



# **TO REVEAL A LIE, TO TELL THE TRUTH**

**PRESS-CONFERENCE  
OF THE PRESIDENT  
OF AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC.  
FOR SOVIET AND FOREIGN  
JOURNALISTS**

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As it was stated in press, on May 14, the President of Azerbaijan Republic Mr. Ayaz Mutalibov held the press-conference for a large group of journalist from many foreign and Soviet agencies and telecompanies.

They arrived in the capital of Azerbaijan with regards to the new turn of aggravation of tension in Nagorny Karabakh and the regions of Azerbaijan, bordering on Armenia caused by the artificially made rush in Armenian press around the recent events in Azerbaijanian villages Chaikend and Karabulag of Khanlar region, where the Armenian population live . This rush was hastily picked up by mass media of some foreign countries and some Soviet editions, not concealing their pro-Armenian orientation.

The secretaries of the Central Committee of the CP of Azerbaijan A.F. Dashdamirov, F.G. Muradaliev, the General Procurator of the Republic I.I. Gaibov took part in the press-conference.

Before the questions of journalists, the President of Azerbaijan said:

- It is not possible to look at today's events without connection of the whole process developing from February, 1988. To have an objective opinion on today's situation, it is necessary to analyse those factors which are in the base of non-stop conflict, called an international one, although this definition is very far from indisputable one. Why? Because ethnical and religious factors have no important influence on what is going on. The confirmation is that relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Armenian and Azerbaijanian peoples during all the ancient history were always bearing more kindness, than evil, which is introduced, I consider, by definite forces during the years of perestroika. Anyhow, belonging to different religions and ethnical groups did not prevent from formation of thousands of mixed families in both Republics.

But let us return to the beginning. Let us remember February, 1988, mass meetings and strikes, which for the first time in Azerbaijan and in the whole country took place exactly in Stepanakert.

Mass strike actions and demonstrations, that we assumed of the western world, took unawares the Republic Government and the Central one as well. And then, not trying to consider the reasons of those actions of displeasure they began immediately to extinguish the flamed fire hurriedly removed people from the squares, forcing them to go home and back to their working places, then saying later that all was quiet and in order. Although it was necessary to think over what caused such mass displeasure and why it became in February, 1988? What were the motives?

The official version of those days was that the Armenian population of Nagorny Karabakh was against the discrimination coming from the Azerbaijanian leadership, from official Baku, and they referred to the social and economical problems, those factors that defined living standards of the population. Those were exactly the factors used by persons who became later the leaders of the movement for tearing away Nagorny Karabakh. The reaction of the Government was simple. It began to work out the Union resolution which was quickly adopted. In accordance with that resolution half a billion of roubles was allotted in order to solve the problems of Nagorny Karabakh. But after the adoption of the resolution the leaders of the movement officially stated that the social and economical problems did not worry them at all and their aims were political ones.

Moreover, there were some statements questioning the action to cut off half of a billion roubles from someone and to give it to Nagorny Karabakh at the time when the whole country is in such a difficult situation. They say it insults and humiliates them and they do not need such a support. This statement was made for a simple reason: the statistic data published at that time was the evidence of the fact that many indices of the social well-being and living standards of Nagorny Karabakh were higher than those of Azerbaijan, Armenia and in some cases even higher than that of the Union.

In other words, it was openly said: "We do not want to be in Azerbaijan, we want to join Armenia."

Were those who began this movement, which was very soon legalized under the name "Karabakh movement", aware that the reaction of people in Azerbaijan for such kind of separatism within the

Republic would be negative? Naturally, they were aware of that. Did they suppose the consequences, including the extreme ones? Surely, they did. The only one conclusion remains: all that was part of the thoroughly worked out, stage-by-stage plan of realization of the given task to tear away Nagorny Karabakh. You can ask me, why this question was raised exactly in February, 1988? The answer is simple: because those who headed the movement were very well informed people, they had a very good information about the way of development of the country. And it is necessary to say that they got the information from the strong Armenian lobby, which still exists and takes an active part in all these processes. They were aware that the process of democratization will soon begin and from pluralism of opinions we shall pass to political pluralism.

What was necessary to be done at that moment? It was necessary to forecast the today's events and to differentiate thoroughly social problems from territorial claims and it was necessary to state firmly that all the borders, formed by the Constitution of 1922 are out of the question of reconsideration. It will be a sacrilege and every such attempt will be stopped.

Really, Politbureau made such a statement but it was not categorical, some clear gap remained, and the main thing was that after this statement there were no decisive actions of stopping separatism.

Were the murderous conflicts taken into consideration by those who raised this movement? Surely, yes. Those people were very well aware of the character of the Azerbaijanians which is far from intriguing and pretence, sometimes the tendency to solve the problems spontaneously, their attempts to defence their honour immediately.

Strictly speaking that happened when crowds of people from Agdam region, neighbouring with Askeran region of Nagorny Karabakh, made their way there to see for themselves what had happened. It was a difficult task to stop these people. But all the same at that time shots resounded and the first two people were killed-they were Azerbaijanians. Incredible efforts were needed to stem the burst of indignation, discontent, to stop the people from reciprocal actions. But did the murder of two innocent young people stop the leaders of the movement from the other side? No. Several days later there began mass deportation of the Azerbaijanians from Stepanakert-the regional centre of Nagorny Karabakh, which is the inalienable part of Azerbaijan. About two thousands people were

forced to leave their native land. Naturally, in response, there were pushed away Armenians, who lived in Shusha region of Nagorny Karabakh, where the population are mainly Azerbaijanians. Armenia immediately interfered, stirred up the population of their republic. As the result, on the very first days of February, hundreds of refugees from the neighbouring with us Kafan region moved to the territory of Azerbaijan. We managed to return back part of this people with great effort. But others refused once and for all to return to Armenia and stayed with their relatives. They were mainly old people, women, children. The majority of them stayed with those who moved from Armenia during last seventy years and part of them settled near the city of Sumgait. That caused later the Sumgait situation. The group of thugs Azerbaijanians who were later publically condemned on behalf of people of Azerbaijan for their crime, committed robbery. By the way, the real state of Sumgait affairs is well-known, and I think there will be such a time when we can speak loudly about that even if Sumgait was founded by the representatives of different nationalities, for 45 years this city was growing, developing and there lived Azerbaijanians, Russians, Armenians and nobody killed anyone.

**Dashdamirov A.F.-** By the way, there was an Armenian among the thugs and murderers.

**Mutalibov A.N.-** The fact that there was an Armenian among them is kept up in silence up to now, the mass media did not expose this. Well, that is not the point. There will be a time when that will be revealed in detail. The Azerbaijanians repulsed these thugs who took part in robbery. But what is suprising. The next day the TV companies of Europe, the USA had already showed in news programs scenes of Sumgait events. They are still being shown on the Armenian TV apparently in order to support the version about the Azerbaijanian vandalism. Nobody mentions that many Azerbaijanians saved the Armenians in this conflict as it was done in Baku in the January of 1990.

At the same time, what is not quite clear is that no one finds out time for asking as it was in Roman Empire times when people had already learned to determine guilt and innocence of its fellow-citizens and who is right and who is wrong in this conflict? The system of equal responsibility and equal guilt which is observed even

in press all the time, calls bewilderment, indignation of the Azerbaijanian people, because it does not favour the localization of the conflict, but it favours its development and continuation. It was necessary to say clearly: You are right and You are wrong and to finish the matter. We told about this in 1988, we realized its consequences. Perhaps someone did not need that, it did not fit someone's plans, perhaps mighty political forces were involved in it, that is why this heated international conflict fueled.

As the reality showed the Karabakh factor passed on to Central Asian region, the neighbouring Georgia, now it has got a new fashion in Moldova and got its special status in our every day life.

All these are not simple and not casual things, they must be an object of research, studying and forming of public opinion including through mass media as well. Somebody must put at last question: What's happened after all?

By the beginning of 1989 we were faced with the fact that in Armenia no Azerbaijanian was left, all of them, mildly speaking, were driven away, but essentially they were driven out in a barbarous way. We have enough information about how all this happened. The world and Union public ignored that tragic action. 165 thousand of Azerbaijanians in the course of a week, only a week, were driven out from their native places and all this took place unnoticed. But the events in Chaikend where there lived about one thousand people immediately drew the attention of nearly all the world. Why does there exist such an election? Is it possible to divide people and peoples into categories by showing them attention and sympathy? Give your consent that in the present case it humiliates the merit of the Azerbaijanian people, insults it. It is the people who were always notable for their complacency, simple heartedness, truthfulness, it always got on with all the peoples, shared their bread and salt with all, the Armenians as well, and the Armenians did remember that when recalling their real country, Azerbaijar.

Who did it? It was done by the official authorities of Armenia, the leadership of the Communist Party. At that time the First Secretary of the Central Committee was Arutunyan and then this course caught the public movement which consequently developed into the Armenian National Movement under the leadership of Ter-Petrosyan.

If in 1948-50 one hundred thousand Azerbaijanians were driven out from Armenia in agreement with Stalin-Mikoyan, then in 1988

in agreement with Arutunyan-Ter-Petrosyan there were driven away the rest of 165 thousand Azerbaijanians from Armenia. So for the 70 years of the Soviet power the Azerbaijanians were not protected by the Constitution at the territory of Armenia. It led to the violation of the international balance, if one may put it this way, turning these Armenians who live at the territory of Azerbaijan today (about 200 thousand) into hostages.

Having understood the principitance of such a decision, in Armenia there was worked out a conception of military force "defence" of the Armenians who lived compact in a certain Azerbaijan region. As a result, all of them turned into strong points, fortifying regions filled with maximum arms, fighting formations consisting of the representatives of both local population and emissaries thrown up to now from the territory of Armenia. All this time we appealed to Armenia more than once. There are documents. This idea ran through them. "Put an end to interfering in the affairs of Azerbaijan; You must not dictate to us. We live in the Soviet Union, we have the Union laws, we follow them, we promise that we shall ensure the constitutional rights of our citizens". I repeat once more, if by 1989 all the Azerbaijanians were driven out from Armenia, today, in 1991, 200 thousand Armenians live in Azerbaijan. Do not prevent us, we say, from maintaining friendly relations with our citizens and do not undertake to protect all the Armenians living at our territory making use of a special far-fetched right or that we have on autonomous formation. Yes, it is so. But why do you think that one needs your presence and your interference there? Is the reason that there lives an Armenian community the only one? There are 500 thousand Armenians living in Georgia. So this conflict can spread there tomorrow? The Armenians are settled all over the world, does it mean the official authorities of Armenia have to regulate the civil relations in France, for example?

Since the beginning of the century 575 thousand Azerbaijanians living at the territory of today's Armenia were driven out from there. They are not there, but it has been left eight thousand square kilometres of land that the Azerbaijanians cultivated devoting themselves to agriculture. In 1989-90 we asked to return these people, they must be a great help to you in agriculture and they have not accustomed to live under the Baku conditions for they had worked in land from generation to generation. "No we cannot", they answered. It is easy to feel the mood of these people. By the way, I do not

only distinguish the Azerbaijanians who left Armenia. The Armenians were obliged to leave the Azerbaijanian territory. And who is to blame? Half a million Armenians lived in Azerbaijan and they lived a good life. And why did they have to leave the territory of Azerbaijan? Why did not the authorities of Azerbaijan suggest the Armenians that they should have left till 1988? All this "whys" need a concrete answer, one should explain to people enable what is what and correct objective public opinion.

And nowadays other voices are heard: let us remove the Ministry of Internal affairs, the army from the Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous region, let the Armenians and Azerbaijanians clear up their relations. To make a mess, not to examine what is going on under one's nose, I mean the Centre, to study the situation in the African continent, to inform the Soviet people thoroughly and with sympathy about what is happening in Mozambique, in Madagascar, in Zimbabwe-that we can manage. But to go deep into what is happening in your own country, to cut the tight knot of one's own problems in "hot spots" where people lose their lives, for all these we seem to find neither enough time nor wisdom. No. Excuse me! There exists the Constitution of the USSR, there exists a treaty which has not yet cancelled and we are going to have a new treaty according to which all these structures are being left for the Centre. And if it is so, the duty of the Centre is to defend peaceful people who do not want fratricidal wars.

Today I read the interview of Ter-Petrosyan to one of the newspapers. I am very sorry that he did not do the thing which he should have done. I had a few contacts with him on civilized level. And it seemed to me that we understood each other. At any rate he admitted the right of Baku to govern the autonomous region, admitted the primacy of the constitutional law of Azerbaijan affecting all its citizens and the ones in Nagorny Karabakh as well and he had to change his conception with respect to Azerbaijan, to reverse the non-judicial decision of the Supreme Soviet about the joining of Nagorny Karabakh to Armenia, because such a decision is practically a daylight robbery, an annexation. If there had been shown a good will and had made a step to meet Azerbaijan, in return we should have made a step and a half. Eight months have passed and instead of definite decision which should come from the constructive dialogue which we had and start to work, they were found out to be against the sound ideas, began to break the border, of Azerbaijan



permanently annihilating people, thus keeping the martial law in Azerbaijan.

It is the fourth year that the war is going on at the territory of our republic, but at this time Ter-Petrosyan declares blasphemously that their republic is the most peaceful one. We are tired of warning all, both Armenia and the Centre, that is necessary to stop bloodshed, that we now face the catastrophe, that there is a limit to patience of the Azerbaijanian people. For the last years we are tired of keeping our people from unconsidered actions, although we control the situation. In Azerbaijan in spite of earnest rumours there are no militants, no fighting formations. If somebody doubts let the official bodies of the Ministry of Internal affairs, the KGB of the USSR, the military secret service of Ministry of Defence check and say, where, when and how many unofficial formations there were found at the territory of Azerbaijan, not counting the Armenian ones.

At the same time the Armenian leaders artificially arise fear among the people of Armenia of alleged coming of Azerbaijanians. This gave an excuse to collect money and to get armed at the expense of very poorly living population, to form the illegal fighting units which are recently legalized by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia.

In answer to this we suggested last year to make a line of demarcation, a line of estrangement for 5 kilometres long on each side along the frontier between Armenia and Azerbaijan and also to draw there appropriate troops to prevent illegal crossing of the frontier.

We wanted to carry out this by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan and the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. The Armenian side ignored this suggestion. The Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan adopted the suggestion and we set this line on our side. It works beginning from last year. There are 45 frontier posts there. And the question is who fears whom in a situation like this?

Concerning Nagorny Karabakh. Azerbaijanian people were wise and intelligent enough not to cancel the decision about the autonomy of this region. We have not done this, we are reasonable, we understand that "the black forces" who are exploiting the situation of Nagorny Karabakh in their own interests would take advantage of it. The question is why the Azerbaijan leadership display wisdom but the Armenian one prefers the methods of force pressure, using wide influence in the Soviet Union and outside the country. Some time there will be an answer to this question.

We say that the interference in home affairs of Azerbaijan hinders the process of normalization of the situation in Nagorny Karabakh. But the Armenian side proceeds to do it under different pretext.

Recently Ter-Petrosyan declared: "We cannot negotiate with the Communist Leadership of Azerbaijan because we have the democratic system and there they have the communist regime". In January 1990 after the tragic events of "the black January" the public situation was controlled by a non-formal organizations; in Armenia by the All - Armenian National Movement (AOD), in Azerbaijan - by a Popular Front (NFA). There is a question, why the representatives of AOD and NFA had not met at this time and had not removed the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. As this was not profitable for either side, because by using the factor of Nagorny Karabakh they could come to power. Ter-Petrosyan succeeded there but here this idea failed. I think it happened because there could not be any compromise in such questions.

I also want to tell the following and, please, believe in my sincerity, I speak here not only as the leader of Azerbaijan or only as an Azerbaijani. Believe me, the Armenians in Armenia are guilty in all the misfortunes of the Armenians in Azerbaijan. It is not a coincidence that the Baku Armenians (and it is written in newspapers) are considered in Yerevan to be the second - rate Armenians. I sincerely feel pity for these people, they cannot live there, they even do not want to go there as well as the people from Chaikend who had gone to Stavropol, Kuban, and Krasnodar, instead of Armenia.

I am indignant with the cruelty of people who are sending their fellow-countrymen into the murderous conflicts. And I wanted to tell you the following: one of the points of the Armenian Nationalist party program "Gnchak" says: "To kill turks and kurds under any circumstances, never spare those Armenians who betray their aims, and to revenge upon them. This is from the book "The Armenian tragedy of 1915" by a French author George de Maleville. And one of the points of the Dashnak-Tsutyun party's program says: "To use all the possible ways to arm people, to encourage conflicts and to terrorize the government officials, informants, traitors, to rob and to ruin the government offices, Armenians had to get freedom at any cost. All means are possible for achieving this aim: propaganda, terror, merciless guerilla's war". This is not our fiction and do not

take me as a person who is only accusing Armenians. No, but those Armenian people who are not supporting the policy of the present Armenian leadership were always the hostages in such conflicts. It is since 1915.

In conclusion I would like to tell about the way we see the end of this prolonged conflict.

First of all, - and I told about it in my statement which was published in press on April 27, - we would not allow any terrorist units at the territory of Azerbaijan neither now nor in future. After we mop up our land from the armed bandit-units we shall start negotiations with the Armenians living at our territory, who are still afraid of meeting with Azerbaijanians for fear of immediate revenge, and then we shall discuss the questions concerning the renovation of peaceful life and law and order. Our aim is to restore the status quo of Azerbaijan concerning Nagorny Karabakh as it had been before February, 1988. This is a normal, fully civilized demand.

And what we need for this? It is necessary to prevent Armenia from interfering in the affairs of Azerbaijan. Because we shall not allow this. Azerbaijan is a sovereign state, it has its own Constitution and we shall defend any span of our land from any kind of invasion and aggression. We gave too much time to all generations of all the replaced Armenian leaders to establish a dialogue. Alas, they do not want it. But sooner or later the Armenian people will accuse their leaders who inflicted massacre in Azerbaijan.

I talked somehow emotionally, I am sorry, but the topic is emotional itself. Now, I am ready to answer your questions.

**"Helsingin Sanomat" (Finland).**

- As you told, Azerbaijan took part in the Referendum. Probably you will sign the Union Treaty. At the same time we notice that the Soviet Army supports Azerbaijan too much on its frontier. It may be a provocational question, but don't you see some connection between these points? And I would like to turn back to January events of 1990. Why did the Soviet Army enter the city?

**M-r Mutalibov A.N.** - Concerning the first question I want to tell the following. Such conclusions which are expressed in your question are coming unintentionally because there was coincidence of actions which to my mind were delayed by the Soviet Army and the Ministry of Home Affairs. There was temporal coincidence of

these actions with the Referendum and the conference of "the nine", though I do not exclude the influence of this conference too, as I raised this question there. I said: "If nine republics represented by their high officials gathered to solve the question of a great importance about the essence of the State, then from this moment and further on everything happening at the territory of this nine republics should be discussed at such conferences and in future we shall not restrict the problem of Nagorny Karabakh on the dialogue between Gorbachev and Mutalibov. And all the leaders including Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin spoke for the ending of all this outrage which resulted in bloodshed of innocent people.

It is not possible to talk about January events in 1990 without what we said before. The 1990 January is the consequence of politization of people on Karabakh tendencies for power accession. But in this matter our new politicians went too far, the laws were ignored, the public order was violated, meetings were going on, you know about it. All this could not be unnoticed. Any government in the world has a right to defend itself and for this aim there are modern police and modern means. The reaction to what was going on was delayed and this was not the Army that should come here, but there were some other organizations which should restore the order together with the leadership of the Republic which was actually in a state of anaemia, lost the control and could not defend the public order. And then the command was given to bring troops into the city.

The troops entered Baku for the second time. They were here in 1988 too. But then they left. They had to withdraw this time too. And by the way via Baku they had to go to Nakhichevan and strengthen those frontiers which were destroyed as a result of arbitrariness of some leaders, extremists of Popular Front. They were picketed for several days, the talks were held for nearly a week: remove your people from under the tanks. If the troops had got command to enter they would have done it. This was not an occupation; they are our troops and Azerbaijan is a part of the USSR. But they didn't obey. On the contrary the situation was being formented accompanying it with such an appeal: "We shall defend the land of Azerbaijan from occupation, from intervention of imperial troops". We must admit that the troops acted not in a proper way. It was quite possible to do it in a different way. I think that accepted norms and rules for such kind of operations were violated. There

shouldn't be the bloodshed of innocent people. There was no need in this. However there are some units which can cope with any crowd. They shouldn't do it. In this we all blame the leadership of the Soviet Army. There shouldn't be any bloodshed. We stand for democracy, but not the one which uses all the possible means as a result of which army is used. There is an explanation, as for me I call this complicated and contradictory period: "infant disorder" of democracy by analogy with Lenin's phrase "infant disorder of the left communism", I have just paraphrased it. Gradually everything will be settled but unfortunately it doesn't happen without victims.

**Radiostation "Echo of Moscow":** - If I properly understood you the actions of Armenian leadership resulted in fact that 200 thousand Armenians in Azerbaijan became hostages. If so, whether it means that the Azerbaijan government does not take responsibility for the lives of those people?

**M-r Mutalibov A.N. :** - The government of Azerbaijan had taken and has been taking responsibility for the life of its citizens regardless their nationality. Why do not we talk today about Lezghins, Avars, Jews and Russians? Why the Armenians are the exception? Why all this is concentrated on the Armenians only? We do not make attempt upon the lives of the Armenians. What I told before I would like to repeat. One shouldn't dictate us the way to live. It is not normal. It is not normal precisely today to interfere in our affairs. When the republics are moving towards the sovereignty, new order, when they have acquired state system, when we construct equal interstate relations. It is a normal civilized demand. The sooner they will realise it, those new politicians, the quicker the Armenians will feel a relief, I mean the Armenians I've met in Nagorny Karabakh recently. 70% of Armenians of this region would like to get rid of terrorists. We have not got any problems. Now it is spring. It is time to plough and sow. Once one of my Armenian interlocutors asked me a question: "Ayaz Niyazovich, who do you think helps us when we are in need of petrol, spares, provision?" I say: "Really I do not know." "-It is Azerbaijanians who help us,-he replies, but only they do it under the cover of night so that this cannot be noticed by those who takes aim at their compatriots. God save them if they make a step towards Azerbaijanians.

**"Fortuna"(Poland):** - When will there be the answer for the inquiry of the Popular Front on Court decision concerning violations during the Referendum?

**M-r Mutalibov A.N. :** - I am glad that the reporter is so actively interested in our social and political life.

Now, concerning your question, we may say that it is completely far-fatched. It is a political farce. It is a slander. It happened in other republics too. When a person cannot pass a competition he starts looking for a justification, making noise: here was forgery, there was a dirty trick.

The President and the Party activists work in this building. We took a decision to hold a Referendum within 10 days only and started to work on this, though three months before the Popular Front's representatives has attended families and asked them to vote against the entry of Azerbaijan to the Soviet Union, using even unethical methods. But Party activists were passive. And when we adopted this decision, we announced to hold Referendum, and the Parliament had to decide it. The question was discussed in the Parliament for three days. May I ask you, dear guests, is not it a real democracy? If we had been a regime, we would have decided it within half an hour, just gathered, votes and that is all. The debates took place in the Parliament during three days. Why nobody wants to say about that? Maybe because the Communists are still in power here. It does not suit some people in the USSR and outside it. As for the Azerbaijanian people, they vote for maintenance of the Union.

**M-r Gaibov I.I.:-** First of all I want to answer the question of Finnish journalist about the investigation of the Sumgait case. Concerning the Sumgait events I personally sanctioned the institution of criminal proceedings for 104 persons. In Sumgait, with the population of nearly 250 thousand people, 26 Armenians had perished but in Gugark with the population of 40 thousand 21 Azerbaijanians were killed and none of the killers was instituted criminal proceedings. The same took place in Kirovokan and other regions of Armenia.

96 persons of those 104 ones who were instituted criminal proceedings were convicted. Besides, in Baku we interrogated 21 thousand people and carried out 1200 searches.

As for the Popular Front members they are being prosecuted for investigation by the Procurator Office. The Court postponed the investigation in a number of cases and several people were acquitted.

**M-r Dashdamirov A.F.:-** During the Referendum in all polling districts where the voting took place, representatives of the Popular Front were present having a chance for observing the voting process and taking out their own opinion. The greatest violation was made when the representatives of some large families tried to vote for themselves and for their family members.

**M-r Muradaliev F.G.:-** The same situation happened during the elections to the Soviets. Indeed, the representatives of the Popular Front were present in the polling districts. 43 persons from the Democratic block were elected deputies to the Supreme Soviet. It turns out where the communists were elected all was out of law, and where the democrats were elected all was in accordance with law. If it concerns the results of elections it should regard all.

**"Fortuna":-** You have an opposition, Armenia has it as well, but there the Press organs have been taken under control by Ter-Petrosyan and all your parties and movements publish their own newspapers freely, only your social-democrats have to publish theirs for some reason in Tallinn.

**M-r Mutalibov A.N.-** You answer your question just by yourself. Moreover, I want to say that all the Press organs presenting the opposition and they are many in number, are being published where you would think? In the "Communist" publishing-house. The publishing-house, it should be stated, belongs to the party organization, and there are being published all these newspapers right there. We have social-democrats, too. The leader of this party Araz Alizade whom I practically respect and very often get in touch with him, addressing as a colleague on party line, came to me two months ago. There was no problem with publishing their newspaper in the "Communist" publishing-house. The talk was about Lenkoran. But there was made no phone call there, the matter was under no control and he took a great offence of the President and the Party functioner from the social democrats Leila Yunussova wrote a full column of a verdict of "guilty" concerning the President as well.

I do not see any reason of why not publishing this newspaper. I always say one thing: Keep to ethics, a multi-party system does not mean an attempt at the system. No oppositional party of any capitalist state attempts at the system, it is characteristic only for the socialist camp. Let us take the Democratic and Republican parties of the USA, they have diverse imaginations about the ways, tactics, but none of them sets a task of an overturn, but here each party and each newspaper declares: Away with the Communists!

**"France Press":**- Can you help us to visit Nagorny Karabakh and meet there people, your representatives?

**M-r Dashdamirov A.F.:**- The fact is that the situation both in Nagorny Karabakh and in the whole zone of state of emergency is being controlled by the military. Now the situation is comparatively quiet. But tomorrow everything can be changed depending on behaviour of armed bandit units, which are usually sent from Armenia. We do not control the situation in full measure, that is why we cannot ensure your security. The other day there was the attempt upon life of the Second Secretary of the Central Committee Polyanichko and the group of generals of the MIA of the USSR. We nearly lost our people.

**M-r Mutalibov A.N.:** - We do not object. Let our comrades get in touch with the military and if they do not object, you may go.

**"Voice of America":** - Could you please tell us about Azerbaijanian refugees?

**M-r Mutalibov A.N.:** - When I was speaking about kindness of our people I meant that we had received not only 200 thousand refugees from Armenia but also 50 thousand Meskhetti turks. Unfortunately this fact was not mentioned in our mass media. Foreign Press was not the exception in this case. We need several billions of roubles for giving them help. And what we have received is the drop in the ocean. Nowadays half of the refugees still live in schools, kindergartens, adapted premises, pioneer camps and about 100 thousand refugees are left without a roof over their head. We try to build houses by our own. We buy what we need abroad using barter deals.