

*On the rights of the manuscript*

**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ISSUES OF PRESENTATION OF AZERBAIJAN-TURKEY  
RELATIONS IN THE “KHALQ QAZETI” NEWSPAPER  
DURING THE INDEPENDENCE PERIOD**

**Speciality:** 5720.01- Journalism

**Field of science:** Philology

**Applicant:** Namig Gadim oglu Ahmadov

**Baku - 2021**

The work was performed at the Department of International Journalism of the Faculty of Journalism of Baku State University.

**Scientific supervisor:** PhD in Philology, Associate Professor  
**Hamid Veliyev Ali**

**Official opponents:** Academician, Doctor of Science in Philology, Professor  
**Isa Akbar oglu Habibbayli**

Doctor of Science in Philology,  
Professor  
**Gulu Mammadgulu oglu Maharramli**

Doctor of Science in Philology,  
**Rovshan Ragif oglu Mammadov**

Dissertation council BED-1.27 of the Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Institute of Folklore Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences

Chairman of the Dissertation

Council: Academician, Doctor of Science in Philology,

Professor

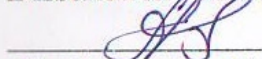


**Mukhtar Kazim oglu Imanov**

Scientific secretary of the

Dissertation Council:

PhD in Philology, Associate Professor



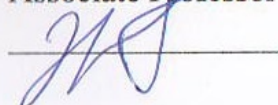
**Afag Khurram kizi Ramazanova**

Chairman of the Scientific

Seminar:

Doctor of Science in Philology,

Associate Professor



**Vugar Zifar oglu Aliyev**

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

**Topicality and degree of using of the theme.** Development of relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan to an unparalleled level of alliance rests primarily on historical foundations. *“Having the same roots, our peoples have always been loyal to their historical friendship and traditions, and these traditions vitalized the language, religion and morale of our peoples”*<sup>1</sup>.

On May 28, 1918, Ottoman Turkey took an active part in the strengthening of the first democratic state in the Muslim East – the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, moreover, the independence and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan has been ensured with the very support of Turkey. During the Soviet era, all these events were misrepresented, and even the assistance provided by *“the Islamic Army of the Caucasus”* was *“seen as an occupation”*<sup>2</sup>.

A new phase of relations began in 1991, and this period has been a new stage in studying issues of presentation of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations in all areas, as well as in the media.

Ataturk Center was established in Azerbaijan, historical roots, cultural aspects, level of development, political-economic-legal factors of these relations were studied in the books of authors such as Musa Gasimov, Mahir Abdullayev, Jahangir Jahangirli, Fargana Huseynova, Naila Samadova, Javanshir Feyziyev and others, thesis works of Elnur Huseynov, Aygun Asgharzadeh, Zaur Mammadov, Aynura Pashayeva and dozens of unnamed researchers.

Azerbaijan-Turkey relations have been the subject of extensive analysis and research in Turkey as well. The history and perspectives of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations were analyzed in the books of Ibrahim Bozyel, Ali Kafkasyali, Mehmet Saray, Bilal Shimshir, Ali Arslan, Betül Aslan, Ocak Kemal and other authors, as well as in the works and articles of dozens of researchers and

---

<sup>1</sup> Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir. (46 cildə) / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 4-cü kitab. – 1997. – s. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf – məqsədimizdir. / İ. Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – 3-cü kitab. – 2009. – s.177.

political figures. In these sources, the press was also widely used, but the role and objectives of the press in Azerbaijani-Turkish relations have not been studied separately.

There are also a number of research works, in which the press may be the subject of research, but the relations are presented mainly against the background of literary relations. However, since this dissertation concerns exclusively presentation of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper, the research was conducted on the basis of the press, and is relevant just in this regard.

**The object and subject of research.** The rise of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations resting on historical foundations to the level of alliance after Azerbaijan gained its second independence has been one of the important topics in the media. Numerous articles, comments, speeches, interviews and statements by public officials, including heads of state and government, dedicated to Azerbaijan-Turkey relations that were printed in the “Kommunist” newspaper, number one press organ of the Azerbaijani SSR during the Soviet era, and in the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper, which was published daily after Azerbaijan gained its second independence, as well as reciprocal visits and their presentation in the press constitute object of the research, and this collection consists of materials of various genres.

Subject of the dissertation work consists of analysis, topics and problematics of the articles, study of the content and scope, external and internal sources from the political point of view.

**The aim and objectives of the research.** The dissertation is dedicated to the presentation of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the press during independence period. However, attention has also been paid to the study of the stage covering the period up to the time when Azerbaijan regained its second independence. Development pathway of relations between our countries from 1991 to the end of 2018 and its presentation in “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper is a determinant of chronological framework of the research. At the same time, comprehensive attention is also paid to study of the period up to 1991.

Advices of those dedicated to studying of our common history, namely great leaders Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Heydar Aliyev, and existing relations between the heads of state İlham Aliyev and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who are successfully continuing their activities in furtherance of this mission, set out important tasks ahead. These also define tasks of the research and study of the following key issues:

- place of Turkist ideas in historical development pathway of the national press;
- role of the press in formation of Turkist ideas;
- Turkism in the history of Azerbaijani Soviet press;
- Turkish theme in the press during the new era of our independence;
- effect of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations on solution of problems of the entire Turkic world;
- dealing with today's realities benefiting from historical traditions;
- as with historical, political, economic, literary and cultural spheres, coverage of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the media is a wide field of research, etc.

**Research methods.** Comparative-historical and comparative-contrastive methods are primarily used in the dissertation.

**The main theses** are mainly defined in the direction of the following research, analysis and evaluations:

- Statehood and Turkism traditions of the Azerbaijani national press,
- Printed legacy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and the idea of Turkism of the national press,
- Turkish theme in the Azerbaijani press during the Soviet era,
- Press coverage of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations on the eve of the independence years,
- Turkish theme in the Azerbaijani press during the first years of independence,
- Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the statehood policy of the national leader Heydar Aliyev,
- Success of joint regional projects and oil strategy in the press,
- Enhancement of multilateral relations and strategic partnership,
- All-Turkic solidarity and fight against terrorism.

However, having studied the issue we see that the stages of development of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations, their success in all areas are so wide and far-reaching that it is impossible to cover them just in one dissertation. Therefore, presentation of a number of issues was almost completely skipped, while some key issues were addressed within the framework of theses.

**The scientific innovation of the dissertation.** As the topic involved in the research has not been studied systematically, we can talk about a number of scientific novelties, which form the following conclusions:

- Prohibitions imposed on the press made it impossible to write about objective reality.

- There are few works on the study of the Soviet-era press, and those available predominantly feature ideological views.

- History of the pre-Soviet press has been extensively studied, and studying of emigrant journalism has been one of the important topics.

- Just as we cannot name the services of the Azerbaijani Soviet press otherwise than “a servant and propagandist of the regime”, so too it would be unfair to present it completely in this fashion. From this point of view, Azerbaijani journalism “...emerged in the process of struggle of our people against oppression, exploitation, religious fanaticism, despotism, greed, bribery, ignorance, flattery, hypocrisy, indifference, etc., and has become a chronicle of this struggle”.<sup>3</sup>

- Most importantly, the attitude of the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper to the subject determines the novelty and independence of the approach.

**The theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation.** The research is of theoretical importance in terms of studying historical development pathway of the national press and Turkism traditions of the press.

---

<sup>3</sup> Mehdi F.Bədii publisistika. / F.Mehdi – Bakı: Maarif, –1982. – s.3.

Results of the research can be used in the development of Azerbaijan-Turkey relationship, the union and relations of the Turkic states, which are in dire need of closer rapprochement today, as well as in preparation of projects and proposals in this field, research works and training of students of relevant disciplines at universities.

**Approbation and application of the work.** Scientific-theoretical provisions of the research are reflected in more than 30 scientific articles printed in scientific journals published abroad and in Azerbaijan, and reports delivered at various international conferences, accepted in accordance with the requirements of the Higher Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Results of the study can also be used as a resource manual.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation work is carried out:** Dissertation work was carried out at the Department of International Journalism and Information Policy of Baku State University.

Subject of the dissertation was approved by the records of decisions of the Scientific Council of the Faculty of Journalism of Baku State University dated February 15, 2017 (protocol № 4) and the Scientific Council on Philology problems under the Council for Scientific Research Coordination of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated March 30, 2017 (protocol № 3).

**Structure of the dissertation.** Research work consists of the “Introduction” (20861), chapter I (67309), chapter II (91293), chapter III (77227), conclusion (12853) and bibliography (51465), with a total volume of (269543) characters.

## **THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION**

The “**Introduction**” part of the dissertation includes a definition of the relevance and chronological framework of the topic, purpose and objectives of the research, a review of the source base of the research, analysis of its scientific novelty, theoretical and

practical relevance, and provides information on the structure of the dissertation.

The first chapter of the dissertation is titled **“Turkic traditions of the Azerbaijan’s national press and Turkish theme in the Soviet-era press”**. This chapter consists of two subsections. The first subsection titled **“About the idea of Turkism in the Azerbaijani national press and printed legacy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic”** examines publishing traditions of the first democratic secular state with the rule of law in the East, as well as in the entire Turkic-Muslim world – the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. “The Press Charter” adopted by the Parliament of the ADR on October 30, 1919 was the first legislative act regulating the activities of the press. On November 9, 1918, state control over the mass media was abolished.<sup>4</sup> *“Within two years, about 100 new newspapers and magazines were published in the country”*.<sup>5</sup> *“Newspapers and magazines operating at the beginning of the century...were a factor of progress and evolution besides reflecting the direction of social literary thought, struggle of convictions and belief”*.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, *“During this period, the Azerbaijani national press found its way into hearts of its readers, mainly by promoting the ideas of Turkism in its pages”*.<sup>7</sup>

This struggle *“...materialized by means of periodicals by writers, poets, public figures and journalists, who, drawing upon the principles of “Turkism, Islamism, modernity”, have managed to apply the idea of Azerbaijanism to public consciousness by forming ideological foundations of the ADR”*.<sup>8</sup> Calls such as “Unity needed”,

---

<sup>4</sup> Azərbaycan demokratik mətbuatı tarixindən. Mətbuat haqqında Nizamnamə / – Bakı: Qanun, – 1996. №12, – s.51-15.

<sup>5</sup> Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti Ensiklopediyası: I cild/–Bakı: Lider, – 2004.–s.73.

<sup>6</sup> Tahirov A., C. Hacıbəylinin publisistikasında maarifçilik // Azərbaycan müəllimi. – 1996, 10 sentyabr.– s.4.

<sup>7</sup> Quliyeva, Q. Cümhuriyyət dövründə Azərbaycan mətbuatı (1918-1920-ci illər) / Q. Quliyeva. – Bakı: Elm, – 2011.– s.56.

<sup>8</sup> Vəliyev, Ş. Taleyimizin aynası // Azərbaycan. –2008, 27 avqust. – s.5.



“Let’s unite”, “Let’s form an alliance”, and articles such as *“Terrible time is coming, let’s unite”*,<sup>9</sup> demonstrate the active stand of the press. When Baku Soviet troops, which were under the command and control of Shaumian, perpetrated savage massacres under the guise of a “civil war”, Uzeyir Hajibeyov condemned those who called those killings a “civil war” and wrote: *“Thousands of corpses of poor Muslim people brutally killed “simply because they were Muslims” is more than adequate proof of the fact that it is a big lie”*.<sup>10</sup>

This period is also marked by launch of the “Azerbaijan” newspaper, *“the press organ in the history of our national press bearing the name of the nation-state”*.<sup>11</sup> *“Another successful step taken by”* the ADR in the field of press and information *“is the establishment of the Azerbaijan State Telegraph Agency – “AzerTAc”*.<sup>12</sup>

**“Turkish theme in the Azerbaijani press during the Soviet era”** is the 2<sup>nd</sup> subsection of the first chapter. It is noteworthy that after the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan on April 28, 1920, within the period of approximately 10 years, there were quite a lot of comprehensive articles about Turkey and Turkism published in mass media, including in “Kommunist” newspaper. The Baku Turkological Congress (February 26 – March 5, 1926) held in Baku has evoked wide response, and a series of articles about it published in the press have increased this value many times over. On the eve of the congress and during its activities, about 300 articles about the congress were published in such newspapers as “Yeni Fikir”,

---

<sup>9</sup> İbrahim, S. Dəhşətli saat gəlir, birlik gərək // Açıq söz. – 1918, 15 mart. – s.2.

<sup>10</sup> Hacıbəyov, Ü. Qurtuluş // Azərbaycan. – 1919, 15 sentyabr. – s.3.

<sup>11</sup> Həbibbəyli, İ. Müstəqil Azərbaycanın “Azərbaycan”ı // Azərbaycan. – 2013, 15 sentyabr. – s.3.

<sup>12</sup> Aslanov, A. AzərTAc-dan AzərTAc-a: mürəkkəb və şərəfli yol / A.Aslanov, V.Musayev, D.İsmayılov. – Bakı, Şərq-Qərb, –2008. – s.15.

“Maarif ve Madaniyyat”, “Maarif ishchisi”, “Yeni Mekteb”, “Dan Ulduzu” and “Kommunist”.

*“At a first glance, we think that this sincerity towards the Turkic peoples was stemmed from domestic and foreign policies of Soviet government”.*<sup>13</sup> But a wave of repressions began shortly with the frustration of this insidious plan of the USSR, including *“the congress, which ended with the arrests and killings of more than 100 of its participants, the majority of outstanding scientists and thinkers, is the record of the greatest intellectual genocide in the recent history”.*<sup>14</sup>

Inclusion of the accusations “Kamalism”, “pan-Turkism” and “Turkism” into the range of main charges of terror in the USSR expanding since the early 1930s, and the lack of media coverage of friendly relations with Turkey, was due to the strict bans of communist regime. We are witnessing what is said in the articles printed in “Kommunist” newspaper: the first ambassador of the ADR to Turkey, was “criticized” as follows: *“Yusif Vazir could have written more easily about the adventures, chauvinism and plundering of people by the Musavat government, in which he is participating, than he wrote his “Qızlar bulağı” (The Girls’ Spring). Why wouldn’t he write?”*<sup>15</sup> Taghi Shahbazi was “presented” as *“one, who carried a Party membership card in his pocket at one time, with his petty-bourgeois activities disgraceful of not only a Bolshevik, but also an ordinary Soviet citizen...this writer, whose entire writing not worth a damn...”*<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Məhərrəmov E.Ə., Məhərrəmli A.E. “Xalq qəzeti”nin (“Kommunist”) yaranması və inkişafı tarixindən. Nəşrinin 90 illiyi münasibətilə / E.Ə.Məhərrəmov, A.E.Məhərrəmli. – Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, – 2009.– s. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Nərimanoğlu K. 1926-cı il Bakı Türkoloji Qurultayı haqqında söz. Latin əsaslı yeni türk əlifbası və Birinci Bakı Türkoloji Qurultayı. Biblioqrafiya/ K.Nərimanoğlu. – Bakı, M.F.Axundov adına Azərbaycan Milli Kitabxanasının nəşri –2006 –. s.3.

<sup>15</sup> Şamilov S. Ədəbiyyatda bolşevizm ideyalılığı uğrunda // Kommunist. – 1937, 12 mart, – s.3

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem

Such kinds of insults in the “Kommunist” were also written about Huseyn Javid, Ahmad Javad and Mikayil Mushfig: *“Ahmad Javad dedicated his most sincere poem to the filthy flag of Musavat...stained with the blood of the Armenian-Azerbaijani workers”*.<sup>17</sup> In another article, Hokuma Sultanova, the head of the Culture and Education Department of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP(b), taking the floor at the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenary session of the Azerbaijani Soviet Writers, *“...exposed Ahmad Javad’s ugly face in all its nakedness” and the plenary session “expelled Ahmad Javad from the ranks of writers for his failure to change his...hostile feelings”*.<sup>18</sup>

The same calumnies and accusations were fabricated against scientists and artists of the time as well. Editors of the newspaper A.Garayev, R.Akhundov, B.Talibli and H.Jabiyev were not spared the repressions of 1937-1938, and many other writers and poets who cooperated with the newspaper were castigated as “nationalists” and put to death. And during the Second World War, the name “Turkey” was rarely mentioned in the articles published by “Kommunist” newspaper and available ones were the news consisted of 3-5 sentences.

However, the period after 1960s is a new stage in Azerbaijani-Turkish relations. The news stories about Turkey printed in “Kommunist” newspaper were mainly of an official nature, and were limited only to coverage of the visits by the state and government delegations from both sides. The newspaper was deprived of the opportunities for creativity in this issue, and even official materials were presented through the TASS (Telegraph Agency of Soviet Union).

However, in the 80s, articles reflecting friendship and brotherhood traditions were also published along with official news

---

<sup>17</sup> Nankorluq xəstəliyinə tutulanlar // Kommunist. – 1937, 14 iyun – s.3

<sup>18</sup> Azərbaycan Sovet Yazıçıları İttifaqı plenumunun yekunları // Kommunist. – 1937, 28 mart – s.2

about Turkey both in the All-Union and republican media. No matter how “cautious” and “circumspect” the communist regime was in this issue, it was impossible to remove the visits of Turkish guests to Baku from the agenda. The policy with an emphasis on releasing limited and brief information has also had a negative bearing on the artistic characteristics of the news stories by creating a problem of genre monotony.

At that time the issues of journalistic skills were given space in “Kommunist” newspaper in printed articles of such literary figures as Mirza Ibrahimov, Mir Jalal, Nasir Imanguliyev, Gulu Khalilov and Famil Mehdi. Though they play an important role in study of the press, they were rather more influenced by ideological views.<sup>19</sup> Of course, it cannot be a cause for blaming these authors. However, it would be appropriate to remind one of the wise sayings of the Great Leader to those who present the “Kommunist” newspaper as a culprit to blame for the whole communist era: *“All of us were the children of the epoch; therefore we could not go beyond its stereotypes. There was no way out either, because at that time neither a writer, nor a scientist, nor a common man could imagine that it could be in a different way”*.<sup>20</sup> Heydar Aliyev emphasizes this once again in his congratulatory letter to the “Khalq Qazeti”.<sup>21</sup>

The II chapter of the dissertation is titled **“The period of revival, formation and stabilization of the Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the “Kommunist” and “Khalq Qazeti” newspapers (1989-2002)”** and consists of 3 (three) subsections.

The first subsection is titled **“Press coverage of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations on the eve of the independence years (1989-1991)”**. Although it was prohibited to mention the names of the ADR and its leaders in those times, “Kommunist” newspaper was the first

---

<sup>19</sup> Tahirlı A. Qalxansız hücum. “525-ci qəzet”” qəz., Bakı, 2007, 29 dekabr.

<sup>20</sup> Rüstəmov, T. Tarixi reallığın güzgüsü //Xalq qəzeti.–1994, 26 avqust.– s.2.

<sup>21</sup>Heydər Əliyev, Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti. “Xalq qəzeti” redaksiyasının kollektivinə // Xalq qəzeti. – 1994, 26 avqust. – s.1

official newspaper to commemorate the history of the People's Republic after "Khazar" and "Qobustan" magazines.<sup>22</sup> "Sahar"<sup>23</sup> (The Morning) newspaper, "Kommunist" newspaper supplement, was also the first to report on the January 20 tragedy. Along with presenting the new "ideals" of the XXVIII Congress of the CPSU, the newspaper also devoted space to the articles bringing the issue of the rise of national spirit to the agenda. "Azerinform's big brother"<sup>24</sup>, "Azerbaijan Democratic Republic"<sup>25</sup>, "Dedicated to the Democratic Republic"<sup>26</sup>, Editor-in-chief of "Tekamul" (The Evolution) newspaper, "Besh hurriyyet"<sup>27</sup> (Five Republics), "Memorial plaque was opened. Azerbaijan marks the revival day of its national state system"<sup>28</sup>, "The Great Cultivator. Or the forgotten Hasan bey Zardabi"<sup>29</sup>, "Taghiyev H.Z.: the entrepreneur, philanthropist. About the book of Marat Allahverdiyev, Doctor of Historical Sciences"<sup>30</sup>, "Devotees of our folklore"<sup>31</sup>, "Medieval Azerbaijani states. A round table"<sup>32</sup> and etc. are some of the banned topics.

---

<sup>22</sup> "Dəyirmi stol" arxasında alimlərimizin söhbəti: 1918-1920-ci illər dövrünün bəzi məsələləri // Kommunist. – 1989, 6 iyun. – s. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Süleymanzadə, M. 20 Yanvar: güllələnmiş qəzet / M.Süleymanzadə. – Bakı: Nurlan, – 2009. – 144 s.

<sup>24</sup> "Azerinform"un böyük qardaşı // Kommunist. – 1990, 10 may. – s.6.

<sup>25</sup> Bayramov, Q. Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublikası // Kommunist. – 1990, 11 may. – s.2.

<sup>26</sup> Demokratik respublikaya həsr edilir // Kommunist. – 1990, 26 may. – s.4.

<sup>27</sup> Hüseynov, Ş. "Təkamül" qəzetinin baş redaktoru. "Beş hürriyyət"// Kommunist. – 1990, 24 iyul. – s. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Xatirə lövhəsi açılmışdır. Azərbaycan milli dövlət quruluşunun dirçəliş gününü bayram edir // Kommunist. – 1990, 28 may. – s. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Quliyev, V. Böyük Əkinçi. Yaxud unudulmuş Həsən bəy Zərdabi // Kommunist. – 1990, 18 iyul. – s.3.

<sup>30</sup> Tağıyev H.Z.: sahibkar, mesenat. Tarix elmləri doktoru Marat Allahverdiyevin kitabı haqqında // Kommunist.–1990, 24 iyul. – s.4.

<sup>31</sup> Əfəndiyev, P. Folklorumuzun fədailəri//Kommunist. –1990, 1 fevral. – s.3.

<sup>32</sup> Orta əsr Azərbaycan dövlətləri. Dəyirmi masa // Kommunist. – 1990, 18 yanvar. – s.3.

Intensification of the national struggle was also noticed rather by an increasing number of articles about Turkey in the Azerbaijani mass media. Our provisional conclusion obtained while examining the articles about Turkey in the editions of the “Kommunist” newspaper issued on the eve of the independence was that the Turkish theme is not only noteworthy in terms of relevance, but also is the most interesting among the articles about life in foreign countries. The number of articles on this topic issued in a short period of time is quite large: 345 articles in just two years (1990 and 1991). Distinguished by the variety of themes and genres, these articles are able to arouse interest not only by its statistics, but also by the affinity of the authors’ feelings and emotions with the Turkic world. And most importantly, these materials were not coming to the editorial office from Moscow. This removed the newspaper materials from the official framework, and created a rich spectrum in terms of journalistic skills.

**“Turkish theme in the Azerbaijani press during the first years of independence”** is the 2<sup>nd</sup> subsection of the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter. The research topic of this subsection is the numerous materials published in the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper about the official visits of Ayaz Mutallibov and Abulfaz Elchibey to Turkey after Azerbaijan gained its independence.

At this stage, the most important direction of Azerbaijan’s foreign policy was the energy policy. If we look through the materials published by the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper in 1991, we shall see that although this issue was on the table during the rule of Mutallibov and Elchibey, the talks were broken by Iran and Russia. During this period, *“...groups in the government were capable of something in terms of emotional patriotism, but it was not sufficient to ensure independence of the state at such a complex historical*

*juncture*”.<sup>33</sup> Heydar Aliyev was invited to Baku at such a chaotic time.<sup>34</sup>

By presenting a picture of that time, numerous articles and reports published by the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper have created an interesting impression in terms of both political and historical realities, and journalistic skills as well. If we examine separately, it looks like almost each and every moment of both Mutallibov’s and Elchibey’s visits to Turkey were covered by the newspaper.

The subsection titled **“About the Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in statehood policy of the national leader Heydar Aliyev and its presentation in the press”** is the final part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter. At a time when the country was falling apart, Turkey’s strategic stance was of great importance for Heydar Aliyev.

Deepening of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations should be linked with the Nakhchivan period of Heydar Aliyev’s political activity. In his interview to the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper, academician Isa Habibbayli says that *“The return of Heydar Aliyev, the high-profile politician and outstanding statesman, to Nakhchivan in those difficult times was not an ordinary event”*.<sup>35</sup> Reports on this return in the government-funded “Kommunist”, “Sovet kendi” and “Hayat” newspapers were accompanied with a negative connotation. However, newspapers such as “Aydinliq”, “Azadliq”, “İki Sahil”, “Adalat”, “Yurddash”, “Ses”, “Madaniyyat”, “Respublika”, “Vatan

---

<sup>33</sup> Məmmədov, N. Xarici siyasət: reallıqlar və gələcəyə baxış / N.Məmmədov. – Bakı: Qanun, – 2013. – s.19.

<sup>34</sup> Məmmədov, S. Milli maraqların təmin olunmasına yönəlmiş uğurlu xarici siyasət davam etdirilir // Xalq qəzeti. – 2018, 12 sentyabr. – s.6.

<sup>35</sup> Əhmədov, N. Naxçıvan, 17 noyabr 1990-cı il... Üçrəngli bayrağımızın əbədi qayıdış günü // Xalq qəzeti. – 2015, 17 noyabr. – s.7.

Sesi”, “Nakhchivan”,<sup>36</sup> as well as a number of all-Union printed media outlets assessed the events realistically.<sup>37</sup>

The Nakhchivan period of Heydar Aliyev’s political activity proves the fact that the great politician attached particular importance to the Turkic world.<sup>38</sup> It has been ascertained at all meetings and events of the leaders of the Turkic world that those who say “*without strong Azerbaijan Turkey has no chance of being strong in the region*”<sup>39</sup> have evaluated the objectives adequately.

First official foreign visit of the national leader to Turkey, which lasted from February 8 to 11, 1994, has been presented by the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper as a new stage in bilateral relations.<sup>40</sup> Heydar Aliyev’s efforts were also crucial in laying out the route of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) main export pipeline, known as the “Contract of the Century”, through Turkey. “*Realization of the “Contract of the Century” is of strategic importance not only for our republic, but also for leading Western countries, countries of the*

---

<sup>36</sup> Əhmədov, N. Heydər Əliyevin Naxçıvan Muxtar Respublikasına rəhbərlik etdiyi dövrdə Türkiyə ilə münasibətlərin qurulması // Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 3 noyabr. – s.7.

<sup>37</sup> Mən həmişə liberallığın əleyhinə olmuşam. Qayıdış (1990-1993). Sənədlər toplusu. Təkmilləşdirilmiş və yenidən işlənmiş ikinci nəşr / tərt. ed. Ə.Həsənov – Bakı: Azərbaycan, – 2008. – s.20-41

<sup>38</sup> Əhmədov, N. Heydər Əliyevin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövrü mətbuat müstəvisində // - Bakı: Odlar Yurdu Universitetinin Elmi və Pedaqoji Xəbərləri, - 2017. №46, – s.242-250; Əhmədov, N. Heydər Əliyevin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövrü və müstəqillik ideyaları “Şərq qapısı” qəzetində // - Bakı: AMEA Humanitar Elmlər Bölməsi. Filologiya və sənətsünaslıq jurnalı, - 2019. №1, – s.13-21.

<sup>39</sup> Bolukbası, S. Ankara’s Baku-Centered Transcaucasia Policy: Has It Failed? // – Washington: Middle East Journal, –1997. Vol. 51, Winter, No.1, – pp. 80-94.

<sup>40</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikasının prezidenti Heydər Əliyevin Türkiyəyə rəsmi səfəri // Xalq qəzeti. – 1994, 9 fevral. – s. 1.



*South Caucasus and Central Asia region,”* the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper reported.<sup>41</sup>

Importance of resolving the legal status of the Caspian Sea and its “*great economic and political significance for Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan*”<sup>42</sup> has been emphasized during Heydar Aliyev’s short visit to Turkey on October 18, 1994, at the Second Summit of the heads of Turkic-speaking states. Regular visits of the heads of state have been on the agenda of both countries. The visits of the Prime Minister Tansu Ciller to Azerbaijan in July 1995<sup>43</sup> and the President S. Demirel in December of the same year were widely covered in “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper<sup>44 45 46 47 48</sup> and so on. Relations with Turkey have been an integral part of the state policy, as reflected by the articles published in “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper.<sup>49 50 51 52 53 54</sup> It

---

<sup>41</sup> Əhmədov, N. Beynəlxalq enerji sektorunda layiqli yer tutan ARDNŞ (SOCAR) Azərbaycanı dünyada güclü investor ölkə kimi tanıdır // Xalq qəzeti. – 2016, 20 sentyabr. – s.6.

<sup>42</sup> Türk Dövlətləri Başçıların İkinci Zirvə toplantısı // Xalq qəzeti. –1994, 21 oktyabr. – s.1.

<sup>43</sup> Türkiyənin baş naziri Tansu Çillərin Bakıya səfəri // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 10 iyul. – s.1.

<sup>44</sup> Aydınoglu, T. Türkiyə Respublikasının prezidenti Süleyman Dəmirəl Azərbaycana gəldi // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 8 dekabr. – s. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Heydər Əliyevin bəyanatı: Türkiyə Respublikasının prezidenti Süleyman Dəmirəlin Azərbaycana səfəri ilə bağlı // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 8 dekabr. – s.1.

<sup>46</sup> Süleyman Dəmirəl Şəhidlər xiyabanını ziyarət etdi // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 8 dekabr. – s.2.

<sup>47</sup> Süleyman Dəmirəlin bəyanatı // Xalq qəzeti. –1995, 8 dekabr. – s.1.

<sup>48</sup> İki ölkə başçısının yüksək səviyyədə görüşü//Xalq qəzeti.–1995,8 dekabr.– s.4.

<sup>49</sup> Türkiyə Respublikasının prezidenti Süleyman Dəmirəlin Azərbaycana səfəri davam edir // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 8 dekabr. – s.1.

<sup>50</sup> Siyasi müxalifət rəhbərləri ilə görüş // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 8 dekabr. – s.5.

<sup>51</sup> Beynəlxalq Bankın tikintisində: Türkiyə şirkətinin inşa etdiyi bankın inşaatçıları ilə H.Əliyev və S.Dəmirəlin görüşü //Xalq qəzeti.–1995, 9 dekabr.–s.4.

<sup>52</sup> Süleyman Dəmirəl Azərbaycan EA-nın fəxri akademiki diplomu təqdim edildi // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 9 dekabr. – s.2.

would be completely wrong to say that the range of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations is made up entirely of official material that we present. In parallel with official visits and meetings, articles written by scientists and politicians, and news articles prepared by correspondents were also widely covered. For instance, in 1995 and 1996, the number of this kind of articles in “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper was more than 200.

In the end, we arrive at this conclusion from the materials published by “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper: now a more profound historical significance is being attached to the activity of the great leader Heydar Aliyev, who led Azerbaijan and brought the country out of the life-or-death dilemma within a ten-year timespan. Very strong ties that connect him with the present and future of our homeland called Azerbaijan are more clearly visible through the lens of socio-political realities of our time and sudden shifts in the geopolitical environment. As “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper writes, “The history of the XX century was an edifying period just in terms of the role of personalities in history. It is impossible to imagine this history without Churchill, De Gaulle, Kennedy, Mandela, as well as Heydar Aliyev”.<sup>53</sup> Now a more profound historical significance is being attached to the activity of the great leader Heydar Aliyev, who brought the country out of the life-or-death dilemma within a ten-year timespan.

This period was also a new stage in the development of the press. Ample opportunities have been offered for free activity of the press, obstacles to its development have been removed through legislation, and a series of measures have been taken to strengthen material and technical base of the mass media. Freedom of speech

---

<sup>53</sup> Milli Məclisin iclasında Türkiyə Respublikasının prezidenti iştirak etdi // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 9 dekabr. – s.1.

<sup>54</sup> Milli Məclisin iclasında Türkiyə Respublikasının prezidenti Süleyman Dəmirəl in nitqi // Xalq qəzeti. – 1995, 9 dekabr. – s.2.

<sup>55</sup> Feyziyev, C. Heydər Əliyev: zamana sığmayan zəka // Xalq qəzeti. – 2014, 8 may. – s.3.

and press was reflected in a separate article (Article 50) in the first Constitutional Act prepared and adopted under the leadership and authorship of Heydar Aliyev. The Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On mass media” eliminated censorship of the press.

This approach has also manifested itself in the formation of the media’s stance on statehood and Turkism, and with its activity and efficiency, has been able to be on the agenda in expanding relations not only with Turkey, but also with Turkic-speaking countries. Activities of TURKSOY, advances achieved in the field of education, factors of strategic cooperation are the main part of what is said. Evidently, the scope of the ideas that we present as theses is so wide that it is impossible to present and evaluate them separately. Specifically, such opportunities are very limited within the scope of one dissertation work.

The III chapter of the dissertation is titled “**The period of dynamic development of the Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper (2003-2018)**”. The III chapter consists of 3 (three) subsections.

First subsection of this chapter is titled “**Joint regional projects, the achievements of energy and oil strategy in the press**”. Speaking about Turkish-Azerbaijani relations at an official reception on the occasion of his election as president, İlham Aliyev said: “*Where there is Turkey, Azerbaijan is there*”.<sup>56</sup> This confidence was also present in the words of the President of Azerbaijan voiced by him during his first official visit to Turkey: “*Turkey is a native, dear country for me, it is homeland of us all*”<sup>57</sup>

“*Projects implemented at the initiative of Azerbaijan have significantly bolstered Turkey’s status as a leading state of the region*”<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin andıçmə mərasimində söylədiyi geniş nitqi. “Xalq qəzeti” qəz., Bakı, 2003, 01 noyabr. – s.1.

<sup>57</sup> Azərbaycan Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin Türkiyəyə rəsmi səfəri. “Xalq qəzeti” qəz., Bakı, 2004, 13 aprel. – s.1.

<sup>58</sup> Həsənov, Ə. Müasir beynəlxalq münasibətlər və Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti / Ə. Həsənov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan, – 2005. – s. 67.

Azerbaijan became the largest investor in Turkey in May 2008 with the acquisition of “Petkim Petrokimya Holding A.Ş.” petrochemical company. Speaking to the “Khalq Qazeti”, the first vice-president of the SOCAR Kh. Yusifzadeh said: “*Construction of a new “Star” plant was started to supply raw materials to “Petkim”, 61.32 percent of shares of which are owned by our company*”.<sup>59</sup> All these confirmed the fact of “*a clear example of the foresight and wise investment policy of the President of Azerbaijan*”.<sup>60</sup> As the newspaper wrote, the basis of all these successes is a policy supported by the people.

The second subsection is titled “**Enhancement of multilateral relations and Azerbaijan-Turkey strategic partnership**”. Development of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations, expansion of interaction between the heads of state and government, as well as amongst political, economic, scientific, educational, cultural organizations and entities of other spheres have further strengthened the factor of strategic partnership. Commenting on Armenia’s attacks on Nakhchivan in March 1992, Suleyman Demirel said that the Turkish government was under severe public pressure and would be forced to intervene militarily.<sup>61</sup> R.T. Erdogan’s statements published in the “Khalq Qazeti” newspaper during his tenure as prime minister prove their political significance today: “*No matter what political power comes, it cannot break this bond between us; our relationship is the bond that ties our nations*”.<sup>62</sup>

The establishment of a High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council, proposed during the visit of Turkey’s Prime Minister R.T.

---

<sup>59</sup> Əhmədov, N. Xoşbəxt Yusifzadə: Heydər Əliyev milli neft strategiyasının banisidir // Xalq qəzeti. – 2014, 20 sentyabr. – s.5.

<sup>60</sup> Əhmədov, N. Neft-kimya Azərbaycanını dünyada tanıdanlar. “Petkim”də çalışan ilk azərbaycanlılardan biri: professor Füzuli Nəsirov // Xalq qəzeti. – 2013, 23 dekabr. – s.5.

<sup>61</sup> Svante E. Cornell. Turkey and The Conflict in Nagorno Karabakh, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.34, No.1, January 1998, p.61

<sup>62</sup> Türkiyənin baş naziri Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğanın nitqi // Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 18 may. – s.1-2.

Erdogan to Azerbaijan on May 16, 2010, was a new step in further development of Turkish-Azerbaijani bilateral relations.<sup>63</sup> Signing of the “Agreement on Strategic Partnership and Mutual Support” marked a new stage in cementing the relationships between the two nations.<sup>64</sup>

“Khalq Qazeti” newspaper reported about Turkish President’s visit: *“Signing of the agreement was in the spotlight in the international arena. In particular, the aggressor Armenian leadership was seriously concerned about the signing of this agreement”*.<sup>65</sup> Signing of the *“Joint Political Declaration on the Establishment of the High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council”*<sup>66</sup> on September 15, 2010, ahead of the Istanbul Summit of the Heads of State of the Turkic-Speaking Countries, has further strengthened relations between the two countries.

The terrorist attack committed in Ankara postponed the fifth meeting of the Strategic Cooperation Council to be held in Baku on March 15, 2016 and the visit of Turkish President Erdogan to Azerbaijan. “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper reports that in return, Azerbaijani President İlham Əliyev went to Turkey and was greeted with great enthusiasm there: *“I am convinced that with this visit you have sent a very powerful and clear message to the whole world, especially to all the terrorist organizations in the world and the*

---

<sup>63</sup> Azərbaycan Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin və Türkiyənin baş naziri Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğanın mətbuat konfransı //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 18 may. – s.1-2.

<sup>64</sup> Azərbaycan Prezidenti İlham Əliyev və Türkiyə prezidenti Abdullah Gül: Azərbaycan Respublikası və Türkiyə Respublikası arasında strateji tərəfdaşlıq və qarşılıqlı yardım haqqında müqavilə. Sənədlərin imzalanma mərasimi //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 17 avqust. – s.1.

<sup>65</sup> Bədəlov Ə. Türkiyə–Azərbaycan dostluq-qardaşlıq münasibətləri əbədi və sarsılmazdır // Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 19 avqust. – s.6.

<sup>66</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikası və Türkiyə Respublikası arasında Yüksək Səviyyəli Strateji Əməkdaşlıq Şurasının qurulması haqqında Birgə Bəyannamə imzalandı //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 16 sentyabr. – s.1.

*forces behind them. I thank you once again on behalf of my nation*”,<sup>67</sup> the Turkish president said.

Issues of Azerbaijan-Turkey strategic cooperation have always been spotlighted by the Azerbaijani press, including the “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper. Assessing the stance of not only the Azerbaijani and Turkish authorities, but also that of our peoples, “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper wrote: *“Azerbaijan and Turkey are very active countries in the Cooperation Council of Turkic-Speaking States, as well as in the institutions that unite the Turkic world”*.<sup>68</sup>

These relations are at the level of solidarity on all issues, both at international and regional platforms: Azerbaijan supports Turkey on all issues. Official Ankara declares that it always stands by Azerbaijan: *“Although Azerbaijan and Turkey are two states, they share common goals.”*<sup>69</sup>

Numerous materials presented by “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper, which are the subject of research, also prove our conclusions. The editorial staff, which approached the presentation of these issues in the press with responsibility and creative potential, was able to cope with the tasks set and present all subtleties of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations to a wide range of readers as its important topic. I have no doubt that this can be seen as success of the press, as well as “Khalq Gazeti”, a newspaper with great traditions.

**“All-Turkic solidarity in the fight against terrorism in the context of new historical challenges”** is the final subsection of the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter. In this subsection, the articles and reports published in “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper are presented in 3 groups. The paragraph titled **“Turkey’s fight against the PKK terrorist organization”** shows that Turkey has been fighting the PKK for nearly 40 years. If we look at the statistics of these reports published in “Khalq Gazeti”

---

<sup>67</sup> Azərbaycan–Türkiyə Yüksək Səviyyəli Strateji Əməkdaşlıq Şurasının beşinci iclası keçirilib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2016, 1 mart. – s.1.

<sup>68</sup>Əhmədov N. Azərbaycan–Türkiyə əlaqələri möhkəm təməllər üzərində qurulmuşdur //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 30 avqust. – s.3.

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem

newspaper, we see that terrorism keeps on spreading each and every day. Although the names and locations have changed, the intents and purposes of terrorism and the bloody tragedies that it caused never.<sup>70</sup>  
<sup>71 72 73 74 75 76 77</sup>. The contents of each of the dozens of reports on the terrorist acts presented by the newspaper are almost the same differing only in the number of casualties. As a matter of fact, the headings are also similar to one another:<sup>78 79 80 81 82</sup> and so on.

“Khalq Gazeti” newspaper writes that Erdogan’s government has been holding talks with the PKK for years, and steps have been

---

<sup>70</sup> Əliyev R. Türk ordusu Şimali İraqda hərbi əməliyyatlar aparır //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 22 iyun. – s.6.

<sup>71</sup> Türkiyədə PKK terrorçuları hərbi maşın karvanına hücum etmişlər //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 18 avqust. – s.8.

<sup>72</sup> Abbasov E. Almaniya hökuməti vətəndaşlarına Türkiyəyə səyahətlə bağlı xəbərdarlıq edib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 24 avqust. – s.6.

<sup>73</sup> Türkiyənin döyüş təyyarələri PKK terror təşkilatına məxsus 88 hədəfi məhv etmişdir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 21 avqust. – s.8.

<sup>74</sup> Türkiyədə PKK terrorçuları hərbi maşın karvanına hücum etmişlər //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 18 avqust. – s.8.

<sup>75</sup> Əmircanov P. Türkiyə hərbi qüvvələri antiterror əməliyyatlarını gücləndirilib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 28 avqust. – s.6.

<sup>76</sup> Türk ordusu 100-ə yaxın PKK terrorçusunu məhv edib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 24 avqust. – s.6.

<sup>77</sup> Türkiyə Silahlı Qüvvələrinin Baş Qərargahı fevral-avqust ayları ərzində PKK ilə aparılan mübarizənin nəticələri haqqında açıqlama yayıb //Xalq qəzeti. – 2012, 11 sentyabr. – s.6.

<sup>78</sup> Türkiyənin Hakkari vilayətində 53 PKK terrorçusu öldürülmüşdür //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 23 oktyabr

<sup>79</sup> Türkiyə Hərbi Hava Qüvvələri PKK-ya ağır zərbə endirmişdir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 19 avqust. – s.5.

<sup>80</sup> Türkiyədə PKK ilə atışmada 10 əsgər şəhid olub, 20-dən çox terrorçu məhv edilib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2012, 4 sentyabr. – s.12.

<sup>81</sup> Əmircanov P. Türkiyədə daha bir terror aktı törədilib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 26 avqust. – s.16.

<sup>82</sup> Suriyada PKK üzvlərinə divan tutublar //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010, 28 noyabr. – s.8.

taken to solve the problems of Kurds. Kurds have their press, radio and television, speak their own language, and court proceedings are conducted in Kurdish. In the parliamentary elections held in 2015, the People's Democratic Party (HDP) was represented in parliament by 59 deputies. In return for so much confidence, PKK had to stay away from terrorist threats. However, PKK killed Turkish police officers, trampled on state attributes, and came up with new allegations. The fight launched by Turkish government confirms that struggle against terrorism will continue until the last PKK member is killed.<sup>83 84</sup> Although the presentations are only a small part of what was published in "Khalq Gazeti", the newspaper provides complete picture of terror and fight against terrorism.

Articles published in "Khalq Gazeti" newspaper focused on ambivalent attitude of the world community are analyzed in the subsection titled "**World community's fight against and support of the PKK terrorist organization**". The newspaper writes that the fight against terrorism proves that growing terrorism has become a global problem. In his letter to R.T. Erdogan, the President of the United States D. Trump wrote: "*Turkey is a very important ally in the fight against all forms of terrorism, including ISIS and the PKK*".<sup>85</sup> German Chancellor Angela Merkel reaffirms that "*decisions adopted to combat terrorism must be respected.*"<sup>86</sup>

Double standards are also a focus of attention. A statement of Turkey's National Security Council says: "*Xenophobia and hostility towards Muslims are growing in Europe*".<sup>87</sup> In his speech in

---

<sup>83</sup> Türkiyə Bəşər Əsədi kürd yaraqlılarını silahlandırmaqda ittiham edib //Xalq qəzeti. – 2012, 11 avqust. – s.7.

<sup>84</sup> Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğan: PKK silahı yerə qoymalı, Türkiyə ərazisini tərk etməlidir//Xalq qəzeti. – 2013, 11 yanvar. – s.10.

<sup>85</sup> D.Tramp: Türkiyə çox önəmli müttəfiqdir // Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 10 oktyabr. – s.5.

<sup>86</sup> Angela Merkel Türkiyə ilə dialoqun saxlanması tərəfdarıdır //Xalq qəzeti. – 2016, 25 noyabr. – s.4.

<sup>87</sup> Abdullayev M. Terrorçulara dəstək verilməsi Türkiyə ilə müttəfiqlik və dostluq münasibətlərinə zərər vurur //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 01 aprel. – s.7.



Parliament, B.Yildirim told: “If the United States wants to save Ankara’s alliance, it must stop supporting PKK’s Syrian wing, the YPG and PYD”.<sup>88</sup> “Ankara expects Washington to stop cooperation with the YPG”,<sup>89</sup> “Suleyman Soylu: “Some countries support PKK terrorists”,<sup>90</sup> “Fikri Ishig: The United States should not arm terrorists in Syria”<sup>91</sup> and many other articles confirm this.

This kind of articles published by the newspaper also confirm that *“Turkey is fighting against three terrorist groups at the same time – the PKK, ISIS, FETO, while the West shuts its eyes to this”*.<sup>92</sup> An armed PKK terror, which initiated in the 1970s, was supported by the USA, Israel, Iran, the former Soviet Union, and present-day Russia in view of their own interests. In our recent history, however, the role of modern Armenia is extraordinary among the countries supporting PKK. Common positions of the terrorist organizations PKK and ASALA have been on the agenda since the 1980s, and Armenian terrorists have been actively involved in PKK’s terrorist activities.

**“Support of Turkey’s fight against terrorism by the state and people of Azerbaijan”** is the final paragraph of 3<sup>rd</sup> subsection. In ensuring security in the region, the two brotherly states share the same position in the world’s most influential organizations. Importance attached to this issue in “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper stems from the unanimous position of both our peoples and states.

---

<sup>88</sup> Əmircanov P. Binəli Yıldırım: ABŞ Ankara ilə müttəfiqliyini qorumaq istəyirsə, YPG və PYD-ni dəstəkləməkdən imtina etməlidir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 12 oktyabr. – s.6.

<sup>89</sup> Ankara Vaşinqtonun YPG ilə əməkdaşlıqdan imtina edəcəyini gözləyir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 11 noyabr. – s.5.

<sup>90</sup> Süleyman Soylu: Bəzi ölkələr PKK terrorçularına dəstək verir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 2 avqust. – s.4.

<sup>91</sup> Fikri İşiq: ABŞ Suriyadakı terrorçuları silahlandırmamalıdır //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 12 may. – s.8.

<sup>92</sup> Məmmədova N. Avropada Türkiyə xofu //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 29 aprel. – s.10.

*“Azerbaijan recognizes the PKK as a terrorist organization and stands by Turkey in the fight against it”.*<sup>93</sup>

PKK is a terrorist organization with close ties to ASALA. The fact that these organizations go for Nagorno-Karabakh in order to shun Turkish Armed Forces’ operations against terrorism and PKK poses a threat to Azerbaijan too. Turkish media also report on the camps set up by Armenians for the PKK terrorists in occupied Nagorno-Karabakh,<sup>94</sup> and “Aksham”<sup>95</sup> and “Yeni Şafag”<sup>96</sup> newspapers inform about the PKK terrorists sent to Karabakh. At the autumn session of the PACE held in 2001, the head of the Azerbaijani delegation İlham Aliyev spoke about the ASALA terrorist organization and Armenia’s support of terrorism. Despite multiple statements voiced from high tribunes regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh turning into a dangerous hotbed of terrorism and illegal drug trafficking, double standards still continue to be a serious obstacle in addressing the issue. “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper even published terms of the terrorist alliance agreed between PKK and Armenians in 1997.<sup>97</sup> At some point, during one of the interstate events, there was also a debate on this issue between the presidents of Azerbaijan and Turkey.<sup>98</sup>

The dissertation also includes the prompt response of “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper to the attempted military coup carried out by the

---

<sup>93</sup> Azərbaycan Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin və Türkiyənin Baş naziri Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğanın birgə mətbuat konfransı. Baş nazir R. T. Ərdoğanın bəyanatı //Xalq qəzeti. – 2011, 28 iyul. – s.1.

<sup>94</sup> PKK'nın Yukarı Karabağ'a yerləşdirilməsi kime yarar?//Star. 2016,13 şubat.s.7.

<sup>95</sup> Karabağda 1750 PKK-çı və...12 cəsəd? // Akşam. – 2017, 18 temmuz. – s.16.

<sup>96</sup> PKK 400 teröristi Yukarı Karabağ'a göndərdi // Yeni Şafak .– 2016, 17 nisan.– s.6.

<sup>97</sup> Turan A. Ermənistan dövləti ASALA və PKK terror təşkilatları ilə hərtərəfli əməkdaşlıq edir //Xalq qəzeti. – 2017, 21 sentyabr. – s.10.

<sup>98</sup> Azərbaycan Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin və Türkiyənin Baş naziri Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğanın mətbuat konfransı //Xalq qəzeti. – 2010,18 may. – s.1.

Fethullahist Terrorist Organization (FETO) on July 15, 2016. The incident is presented as “*a terrible crime against the Turkish statehood, the Turkish people, its will and choice*”.<sup>99</sup>

As Azerbaijan has been subjected to Armenian terror for many years, “Khalq Gazeti” newspaper has gained rich experience during the independence years, paying special attention to the study of this problem and its presentation to the public. Important aspects of the experience gained are presented with successes and shortcomings in the dissertation.

In the “**Conclusion**” part of the study, generalizations have been made based on the purposes of the dissertation work, some of which are presented as follows:

- Reconstruction of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations and their wide coverage in the press were related to our independence. A new unity of the Turkic peoples of the same lineage, religious and linguistic ties, studying the historical past of our nations and setting up relations has increased the role of the press.

- Regardless of ideological influences and geographical locations, the press has been a carrier of cultural ties, even in the absence of diplomatic, economic and trade relations.

- Soviet-era press, following the orders and demands of Soviet ideology, gave the red light to the coverage of national consciousness and historical truths. Since the eve of independence, respect for the historical past, objectivity and nationality have been brought to the fore in the media.

- Getting rid of dominant ideological influence, respect for national values were among the issues discussed, albeit occasionally, in the Soviet-era press. Submitted study also deals with a number of articles published by the “Kommunist” newspaper. Some researchers

---

<sup>99</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti İlham Əliyev. Türkiyə Respublikasının Prezidenti zati-aliləri cənab Rəcəb Tayyib Ərdoğana //Xalq qəzeti. – 2016, 17 iyul. – s.1.

may also regard this as advocating the press known as a propagandist of the system. But in fact, this stems from the very intentions to assert the desire of the press to be a mirror of the times.

- Bringing the realities of Azerbaijan to the world has been of prime importance in Azerbaijani-Turkish relations and in the media coverage. The challenges, which were subjected to bans and held a special place in building relationships, have been the number-one topic in the press.

- Study of scientific and cultural relations, which were banned for seventy years, has also opened new pages for the press. Coverage of Azerbaijan-Turkey relations along with the relations between other Turkic states, bringing the achievements obtained in the scientific and cultural environment is of great importance as a topical issue valued by the media.

- At a time when interstate relations were just in their early stage of development, the press has become an authoritative platform for presenting cultural relations, national-historical and religious ties of our peoples.

- National press was able to show the world that independent Azerbaijan is a state capable of protecting its sovereignty. It was very important at a time when diplomatic relations were just being established. In particular, the emergence and formation of an independent press has given impetus to the expansion of relations.

- At some points, the press was also able to influence a change in the position of political circles and government agencies, which adopted a wait-and-see attitude against certain external influences.

- As a mirror of its time, the press has been able to create a perfect basis which could be very useful in terms of an in-depth study of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations, as well as for future research, etc.

With more than hundred years past, the history of the periodical first called “Kommunist” and then “Khalq Gazeti” after our country gained its second independence, is in fact a part of history and destiny of the Azerbaijani people. These should be

regarded as an invaluable source for the creation of perfect and rich basis for the study and research of our distant and recent past, our successes and problems of the present time, as well as for more comprehensive research.

**The main theses of the dissertation are reflected in the following articles and reports at the scientific conferences:**

1. Yeni dünya düzənində Türkiyə-Azərbaycan münasibətləri // – Bakı: Avrasiya Universitetinin “Sivilizasiya” elmi-nəzəri jurnalı, - 2017. №3, Cild 6, - s.55-65.

2. Heydər Əliyevin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövründə Türkiyə ilə münasibətlərin qurulması // - Bakı: AMEA M.Füzuli adına Əlyazmalar İnstitutu, Filologiya məsələləri jurnalı, – 2017. №17, – s.360-369.

3. Heydər Əliyevin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövrü mətbuat müstəvisində // - Bakı: Odlar Yurdu Universitetinin Elmi və Pedaqoji Xəbərləri, - 2017. №46, --s.242-250.

4. Azərbaycan – Türkiyə əməkdaşlığından bütün bölgə və geniş coğrafiya faydalanmaqdadır // IV Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Simpoziumu, - Nigde, Türkiyə: - 26 nissan, - 28 nissan, - 2017, - s. 675-680.

5. Almas İldırım: nakam şair, nakam vətəndaş // III Beynəlxalq Həməzə Nigari Türk Dünyası Mədəni İrsi Simpoziumu materialları, - Şamaxı, Azərbaycan: - 17 may, - 18 may, - 2017, - s.469-475.

6. Azərbaycan Basını: 15 Temmuz FETO olaylarından sonra // I.Uluslararası İpekyolu Akademik Çalışmalar Sempozyumu. Sempozyumun özet kitabı. - Nevşehir, Türkiyə: -21 eylul, - 23 eylul, - 2017, - s.455.

7. Müasir dövrdə Azərbaycan – Türkiyə münasibətlərinin Azərbaycan mətbuatında əksi // ADPU və Kastamonu Universiteti “Azərbaycan-Türkiyə münasibətləri” II Beynəlxalq Elmi konfransı, - Bakı, Azərbaycan: - 12 oktyabr, - 14 oktyabr, - 2017, - s.43-49.

8. Azərbaycan – Türkiyə münasibətlərində Heydər Əliyev faktoru // AR Təhsil Nazirliyi Azərbaycan Memarlıq və İnşaat Universiteti. Ümummili lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 95-ci ildönümünə həsr olunmuş “Milli-mənəvi dəyərlər: ənənə və müasirlik” mövzusunda Beynəlxalq Elmi Konfrans, - Bakı, Azərbaycan: -2 may - 4 may, - 2018, - s. 235-240.

9. Azərbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyəti irsinin təqdimatında mətbuatın rolu // Bakı Slavyan Universiteti, Ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 95-ci ildönümünə həsr olunmuş “Azərbaycanşünaslığın Aktual Problemləri” IX Beynəlxalq Elmi Konfrans, - Bakı: - 3 may, - 4 may, - 2018,- s.127-129.

10. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə stratejik işbirliyi (Halk gazetesi kaynaklarına göre) // Avrasya Sosial ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi'nin ASEAD III. Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Sempozyumu. Sempozyumun özet kitabı, – Antalya, Türkiyə: 5 Mayıs, – 7 Mayıs, – 2018, – s. 166-167.

11. Heydər Əliyev və mətbuat (Ulu öndərin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövrü) // Ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 95 illiyinə həsr olunmuş “Davamlı inkişaf və humanitar elmlərin aktual problemləri-2018” Azərbaycan Universiteti, Beynəlxalq konfrans. – Bakı, Azərbaycan: – 14 may, -15 May, – 2018, – s. 424-427.

12. Azərbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyəti və milli mətbuatımızın dövlətçilik ənənələri // Müsəlman Şərqiində ilk Parlamentli Respublika. Azərbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyətinin 100 illik yubileyinə həsr olunmuş Beynəlxalq Elmi Konfrans, - Bakı, Azərbaycan: 21 may, -- 23 may, - 2018, - s. 825-827.

13. Sovet hakimiyyətinin ilk illərində Azərbaycan mətbuatında Türkiyə və türkçülük // İCSSCA.7.Uluslararası Çin'den Adriyatik'e Sosial Bilimler Kongresi. Konqre özet kitabı. – Bakü – Azərbaycan: - 11 ekim, – 14 ekim, - 2018, - s. 65.

14. Türkiyə mövzusu Azərbaycan sovet mətbuatında (Xaricdə çalışmış ilk azərbaycanlı sovet jurnalisti Azad Şərifovun yaradıcılığına bir nəzər). // İCSSCA.7. Uluslararası Çin'den

Adriyatik'e Sosial Bilimler Kongresi. Konqre özet kitabı. -- Bakü – Azərbaycan: –11 ekim, – 14 ekim, –2018, – s. 66.

15. Bakü-Tiflis-Kars Demiryolu Hattının Açılış Töreni Türk Medyasının Gündeminde // V Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Simpoziumu. – Almatı, Kazakistan. – 12–14 oktyabr, - - 2018, – s.313-316.

16. Cümhuriyyət dövrü milli mətbuatımız və dövlətçilik // - Bakı: Azərbaycan Universiteti. İpək Yolu, - 2018, №1, – s. 36-40.

17. Türkiyə mövzusu 60-cı illər Azərbaycan Sovet mətbuatında (“Kommunist” qəzetinin materialları əsasında) // - Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət Pedaqoji Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Hümanitar, ictimai və pedaqoji-psixoloji elmlər seriyası, – 2018. Cild 66, № 1, - s.126-138.

18. Sovet hakimiyyətinin ilk illərində Azərbaycan mətbuatında Türkiyə və türkçülük // - Bakı: AMEA M.Füzuli adına Əlyazmalar İnstitutu, Filologiya məsələləri jurnalı, - 2018. №3, – s.348-356.

19. Türkiyəyə məhəbbətlə (Azərbaycan yazıçılarının yaradıcılığında Türkiyə mövzusu) // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Yazıçılar Birliyinin aylıq ədəbi-bədii orqanı, “Azərbaycan” ədəbi-bədii jurnalı, - 2018. №4, – s.176-180.

20. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti irsi mətbuatda // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Universiteti. İpək Yolu, – 2018, №2, – s.130-134.

21. Azərbaycan sovet yazarlarının yaradıcılığında Türkiyə mövzusu ( 1960-1980-ci illərin qaynaqları əsasında) // - Türkiyə: Turan Stratejik Araştırmalar Mərkəzi, Turan-SAM Uluslararası Bilimsel Hakemli Dergisi, - 2018. Sayı 40, - s.298-303.

22. Sovyet dönemi Azərbaycan gazeteciliğinde Türkiyə konusu // – Türkiyə: Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, Edebiyyat ve Halkbilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi TÜRÜK, --2018. Sayı 15, - s.209-220.

23. Azərbaycan mətbuatı və 15 iyul FETO hadisələri // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Dillər Universiteti. Elmi Xəbərlər, – 2018. №.1, – s.136-143.

24. Azərbaycan Demokratik Respublika və Milli Məclis // -- Ujgorod: Naukoviy visnik Ujgorodskogo Natsionalnogo Universitetu. Seriya Mjznarodni Vidnosini, Vypusk 4. – 2018. – s.73-81.

25. Türk birliđi düşüncesine Azerbaycandan ilmi-nazari bir baxış // - Türkiye: Turan Stratejik Arařtırmalar Mərkəzi, Turan-SAM Uluslararası Bilimsel Hakemli Dergisi, - 2019. Sayı 41, - s.420-429.

26. Heydər Əliyevin siyasi fəaliyyətinin Naxçıvan dövrü və müstəqillik ideyaları “Şərq qapısı” qəzetində // -- Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası. Filologiya və Sənətsünaslıq Ədəbiyyat Məcmuəsi, - 2019. № 1, – s. 13-20.

27. Azərbaycan Basınında Türkiye ve Türkçülük Konusu (Sovyet Həkimiyətinin İlk Yıllarında ‘Komünist’ Gazetesi Kaynaklarına Bir Bakış) // - İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Sosial Bilimler Dergisi, – 2019. № 1, – s. 68-75.

28. Azərbaycan-Sovyet yazarlarının yaradıcılığında Türkiye: 1960-1980 dönm kaynaklarına bir baxış // - İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosial Bilimler Dərgisi,–2019.Cilt 21,Say 1,–s.269-276.

29. Azərbaycan basını ve 15 temmuz FETO olayları (Halk gazetesi'nin kaynaklarına dayanan analiz) // - İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi İletişim fakultesi Media ve İletişim Arařtırmaları Bilimler Dərgisi EGEMİA, – 2019. № 4, - s. 68-78.

30. Azərbaycan Xalq Cumhuriyyəti: “Azərtac”in yaranma zərurəti və keçdiyi yol // - Muş: Alparslan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Anemon, -- 2019. Sayı 7(3), – s. 291-297.

31. Azərbaycan Sovet jurnalistikasında Türkiyə mövzusu (Türkiyədə, eləcə də xaricdə çalışmış ilk azərbaycanlı Sovet jurnalisti Azad Şərifovun yaradıcılığı haqqında) // - Bakı Dövlət Universiteti. Türk filologiyası jurnalı, 2020. № 2. – s.48-58.

32. Azərbaycan basınında Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri // I. Uluslararası Sovyet sonrası Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri sempozyumu. Konqre kitabı. Ege Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Arařtırmaları İnstitutu. İzmir–Türkiye: –15 ekim, –16 ekim, - 2020.



33. Azərbaycan mətbuatı repressiya illərində (“Kommunist” qəzetinin materialları əsasında) // – AMEA Naxçıvan Bölməsi. Xəbərlər. İctimai və humanitar elmlər seriyası.2020. №3,– s.185-196.

34. Haydar Aliyev'in Nahçıvan dönmündeki siyasi faaliyyətləri və Türkiyə ilə ilişkilerin kurulması // III.Uluslararası Aras Havzası Sempozyumu. Kars–Türkiyə: –18 mart, –19 mart, – 2021.

35. Rüşət Rüşəmovun bədii yaradıcılığında milli-mənəvi dəyərlər və həyati gerçəkliklərə sevgi (“Köç” kitabı haqqında) // - Bakı: AMEA M.Füzuli adına Əlyazmalar İnstitutu, Filologiya məsələləri jurnalı, – 2021. №2, – s.392-396.

**Books:**

1. Baxıb Türkün bayrağına – Bakı: BXQR, – 2011. – 144 s.
2. Bakıdan görünən Türkiyə – Bakı: BXQR, – 2014. – 304 s.
3. Çanaqqalada nələr gördüm – Bakı: BXQR, –2015. – 108 s.
4. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə: gördüyüm, görüşdüyüm adamları ilə – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 2018. – 232 s.

**The defense will be held on 22 June 2021 at 12<sup>00</sup> at the meeting of the Dissertation council BED – 1.17 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Institute of Folklore Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences**

**Address: AZ 1001, Baku, Kichik Gala str, 31, Institute of Folklore Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences**

**Dissertation is accessible at the Central Scientific Library of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences**

**Electronic versions of dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of the Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan (aak.gov.az) and on the official website of the Institute of Folklore (folklor.az)**

**Abstract was sent to the required addresses on 17 May 2021**

**Signed for print: 08.05.2021**

**Paper format: 60x84 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>**

**Volume: 43907**

**Number of hard copies: 20**