution and proletariat - a hereditary nobleman, Lenin, remained unsatisfied in his chivalrous deed. (In the birth certificate of Ulyanov-Lenin VI. the graph "estate" i.e. "social origin", has an entry - "hereditary nobleman" - the author.)

(The door to the study opens and Stalin enters with a gone-out cigarette. Lenin waves to him as if saying "make yourself comfortable as you please", while himself is reprimanding someone on the telephone.)

**Lenin:** This way, my old man, we shall lose what we have been getting at for decades. No doubt, to the white terror we must respond with the merciless red terror. We must inundate Petrograd with blood for a mean murder of Comrade Goldshtein (Volodarsky, was murdered on June 20, 1918) and our dear Moisei Solomonovich (Uritsky is meant - the author).

(Stalin comes up to the window and looks intently at the Kremlin yard.)

The man of the theatre:

Jugashvili (Stalin) Josef Vissarionovich (1879-1953). In 1917 was 38 years old.

Not tall, in a single-breasted military jacket with no badges of rank, in kid boots.

Having imperious manners, Stalin never forgave a slightest offence inflicted by anyone. He has always a cigarette with cardboard holder in his hand, though occasionally smokes a pipe, speaks with his head slightly bent, unhurriedly, making a pause between sentences as if he wanted to make sure that the interlocutor or his associates understood the point of what he had said.

As it was with all bolsheviks (\*) of ruling elite, he has his feeling of collective solidarity atrophied, though at a moment of danger, he temporarily became friends now with Lenin, now with Kamenev, Zinovyev, Bukharin. Fiercely and openly hated Trotsky. After October 1917, People's Commissar for Nationalities Affairs, member of the Revvoyensoviet (\*) was often at the front lines. Became famous for the fact, that fully ignoring the Chairman of the Revvoyensoviet Trotsky, bypassing him, with the help of Lenin, he dismissed or removed a number of the commanders of fronts.

At first in the narrow circle, then also at the meetings and the plenary sessions, he called Trotsky "Judas-Trotsky" and with that mightily pleased Lenin. Was a great master of disguise, and Trotsky had good reason to call him "the outstanding mediocrity", just because being Georgian by blood and the language, nevertheless, his Georgian mentality in no way and by anything revealed itself.

This is why, suffering from the complex of being Non-Russian, he tried to overcome it by ostentatious speeches and discourses on the nationalities question.

It was well said about this by his son Vasily to his sister Svetlana, "You know, our father was Georgian before!" When it became known to the Provisional Government about Lenin's receiving the German money, and after an investigation it fixed the trial, then Stalin wanted very much and even insisted that Lenin should appear before the court. At the VI Party Congress (July-August 1917) Stalin said:

"If the trial is democratically organized and a guarantee is given that they will not be torn to pieces... they will appear there."

But later, the same Stalin falsifying himself said: "At the congress there was discussed a question of Lenin's presence in court. Kamenev, Rykov, Trotsky long before the Congress were of the opinion that Lenin had to go to the trial of counter-revolutionaries. Comrade Stalin resolutely spoke against Lenin's presence in court".

Decades later, Stalin in the films "Lenin in October" and "Lenin in 1918" made to his order, through the mouths of boys selling newspapers and crying out: "Lenin - a German spy!", killed two birds - brought his spite to a multi-million

audience, and on the other hand, made the historians abroad dig in the archives of the German General Staff, but about that later.

No doubt, Stalin was a person of contradictory nature, but one thing is undisputable - he was risen to heaven thanks to a powerful police party machine of violence, created by him on an empire scale, which ruthlessly milled millions of people in the camps. Destinies of the whole peoples and nations were determined by his single word. It is known that Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, devoted all his life to the struggle against the Soviet state, and was Stalin's irreconcilable antagonist.

To make Stalin's portrait fuller, listen, spectator, to Churchill's speech made in the British House of Commons in 1959 in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Stalin:

"For Russia it was great luck that in hard years at the head of her government stood such greatest and invincible commander as Stalin. He was firm, at the same time flexible enough, appropriate to the changeable and severe period of the epoch in which he lived. Stalin was a man of the greatest will and energy. During a conversation at times he was tough and ruthless, but just and straightforward, and to object to him, to his arguments, even for me, who got hardened in the British House of Commons, was difficult and even impossible.

First of all, Stalin had a developed sense of humour, as also the ability to precisely guess the unuttered thoughts. This ability was so developed in him that it produced a tremendous impression on the interlocutor or a person present. The availability of these qualities and these abilities is such a supreme power, that the great leaders and autocrats of all times attached to it paramount importance.

Stalin was a profoundly wise man with a quiet character, devoid of any panic and illogicality in actions. He was an unsurpassed master to weigh the existant situation - always found a necessary way out of difficulties. In all cases, both at the solemn moments and in a critical situation, Stalin could be similarly restrained, and always kept aside from illusions. He was, to the highest degree, a complicated man.

The unreachable dictator, he created and held in obedience a huge empire. He was a man-genius who destroyed the enemy with his own hand."

Thus the enemy spoke about the enemy.

Stalin was notable for his special "sympathy" towards Azerbaijan, though the Azerbaijanis worshipped him, not guessing of the monstrosity of his nature. He periodically visited Baku, was well familiar with the traditions and customs of the people and was a favorite among common people of the villages of Baku.

Just the same, during his stay in power it was he who dealt Azerbaijan several shattering blows.

**The first blow** - when the whole Zangezur was turned over to Armenia.

At the XII Congress of RKP(b) he said: "You know about Georgian-Armenian war. The massacre in Azerbaijan at the beginning and at the end of 1905 is also known to you. I can name a number of districts, where most of the Armenians, the rest part of the population of which is made up of the Tatars (the Azerbaijanis are meant - the author), were massacred, for example, Zangezur..."

The Armenian delegation reacted to this Stalin's statement with loud cheers, and under their pressure in his concluding remarks he said:

"...they say, that the Armenians are oppressing or may oppress the Azerbaijanis in Azerbaijan and, vice versa, the Azerbaijanis may oppress the Armenians in Armenia. I have to declare that in general there are no such phenomena in nature. There is an opposite phenomenon, that in Azerbaijan the Azerbaijanis, as the majority, oppress and slaughter the Armenians, as it was in Nakhchivan where all the Armenians were massacred..."

(Yes, it turns out that one-eared Andranik committed outrages in Nakhchivan and massacred all his own Armenians, and we had no idea about it?! Here Stalin went on the outright falsification of facts - the author.)

It is worthy noting that in spite of the Stalinist logics, not a single plot of land had been turned over from Georgia to Armenia, on the other hand, the whole Zangezur served as a gift of Stalin to the Armenians. That is, it turned out - cut out and take!

**The second blow** - the creation of the so-called Nagorno-Karabakh region within Azerbaijan, though if to follow the Stalinist logics, it was necessary to create the Zangezur region within Armenia.

History knows the Karabakh Khanate as one and indivisible territory without mountainous or lowland parts, where then 100 thousand Armenians-migrants lived since 1830, whereas on historical Azerbaijan lands in the region of Zangezur, the lake of Goicha and other lands there lived 775 thousand indigenous Azerbaijanis.

**The third blow** - it's true didn't take place, but the sword was raised over the people's head, when in 1944 Stalin signed a decree on deportation of all Azerbaijanis, as it was done with the Chechents and the Ingushis.

When M.J.Bagirov, then leader of the republic, begged Stalin not to let this horrendous deportation materialize, the latter said:

- We have signed this decree prepared by Beria and Mikoyan, and aren't going to cancel it, but since you ask, I allow you not to fulfill it, but mind, if anything is not as it should be, then.- don't forget that the decree will be put into effect immediately.

**The fourth blow** - in 1945-1946 there appeared a historic chance for unification and establishment of one 25-million Azerbaijan, but Stalin, by Beria's and Mikoyan's prompting, didn't let it happen.

**The fifth blow** - unprecedented in history deportation of Azerbaijanis from Armenia in 1948-1949 under the pretext of providing the territories for Armenians-repatriants.

The results of this Stalinist-Mikoyan operation were tragic - 200 thousand Azerbaijanis were driven from their historical native land, whereas out of the repatriated 60 thousand Armenians only few settled in Armenia.

Stalin of those days belonged to the statesmen who change their positions and opinion depending on the circumstances and the scale's tilt, he was inconstant and unprincipled in theoretical matters, but at the same time he was constant in one thing - in his hatred towards his opponents, in fathomless thirst for personal power.

(Bukharin enters the study, Lenin greets him with his right hand and with a gesture invites him to seat down.)

**The man of the theatre:**

Bukharin Nikolai Ivanovich (1888-1938). In 1917 was 29 years old. Executed by shooting in 1938.

Of middle stature, well nourished, but not stout, with a pointed Turkmenian beard. Was devoted to Lenin and Trotsky as a dog, breathes by them, though the latter didn't take him seriously. Was "an errand boy". A debauchee. Once seduced a young daughter of an old bolshevik - a worker Larin, and when this story became known to the proletariat of Moscow, had to register the marriage with the underaged maiden.

After Lenin's death Stalin craftily used Bukharin, at first together with Kamenev and Zinoviev against Trotsky, then against them and, finally, dealt with him himself.

Bukharin was a typical chauvinist, didn't recognize the right of nations to self-determination. He held in contempt the peoples of the Caucasus, the Central Asia and the Tatars.

Having a weather-cock way of thinking and impulsively changeable nature, Bukharin faithfully served Stalin, was his fig leaf in the bloody struggle for the supreme power.

When Trotsky and his associates concentrated the fire of criticism at Bukharin, Stalin, in a classical style of two-faced Ianus, inquired with a simulated indignation (XIV Congress):

"Why don't they (the oppositionists) stop persecuting Bukharin? What, properly speaking, do they want from comrade Bukharin? You want the blood of comrade Bukharin? We shall not give it to you!!!

Stalin was absolutely sincere in his Pharisaism. He didn't want the opposition to shed Bukharin's blood. It was he who 13 years later did it.

The pyramids of Egyptian pharaohs can not be compared with the pyramid of power created by Stalin in his empire.

(The clock struck 11.)

With the manner so characteristic of him, Lenin nervously paces the study, stopping now and then, looks at the clock and waving hands snakes his head.)

**Lenin:** It is not enough that this pseudobolshevik and prostitute Trotsky very nearly wrecked the Brest peace, what is more, he ventures to ignore our meeting!

**Stalin:** Yes, your German friends were very much displeased. As for this Trotsky, then, probably he with his friends Kamenev and Zinovyev, though being out of job now, are again elaborating the next coming platform against us.

**Lenin:** They will not dare any more. You remember Shiller's words: 'The evil seed brings evil fruit'. (Laughs) I think that their demonstrative resignation and the fact that we, despite their expectation, accepted it, served them both a good lesson! I, would rather say: "The evil act begets evil results".

(Bukharin nods assent and jumps up gladly, when the door is open ajar and Trotsky rushes in the study. He is followed by depressed Zinoviev and Kamenev.)

**Lenin:** Well, at last, my dear fellow Lev Davidovich, and we've been tired of waiting for you.

(Cunningly screwing up his eyes, walking on tip-toes, he comes up to Trotsky, embraces him, as if they haven't seen for a long time and, not looking him in the face, says:)

**Lenin:** I know, I know, affairs, affairs, affairs! What we should do without our Lev Davidovich, our narkomvoenmor (\*)! This way, comrades!

(Glancing over the room, and as if taking no notice of those present, Trotsky comes up to Lenin behind the desk and tells him something with agitation. Lenin sharply objects, and meanwhile...)

### **The man of the theatre:**

Bronstein (Trotsky) Lev Davidovich (1879-1940). In 1917 was 38 years old. Murdered in Mexico in 1940 by Stalin's agents.

Above medium height, lean, always smart-looking in a soldier's blouse of military pattern, with a typically Mephistophelean face, wore pince-nez or glasses like pince-nez.

Short-tempered, jerky, likes to accompany his speeches with a worked-out gesticulation. An unsurpassed orator; Trotsky's oratory almost always drove the crowd into ecstasies. Haughty. Treats Lenin with accentuated amiability, considering him, unworthy of leadership, an archintrigant.

Since 1904 was engaged with variable success in the fractional struggle against Lenin. To him belongs the assessment of Lenin's activities abroad, which became known to the bolsheviks of Russia through Chkheidze (1864-1926), to whom Trotsky wrote:

"Something like a meaningless obsession seems this rotten squable, which is systematically kindled by the master of these affairs Lenin, this professional exploiter of every backwardness in the Russian working movement".

After October 1917 was People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs, chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, member of the Politburo.

Trotsky's influence over the masses was tremendous. During Trotsky's deportation, which at Stalin's insistence was legalized by a resolution of the Politburo in 1927, the workers lay on the rails under the train's wheels. Being junior to Lenin, Trotsky just the same remembered how the Ulyanov family fawned on his father, director of the gimnasia, where Ilya Ulyanov taught and the Ulyanovs studied.

He hated Kamenev and Zinoviev, because they fully supported Lenin, but not him, and despised Stalin for his robber's past and rude manners.

After long wanderings, Trotsky found refuge in Mexico, where Stalin organized several attempts on his life, in one of which a young revolutionary at that time and then the world renown artist, Siqueiros took part.

Trotsky was especially feverish, because Lenin in December 1917, when leaving on a 5-day holiday, insisted that Stalin, not Trotsky, should be appointed Chairman of the SNK (\*).

#### **The man of the theatre:**

Radomyslsky (Zinoviev) Grigory Yevseevich (1883-1936). In 1917 was 34 years old .

After October 1917 was Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, member of the Tseka Politburo, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Comintern, executed by shooting in 1936.

Not tall, plumpy, curly-haired. Extremely unbalanced, emotional, arrogant Zinoviev was a poseur. Used to dress somewhat dandy-like, untidily. Constantly raised hair made an impression of a man who doesn't care of his toilet.

Zinoviev, a panic-monger before difficulties and danger, became extremely touch when in power, and a great enthusiast and optimist during triumph.

Possessing these qualities, it was he, Zinoviev, who from the very first days of being in power, unleashed the unprecedented red terror, at his order, without trial and investigation people by tens were shot on the spot.

But to Lenin this was still not enough. On June 27, 1918 he sends a letter to Zinoviev, Lashevich and other members of the Tseka RKP (B), where he writes:

"Comrade Zinoviev! Only today we have heard in the Tseka that in Piter the workers wanted (! - the author) to respond to the murder of Volodarsky by mass terror and that you (not you personally, but the Piter chekists and tsekists) held them. I protest resolutely! We compromise ourselves: we threaten even in



the resolutions of the Sovdep (\*) with mass terror, but when it comes to business, we put brakes on the revolutionary initiative of masses, quite correct initiative!

This is im-pos-si-ble!

The terrorists will consider us milksops. The time is archmilitary. It is necessary to stimulate the energy and the mass-likeness of the terror against counter-revolutionaries, and especially in Piter, the example of which is decisive (i.e. - show the whole Russia an example of bloodshed - the author). Greetings!

Lenin"

Lenin mercilessly urged his associates on expansion of large-scale terror all over Russia and especially in her major cities. As if he knew that the punishing sword of retribution for the innocently shed blood would touch him himself.

And indeed, in a few days, to be more exact, on August 30, 1918, a woman known in the records as Fanni Yefimovna Kaplan, born Roidman, made an attempt on Lenin's life.

Many wondered - for which personal qualities Lenin appreciated, rather feared Zinoviev. It's interesting that in 1916 a book "Against the Current" by Lenin and Zinoviev was published in Germany, and the name of Zinoviev stood first on the book's cover. As a publisizer and orator, Zinoviev showed very average abilities.

In political games Zinoviev also showed himself an ignoramus. So for what?

In those days within the party, a very and very narrow circle of people, and first of all Zinoviev, knew how Lenin regularly recieved money from the German General Staff through doctor Gelfand (Parvus). A very restricted number of people knew about this carefully concealed relation: Lenin himself, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin abroad, and Stalin and Kamenev - in Russia.

The intermediary in recieving the money was a noted in certain circles Ian Furstenberg (1879-1939), in the party literature known under the name of Ganetsky.

Incidentally, after the October revolution Lenin appointed Ian Furstenberg manager of the People's bank.

Just this is why, Lenin was in Zinoviev's hands; however, in the same way both of them were in the hands of Stalin and Kamenev.

### **The man of the theatre:**

Rozenfeld (Kamenev) Lev Borisovich (1883-1936). In 1917 was 34 years old. After the October revolution - chairman of the Mossoviet, deputy-chairman of the SNK, member of the Tseka Politburo, executed by shooting in 1936.

Unlike Zinoviev, since 1912 carries on an important work in Russia as editor of "Pravda" and leader of the bolsheviks faction in the State Duma.

Kamenev was a highly intellectual and cultivated man. Well-read marxist, profound publicist and polemist of the highest rank, Kamenev differed from others in that during critical moments of life he showed personal courage and high spirit.

He was always accurately dressed "a-la" - Russian intellectual, a bit plumpish, with a well-groomed broad and thick beard.

Kamenev together with Stalin utterly rejected Lenin's "April Theses", and was on the firm stand for "conditional support" of the Provisional government, as he thought that "the bourgeois-democratic revolution was not over yet."

Thanks to his self-control and the cleverest defence tactics at the trial (1915), five members of the Bolsheviks faction in the Duma were saved from the death penalty.

And when the Provisional government issued an order to arrest Lenin and Zinoviev for receiving the German money, and they escaped from the trial, Kamenev, having taken his stand at the head of the party, directed the broad movement of the workers, soldiers and intelligentsia for cancellation of this order.

Then the Provisional government gave an order to arrest Kamenev, and he appeared in court.

Being the opponent of the coup, Kamenev, nevertheless, stood at the head of the revolt and directed the course of events from Smolny.

After the coup he offered Lenin to create a coalition government, Lenin categorically objected, then Kamenev resigned from all his posts. However, Lenin often consulted him, invited him to his home.

Being far superior to his comrades intellectually, Kamenev could not use their methods: Zinoviev's political demagogy and Stalin's intricate intrigue.

Kamenev, as also Zinoviev, did not possess the qualities of a leader - the organizer of power, so necessary under conditions of the communist dictatorship.

This is why, being indebted to Kamenev for his life, Lenin at every opportunity egged him on:

"Well, what kind of an organizer will Kamenev make?"-

**The man of the theatre:**

Such were the comrades-in-arms who gathered at Lenin's to predetermine the destiny of the peoples of Russia, and subsequently the USSR as well. No doubt, they hated each other, but when the matter concerned the strengthening of their power and personal security, they united.

**Trotsky:** What will the question be about this time? Hope, today, unlike as usual, it won't be for long? I am expected by the Commandarms (\*) (Folding his hands he leant against the desk as if emphasizing - I am all attention!)

**Lenin:** Comrades! All I am going to say is only thoughts, so to speak, studyings and just this is why we shall not make any notes, and just this is why I haven't invited my secretaries, but if there is any need, then Manucharyants, Glyasser and Flakserman are ready!

The question will be about the future of our organisation of, so to say, a state! The situation is archdifficult and archcomplicated! We cannot build the fundamentals of the state only on blood, on the one hand, but on the other hand, time and again we must watch how here and now there they rebel against the Soviets.

Today Dzerzhinsky's commissions (Vecheka is meant - the author) are ruthlessly dealing with our enemies. And this is absolutely right! There wasn't a single revolution or a period of civil war, where there were no shootings!

**Trotsky:** It's staggering! First we break down the empire... Is it not on the fragments of it that comrade Lenin is going to reconstruct a new building without a design, that is, without a clear concept of the state organization?! We must kindle the flame of the world revolution and this process must be of permanent nature. For this one needs resoluteness, courage and ruthlessness. As Danton said, "Revolution needs courage, courage and again courage!"

**Stalin:** Courage abroad and courage here, in Russia, are different things!

**Zinoviev** (arrogantly): What does comrade Stalin want to say by that? May be you explain?

**Trotsky:** In Russia robbery and banditism were always regarded as courage!

**Stalin** (lighting a cigarette, cunningly screwing up his eyes): Why hurry, don't hurry, there is a time for everything! By the way, the money obtained by us through commandeering was for making the revolution in Russia, and other money went for publication of books and newspapers abroad.

**Trotsky:** Revolution?! Come on, what revolution in Russia! We took the power which lay in the mud and blood, and it is on it we shall build a new power, it goes without saying, under the slogans of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!.. (Addressing Lenin) Comrade Lenin! I have no intention to waste time! If the talk and your meeting will go on in this manner I wash my hands and leave!

(Zinoviev and Bukharin go after Trotsky. Lenin rushes to Trotsky, holding him.)

**Lenin:** Comrades! Comrades! We are fighting against Kolchak, against Denikin and against the others, and there wasn't one dozen of them. It all ended with our troops having scattered them like kids! It is difficult for us now. Even now we are acting beyond the time and space. We can't give birth to communists, several of them a week. The workers who had been hardened by several years of struggle, who had lead, such workers become even fewer and fewer. We began also to lose important leaders, our comrades: Shaumyan, Volodarsky, Shimanovskiy, Ter-Gabrielyan, Spandaryan...

We failed to save our dear comrades... Failed to save...

(Making a pause and walking around each one in turn, patting their shoulders and arms, then stops in the middle of the room and continues in a resolute manner.)

**Lenin:** I resolutely protest! Yes, we declared that our gains we are ready to defend to the last drop of blood, but it doesn't absolutely mean that we should get involved, on the eve of our new revolution (looking awry at Trotsky) - yes, yes, our revolution, in squabble and altercation among ourselves.

We cannot repeat the bitter fate of the French revolution! What a nice sight we would be on a scaffold! (Laughs)

(After an embarrassing pause, Kamenev, at first somewhat confused, then clearing his throat, firmly with some trace of pathos exclaims.)

**Kamenev:** I agree with Lev Davidovich, without a clear and firm concept we shall perish as other revolutions did.

I think that the concept must remain unchangeable in its essence - the expansion of the empire must go on unswervingly.

**Bukharin:** At the same time we must not forget that the growth of the Non-Russian population is of potential danger! In future we must not, by all possible means, allow the demographic disbalance, let it go on its own.

**Zinoviev:** It seems to me that in future we need to ideologically substantiate the necessity of unity and the leading idea of a multinational state.

**Bukharin:** Not forgetting the leading role of the Russian people, a senior brother.

**Zinoviev:** Agree, but we must perfect the tsarist credo, you remember: "The empire can be neither diminished, nor divided, but only expanded." And in contrast to the tsarist's, we need an absolutely tough, firm and all-embracing central power, otherwise...

**Kamenev:** Otherwise, the future may hold in store for us the Tatar-Mongol domination, irreversible collapse, breakaway. Here, as I presume, the most dangerous are the Central Asia, Turkestan and the Caucasus.

**Stalin:** I agree with comrade Lenin. We need to create such a power that it is praised even by those who hate it. We must break down, once and for all, the will of national-socialists, especially... (smiling with contempt),... intellectuals, all sorts of scientists. We must let them understand that they are prostitutes, servants, and paid by the state, by us.

**Kamenev:** In principle, comrade Zinoviev's reasonings are correct, but with a few reservations.

First - at the places we must put absolutely loyal to us people, and conduct our policy just through them, by them, with their help. But in case of excesses or disobedience, skilfully, with the help of the local bolsheviks declare them enemies of the interests of their own peoples, the counter-revolutionaries. And let their

scientists-historians get involved in smearing them, we mustn't interfere, only control. Their future fate must not interest us.

Second - in all matters of the state organization we should keep to the tested tsarist principle - "divide and rule", again using the local element.

**Bukharin:** Try and remember how many times the tsarism burned its fingers in the national question, stirred animosity and hatred towards us among the local population. I think this was happening because of the wrong placement of accents and lack of understanding of the local conditions. We have to take that into account!

**Kamenev:** Our success in this matter will depend on a rightly concentrated political system in Russia and her outlying districts as a whole, but, first of all, we must tie an economic knot, so to say, an economic dependence, if you like, an economic dictate. Only in this way we shall attract Turkestan, the Caucasus and Russia herself, as well.

**Stalin:** The Caucasus and Turkestan won't get to anywhere. We shall break down the Caucasus so, that there is no making head or tail of it, as for Turkestan - well, there also live many peoples there, in their majority Muslims-fanatics, they may be given autonomy within, the tough state and political system.

**Trotsky:** Comrade Stalin is used to haste, though evidently he as an asiatic must understand the national question better than we.

**Stalin:** Comrade Trotsky thinks that by swinging his sabre in his study he will solve this difficult question.

I think that Vladimir Ilyich timely puts forward this quite serious question in order not to approach it frivolously and superficially.

Comrade Lenin! In the Caucasus we successfully applied the armenian element and it was thanks to our friend Vagan Teryan who, you remember, at your instruction prepared as far back as December 1917 a decree "On Turkish Armenia". With this decree you provided Stepan Shaumov, that is Shaumian, with the powers of an Extraordinary commissar for the Caucasus.

It is true, he somewhat overdid when under the motto of civil war he unleashed the outright massacre of the Azerbaijanis in March-April of that year, and with that aroused heated protests of Narimanov and other local comrades. Besides, Shaumian wrongly began interpreting our slogan, instead of "Workers of the world, unite!" he openly agitated for a slogan "All Armenians of the world, gather in Baku!" (Laughs with everybody.) You are all in the know. Narimanov wrote to you about it. And it's very good that you haven't reacted to him. In short, in Azerbaijan our friends on a whole, have coped with their task! Here they were greatly helped by Andranik, and especially in Karabakh and Nakhchivan.

Do you remember his telegram to you where he declared Nakhchivan an integral part of the Soviet Russia?

**Lenin:** Yes, yes, I remember, but then he disappeared somewhere?

**Stalin:** Unfortunately, he chickened out and slipped away abroad taking with him all the commandeered property and money.

**Zinoviev:** But the Caucasus is not Azerbaijan only, what shall we do with Georgia, Armenia?

**Stalin:** We shall tie Armenia to Zangezur, well, as for Georgia... and for her we'll find a bridle, there we shall also create an autonomy, we resettle the Armenians there to Abkhazia, increase their percentage in Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsis.

**Trotsky** (grinning): And what are we supposed to do with Turkestan?

**Stalin** (without turning his head towards Trotsky and lighting a cigarette): While our Lev Davidovich was travelling all over abroad, we together with comrade Kamenev here, in Russia had been working on this question, as well (an open hint at Lenin - the author).

**Stalin** (addressing Lenin): In Turkestan our dashnak detachments of Hovanes and Nzhde have also worked well, we moved them to the region a few months ago!

In a word, in future when we need it, we shall be able to incite their territorial claims to each other, and, in fact, we shall tie them tightly to the Centre!

**Lenin:** In this I, in principle, agree with comrade Stalin. For us it is archimportant to constantly oppose the naive and low-abiding Muslims-Tatars and the Turkestanmen to the Armenians, and this is why we must be specially interested in the fate of the Armenian people... hm... I wanted to say the armenian politicians, and not forget about this in future. Take this into account!

**Zinoviev:** And what about the Central Russia and the Volga region, where there are quite a lot of Muslims?

**Kamenev:** We have elaborated a strategic plan about it. We shouldn't become like misters Katkovs, Protopopovs or Purishkeviches with their "Black Hundreds". We must pursue not the path of forceful Russification, on the contrary we must be asked for Russification... so, it seems.

**Lenin:** I told that the abstract formulation of the question of nationalism in general wouldn't do at all. Just this is why we see the necessity of creation of a united multinational state in which the problem of nationalities cannot be resolved only by violence, as the sole means of policy. The ideal of this state must be the hegemony of our people relatively to the Non-Russians, like the Anglo-Saxons in Great Britain and North America. This is an axiom requiring no proof.

**Trotsky:** Just a moment. When I hear: "Russia is for Russians"... I am feeling terrified. For these hurrah-revolutionaries even do not understand how they interfere with the spontaneous process of unification.

I am deeply convinced that the national persecution did not interfere with assimilation, it is necessary to do away with it... even if outwardly...

**Kamenev:** I agree. Try and remember, when the majority of the 3-rd and 4-th State Duma by declaring and calling for the all-round Russification measures of the government, including the ruthless struggle against the Ukrainism, completely alerted and pushed away from them the Poles, the Finns and the Ukrainians...

To continue such policy will be a suicide, and subsequently will bring to that not only the above mentioned will turn away from us, but also the Belorussians and Tatars, the Turkestanmen, the Georgians and the same Armenians. And it is very much right that Vladimir Ilyich already today raises this vitally important question...

(At this moment the door is opened and Krupskaya enters humbly with a glass-holder.)

**Krupskaya:** Volodechka, Vladimir Ilyich, I think thou... you are overworked, I ask you to have sweet tea.

**Lenin** (angrily): Nadia, who on earth has asked you to come in here? Who has let you in? Why do you poke your nose into other people's affairs? Go away, I am not a kid and, besides, don't you see, there are comrades here, I don't want tea!

(Embarassed Krupskaya exits. Lenin pushes the button. A loud bell is ringing. The clock shows 2 o'clock in the morning.) Bring us something for supper, while we shall continue our work.

(Through a secret door there are brought into the room sandwiches with caviar, balyk, sausage, boiled potatoes, herring and chicken, vodka, cognac, champagne, wines, fruits, cakes.)

**Lenin:** Well, what are you, comrades, doing? The people are starving, and you treat us to such delicacies, we haven't deserved it yet, you know.

(Makes an inviting gesture and, rubbing hands, puts on his plate caviar, balyk, potatoes, herring and a cake.)

**Trotsky:** Comrade Lenin! Did you decide to follow the ancient Scythians example?

**Lenin:** And what's the matter?

**Trotsky** (pointing to the abundance of strong drinks): The ancient Scythians, as is generally known, before making any decision, voted twice - first with a drunk head, and then - with a sober head!

**Lenin** (Laughs, playfully shakes his forefinger at Trotsky): Ah, Lev Davidovich, my dear Lev Davidovich! We, the bolsheviks are not Scythians, and therefore with us the decision must be invariable both with a drunk and a sober head!

(Bukharin pours wine to Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinovyev. Stalin takes vodka and with a bottle comes up to Lenin.)

**Lenin:** No, no, I shall have french cognac! (Pours himself) To your health and to success of our cause!

(All drink and pour again immediately, all eating simultaneously. In half an hour the conversation continues in the channel of mutual eggings on and teasings.)

**Lenin:** By the way, Comrade Stalin, tell me why didn't Ter fulfill my directive on arsoning Baku, where is Shaumian, what on earth is going on in Baku?

**Bukharin:** Comrade Lenin, and what is this "ter"?

**Trotsky:** Not what is this, but who is this. Saak Ter-Gabrielyan was at me with your note on May 24. You must be careful. Now, is it possible to leave such evidence? You, in fact, don't know this Ter-Gabrielyan, you see!

**Lenin:** But it was Shaumian who sent him to me, and I trust him!

**Trotsky:** It's your business, I wouldn't have written so openly, anything may... I provided him with everything you asked: weapons and money, and ammunition, and explosives.

**Lenin:** After all, you don't know that I personally signed a resolution of Sovnarkom on allocation at the disposal of the Baku Soviet, that is Shaumian, for the struggle against the local counter-revolution, of 81 million, it's true, paper, but roubles and he, good for him, through Vardanian sent us to Astrakhan only in April-May of that year 20 million roubles in gold! He promised 60 million in gold more. In this way we shall strip Baku to the skin! And then (cunningly skewing up his eyes) Saak Ter-Gabrielyan, as chairman of the Baku Soviet Cheka, is doing not less than Zinoviev in Petrograd and Dzerzhinsky all over Russia.

**Trotsky:** Yes, I've heard it is so. But his excessive arrogance passes all bounds.

**Lenin:** And what's the matter again?

**Trotsky:** You have again committed a blunder. I took your note away from him. Here it is. (Reads): "If by tomorrow the required weapons is not sent to Baku at the disposal of S.G.Shaumian, then I'll send you to Lubyanka, to F.E.Dzerzhinsky". And with this note of yours he flaunted all over my Narkomat.

**Lenin:** Yes, yes, I wrote this as far back as July 22, after another Shaumian's appeal to me!

**Trotsky:** Just the same, be careful, Comrade Lenin!

**Stalin** (Waiting for silence to ensue): This Ter I know well, an experienced dashnak. But, at the last moment, turned out to be a coward. And then. The situation in Baku is complicated now, your friend Shaumian indeed went too far, unleashing with the help of dashnak detachments of Amasasp and other our comrades the massacre of the Azerbaijanis in the whole region, what provoked the mutiny of Narimanov and the Turks march on Baku. Indeed, Vladimir Ilyich is right. In the Caucasus he is called a Caucasian Dzerzhinsky, just as Shaumian - a Caucasian Lenin. It seems my friend Rasulzade (sneers) will skilfully make use of this. The mandate you personally gave to Shaumian as far back as December 1917,



turned his head. He had not only gone too far shedding too much blood, but with his concept he pushed loyal to us comrades away from himself!

**Trotsky:** Well, I really say that we must treat the Armenians carefully and constantly hold them in leash! Or else they'll mess so, there is no making head or tail of it...

**Stalin** (As if not noticing Trotsky's remark): Shaumian began advocating the division of Transcaucasia into three territorial national autonomous regions with due account of the national composition, just with this having discredited our position towards the peoples of the Caucasus. And, as many Armenians live both in Georgia and Azerbaijan, it turned out that Shaumian fights for the creation of an armenian region in Transcaucasia at the expense of the lands of these peoples, that is, for the creation of a Greater Armenia.

**Lenin** (As if justifying himself): Yes, yes, it is just so. I warned him as long ago as 1906 in Geneva against extra national-chauvinistic aspirations. I repeatedly warned him - in such archdelicate matters one mustn't act too straightforwardly, clumsily. Already at that time he spoke about the possibility of the creation of a Greater Armenia and even convinced me in the expediency of this act at the expense of the territories of the Azerbaijanis and Georgians. (Looks awry at Stalin)

**Stalin** (calmly): Dear Vladimir Ilyich! This is the price of your supertrustfulness, I agree in this case with our Lev Davidovich!

**Lenin:** By the way, comrade Stalin, where is Kamo now? And why do we call him Kamo, is it a nickname?

**Stalin:** His real name is Ter-Petrosyants, Arshak Ter-Petrosyants. He is in Tiflis now. He's never learned to ask in Russian "komu" (to whom? - the author), he always asked "kamo", look here, "kamo?" So I called him "Kamo". (Laughs)

**Zinoviev:** Dear Ilyich! To you, to my dear comrades with you at the head! I think that our principal means must be not only terror, but also the creation in future, on the basis of the Vecheke, of a network of concealed from the people organization, capable of being activated at our order. And at this point we must stake on the local cadres who are thirsty for power, money and luxury! I think that only Lev Davidovich is capable of creating such a network! To you, Lev Davidovich!

**Lenin** (Offended): So to whom is the glass raised? Grisha, may I speak to the point? As for the network, I agree, but why Lev Davidovich? Let's assign this job to the Vecheke, to Dzerzhinsky, Unshliht, Avanesov! I think that will be more correct! I'll be out just for a moment! (Exits through a secret door to his private rest-room.)

**Trotsky:** Volodechka seems to be ripe! Only champagne for him! I remember, once in Stockholm we hardly managed to cheat the local police, when

he in a restaurant, having climbed the stage, started speaking in German about overturning the tzarism...

**Zinoviev:** Gentlemen, hm... that is, comrades! Once in Berlin we were celebrating Christmas and hi-hi... towards morning Ilyich fell asleep at the table on Inessa's breast! We felt utterly embarrassed because all was taking place before Nadezhda Krupskaya's eyes!!!

**Trotsky:** It seems to me that Ilyich will never forgive Nadya her adventures with Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin in 1890, though she was only 21 then. And her affair with Viktor Konstantinovich Kurnatovsky! It's inconceivable! Just married, and she ran at that time from Ilyich to Victor! Therefore, since then he tolerates her as a nurse only.

**Kamenev:** I'll never forget Turukhansk, Solvychevodsk! Koba (J.V. Stalin's party underground conspiratorial name - the author) then would treat us every Sunday to the Caucasian shashlik (\*) and vodka. All got drunk, except us, and the way Koba played the clarinet! This is unforgettable! (Addressing him) Remember, for lack of money you and I paid off the coachman for every verst (\*) with shkaliks (\*) of vodka. - (Laughs)

**Zinoviev:** Stockholm, Stockholm... Yes, doctor Parvus, they were good times! We denied ourselves nothing! The Germans knew in whom to invest the money! You remember, when someone betrayed us, Ilyich magnificently refused to have anything to do with it. Remember, last July Ilyich in response to the attacks of the Provisional Government wrote: "The prosecutor plays on that Parvus was connected with Ganetsky, and Ganetsky - connected with Ilyich. But this is a bluntly roguish move, for all know that Ganetsky had money affairs with Parvus, as for us with Ganetsky - there were none whatever!" Bravo, Ilyich!

#### **The man of the theatre:**

At that time, all the workers and primary party units also held Lenin's point of view that the Provisional Government merely for political ends slandered Lenin. Only the narrow circle of the top party leaders knew, what the whole world knows now because of the publication of the archive of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and exactly, that Lenin really received multi-million sums of money to organize the coup in Russia, thus to put her out of war.

And when it became known to Stalin that Lenin was openly set against him, he began, since as far back as 1923, with the help of the party machine, to publicise materials stolen from Lenin's personal archive.

And soon the following publications appeared in press: Lenin's letter to Ganetsky and Radek in Stockholm on April 12, 1917: "Dear comrades! So far nothing, really nothing: neither letters, nor parcels, nor money have been received from you... Be archpunctual and cautious in relations".

On April 21, 1917 Lenin writes to Ganetsky:

"The money from our Kozlovsky has been recieved. On the whole, 15 bolshevist newspapers are being published on this money." (Published in a magazine "Proletarskaya Revolutsia" No.9, September 1923 - the author)

Out of these publications it turned out, that this wandering emigree, a German spy and liar, Lenin, who recieved without the knowledge of the party and its Central Committee in Russia, the German money, wants to liquidate or minimize the role of the true leader of the revolution, Stalin.

For these publications Stalin temporarily sacrificed his man Tovstukha, editor of the magazine, dismissing him, but the job was done!

**Trotsky:** Dear friends! You know well that Lenin's activity abroad gave nothing to Russia, to us, nothing but harm. Ilyich abroad used to stir a storm in a glass of water, and himself successfully coped with it.

Only a lucky chance allowed us to accomplish the revolution. Now we have to restrain him. He can ruin us all.

**Stalin** (Pretendingly indignant): But Lev Davidovich!

**Bukharin** (Protesting): Lev Davidovich, I haven't expected this from you!

**Zinoviev:** From whom I am hearing that!!!

**Kamenev:** I would like to ask you, Lev Davidovich, to choose expressions!

**Trotsky:** Come on, come on! Don't you see that Lenin became obsolete. Don't you understand that our further keeping together and collaboration with him only discredits us!

(At this moment Lenin enters.)

**Trotsky:** Well, there at last, dear Vladimir Ilyich! You made us worry, you know!

**Lenin** (Suspiciously looking about everyone): As for me, I was thinking (\*). By the way, comrade Sidorenko has made one thing for me, and I, while thinking was listening to everything you talked about. (Sidorenko S.M., seaman of the 1-st Baltic Fleet Depot, from January 1918 was personal secretary of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars - the author) Well, all right. I've got used to your tricks!

So, there. I repeat again: we have to think really well over the future of our organization, but at the same time, under no circumstances should we allow the domination of representatives of Non-Russians in the Tseka and the Sovnarkom.

This is - first!

Second. We have to create an archpowerful centre; at its disposal there must be a bank, communications, transport, the army and, finally, the party.

Third. We mustn't forget that we are all representatives of a revenging side. I, for instance, do not conceal that for the execution of my brother I am not going to play the role of Christ. I presume, everyone of you has his own interest in this matter!

Fourth. We must create a system of great fear, for it is fear that makes the talented intellectuals repudiate their mothers, forge documents of their social origin, inform on their colleagues. Fear must follow every man of our future society. Then he'll become unsociable, lacking conscientiousness, double-faced and unprincipled... We must on a mass scale inculcate the workers on the leading posts. The brain of the people of manual labour is usually afraid of excessive loads, and we must implant in them mania of persecution and fear. Only on this basis we must build our cadres policy.

At the same time don't forget, if fear starts fading, then so-called democracy and liberalism will emerge again.

And that is the beginning of a big chaos, which we shouldn't allow to occur.

And, finally, the last In the regions we must form, out of the people loyal to us, the provisional governments, let's say, the military-revolutionary committees, which will appeal to us with a request to send troops and render military aid to fight and withstand the onslaught of united forces of external and internal counter-revolution.

Having in our hands such an appeal, we'll be able unimpeded to render aid and support (Laughs) to any region of the former Russian empire. And our support must be like support of a rope, supporting a hanged man (Laughs boisterously. Then wiping tears.): We must also stick to this clear-cut pattern in future.

Well, and, subsequently, if they misbehave, we'll declare them the enemies of the working people and shoot them, it doesn't matter in the least, their fate shouldn't interest us, others will gladly occupy their places.

**Kamenev:** As I understood, Vladimir Ilyich, there comes the necessity of establishing a system, radically excluding any resistance of, I beg your pardon, Non-Russians, and in that way to continue the policy of the old apparatus?

**Lenin:** Not entirely, but as a whole, yes! This work must be done at a breakneck pace, though the situation is archcomplicated and archdifficult.

**Zinoviev:** And is it possible to consult other comrades, so to say, as a matter of exchange of opinions and consultation?

**Lenin:** Categorically forbid! Remember, the people needs a ready dish, as for the smell and disorder in the kitchen, they mustn't interest it, it must be far from it. No leakage of information!

**Stalin:** I admit everything what Ilyich says, and the responsibility for realization of his directions in the nearest future rests with all of us, with no exception.

**Lenin:** Good, I think no one has any objections? Comrades! I would like to especially attract your attention to one point.

We must tear up the religion with the roots, but archcautiously and tactfully. The Armenian church may be of use to us now and also in future, let's not forget how it helped us abroad. Here we must stake only on their black (regular the - author) clergy!

**Trotsky:** Why, they are multicoloured, eh?

**Lenin:** It must be known to Lev Davidovich that the Armenian clergy is divided into black (regular) and white (secular), for the first the celibacy is compulsory, as for the latter, the marriage is permitted! Well, so, the first are ready to do anything, they have nothing to lose, they are like Japanese samurai-kamikaze! It is they who will be of use to us!

But we can be seriously opposed by Islam.

Therefore, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan and Central Russia it is necessary to pursue the path of closing and destruction of all mosques, the unique ones to turn over for warehouses. Fear must also impend over the priesthood, this is why the inveterate enemies of our revolution should be, as an example, shot, disregarding the number, sent to the concentration camps.

We shall create ideological vacuum, what in its turn will lead to ideological CHAOS, which we need as the air... as a springboard for the future. (Paces up and down the study) The orthodoxy is also of great danger, the all-embracing wave of red terror must roll over all the provinces, as for patriarch Tikhon... (swinging on tip-toes), try to win him over, if he starts refusing, send him to archangel Gabriel! (Laughs, pleased with his idea.)

And to manage this work we shall assign you, dear Lev Davidovich!

And as it is we, who are making history, it itself will justify us!

## **PART II**

### **MOSCOW, KREMLIN, AUGUST 1989.**

The man of the theatre appears in a civilian suit. Addressing the audience:  
Dear ladies and gentlemen!

We haven't seen each other for 70 years, much has changed in our life, we became more cultivated and more educated, we have our life considerably improved, we have seen the world just as it has seen us, and we became happy. And the essence of the happiness was that we weren't aware how miserable we had been.

UNDER THE SYSTEM created by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms there were unleashed three wars which have taken a toll of over 40 million lives.

DURING THESE YEARS there perished or were put into jails and the Stalinist camps over 15 million Soviet people, the whole peak of intellectuals in all former republics was exterminated.

DURING THESE YEARS we have never been given the opportunity to use our national natural resources to improve the well-being of our people.

DURING THESE YEARS we have been injected such bacilli of FEAR that brother feared brother, father - son, neighbour - his neighbour; there was efficiently operating the system of all-round informership.

And here is 1985 at last. Perestroika. Gorbachev. The peoples of the Soviet Union were declared that they could be independent, the republics - the sovereign states. And we believed. The liberation movement, free-thinking, emancipation were maturing in the people. But it turned out that the proclaimed Perestroika, Freedom, Brotherhood is in reality the sovereignty within the System Cage. But when the peoples refused to reconcile to this, then a well-tested expedient - the persecution of peoples was launched. There followed bloody Baku and Tbilisi, Vilnius and Alma-Ata, Fergana, Osh, Kishinev. And there - the bloody race has reached Moscow as well! Thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands became the victims of the Leninist Trap, neighbour came out against neighbour, brother - against brother! In short, a Great Chaos, in which the Leninist-Gorbachev Kremlin felt completely at home, was recreated in the Empire. Azerbaijan was shuddering from horrors of the subtly prepared large-scale provocation, information blockade, predatory attacks from Armenia, while the world kept silent watching our sufferings; we were short of breath in fury from the unprecedented injustice - in fact, from genocide and ecocide imposed on us by the System with the hands of our neighbours, but couldn't do anything.

In a word, the Kremlin bosses very refinely and skilfully, brutally and hypocritically pressed our people, trying to put it on its knees. When they needed us, when every third Soviet tank and airplane was filled with the Baku oil, then we were commended, patted on the shoulder, sung the praises like:

"If one firmly in future believes,  
Then, it's because of the black  
Baku dense blood, to the brims  
Pouring into the capitals heart!"

And when we stood in need of only just support, of cutting off the hairy hand of the Armenian extremism, we were also patted on the shoulder and said, "Oh, what's happened there, find the settlement yourselves, what solution you will mutually accept, that we shall approve!"

And in order that the Russian people, who is always intolerable to injustice and evil, might not understand the essence of what was going on, a powerful propaganda machine, distorting the truth, was set in motion: the historic and factologic events were put in the wrong order! In its history the Azerbaijan people has passed through a great deal of hardships, cruelties and injustice, but like that... when in the most arrogant way they want to tear out your heart - Karabakh, and moreover, you are blamed at the same time, such things have never happened.

Years, decades will pass, the people's grief will gradually dispell, but the treacherous and insidious conduct of the Kremlin hyenas in the period of 1986-1992 will remain in the historical memory of the people as a sample of continuity and succession of the Communist Leninist System! Indeed, the Genes do not dissapcar, they, transforming, pass from generation to generation - the GENES of Treachery and Hipocrisy, Cruelty and Beastiality, Tyranny and Bloodiness!

LENIN betrayed, tried, but had no time to exterminate his comrades who brought him to power - Martov, then in the following years Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Ordzhonikidze, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Bukharin and others.

STALIN betrayed and eliminated his comrades who brought him to power, first Trotsky, then in the years that followed, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Ordzhonikidze and others.

KHRUSHCHEV betrayed and removed from the political arena his comrades who brought him to power, first Stalin, then Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Shepilov and others.

BREZHNEV betrayed and removed from the political arena his comrades, who brought him to power, Khrushchev, then Kosygin, Podgorny, Mazurov, Kirilenko, Suslov, Voronov, Shelest, Polyansky, Shelepin and others.

And only Hovanes (Anastas) Mikoyan, skilfully manoeuvring, successfully got from Ilyich Lenin to Ilyich Brezhnev.

ANDROPOV removed from the political arena and discredited his comrades Brezhnev, Rashidov, Shchelokov, Churbanov.

CHERNENKO, because of his illness and short period of rule, didn't manage to reveal himself.

GORBACHEV betrayed and removed from the political arena his comrades, who brought him to power: Ligachev, Grishin, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Sojomentsev, Ryzhkov, Kunayev, Chebrikov, Shcherbitsky, Yeltsin, Dpbrynin, Dolgikh, Demichev, Zaykov, Zimyanin, Nikonov, Kapitonov, Rusakov, Kryuchkov, Yazov, Lukyanov, Baklanov, Boldin, with special pleasure - Aliyev, as a representative of the muslim national minority.

At this the history of the USSR ends and a new era begins, but the Kremlin Genes of Hyenas are still being handed down.

YELTSIN betrayed and removed from the political arena his close comrades who brought him to power: Khaspulatov, generals Rutskoy, Makashov, Achalov, Barannikov and others.

What next?

And now I shall briefly introduce to you the real organizers of the bloody January of 1990 and the Karabakh problem.

KRYUCHKOV Vladimir Alexandrovich, general of the Army. In 1989 was 65 years old. Rewarded with the Orders of Lenin, of the Red Banner, of the October Revolution, of the Red Banner of Labour, with the Symbol of Honour and

45 foreign orders. The author and organizer of bloody events in Hungary in 1959, in Checkoslovakia in 1968, in Afganistan in 1978, in Baku, Tbilisi and other spots of the former USSR.

In 1967 Kryuchkov, for the sake of his career, dissociated himself from his own sister, reporting her as an alcoholic and a professional thief, and from his brother with whom he didn't supposedly maintain any relations. Taciturn, insidious, is in possession of the comprehensive information about every leader of the USSR, including Gorbachev and his family.

YAKOVLEV Alexander Nikolayevich. In 1989 was 66 years old. Rewarded with orders and medals of the USSR, 16 foreign orders. Was taken prisoner by Germans, then turned up with the Americans. The author of the Great Chaos, called Peristroika, the ideological inspirator of the Karabakh events, leader and coordinator of the activities of Yelena Alikhanyan-Bonner, Galina Starovoytova, Zoriy Balayan, Silva Kaputikyan and other bosses of the Karabakh tragedy. For years he was working in the apparatus of the Tseka KPSS (\*), was in diplomatic service in Canada, where he got closely acquainted with the Armenian diaspora in the USA, England and France. Close to the homes of the noted American millionaire Gulbekyan, the English millionaire Gukasyan and the Iranian millionaire Akopyan. Actively contributed to Gorbachev's receiving a Nobel Prize.

SHAKHNAZAROV Georgy Khosrovovich, was 67 years old in 1989, is rewarded with the orders and medals of the USSR. For years was working in the apparatus of the Tseka KPSS, Mikoyan's protegee: being Gorbachev's assistant, did his utmost, first of all, for the appropriate treatment of his chief, secondly, for strengthening and further expansion of the Armenian lobby in the USSR, thirdly, for preparation of anti-Azerbaijani feelings in Armenia and Karabakh, and, finally, for strengthening business and other relations of the Armenian millionaires abroad with the Gorbachev family.

(In a luxurious and cozy study of the General Secretary of the Tseka KPSS Mikhail Gorbachev sits at the desk. The telephone is ringing.)

Gorbachev: Yes, Rayechka! I'm listening to you! No, my sweetheart, I'm coming later, just shall hold a conference and leave. Kiss Ksyushenka! Again?! I did ask you, don't expose our closeness! He has brought himself? Well, all right, tell Levon I'll be soon! See that he is fed, in a word, get him occupied, please!

(At the bell's ring a brilliant and pretty secretary in a mini-skirt enters.)

**Gorbachev:** Karinochka! Have all gathered? Connect me with Sitaryan and Alikhanyan. Give orders about dinner, yes, right at my place! Today I can't be delayed, we have a guest from your parts!

**Karina:** Mikhail Sergeyeovich! Makaryants called from Stavropol, I told him you were busy!

**Gorbachev:** Right! Tell him that everything is all right, everything will be all right, let him do what I assigned him and his comrades to do! And one thing



more, I ask you, during the meeting "don't disturb me, you distract, and the comrades make guesses! Last time I could hardly wash off your perfume before the session of the Politburo!

**Karina:** Mikhail Sergeyevich! But you know, I can't without you!

**Gorbachev:** Well, all right, all right. Come on, let the comrades in! Try to make your skirt longer by the end of the conference!

(Yakovlev Alexander Nikolayevich, Kryuchkov Vladimir Alexandrovich, Shakhnazarov Georgy Khosrovovich, Shevardnadze Eduard Ambrosievich enter the study. Gorbachev with casual gesture shows, well, take your seats. Looks at his watch.)

**Gorbachev:** We have no time to spare. During 30 minutes we have to settle a couple of questions. (Addresses Kryuchkov, nervously drumming his fingers on the desk)

**Gorbachev:** You are dragging on, just dragging on! You make everything up out of whole cloth, as if you made up your mind to discredit me! Why have we sent that Volsky to Karabakh? There is Vezirov fidgeting, telephoning, you see, sniffing all up and "what for and why?" As if he's got the reins under the tail! Your Volsky served Andropov much more better!

**Yakovlev** (getting gloomy): But, Mikhail Sergeyevich, really... he is doing his utmost!

**Gorbachev:** Well, shut up, and try to understand that it's possible and necessary to lead all these asiatics-muslims by the nose, but not for so long, you know, as he's been doing it, and at the same time, again repudiating me, (showing with his hands around those present) and you. (Addressing Kryuchkov) And you are a nice one, to be sure! What the fuck do you allow Raisa Maksimovna to do what she chooses? And you know what resonance her escapades have! There Aganbekyan took her last year in Paris to the grave of this, what's his name... (snaps his fingers)

**Kryuchkov:** Andranik!

**Gorbachev:** Yes, yes, Andranik! And her statement in America, when all the Gyulbekyan's men showered her with presents. Where was your praised Plekhanov Yury Sergeyevich (head of the KGB (\*) 9th Department, servicing the USSR top leaders - the author) looking, or this dumbhead Generalov Vyacheslav Vladimirovich (head of special maintenance-technical Directorate at the USSR KGB Horn (\*) - the author). She just up and stated through her stupidity, "We shall further strengthen the friendship between the Armenian and the Soviet peoples!" And it went on the air! Who is this we? What friendship? You deliberately don't pull her up!!!

**Kryuchkov** (softly and insinuatingly): Mikhail Sergeyevich! You yourself can't manage with her, then what do' you want from my men?! Besides, I have reported about her links with the Stavropol Armenians!

**Gorbachev** (hastily): Well, all right, all right, the question is not about that now! You always distract me!

**Kryuchkov** (angrily): It's not I who's started this talk!

**Shakhnazarov**: Comrades! Don't get on Mikhail Sergeyevich's nerves. We must all take care of him! (Nodding assent to Gorbachev and takes off an invisible speck of dust from Gorbachev's already immaculate suit).

**Shevardnadze**: (as if not hearing the dialogue which took place): You see, Mikhail Sergeyevich! You are, no doubt, right. The comrades work inaccurately, with lapses, you see, and omissions, that's why it's difficult for me to answer the questions of the Turkish leaders, who showed unrestrained interest, you see, in the fate of their brothers-Muslims (the last words Shevardnadze says with a cynical grin).

**Yakovlev** (addressing Shakhnazarov): And yours are nice ones, to be sure! I was doing my best, and really neither radio, nor television, nor the press mumbled a word about the bloody Gukark, Masis and Kafan, I'm not even speaking about Yerevan, at the same time all your press, especially abroad, proclaimed about "the sacred revenge of the Armenians upon the Turks"!

**Kryuchkov** (taking out a sheet of paper out of the file): And the address of Vazgen I to the Armenian people alone counts for a lot!

**Gorbachev** (pretending to be amazed, as if he heard it for the first time): Just look, and the priest has to go and do the same. Come, what he is mumbling there?!

**Kryuchkov**: Why, no, not mumbling! Here he hurts us as well, calls for the crusade against Russians!

(Shakhnazarov and Yakovlev frown, showing with all their appearance - well, what you are thrusting yourself forward!)

**Kryuchkov**: Here are some samples! (reads) "It is no secret that our lands, the lands of Greater Armenia, do not belong to us yet, but the time will come, and it is not far away, when there will be the necessity to conquer and settle down!"

In the last 40 years the Armenians occupied the lands of our ancestors. Our Armenians are settled over all the Black Sea coast, there are 60% of them there. Gradually the lands of the Krasnodar and Stavropol regions get freed (looking awry at Gorbachov), while some regions are completely occupied by our people. For example, in the town of Armavir (North Armenia) there are 80% of our people, in this way we shall return North Armenia, and our land will expand further, if we act wisely, as for instance with the town of Nakhchivan at Rostov.

These regions together with Rostov will be populated by Armenians. Skilfully acting and settling down on your native lands, you will soon see how strong our nation is. There is no reason for worry in that. We have strong support

of the Russian church and, in general, there are very many of our believers and supporters in Moscow, most of them hold key positions..."

**Gorbachev** (interrupting, indignantly): Look here, you, Zhora! What is this? How you could allow that! Disgusting! This priest thinks that if he sits on millions, then everything is allowed to him?! Stop it, shut his mouth up!

**Kryuchkov:** Mikhail Sergeevich! Calm down, he said that as far back as last year, and all the Armenian men know the text by heart! Listen to what comes next! (reads) "...I am sure that 400 thousand Armenians in Moscow and the Moscow region mean something. My children, peacefully, quietly buy houses on our native land for your relatives as well, persuade the local residents to leave the place, free the fertile lands, put roots, make for increase in the cadres of our nationality, as you can..." (looks awry at Yakovlev and Shakhnazarov) "...Fill the leading posts, for this God gave you intellect, and then help your own people to get settled. Only in this way it is possible to bring back to Greater Armenia its Glory!

Echmiadzin, June 12, 1988."

**Yakovlev** (after an embarrassing pause, with sarcasm so characteristic of him): Everything is so! But wouldn't dear Vladimir Alexandrovich prompt us how the KGB gives away our secrets to the whole world. Here, please, this was published by all French and American newspapers, (takes a sheet of paper out of his file) Here they say about the KGB's links with leaders of the "Dashnaksutsun" party, it's here (reads): "...Even today we are not fully informed about special services, because many contacts took place in Moscow at the highest level, and the content of those talks, as well as the agreements reached, remained unknown in Yerevan." (Closes the file)

And this is what your praised protege, chairman of the KGB of Armenia Marius Yuzbashyan, is blabbing out and so is his head of the first department Rudolf Grigoryan!

**Kryuchkov** (threateningly): Well, first all, we have materials on some top leaders as well, the so-called "agents of influence", capable of carrying out tasks formulated by the CIA, secondly, this Yuzbashyan is not my protege, but at a request of...

**Gorbachev** (hastily): Well, enough, enough going too far, well, really you are like kids! (turning to Shevardnadze) With Turkey it's clear, what about Iran?

**Shevardnadze:** They are also interested, but the hidden motive is different. Let's not forget that starting from 1828 the geopolitical interests of Iran always coincided with that of ours, Russian. Today Iran is a kind of the USSR and it's heart is South Azerbaijan!

**Gorbachev:** And what does South Azerbaijan have to do with that?

**Shevardnadze:** Thanks to efforts of our historians and diplomats, very few in the world know, except the experts, the real state of things.

Starting from 1804 Russia was involved in an exhausting war with Persia, pursuing the goal of extending the sphere of her influence and establishing full control over the Caspian. It was over in 1813 with signing of a treaty at the locality of Gulistan in Karabakh, according to which Ganja, Sheki, Shirvan, Derbent, Kuba, Talysh and Karabakh Khanates were annexed to Russia, that is, in fact, almost all the present-day Azerbaijan.

**Gorbachev:** Karabakh? And what was left to the Armenians?

**Shevardnadze:** Mikhail Sergeevich, at that time there were no Armenians in mass quantities on these territories.

**Gorbachev** (addressing Shakhnazarov): And you've been fooling me! What will you say now? (addressing Shevardnadze again) Well, now!

**Shevardnadze:** For exactly 13 years there was a relative tranquility in the region, but in 1826 the war flared up again. And when the troops of general Paskevich defeated the Persian army and, crossing the Araks, captured the capital of Azerbaijan Tebriz and other Azerbaijani towns: Maraga, Ardebil and Urmia, a new treaty was concluded at the locality of Turkmenchai in 1828, in compliance with which the Erivan and Nakhchivan Khanates were annexed to Russia and all the external territory, called South Azerbaijan, was turned over to Persia. At present there live about 25 million Azerbaijanis there, and we have only 7 million. It's interesting that about two hundred thousand Armenians live in Iran now, and in spite of this number, they have two deputies in the Parliament; it's true, they have quite different approach to elections - the national minorities are to be represented in the Parliament.

**Gorbachev:** So I understood that Iran, as also we, is not much interested in strengthening of our Azerbaijan?

**Yakovlev:** Absolutely right! Now we need to localize Turkey! Here I see the necessity of playing the Greek and Cyprus cards!

**Gorbachev** (addressing Kryuchkov): You told me once about the Kurds, about preparation of a base for them on the territory of Armenia, so that in future you could use them against Turkey as well. How are the things there now?

**Kryuchkov:** But, Mikhail Sergeevich, I wouldn't like here...

**Gorbachev:** Never mind, never mind, do speak, there are all our own people here...

**Kryuchkov** (getting gloomy): Everything goes according to the plan. My deputies Bobrov and Ageev are working at a more precise definition of the 1st and the 2nd stages of operation. Of special difficulty is the second stage. I want to say that Russians living in Azerbaijan became, one may say, related with the Azerbaijanis, therefore it will be very difficult for us to stir them up. Just the same, we've prepared an address to the Russians in the sense that if they don't leave Baku immediately then they'll be facing massacre from the local population. And here are the prepared samples of the address (holding out leaflets to Gorbachev). And if

nothing comes out of it, then the servicemen's families will begin a mass evacuation, thus causing panic among the civilian Russians. Notwithstanding that, we, all the same, through Echmiadzin win over many resistance organizations to our side, it's true the Armenians recruit them in advance. Here we have long established firm links through a network of Armenian churches abroad. And it all began as long ago as March 1945, when Stalin having received the deputy of their katolikos George Cheorekchyan, complied with all the requests, including a permission for church emissars from abroad to come to Armenia, opening of foreign exchange account for Echmiadzin, a religious academy, a publishing house and a magazine and many other things. Since then we've had close cooperation with them.

**Shakhnazarov** (animatedly): Yes, yes, it's exactly Turkey that in 1918 prevented Shaumian and Mikoyan from dividing finally the territory of the present-day Azerbaijan. It's a pity that then Lenin couldn't to the end help our comrades in Baku, and these cursed Turks assisted the nationalist government of so-called democrats, with their ideologue Rasulzade at the head, to come to power!

**The man of the theatre:** Georgy Khosrovovich! I have some questions to you! You know quite well that the so-called atrocities in Turkey in 1914-1915, in Azerbaijan in 1918, in Sumgait in 1988, in Karabakh in 1989-1993 were unleashed by you, your ideologues and executors from Zoryan and Andronik to Balayan and Ter-Petrosyan. All right, you are not sorry for the lives of Turks, Azerbaijanis, Lezgins, Georgians, but the fact is that it is also your own Armenians who were perishing and are perishing! What did you lack in Turkey, in Azerbaijan, in Russia; as a matter of fact, the best posts, the best houses, the best lands in these countries were given to Armenians? Don't you realize that someday you'll have to answer before your own people?

**Shakhnazarov:** Why, first of all, for you to know, the Armenians don't perish, and even if they do, then those are the refuse of the people, and those we have just a handful, well, may be tens, hundreds. Thanks God, we have enough money, whereas the mercenaries in the world are still more in number. Besides that, the "Dashnaktsutsun" Programme assumes that while there is only a single Armenian, we shouldn't denounce the idea of Greater Armenia. As for losses, well, I'll tell you more, where there is no blood, there are no gains.

**The man of the theatre:** And what about Napoleon and Hitler, you know to what tragedy they've brought their peoples, and how they ended their lives, don't you?

**Shakhnazarov** (nervously): They ended their lives so, because they were not Armenians, and then they attacked Russia as an enemy and we, on the contrary, shall use her. As for the posts, the houses, the lands, yes, it's really so. But it's not because Turks or Azerbaijanis gave them to us out of kindness, but because we are cleverer than you and these privileges... hm... are forced. Let's take, for instance,

Shakh Abbas I, do you remember? Well, so, in the 16th century he invited some dozens of Armenian families to Iran and gave them the best lands in Isfahan. When the local noblemen, filled with indignation, appealed to him, he said: "You are fools and the sons of fools. These lands won't be tilled by you for another hundred years, while the Armenians are industrious people and they will turn Isfahan into paradise". So it happened. By the way, young man, Shakh Abbas was an Azerbaijani.

**The man of the theatre:** It's common knowledge, your priest Arakel from Tebris wrote about it, as also Griboedov testified for history the great migration of Armenians to the lands of Azerbaijan in 1830. You know it quite well, to this day there stand in Karabakh a monument proclaiming: "We, the first Armenians, stepped on this good land. The year of 1830". To you personally there is no need to prove that you are newcomers on our lands, so what have the present-day territorial claims got to do with that?

**Shakhnazarov** (grinning): Appetite comes with eating, you are not given to understand it, and to understand you have to be Armenian! As for the responsibility, I assure you, we shan't be condemned, the flywheel gathered too high speed, and it's impossible to stop it! Because it is driven up to speed by our compatriots and their associates in America, France, England, I don't need to mention the USSR ! Remember Lebanon, we have managed to put there Sarkis as President, you know; only an accident brought to nought our victory! We know when to come out and what to demand! When in 1915-1920 the Great Ottoman Empire was breaking up, we raised mutinies and uprisings, demanding lands, but at that time nothing came out of it, in return we began the long-term struggle for genocide and territories. Now the USSR is disintegrating, and soon, in the next few years, we shall make for the crumble of Russia herself, and again a favorable for us period is coming! We shan't have such an opportunity the third time! But we have the highest goal - it is to strive for Armenians to become presidents' in America and France. Yes, yes, don't laugh! You are not aware of our power at all! And if before we asked for justice, then now we demand it, and tomorrow we shall turn to actions. We've had enough! Our demand is to recognize genocide and to return the lands belonging to our ancestors! We have behind us the most powerful diaspora, international resistance organizations and first of all, the renowned Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), Just Commandoes of Armenian Genocide (JCAG), the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA). During the last ten years, through the actions of these organizations, there were killed or wounded hundreds of Americans, Russians, Turks, Azerbaijanis, Swedes, French, Canadians, Austrians and even Armenians, who don't support us, and even try to expose us!

**The man of the theatre:** But these are the terrorist organizations, if they kill even the Armenians??!

**Shakhnazarov:** Yes, yes! For us they are not Armenians, but our enemies, worse than the Turks! It is you who call them terrorists, while we - the resistance. We managed to get in close contact with other international resistance organizations: Iranian, Cuban, Salvadorian, Croatian, Lebanese and many others. Our main bases are on Cyprus, in Lebanon and in Greece. Since childhood we've been taught to hate you, Turks, and we continue this tradition and pass on the race baton to younger generation.

**The man of the theatre:** But this is, really, inhuman! To kill absolutely innocent people, even your fellow-compatriots, to demand what has never belonged to you, to keep up the flame of non-existent genocide! You know it quite well, don't you? You know that if during the events in 1914-1920, because of hunger, cold, ethnic wars and deportation there perished in Turkey 300 thousand Armenians, then at the same time there also perished 2,5 million Turks!

**Shakhnazarov:** Yes! But only You and We know about that. As for the world, thanks to our century-long propaganda and efforts in this direction, it believes us! You have never seriously devoted yourself to that, you haven't been refuting, haven't been proving! We were preparing, and you would pay off the military service; as long ago as under the czar, and also under these...the Soviets, your children served where?.. most of them in the kitchen, in construction battalions, as adjutants...

**The man of the theatre:** This is true, we thought there wasn't any need to cry throughout the world about your falsification, we've been naive and trustful, and you ...really, the leopard cannot change its spots!

**Shakhnazarov** (grinning): You are wrong again! Nothing and no one will change us, and we shall follow along the path shown to us by our ancestors!!!

**The man of the theatre:** And as it was not once in history, you will bring your people to another tragedy and get choked with your own blood. You are intoxicated with today successes and support, but a painful hangover, no doubt, will come! And then the Armenian people itself will ask from you for what you've done. Remember, bloody follies and crimes are irreparable and are never forgiven!!

During the dialogue between the man of the theatre and Shakhnazarov, Gorbachev is discussing something animatedly, not interfering with them.

**Gorbachev** (loudly): Wait a moment, wait a moment! You say there live a lot of Lezgis, Kurds and Talyshis in Azerbaijan now?

**Shevardnadze:** Yes, it is so!

**Gorbachev:** Then why do you so poorly play these strategic cards? Why don't I hear the echo of a conflict between them and the Azerbaijanis, why don't you stir up the public opinion against Azerbaijan!

**Yakovlev:** Mikhal Sergeich! We, with Eduard Amvrosievich's knowledge, have already been stirring up this question for two years and have achieved something!

**Gorbachev** (displeased): Very little you have achieved! It's not seen!

**Kryuchkov:** According to our information, someone in Azerbaijan wants to turn the flow of refugees-Azerbaijanis from Armenia to Karabakh, specifically, to Stepanakert. It is necessary to take some steps, or else...

**Gorbachev** (addressing Yakovlev and Shakhnazarov): Prepare urgently a Resolution of the Tseka KPSS on banning of such actions, and generally about maintaining the existing demographic ratio, so to say, a balance between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis in Nagorno-Karabakh!

**Yakovlev:** It's been already prepared!

**Gorbachev:** And what will you say?

**Kryuchkov:** From the very first days, the work of the Committee of Special Administration was hampered, because both sides were jealously watching its every step, every measure. Well, it's a bit easier with Azerbaijan, there the leadership, unlike the masses, believes the centre and you, Mikhail Sergeevich! It's much more difficult with the Armenians. Despite your warnings, they bring every step of the Committee for economical replacement of industrial infrastructure of the NKAO under jurisdiction of Armenia or Russia, from the news pages, through radio and television as another victory, they yell about Moscow's sympathies, what provokes the appropriate reaction of the opposite side.

**Gorbachev:** Everyone is to be involved in this. And now, this what I'd like to say. To distract the attention of masses, we have to thoroughly destabilize the situation, to create CHAOS on a country scale and in the whole society, and maintain this situation for several years. After a certain period of time, after accomplishing the strategic task, it's necessary to remove the KOU (\*), and do it as a concession to Azerbaijan, let them do as they please. The future actions of Armenia in the NKAO and generally in the region must go without our participation, but under our control! By the way, (towards Shevardnadze), so we have agreed there, on the Malta. Though it's true, I have come to some new intentions...

**Shevardnadze:** Mikhail Sergeich! Recently I have again considered the details with James Baker, US State Secretary. There are additional nuances, the most important thing: we, the centre, remain in the shadow, absolutely, you see. The regions get drawn into the CHAOS, destabilization, conflicts themselves, you see!

**Gorbachev** (having grinned and screwing up his eyes, looks towards Shakhnazarov): I even know who will help us in that! Well, it's all over now. I must leave! (Bends to the selector) Karina! The dinner's cancelled!

(All are about to leave.)



**Gorbachev** (pretends he is looking for some document, addresses Yakovlev): Alexander Nikolayevich! Where have you put the reference? (Surprised Yakovlev, not understanding looks at Gorbachev, the latter follows with his eyes those leaving the room, and when the door is closed, grinning) We have to talk! I don't like this Kryuchkov, he began to answer with a snarl, like some others. Yes, we have shouldered a tremendous load! I am even not quite sure whether we shall manage.

**Yakovlev:** Mikhail Sergeich! There is no way back. We have a principal support. The West is with us. The main thing is that the planned by us processes were hushed up by them, and this will be done! I told the CIA chief, "fuck your mother, we release you of such financial burden, you spent up billions and trillions on various military bases, radio stations, newspapers, materials.... and we, once and for all, release you of such gigantic financial expenditures...They promised a Nobel Prize for you and financing of the association we formed.

**Gorbachev:** That's good! But that's in future. Today we have to think in detail over the matters of a social, no, a political upheaval. You know, I've even thought of a name for our action... PUTCH, yes, exactly, putch, only, evidently it's necessary to come to an agreement with Yeltsin, there are some questions there. Here you must put pressure on Nazarbayev, remind him that he sits on a powder keg himself, or else we him...

**Yakovlev:** He is our man, don't you worry!

**Gorbachev:** They say, Gorbachov is breaking up the state. Therefore you must unfold a frenzied propoganda that it is not the state that is disintegrating, but the commanding structures, the commanding forms of unification of the republics and peoples that are disintegrating.

**Yakovlev:** It's a difficult task! First of all, your associates don't trust me anymore, I shall try, but you have to accelerate the processes of deep-seated separation of national and nationalistic forces.

**Gorbachev:** All is not so simple. In one thing you are right, during a year-two, we must speed up the events... Well, soon we shall stir Baku, then the process will go. We must play on a Muslim factor. You, Alexander Nikolayevich, have still more to push the press, television. The main body - Yakovlev from "Moscow News", Korotich from "Ogonyok", Burlatsky from "Litgazeta", Golembiovsky from "Izvestia" must sharply pick up speed. The deeper and tougher the national feelings of the Azerbaijanis are affected, the faster and on a larger scale the process will go. Let's put in use everything - both the religious and historic factors.

**Yakovlev:** Mikhail Sergeich! We must, by all means, fulfill our obligations to our friends THERE, and cope with a historical mission, HERE!

**Gorbachev:** Right you are! Get me informed of the principal strategic matters, as for trifles, finish them yourself with our team. The main thing, it's

necessary to act resolutely, without looking back, but at the same time not to leave any traces! We must remain pure before history!

(The lights go out completely. There are sounds of bursts of machine gun firing, explosions, cries and moans of children, women, men, at the same time clear-cut words of command "Fire!", "Forward!" are heard. There is a flash of lightning, the rolls of thunder.) The voice of the Central Television anchorman: "...In Baku a group of rioting elements..."

(There are newsreel shots shown on the stage. The square of Freedom, the funeral procession, fragments of speeches by Sheykh-ul-Islam, the dean of Russian Orthodox Church, the rabbi of the Jewish Community.

An interminable stream of people is moving to the burial place. There are hooters of ships, sirens of factories heard, and then suddenly - silence.)

**The man of the theatre:** We have been witnesses of this monstrous massacre, the bloody Baku January of 1990. However, the civilized world will know all the truth about our tragedy only several months later. History has put our generation before the hardest ordeal, and we must, in the name of memory of those innocently perished at the hands of executors and functionaries of the Bloody System, with all our strength, fight and expose the Biped Hyenas brought to life at the beginning of this miserable century!

### **PART III BAKU, JANUARY 18, 1990.**

(A large mulberry tree in the centre of a small square. It's getting dark. 6 or 7 men conversing, by their looks a worker, a scientist, an engineer, a representative of commercial circles, a nomenclature employee of a house-maintenance office scale, a street mafioso. Scrapes of conversation are heard.)

- We've been told that everything will be all right... They will not dare... It's necessary to listen to us, the profiteers, well, yesterday I flew back from Moskow, there together with Vartan we are doing nicely, pushing and bossing at the Cheremushensky market...

They say the Tseka (\*) secretaries and a representative from Moskow, Mikhailov, will go on television, they sure won't cheat the people...

(The house-maintenance office (HMO) nomenclature with a university badge on his coat's lapel listens attentively to all, turning his head ostrich-like towards every one speaking, interrupts.)

**The HMO nomenclature:** have an acquaintance working in the Governer's Gardens, that is to say almost in Gorkom (\*), they were told that the people had to be calmed! But why should we be calmed! Once we were calmed in April 1920, there turned up the local faggots at that time, they'd been calming people more than anyone else, but then we've been living quietly for 70 years !

- Shut up, chatlag (\*). It is called quietly, when all the time I have to steal, take risks, and bribes go to district militia officer, the OBHSS (\*), the raikom (\*) officials, and all with no dust and filth.

- Oh, come, we are like a flock of sheep, wherever the shepherd turns, there we run!

- The shepherd isn't here, you know! They say he took his heels to Moscow!... Oh, no, he is here, he promised the people to build bath-houses and install computers in every tea-house, didn't he? - the HMO nomenclature says quite seriously.

"Not only a computer, but even a collective farm abacus won't help you either," says the mafioso, "again you've tapped on me to the cop?!"

(The conversation assumes obviously unseemly nature. A voice is heard from the roof of a two-storeyed house.)

- Aidyn, Aidyn, come, they said there would be an important news!

(Out of the opened windows on the ground floor, from the basements, the voices of women calling their husbands are heard.

A common Baku apartment with a verandah looking over the roof of the two-storeyed house.

There are portraits of noted musicians, composers and singers hung on one wall of the room, and four tars (\*), one of them with a shot-through body, on the other wall. While Solmaz is laying the table, Aidyn changes quickly and sits down in front of the TV set. At last she sits down and looks with a pride at the wooden cot and the prepared baby's garments.

Meanwhile, the well-known figures of Azerbaijan and Moskow appear on television, discussing with confidence the absurdity of rumours about bringing the Soviet troops into Baku. The telephone rings.)

**Voice:** D'you hear how they are lying bitches. I've just come from the square in front of the Tseka (building), thousands of people. Primakov, this baptized son of a Tiflis shop-keeper had said the same to the people, but the people hissed him off, the eye-witnesses from Shemakhi and Turkyani spoke. They had seen themselves the columns of tanks and armoured cars, the drunk bearded men in the disguise of the Soviet Army uniform, there were many Armenians among them! Well, the people say more, that a curfew will be imposed.

(Having placed the receiver, Aidyn takes the local newspapers with the usual reports on production successes, on friendship and internationalism. The meaning of what his wife is saying reaches him.)

**Solmaz:** I remember how Mirza-Mansour, before passing away last year, said that they in Transcaucasia, there in Moskow, hadn't and wouldn't let us live here peacefully. You'd better, Aidyn, repair this tar, for all that, it is a unique instrument.

**Aidyn:** No, Solmaz, this is for you and me, for our children (tenderly looks at her stomach) - a bleeding wound, the memory of our tragic history. This

tar was made by an Armenian, Lazar, and shot by another Armenian, a dashnak Tatevos!

(He takes another tar and, bending his head to it, plays with a touching effect "Bayati-Shiraz" (\*). The room is filled with silver sounds of eternal mugam (\*).)

Morning of January 19, 1990. As usual, having ironed Aidyn's shirt, cleaned his shoes and suit, Solmaz stood habitually at the door with a glass of water to splash it out after him on his leaving home...

Evening of the same day. The whole city is boiling up. Close to midnight the tension grows. This is manifested by explosion at the television studio, cutting off the radio, spreading rumours about closure of newspapers. The doors and windows of Tseka, Sovmin (\*) and VS (\*) buildings are tightly closed.

At 12.00 midnight a large-scale invasion of the city began. At 01:00 over the local radio, which by some miracle came to life, an exciting appeal to all Bakuers to go out in the streets; to defend the city was aired... But with what? As it, subsequently, turned out, it was a Jesuit provocation of the Soviet Army to deal with the peaceful population, but it will come later... Meanwhile...

After midnight Aidyn and Solmaz, all their neighbours were watching from the roof of the house, with concern and horror, the shooting, especially in the northern part of the city, in the area of the Salyan barracks, the tracers crisscrossing the sky over Baku.

On the eve of the invasion, the drunk soldiers were instilled the idea of Russians and Armenians in Baku being murdered, girls of Slavic origin raped, of the boy-snipers tracking their victims and shooting them in cold blood.

- There, scums, they have one and the same hand. In the same way they dealt with the people in Tbilisi in 1956, in Checkoslovakia in 1968, in Afghanistan in 1978. The executors are different but the scenario is the same, of the Kremlin-KGB's! No one is to go out anywhere! They are inviting the people to a massacre! Look here, let's go downstairs and ring up round all our friends and relatives, and warn them about this appalling provocation.

(Seeing Aidyn, trembling with anger, his neighbour took him by his hand.)

**Neighbour:** Aidyn, I entreat you by all saints, by memory of Mirza and the future of your child - don't leave the house!

- My dear! I beg you not to yield to provocation! Go away home! An hour is the morning is worth two in the evening!

(The people began slowly going away. Throwing the overcoat on his shoulders, Aidyn went to the front door.)

**Solmaz:** I shan't let you go! Only over my dead body!

(Solmaz fell to her knees, tightly embraced his feet sobbing violently)

**Aidyn:** Well, what's that with you, my love?! We'll have still to bring up our child, I'll just look what's down there, I promise I won't be long! There, there, calm down, make tea, I won't be delayed. Call our parents, tell them everything is all right with us!

(But is it possible to deceive a woman, especially a young one? She stood up, wiped tears and embracing his head began wildly kissing him.)

**Solmaz:** My sweetheart, my dear, don't leave me alone, I won't stand that! Let me go with you!

**Aidyn:** No, darling! That's not women's business !

(Gently pushing her aside, he looked in her face for a long time and then, resolutely turning away, went out.)

January 21. Midday. Headquarters of 4th Soviet Army. Primakov, Bakatin, Girenko, Yazov, Varennikov sprawl imposingly in the arm-chairs. Generals Achalov, Makashov and Dubinyak stand by the window. General Lebed reports.

**Lebed:** Some deputation is insistently asking to be received by you, (grinning with contempt) and there is even a Hero of the Soviet Union among them!

**Primakov** (exchanging glances with those seated): Let them in!

(The new-comers, four in number, first embarrassed for a moment, then address Primakov, who forestals them with a question.)

**Primakov:** How can we help you, when is the funeral?

Hardly keeping in rage, his tumours playing, Sheikh-ul-Islam stepping forward, utters in a low voice.

**Sheikh-ul-Islam:** You, mister Primakov, have already shown all your possibilities in rendering help to the people of Azerbaijan!

Our nation has been for centuries orientated towards Russia, the Russian people, the people who has pure heart and honest hands. Five hundred thousand Russians live and work here and Azerbaijan has become for them the second Motherland. In the hard years of history they and their brethren in Russia were always with us, and we shared with them both grief and joy. But we don't need Your help! Look at your hands, there is BLOOD on them!!! The blood of Russians and Azerbaijanis, Jews and Lezgis, Tatars and Georgians! You, gentlemen, you stole into our home at night, like mean mercenaries through a small opening window pane, and now, while it is not too late, get out through the door, until the people tear you into pieces, get out, get out immediately! Tomorrow we'll hold the funeral, arrange so that not a single soldier-murderer is in the way of the procession! Tell your boss that despite everything he failed to disgrace the good name of the Russian people, he and his troops will answer before the trial of history, before Azerbaijan, for this bloody massacre of the helpless people!

(Russian clergyman Lukyanov Victor steps forward.)

**Lukyanov:** What on earth have you done? You have got no cross on you! How shall we look in the faces of our brothers-Azerbaijanis after all what's happened?! In the name of Russian Orthodox church I curse you forever and ever. Let's go out of here, my brothers!

**Zia:** Wait a moment, father Victor! (Addressing Yazov and Varennikov, Zia, the hero of the Soviet Union, utters through clenched teeth) The Russian people will reward you according to your deserts! You will get in full for what you've done! And now we have nothing to speak with you about!

The two-million procession is slowly moving through the city in the direction of the Nagorny (Upland) Park. Coffins, coffins, coffins...

The portraits of Aidyn and Solmaz are in front of the procession, there are people around, the ocean of people, and one poster draws a special attention of all: "The Azerbaijani Russians are together with you!"

There are hooters of sea vessels, steam lokomotives and factories heard.

Army helicopters are chattering in the sky, sharp-shooters lay in hiding on the roofs of high-rise buildings, as the people, silently, wiping tears, sees off on their last journey the first innocent victims of reviving democracy of the end of the 80s of the 20th century...

Meanwhile, in the Headquarters of 4th Army, Primakov, concluding the banquet, proposes a toast.

**Primakov:** Mikhail Sergeevich has just called, he congratulated you all on this victory and succesfully accomplished operation, at the same time he asked all of us to urgently fly to Moscow, it's nessesary to finish something in the Baltics, Tadjikistan, Moldova. I think general Dubinyak with his assistants will cope with the task here; properly speaking, the main business has been done, I believe we've suppressed Azerbaijan for long!

You, comrade Yazov, have to urgently submit lists of commanders and soldiers who especially had distinguished themselves during the invasion into Baku.

And to you, comrade Dubinyak, soon, very soon we shall send new soldiers and commanders, who even won't know what their predecessors have been doing. And you will be replaced too. This is the order of the Commander-in-Chief: Let them seek the guilty among the innocent. Good journey, comrades!

## FROM THE AUTHOR

From the night of the 20th to the 30th of January, 1990 I and my son Haji Enver were in the epicentre of tragic events: the Salyan barracks, the hospitals, the morgues, the mosque Teze-Pir and other spots. My son has taken unique and horrible shots of those unforgettable days.

During this time we met different people, frightened and resolute, uncaring (these were mainly correspondents coming from Moscow) and indifferent, but in its majority the people showed itself still clearer from another aspect - IT WAS GETTING WISER !

...When the Central television and radio, and after them the whole Kremlin press, in a most insolent way declared to the whole world that there was an anti-soviet mutiny raised in Baku, in which armed militants and bandits took part, and that, it's said, some of them were killed during skirmishes, I took one of the noted journalists S. to the Alley of Shekhids (\*), told him that those perished were mostly shot from the back, that there were forensic examination reports, that hundreds more were in the hospitals, and that such meanness and cruelty could be committed only by quadropedal people of hyenas type, that there were children, newly weds, old people lying there, people of different nationalities, then why in addition to cruelty shown by the Kremlin, lie and meanness have been augmented? If only they had conscience and wouldn't defile the memory of unarmed people perished at the hands of hired killers! And here I remembered a poem by Kipling about a bold and courageous king's soldier, who devoted all his life to the struggle for freedom, who fearlessly fought against the enemies of his people, and who, however, after his death lay in the grave quite defenceless, and his grave was dug out and the body gobbled by hyenas, and the soldier couldn't do anything; in the end Redyard Kipling wrote:

Hyenas'll devour the cowards and brave  
Without much a do,  
But they don't stain the deads' good names;  
That is for men to do!

S., with tears in his eyes, promised to tell the world the whole TRUTH about the events of January 20, 1990. Then I believed him.

However, he didn't keep his promise, well, incidentally, as many other Moscow journalists. And then I came to believe that the foul genes in nature are passed from generation to generation not only with certain species of animals!

Unfortunately, the world learned the truth about the bloody Baku January only some time later, thanks to courageous efforts of the Azerbaijani writers, journalists, creative intelligentsia.

And when the world was shattered with, the events of October 4, 1993 in Moscow, where already the Russian people's blood was river-like shed as well, then it became clear that for the bloody system created by Lenin there is no nationalities difference either!

Mardakian – Baku  
April – October 1993

## NOTES

### PART 1

Vtsik - All-Russian Central Executive Committee

Narkomat - People's Commissariat

GosKontrol - State Control

Vecheka - All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage

Cheka - see above

Narkomindel - People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs

Narkom - people's commissar

VRK - Military Revolutionary Committee

Revkom - revolutionary committee

SNK - Council of People's Commissars

Gubispolkom - Province Executive Committee

Kulaks - a well-to-do class of Russian peasants who were enabled to become landowners by the agrarian reforms (1906) of Stolypin. The kulaks opposed collectivisation after the Bolshevik revolution and were liquidated as class (1929) by Stalin (Russ.)

Menshevik - a member of the moderate minority faction of the Russian Social Democratic party which split (1903) from the Bolsheviks and was absorbed or liquidated after 1918 by the Russian Communist party

Tseka RKP (B) - Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of (Bolsheviks)

Troika - tribunal comprising three persons (Russ.)

Gohran - State Depository of jewelery, diamonds and gold

GPU - Chief Political Administration

Glavzoloto - Chief Directorate of Gold Mining

VSNH - All-Russian Council of People's Economy

Dershimorda - of a man who is ill-bred, coarse, tough, brutal and prepared to break the law, uncivil, bad-tempered (vulg. Russ.)

Revvoensoviet - Revolutionary Military Council

Komintern - Communist International

Duma - an elective council, esp. the lower house of the legislature established by czarist decree in 1905 and overthrown by the Bolsheviks in 1917 (hist. Russ.)

Bolsheviks - members of the Russian Communist party, constituted in 1903 by the majority, faction of the congress of the Russian Social Democratic party



Narkomvoenmor - People's Commissar for Navy  
Sovdep - Soviet Department

Sovnarkom - Council of People's Commissars  
comandarms - commanders of armies (abbr. Russ.)  
shashlik - pieces of mutton roasted on a spit over charcoal (Azeri)  
verst - old Russian linear measure equivalent to 3500 feet, 1,06 km  
shkalik - old Russian unit of vodka or wine equivalent to 0,06 litres  
thinking - to think, Russian euphuism for "to relieve one's bowels"

## **PART 2**

Tseka KPSS – Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
KGB – State Security Committee of the USSR  
HOZU – Economic Directorate at KGB  
KOU – Committee for Special Administration

## **PART 3**

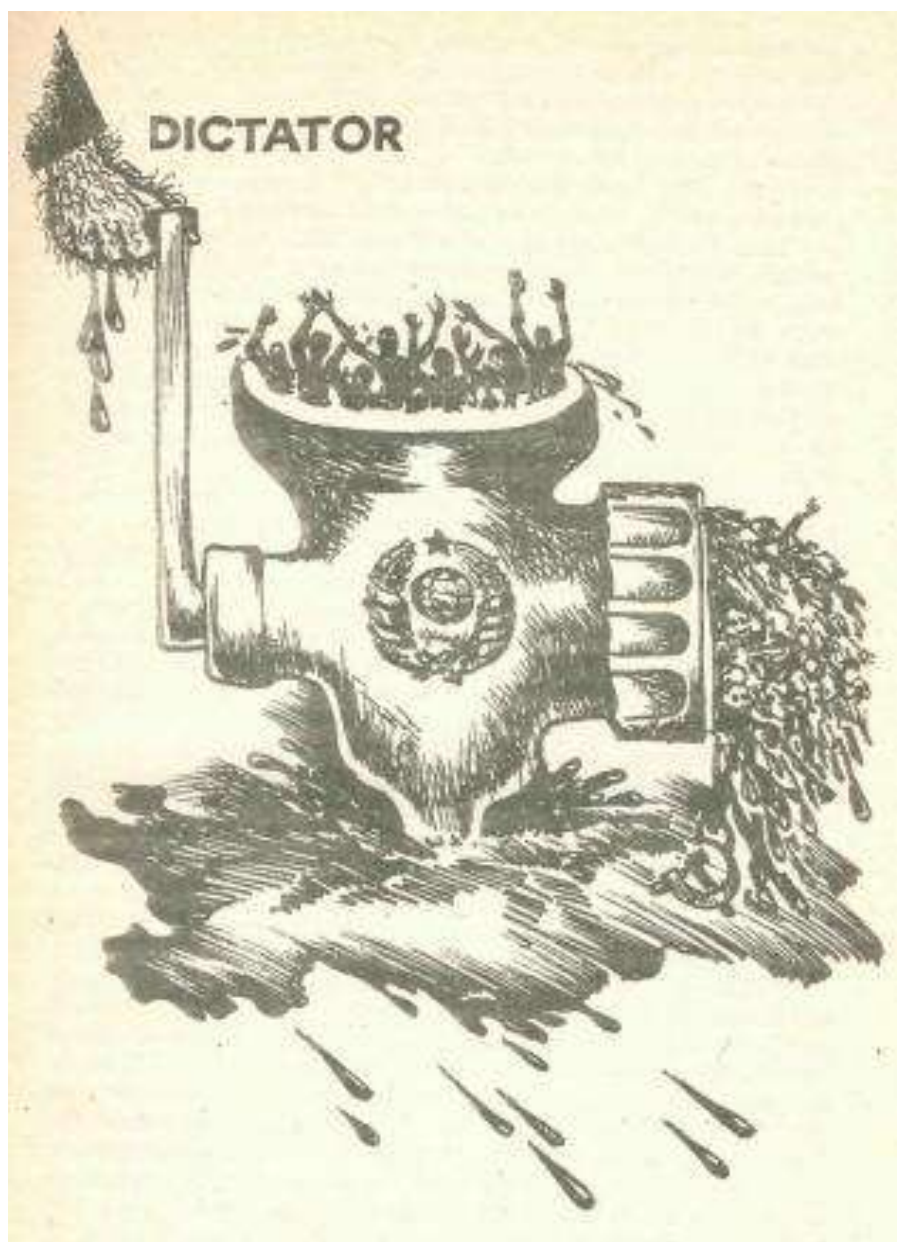
Ka – Central Committee  
Gorkom – City Party Committee  
Chatlag – Scoundrel, rascal (vulg. Azeri)  
Raikom – district Party Committee  
OBHSS – Department for Struggle against Misappropriation of Social Property  
Shemakhi, Turkyani – suburbs of Baku  
Tar – national musical instrument (Azeri)  
“Bayati-Shiraz” – popular mugam (Azeri), see below  
Mugam – specific oriental way of singing (Azeri)  
Sovmin – Council of Ministers  
VS – Supreme Council  
Shekhid – Martyr (Azeri)

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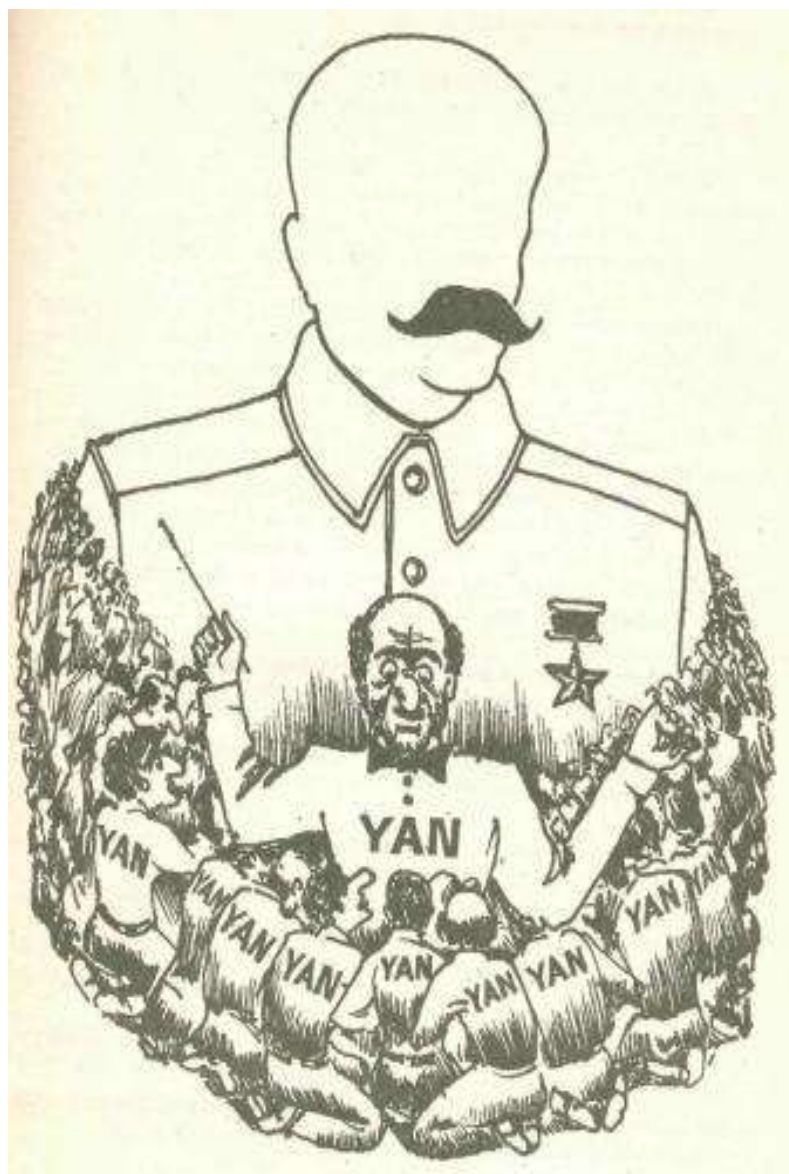
About the author  
In lieu of a preface  
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From the author  
Notes



# Dictator





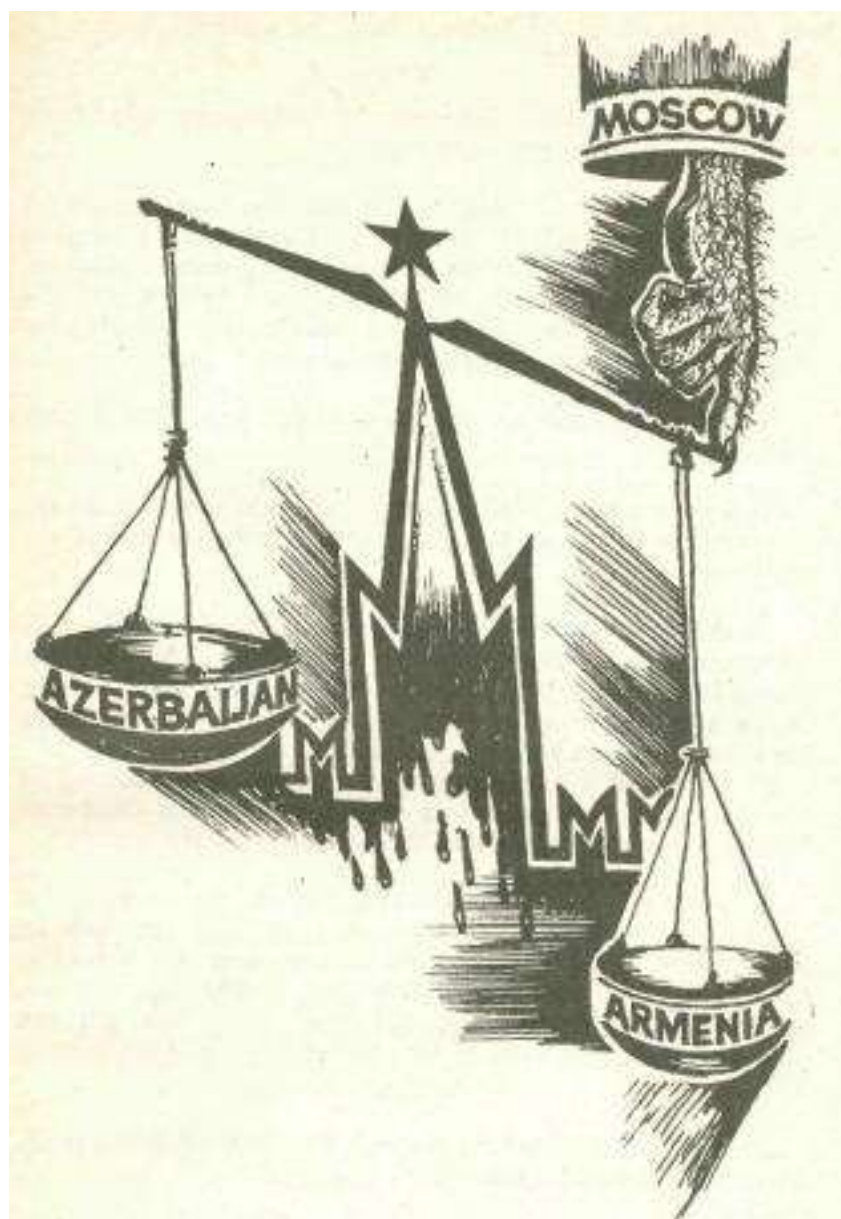














**Nəşriyyat direktoru O. Sadixov**  
**Mətbəə direktoru H. Quliyev**  
Sifaris №140 Tirajı 10000  
İBtel9

Azərbaycan Respublikası Mətbuat və İnformasiya Nazirliyi  
"Şərq-Qərb" nəşriyyatı.  
Bakı, Böyük Qala küçəsi, 41.  
"Şərq-Qərb" mətbəəsi Bakı, Açıq Ələsgər küçəsi, 17.

Arif Ənvər oğlu Mansurov  
"Gorəşən xisləti"  
(ingilis dilində)  
Bakı Şərq – Qərb 1994