

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the right of the manuscript

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**REFLECTIONS OF THE SITUATION IN THE CENTRAL
ASIAN TURKIC REPUBLICS IN 1985-1991 IN THE PRESS
OF AZERBAIJAN SSR AND THE TURKEY**

Specialty: 5502.01 – General history

Filed of Science: History

Applicant: **Fatma Betul Faruk Aydemir Bash**

Baku – 2024

The dissertation work was carried out at the "History of the Turkic peoples" department of Baku State University.

Supervisor: Doctor of Philosophy in History,
Associate Professor
Sevinj Farrukh gizi Ruintan

Official opponents Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Associate Professor
Vasif Vagif oğlu Gafarov

Doctor of Philosophy in History,
Associate Professor
Rovshan Gabil oğlu Hatamov

Doctor of Philosophy in History,
Associate Professor
Sona Sabeddin gizi Maharramova

Dissertation council ED 2.20 of Supreme Attestation Commission
under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the
Baku State University.

Chairman of the
Dissertation Council: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor
Ibrahim Khudaverdi oğlu Zeynalov

Scientific Secretary of the
Dissertation Council: Doctor of Philosophy in History,
Associate Professor
Kamala Talman gizi Najafova

Chairman of the
scientific seminar: Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Associate Professor
Aida Rahim gizi Baghirova



I.GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

The actuality and the process of development of the topic.

There are a number of reasons that contribute to the relevance of the topic, which we would like to clarify from three aspects:

1. The events that took place in the Central Asian republics in 1985-1991 have not been studied in historiography of Azerbaijan or Turkey in the current context. For the first time, within the framework of this dissertation, an attempt was made to cover these events in the Azerbaijani SSR and Turkish press. Thus, relations with the Turkic republics of Central Asia are one of the important directions of the foreign policy of Turkey, where in 2023 we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republic, as well as Azerbaijan, where we celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the restoration of its independence. From this point of view, research on the Turkic republics of Central Asia is of relevance both from a scientific and political point of view.

2. Central Asian studies have always remained relevant. According to experts, nowadays there is a period of formation of a new order in the international level. Russia, China and Iran, now called “authoritarian and revisionist states”, are on the rise, relations between them are stronger than ever before. As a logical continuation of these events, in particular, the entry of the Russian-Ukrainian war, which began with the occupation of Crimea in 2014, into a new phase in 2022; the armed attack of Hamas on Israel in October 2023 and other issues led to a slight aggravation of competition between Western states and revisionist states. Thus came the end of the “*American peace*” (*Pax Americana*), which meant the peaceful existence of the United States and its allies in the post-Cold War period, Hamas “embedded” it in history textbooks”¹.

¹ Hal, B. Hamas Consigns the Pax Americana to History Books: [Electronic resource] / Bloomberg, 9 October 2023. URL: <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2023-10-09/israel-hamas-war-us-faces-global-conflict-instability-terrorism>

All these events were described by US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken in his speech on September 2023 at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) on the topic “*the power and purpose of American diplomacy in the new era*” as “*the end of the world order formed in the 90s of the XX century*”². All this in other words means that in the near future the competition for authority between the great powers in the regions of geopolitical importance from the point of view of world politics will again escalate. One of such significant regions is, without a doubt, the Turkic regions of Central Asia, which are an important component of the region, which is considered by geopoliticians to be the “axis of history” and the “heart of Eurasia” -and from this point of view- the geographical boundaries of our subject of study.

In addition, M.S.Gorbachev’s, -who became the first and last president of the USSR in August 2022- death again gave relevance to research about him and his time. We believe that we can also take this as one of the following reasons that determine the relevance of the topic.

3. Another reason that determines the relevance of the topic is that it is connected with the press, which stands in the first rows among information transmitters. Thus, the information struggle has been the main tool of world politics throughout history, and today it is even one of the main means of political, economic and moral hegemony in the world. Back in the 60-70s of the XX century, Henry Kissinger, who became an assistant to the president of the United States, adviser on national security issues, and then Secretary of state, said that the powers controlling the flow of information have the opportunity to control the world, which entails the emergence of a new type of hegemony-

² Speech Secretary Anthony J.Blinken Remarks to the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) “The Power and Purpose of American Diplomacy in a New Era”: [Electronic resource] / September 13, 2023. URL: <https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-remarks-to-the-johns-hopkins-school-of-advanced-international-studies-sais-the-power-and-purpose-of-american-diplomacy-in-a-new-era/>

information dominance³. In this regard, as one of the main components of the national security of states, ensuring the information system of protecting national interests is one of the main tasks facing the information policy of states. It is no coincidence that one of the modern forms of struggle between states today is the geopolitical information issue. Any political regime, even the most repressive one, tries to support the decisions taken by the authorities by public opinion and tries to realize it directly through the press, which was the case in the USSR.

The importance of the press in socio-political life was confirmed once again during the second Karabakh War of Azerbaijan. In the second Karabakh War, Azerbaijan gained an indisputable advantage not only on the battlefield, but also in the information matter. All this once again confirms that information is one of the main tools of the effectiveness of politics and diplomacy. In this sense, the study of the role of the press in the life of society is one of the ongoing issues of today. Thus, summing up all that has been said, we can conclude that our research topic is devoted to the study of one of the most demanding issues of our day, both in its object and subject. The years of the formation of a new world order, which is similar in time to the period in which we live; the choice of the subject of research in terms of location in relation to the Turkic republics of Central Asia, which is one of the important directions of the foreign policy of both Azerbaijan and Turkey, can be considered relevant.

When we talk about the degree of elaboration of the topic, we can mention the current historiographic works:

- 1) to obtain a general idea of the period under the study and
- 2) in general, the press can be divided into two groups as works that help to clarify issues related to the press in the USSR, in the Azerbaijan SSR and in Turkey.

In the light of this, the first group of works can be divided into the following subgroups:

- Works devoted to the study of the establishment years of the history of the USSR. What makes these works important for our study

³ Солянова, В.М. Генри Киссинджер о мировом порядке: [Электронный ресурс] / США и Канада, 2016, №7, с.85. URL: https://www.elibrary.az/docs/jurnal/jrn2016_603.htm

is that they talk about the events that took place in the USSR in general, and also touch on the events that took place in the Turkic republics of Central Asia to one degree or another;

- Works devoted to the history of Russia, the Turkic republics of Central Asia, as well as Azerbaijan, including the history of the years of independence. These works are of great importance from the point of view that information about the period of 1985-1991 of different republics can be taken from them and compared with information given in the press of Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey;

- Works devoted to the relations of Azerbaijan and Turkey with the Turkic republics of Central Asia. These works, devoted to the study of the years of independence, are of some importance for the dissertation from the point of view of the fact that in them the situations on the eve of the independence of the republics are also studied to one degree or another;

- Works about the end of the Cold War, the formation of a new world order, about the foreign policy activities of the respective states in the new conditions are significant in terms of obtaining an idea of the general picture of the period of study;

- The issue of ethnic identity, conflicts, etc. works devoted to the study of such issues. The study of some of these works directly, and to some extent, of the events of Alma-Ata, Fergana, Osh in Central Asia in 1985-1991, makes them important for research. These works even act as sources for research in certain cases.

- During the period mentioned about M.S. Gorbachev, -who first became the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, and later its first and last president- studies dedicated to Gorbachev. These works are important in terms of helping to get an idea of the period in general.

All these studies are of great importance from the point of view of studying the events that took place in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 on the basis of historiography.

The second group of works can be divided into 3 subgroups:

- The press in general, including the press in the USSR;
- The press in the Azerbaijan SSR;
- In Turkey, the works devoted to the investigation of the press.

This group of works includes the press in Azerbaijan and Turkey, its place and role in society, duties, etc. They have been important in terms of getting an idea of the issues.

The following works of Azerbaijani, Turkish and foreign authors were used during the study.

The first group of works. During the development of the dissertation:

- In order to study the current situation in Central Asia in 1985-1991, N.Mammadli, T.SH.Bakhsheliyev, İ.Mammadov, S.Ruintan and C.Alisgandarli, T.Hamid, M.Saray, A.Kara, M.S.Gorbachev, O.Roy, R.M.Cucciolla and F.Shokirova⁴;

- In connection with the protests of Alma-Ata, Fergana and Osh conflict, one of the most important events of the period under study A.Kara, A.G.Osipov, F.Devrisheva and V.Tishkov⁵;

- M.S.Gorbachev and his reforms from the 2-volume Chrestomathy “history of modern Russia” published by employees of Moscow State University on, as well as J.Gibbs, A.Brown, R.G.Suny and

⁴ Məmmədli, N. Mərkəzi Asiyanın türk dövlətləri və Türkiyə (XX əsrin 90-cı illəri) / N.Məmmədli. Bakı: AzAtam, – 2005. – 233 s.; Baxşəliyev, T. Rusiya tarixi ən qədim zamanlardan günümüzədək / T.Baxşəliyev. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2021. – 808 s.; Məmmədov, İ.M. Türk dünyasının böyük oğlu // Dövlət və Hüquq jurnalı, –1998, №1 – s.14-17; Məmmədov, İ.M. Türk Kafkası'nda Siyasi ve Etnik Yapı: Azərbaycan Tarihi Eski Çağlardan Günümüze. / İ.M.Məmmədov. – İstanbul: Ötügen yay. – 2009. – 853 s.; Ruintən, S., Əlisgəndərli, C. SSRİ Mərkəzi hökumətinin Mərkəzi Asiya və Qafqaz respublikalarına münasibətdə siyasətinin xarakteri haqqında // Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2014, №4, s.132-139; Горбачев, М.С. Жизнь и реформы. В двух книгах. Кн.1: [Электронный ресурс] / М., АО «Изд-во Новости», 1995, 600 с. URL: <http://www.yeltsincenter.ru/sites/default/files /zhizn-i-reformy-kniga-1.pdf>; Cucciolla, M. The Crisis of Soviet Power in Central Asia: The ‘Uzbek cotton affair’ (1975-1991): / PhD Program in Political History XXVIII Cycle / – Lucca, 2017. – 712 p.; Shokirova, F. “Ak Altın”ın Kara Kaderi: Pamuk Vakası ve Şeref Reşidov’un Başına Gelenler // Online: Rusad, 2022. № 8, - s.55-77.

⁵ Saray, M. Yeni Türk Cumhuriyetleri Tarihi / M.Saray. - İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu – 2014. – 513 s.; Kara, A. Kazakistan'da 1986 Almatı Olaylarının İcyüzü ve Etkileri / YLT / - İstanbul, 1997. – 195 s.; Осипов, А.Г. Ферганские события: конструирование этнического конфликта. – В кн.: Ферганская долина: этничность, этнические процессы, этнические конфликты. Москва, Наука, 2004, с.164-223.; Devrisheva, F. Türk ve Rus Kaynakları Işığında 1989 Fergana Olayları // Denizli: Belgi Dergisi, 2019. № 2/17, - s.1170-1187 və b.

N.Alec's research was used⁶.

From the second group of works:

- Information about the press in the Azerbaijan SSR Sh.Valiyev and N.Yagublu, N.Zeynalov, N.Akhundov, S.Tohidi Rustamova, A.Ashırlı, K. Duniyaminizi, E.Maharramov and İ, Mazanlı⁷;

- Information about the Turkish press H. Topuz, A. Kabacalı⁸

- Information about the press of the USSR from A.M.Panfilova and I.N.Panarin's research⁹.

The source base of the dissertation is the newspapers and magazines involved in the research:

- Newspapers “Nezavisimaya Gazeta”, “Izvestia” from the USSR press¹⁰;

⁶ История современной России: Документы и материалы (1985–1999): В 2 ч. Ч.1. / Под общ.ред. С.М.Шахрая и А.А.Клишаса (Сост. С.М.Попова, А.А.Яник). М.: Фонд современной истории; Издательство Московского университета, 2011. - 624 с.; Gibbs, J. Gorbachev's Glasnost the Soviet Media in the first Phase of Perestroika / J. Gibbs. - Texas: Texas A&M University press. – 1999. – 147 p.; Brown, A. The Gorbachev Factor / A. Brown. - New York: Oxford University Press. - 1997. - 444 p. və b.

⁷ Vəliyev, Ş., Yağublu, N. Azərbaycan mətbuatı antologiyası, I cild: [2 cilddə]. C.I / Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, - 2010. - 440 s., II cild /Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, - 2011. - 440 s.; Tohidi Rüstəmov S. Azərbaycan dövrü mətbuatı / S.Rüstəmov Tohidi. 1875-1990, Bakı: Azər nəşr, – 1993. – 258 s.; Aşırılı, A. Azərbaycan mətbuatı tarixi (1875-1920) / A.Aşırılı. – Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, – 2009. – 296 s.; 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 nəşriyyatı, – 2009. – 88 s.; Mazanlı, İ. Millətlərarası münasibətlərin təkmilləşdirilməsində mətbuatın rolu / İ.Mazanlı. – Bakı, “Renessans” nəşriyyatı, - 2014. - 624 s. və b.

⁸ Topuz, H. Türk Basın Tarihi / H.Topuz. - İstanbul: Gerçek yayınları, - 1973. – 270 s.; Kabacalı, A. Başlangıcından Türkiye'de Matbaa ve Yayın / A.Kabacalı. İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, – 2000. – 280 s.

⁹ Панфилова, А.М. Советская периодическая печать как исторический источник. Москва, Изд-во Московского Университета, - 1974, - 62 с.; Панарин И.Н. Первая информационная война. Развал СССР. / Панарин И.Н. - СПб., «Питер», - 2010. - 256 с.

¹⁰ Заявление М.С.Горбачева по советскому телевидению 22 августа 1991 года: [Электронный ресурс] / Известия, № 201 [23467], 23 августа 1991 года, с.1-2. URL: <https://yeltsin.ru/archive/periodic/53659>; Игорь Ж. Президент Ниязов уступать не намерен: «Никто не вправе диктовать нам каких-либо условий»: [Электронный ресурс] / «Независимая газета», №170, 28 декабря 1991, с.3.

- “Communist” (“Khalq newspaper” since 1991), “Azadliq”, “Azerbaycan gencleri”, “Azerbaijan”, “Odlar Yurdu”, “Elm ve Hayat”, “Azerbaijan Communist” magazines published in the Azerbaijan SSR;

- “Cumhuriyet”, “Hurriyet”, “Milliyet”, “Tercuman”, “Turkiye” and “Turk Yurdu” magazine newspapers published in Turkey.

- Copies of the mentioned newspapers and magazines published in the Azerbaijan SSR in 1985-1991 are kept in the National Library of Azerbaijan. From the materials of the E-Periodicals Press base of the National Library¹¹.

-In connection with the Turkish press, digital resources of the “Ataturk kitapligi”¹² library in Istanbul were used, and the archive for the “Turk Yurdu”¹³ magazine, posted on the official website of the magazine.

In addition, the study also:

- “M.S.Gorbachev’s International Center for socio-economic and Political Studies”¹⁴;

- Materials of the “Electronic Library of the Collection of documents of B.N. Yeltsin (personal fund) Foundation”¹⁵”

- On the official website of the Federal archival Agency of Russia, in particular, “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” and “the fall of the USSR. From legislative acts and documentary materials posted

URL: <https://yeltsin.ru/archive/periodic/53970>; Игорь, Р. Выборы Президента: поэт против бывшего лидера коммунистов: [Электронный ресурс] / «Независимая газета», №170, 28 декабря 1991, с.3. URL: <https://yeltsin.ru/archive/periodic/53970> və b.

¹¹ Azərbaycan Milli Kitabxanası, E-dövri mətbuat: [Elektron resurs] / URL: <https://www.millikitabxana.az/newspapers>

¹² “Ataturk Kitaplığı” kitabxanasının rəsmi internet səhifəsi: [Elektron resurs] / URL: <https://ataturkkitapligi.ibt.gov.tr/tr/Anasayfa>

¹³ “Türk yurdu” jurnalının rəsmi səhifəsi: [Elektron resurs] / URL: <https://www.turkyurdu.com.tr/dergiler.php>

¹⁴ Официальный сайт некоммерческой организации международного фонда социально-экономических и политологических исследований имени М.С. Горбачева «Горбачев-Фонд»: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://www.gorby.ru/>

¹⁵ Официальный сайт Фонда «Президентский центр Б.Н.Ельцина» (Ельцин центр): [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://yeltsin.ru/>

in the sections” formation of the Russian Federation¹⁶

- First president of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev’s speeches, reports and statements¹⁷ posted on the official website of Nazarbayev; from the legislative document posted on the website “Adilet” information and legal system of normative legal acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan¹⁸

- National database of legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan “LexUz on-line” website¹⁹ from the materials of the site "Norma on-line", where the documents “all legislation of Uzbekistan” are posted

- From the documents posted on the website “Centralized-resurrected information Bank of the legal data of the Kyrgyz Republic”²⁰;

- Statistical materials of the USSR Book Chamber²¹ were used.

Object and subject of research. The object of the research is the events that took place in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991; the subject is the reflection of these events in the Azerbaijani SSR and the Turkish press.

Research goals and objectives. The purpose of the research is to investigate the current situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Turkish press at that

¹⁶ Официальный сайт Интернет-проекта «Исторические материалы»: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://istmat.org/statistics>; Официальный сайт Федерального архивного агентства России: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://projects.rusarchives.ru/statehood/09-28-zakon-prezident-sssr.shtml>

¹⁷ Официальный сайт первого Президента Республики Казахстан Нурсултана Назарбаева: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://nazarbayev.kz/>

¹⁸ Сайт Информационно-правовой системы нормативных правовых актов Республики Казахстан “Әділет”: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus>

¹⁹ Национальная база данных законодательства Республики Узбекистан: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://lex.uz/ru/>; Сайт Информационно-поисковые и экспертные системы «Все законодательство Узбекистана»: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://nrm.uz/about>

²⁰ Сайт Централизованного Банка Данных Правовой Информации Кыргызской Республики Министерства Юстиции Кыргызской Республики: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/>

²¹ Печать в СССР в 1990 году. Стат. сб. / Всесоюзная ордена «Знак Почета» книжная палата. Москва, «Финансы и статистика», 1991, 284 с. Печать в СССР в 1985 году. Стат.сб. / Всесоюзная ордена «Знак Почета» книжная палата. Москва, «Финансы и статистика», 1986, 311 с.

time. So that,

1) the election of the press of the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey, which belonged to two different systems during the Cold War, will allow, first of all, to look at the same events from different angles, as well as to understand the essence of the double standards approach in world politics;

2) depending on the nature of the political system of the press-democratic, authoritarian, ideocratic, etc.- issues such as how its place and role in society have changed, its importance in its management will be clearly visible.

All this is one of the issues of particular importance from the point of view of today, when the struggle for information is exacerbated.

In the course of the study, the following tasks were identified to achieve the set goal. First of all, on the basis of existing historical and political literature:

- In the USSR, which at the time under consideration was a “voluntary alliance” of 15 republics, including the Turkic republics of Central Asia, determining the political, economic and social situation of the M.S.Gorbachev era;

- To clarify the impact of reforms and changes carried out in the USSR on the Turkic republics of Central Asia, the distinctive features of the situation in these republics;

Based on publications selected from the Azerbaijani and Turkish media as sources for research:

- To investigate how the events in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 were covered in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR;

- To investigate how the events of 1985-1991 in the separate Turkic republics of Central Asia were covered in the Turkish press;

- To identify similarities and differences in the coverage of the current situation in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey, their causes and make a comparative analysis;

- In order to correctly assess the reasons for the differences in the information provided in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey, as well as to clarify the place, role and duties of the press in society in general.

The study chronologically covers the period from 1985 to 1991. These years constitute the last stage in the history of the USSR, including the history of the Soviet period of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. In historical and political literature, these years, which are called "Glasnost, democracy and perestroika in the USSR", as well as the stage of "collapse of the USSR", are also considered in the system of international relations as the years of the end of the Cold War and the establishment of a new world order. These years can also be characterized as the years of revival in the history of statehood of Turkic people in terms of the fact that in the Central Asian region we studied 4 (and in general in the USSR, 5) years leading the Turkic Republic to independence. It should be noted that in the dissertation, in order to more clearly understand some of the issues at this research, in certain cases, it was partially deviated from the specified framework.

Research methods. During the research, the most widely used content-analysis method during the research of mass media, including the press; historical-comparative analysis, historical-systematic approach, widely used in historical research, as well as empirical, inductive and deductive research methods were used to obtain more complete information during the content-analysis method: various materials and facts were collected, their essence was investigated, systematized,

The main provisions of the defense these are:

- Despite the reforms carried out, the policy of the central government of the USSR in relation to the Turkish Muslim republics in the years of perestroika did not differ from previous periods, as a rule, relations served the interests of the Center, and discriminatory attitude was clearly felt in comparison with other republics;

- In general, the press does not always serve progressive interests. Any political regime, even the most repressive one, tries to support the decisions taken by the authorities by public opinion and tries to implement them directly through the press;

-Despite the reforms carried out in the field of the press during the years of perestroika, censorship in the press continued throughout the USSR, including the Azerbaijan SSR. In addition, the existence of an administrative-command system in the administration continued to limit the activities of the press;

-The creation of independent and opposition newspapers was allowed in the last years of the existence of the USSR. However, the pages of these newspapers and magazines in the Azerbaijan SSR were mostly covered with News about Azerbaijan and the central government, and partly the events taking place in Russia and other “main republics” of the USSR. There is almost no room for news about the current situation in the republics of Central Asia;

- The events were mainly covered in the official press of the Azerbaijan SSR. The events that took place in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 were not objectively covered in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR at that time, and the reports reflected the “position of the Center”;

- In accordance with the position of the “Center” in the Azerbaijani press at that time, a number of cases were not reported at all;

- The events that took place in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 from the point of view of the interests of the state to which the press has always belonged, were covered in the Turkish press at that time from a slightly different angle;

- During the coverage of the events in the press reports of Turkey, the interests of not only Turkey, but also the Western bloc, which was an ally and a counterparty of the ideological struggle with the USSR, were taken into account;

- In the coverage of certain issues in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey, there were similar assessments, as well as opinions and approaches, one of which was completely opposite to the other;

- The approach “events in the Turkish press are covered more objectively” cannot be considered correct in relation to all issues;

-Despite the fact that the press of the Azerbaijan SSR did not report at all, and the Turkish Press reported a lot and in certain cases presented as nationalist and religious movements, the events of Alma-Ata, Fergana and Osh in Central Asia during the period mentioned did not actually occur for National reasons, as it was presented in most cases. In this regard, it would be more correct not to consider them as a national conflict.

Scientific novelty of the research. The main novelty of this dissertation from the point of view of Azerbaijani historiography,

- It is in this context that the current situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 is related to the study of how the press coverage of two different states is carried out.

In addition to this,

- During the coverage of the current situation in the press of the two countries, different approaches were identified, as well as attempts were made to clarify the reasons for these differences;

- In the dissertation, not only the coverage of the current situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in the Azerbaijani SSR and the Turkish press, but also a comparative analysis of the press of the two countries was carried out;

- For the first time in the history of Azerbaijan in terms of comparative analysis, the Turkish media used in the research, related to the current research topic, have been introduced into scientific circulation.

Theoretical and practical significance of research. It is possible to evaluate the importance of the study as follows:

- The research work is of theoretical importance from the point of view of its relevance and scientific novelty, as well as from the point of view of comparative analysis of the Press on the example of Azerbaijan and Turkey, which belong to two states with different political systems.

- Both the theoretical and practical significance of the study is also due to its dedication to the study of an interdisciplinary topic.

- The practical significance of the study is also due to the fact that it will increase attention to the issues of the place and role of the press in society. In particular, conducting a comparative analysis can help educate everyone who will be familiar with the research in this area, which is very important from the point of view of today.

The materials of the research work can be used during the studies of the press in the USSR, the history of the press of Azerbaijan and Turkey, as well as the history of the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991. We also think that the dissertation can be useful in the process of training appropriately qualified specialists in higher schools.

Approbation and application. The main provisions and scientific results of the dissertation work are reflected in the author's reports

at international symposiums and conferences, articles published in Azerbaijan and abroad. The author published 8 articles on the dissertation, 5 theses, presented at 7 symposiums.

Name of the organization where the dissertation work is carried out. Dissertation work was performed at Baku State University, Faculty of History, Department of History of Turkic Peoples.

The total volume of the dissertation with a sign, indicating the volume of the structural units of the dissertation separately. The dissertation consists of introduction, 3 chapters, 12 sub-chapters, conclusion and list of used literature. Introduction - 42.021, chapter I - 95.903, Chapter II - 66.137, Chapter III - 69.186, conclusion-10.599, the total volume of the dissertation consists of 283.846 characters.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the **Introduction** part of the research, the relevance of the topic is justified, the level of study of the problem and the source science base are analyzed, the theoretical and methodological issues are clarified, the object and subject of the research, goals and objectives are defined, the scientific innovation and practical importance of the work are indicated.

Chapter I **“The current situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991”** consists of two sub-chapters. On the basis of scientific research available in the first chapter, the general socio-political, economic situation in the USSR in 1985-1991 is examined, briefly clarifying the reasons that entailed the appearance of these conditions. The second sub-chapter examines the influence of the situation in the USSR as a whole, the influence of the situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia, which were the Union republics at that time, and the policy of the central government in relation to the relevant Republics. It is noted that M.S.Gorbachev's, who was the last head of the Soviet Union before its collapse, inscribed his name in Soviet history as a “reformist leader” March 11, 1985 Soviet with his

election to the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a new era began for the Soviet Union²². After coming to power, he announced the reforms of “Acceleration”, “Glasnost” and “Perestroika”, which covered all spheres of the country's life, in order to correct the crisis situation that existed in the USSR. However, these reforms could not prevent the collapse. Consequently, M.S.Gorbachev in his December 1991 telediscussion to the Soviet people stated that he: *“fought for the independence of the peoples of the Union, the sovereignty of the republics, as well as the preservation of the Union state, the integrity of the country, but events took a different plane and could not agree with this, which is why he resigned from his post.”*²³ Thus, 15 new independent states appeared on the political map of the world in the USSR, including 5 in Central Asia.

The results of the events of this period on the Turkic republics of Central Asia were as follows:

✓ The problems existing in the economic life of the republics have exacerbated, and in some ways even deepened the problems occurring in other spheres of republican life;

✓ Measures to increase attention to issues such as freedom of speech and press, human rights through the policy of publicity and democratization (abolition of censorship, pardon of dissidents and political prisoners, etc. The) did not give the expected result, but rather accelerated the collapse of the USSR;

✓ The transition to the presidential mode of government somewhat increased the tendencies of independence in the republics, and it was not possible to ensure the dependence of the Central-Local Administration on the Soviet CPSU²⁴.

²² Sovet İttifaqı Kommunist partiyası Mərkəzi komitəsinin plenumu haqqında məlumat // Kommunist. – 1985, 12 mart. – s.1.

²³ F.B.Aydemir. Sovyetlerin Son Lideri Mihail Gorbaçov Üzerine Kısa Bir Değerlendirme // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2021. №2, - s.161; F.B. Aydemir Baş. SSCB'nin Çöküş Sebepleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2021. №4, - s.159-163.

²⁴ Богданов, С.В. Формирование и развитие института президентской власти в СССР (1990-1991): [Электронный ресурс] / Вести Московского Университета, Серия 21, Управление (государство и общество), 2011, №3, с.106-125. URL:

The existing gaps in the ideological sphere led to the occurrence of conflicts of various nature in the Union republics²⁵.

✓ Russian-born G.Kolbin's appointment as First Secretary of the Kazakh Central Committee caused a protest from the Kazakh people and resulted in the bloody suppression of the protests, known as Alma-Ata (Zheltoksan) in 1986;

✓ In 1989, as a result of clashes between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks in Uzbekistan, the Meskhetian people were deported for the second time;

✓ In June 1990, there were “Osh conflict” - clashes between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks;

✓ In the Turkic republics of Central Asia, as in the whole of the USSR, great changes took place in the field of press, both quantitative, qualitative and substantive, the number of published press bodies increased, although a small number of newspapers and magazines with opposition positions began to be published; international, socio-political, historical news began to prevail. All this was an indicator of the increased socio-political activity of the population.

In the chapter, the opinion on one more issue is especially brought to attention. It is noted that in the vast majority of existing historical and political literature, we do not consider it correct to describe all the conflicts that took place on the territory of the country at the stage of the collapse of the USSR as a national conflict. According to us, the conflicts in Central Asia, although at some point they were national in nature, were connected with the mistakes made in the field of administration in Kazakhstan (“the problem was not that Kolbin was Russian, but that a person from outside Kazakhstan was brought to power”²⁶), and in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan they appeared more as a result of socio-economic.

<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/formirovanie-i-razvitie-instituta-prezidentskoy-vlasti-v-sssr-1990-1991/viewer>

²⁵ F.B.Aydemir Baş, Ş. Çevikel. Bağımsızlık Yolunda Azerbaycan ve Orta Asya'daki Kitleli Hareketler // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, 2022. №1, - s.196-202.

²⁶ Aydemir Baş, F.B.; Çevikel, Ş. Bağımsızlık Yolunda Azerbaycan ve Orta Asya'daki Kitleli Hareketler // Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, 2022 № 1 - s.199; Kara, A. Kazakistan'da 1986 Almatı Olaylarının İçyüzü ve Etkileri / YLT / - İstanbul, 1997. - s.58-59.

Chapter II “**Reflection of the situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1985-1991**” consists of five sub-chapters. The sub-chapter “Press in the Azerbaijan SSR” briefly examines the formation and development stages of the National Press of Azerbaijan, examines the impact of reforms carried out in the mentioned period on the Press, provides information on the current situation. The question of which newspapers were chosen from the Azerbaijani press for the study is clarified. It is noted that from 1920 to 1991, Soviet power existed in Azerbaijan, and a wide press network was formed to spread the communist ideology to society. Newspapers and magazines of different levels were published, which were calculated for different audiences²⁷. The activities of these publications were allowed on condition that they support communism. And these newspapers mainly published news related to socio-economic development and culture. News published in the press was censored, and this censorship was carried out by the second half of the 1980’s; it lasted until the time of the implementation of the M.S.Gorbachev reforms.

The effects of M.S.Gorbachev's reforms, as in other republics, did not bypass Azerbaijan. In general, during the period leading up to the collapse of the USSR, there were more and more publications representing various ideas and thoughts. According to statistics, in 1990, 520.368 million copies of 168 newspapers were published in Azerbaijan. For every 100 people of the population there were 60 newspapers²⁸. In essence, the media of this period mainly preferred to cover the problems of Azerbaijan.

During the selection of the source for the topic, at the initial stage, it was decided to investigate the most influential newspapers of the Azerbaijani press at that time, as well as the newspapers “Azerbaijan”, “Communist”, “Khalq newspaper”, “Azadliq”, “Azerbaijan gencleri” intended for different audiences. However, as a result of the

²⁷ Mətbuat tarixi: [Elektron resurs] / URL: https://www.azerbaijans.com/content_741_az.html

²⁸ Печать в СССР в 1990 году. Статистический сборник. / Всесоюзная ордена «Знак Почета» книжная палата. Москва, «Финансы и статистика», - 1991. - с.84.

investigation, it turned out that the news about the events in the Turkic republics of Central Asia in 1985-1991 was published mainly in the “Communist” and “Khalq newspaper”. Relevant information was not found in the issues of other newspapers that we managed to get, and news about the Central Government of Azerbaijan and the USSR were preferred in them. In this regard, an attempt was made to analyze and compare the study based on the materials of the “Communist” and “Khalq newspaper”.

The conclusion reached during the investigation of the news published in the Azerbaijani press about the Turkic republics of Central Asia during the mentioned period was as follows:

✓ The Azerbaijani media reported more news about Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan from the other Turkic republics of Central Asia. The news was mainly informative;

✓ In fact, more socio-economic news about Kazakhstan was published. Of the total 39 information we received, 17 were socio-political, 13 were socio-economic, 9 were news of science and culture and sports²⁹. Almost no news was published in the Azerbaijani press about the events in Alma-Ata, which fell on the first years of the reforms. It is possible to find certain information that this issue is also among the issues discussed in the reports on the meeting of the leading employees of the Union republics and the plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in subsequent years³⁰. Among the published news, President of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev and President of Russia B.Yeltsin -their visit to Azerbaijan on September 21, 1991- on the initiative of mediation was also covered in the pages of the “Communist newspaper”³¹;

✓ Of the 26 news, we received about Uzbekistan, 17 were public-political, 6 were socio-economic, 3 were scientific and cultural, and sports. The “Communist” newspaper also touched upon the Fergana

²⁹ F.B.Aydemir Baş. SSRİ-də “Sinatra doktrinası” dövründə Qaxazıstandakı vəziyyətin Azərbaycan mətbuatında əksi (“Kommunist” və “Xalq qəzeti” nümunəsində) // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2023. №4, - s.128.

³⁰ Qanunçuluğu möhkəmlətməli // Kommunist. – 1987, 15 mart. – s.2; Qaxazıstan KP MK-in plenumu // Kommunist. – 1988, 7 iyun. – s.1.

³¹ Rusiya və Qaxazıstan prezidentləri Azərbaycanda // Xalq qəzeti. – 1991, 21 sentyabr. – s.1; Xoş məramlı səfər // Xalq qəzeti. – 1991, 24 sentyabr. – s.3.

events of 1989 as a result of the Fergana events of 1989 while providing information on the settlement process of Meskhetian Turks in Azerbaijan³²;

✓ In comparison with other Turkic republics, the least news is given about Kyrgyzstan. Of the 8 data we got, 3 were socio-political, 5 were socio-economic in nature, and they mainly consisted of bilateral relations established after 1990, A.Akayev's decisions were mentioned³³. The conflict of Osh in 1990, as well as any news related to the cultural sphere, are not found;

✓ Of the 9 news we received about Turkmenistan, 4 were devoted to socio-political, 1 to economic and 4 to cultural spheres³⁴.

If we summarize the information published by the republics, we can say that,

✓ in all the news, the events were covered taking into account the position of the central government,

✓ there is very little room for news on political issues, while news on national issues is almost untouched.

And the reason for all this, in our opinion, is:

1) Despite the announcement of the transition to a policy of publicity and “new thinking”, the continuation of the administrative-command system in the administration;

2) Changes in the political system of the USSR (in recent years, the transition to presidential administration, the emergence of socio-political organizations and parties, independent and opposition press bodies, the abolition of censorship, etc.) has been late passage, state control of the press and functioning within the framework of the security of the current regime³⁵.

Chapter III entitled “**Reflection of the situation in the Turkic Republic of Central Asia in 1985-1991 in the Turkish press**” consists of five sub-chapters. Here, as in the previous chapter, the first

³² Fərqanə od tutub yanır // Kommunist. – 1989, 15 iyul. – s.1 və b.

³³ Qırğızıstan Ali Sovetinin sessiyası // Kommunist. – 1991, 27 iyun. – s.1; Əsgər Akayevdən inşaatçı gənçlərə // Xalq qəzeti. – 1991, 27 sentyabr. – s.1 və b.

³⁴ Dostlara musiqi salamı // Kommunist. – 1987, 21 may. – s.1; Qaydanı və mütəşəkkilliyi möhkəmlətməli // Kommunist. – 1985, 4 iyul. – s.2 və b.

³⁵ F.B. Aydemir Baş. Kommünist Gazetesi ve Azərbaycan’daki Rolü // Ege 10. Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, 22-24 Aralık 2023. İzmir, -s. 509-510

sub-chapter provides brief information on the formation and development stages of the national press in Turkey. The question of which newspapers were chosen from the Turkish press for the study is clarified. It is noted that in the current study, the situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia was investigated by the newspapers “Cumhuriyet”, “Milliyet”, “Hurriyet”, “Tercuman” and “Turkiye”, as well as the news given in the journal “Turk yurdu”. As a result of the study, the following conclusions were made on how the situation in the Turkic republics of Central Asia was covered in the Turkish media during the period mentioned.

First of all, the situation with the Press in Turkey:

✓ After the military coup of 1980 on September 12, the press, as in all spheres of the country's life, underwent fundamental changes: restrictions on freedoms, increased censorship, which logically led to the restriction of intellectual journalism, the closure of many newspapers and magazines of political content;

✓ “A departure from politics” was felt in the newspapers and magazines published. In the current conditions, preference was mainly given to economic and “magazine” News. More profitable journalism had the opportunity to operate, the number of “Magazine news” began to increase;

✓ Since 1983, in a relatively moderate situation, positive changes in content began to be felt in the press;

✓ Since 1989, independent media was allowed to operate in Turkey, the creation of independent radio and television channels began, which had a positive impact on the activities of newspapers and magazines.

The conclusion reached during the study of the reports given separately in the Turkish media on the Turkic republics of Central Asia was as follows:

✓ The news about Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in the Turkish press also exceeded the news about Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan;

✓ The news about Kazakhstan was mainly socio-political in nature. The news began with the events of Alma-Ata in 1986, and it was the events of Alma-Ata that became the most talked about³⁶. In essence, not

³⁶ Alaşbek, M. Kazakistan'da İsyân // Ankara: Türk Yurdu, – 1987. № 8, - s.58 – 60; Armaoğlu, F. Kazakistan Ayaklanması // Tercuman. – 1986, 20 Aralık. – s.4; F.B.

only informational articles have been published, but attempts have also been made to investigate and analyze issues;

✓ The news about Uzbekistan was socio-political, socio-economic and cultural. The Fergana events of 1989 were among the issues discussed for a long time³⁷. This incident, which resulted in the second deportation of the Meskhetian Turks, also led to the publication of certain information on the state of the national issue in the USSR;

✓ Very little is given to the news about Kyrgyzstan, the first news dates back to 1987. The news was mainly socio-political and cultural. More on the issues of the Osh conflicts of 1990, conflict with Uzbekistan³⁸;

✓ As for Turkmenistan, there is not much news during the USSR, as it was later. The news covered 1988-1991. There have been news mainly about the internal situation of the country³⁹. In addition, translations of articles published in foreign media were also published;

✓ According to the journalist of “Cumhuriyet” newspaper Fatih Yılmaz, “Turkish republics in the destroyed USSR. Central Asia Awakens” A series of promotional articles entitled was published⁴⁰;

Aydemir Baş. 1986 Jeltoksan (Alma-Ata) Olaylarının Türkiye Basınına Yansımaları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researchers and Recent Trends - VII, - Baku: Azerbaijan - 9 Dekabr, - 2020. - s.341-342;

³⁷ Özbekistan’da çatışma // Cumhuriyet. – 1989, 5 Haziran. – s.3; Özbekistan’da Türkler boğaz boğaza // Milliyet. – 1989, Özbekistan’da halk birbirini boğazlıyor, Ölümüne kavga // Hürriyet. – 1989, 7 Haziran. – s.12; Özbekistan’da normale dönüş başladı // Tercüman. – 1989, 12 Haziran. – s.6 və b.

³⁸ F.B. Aydemir Baş. 1990 Oş Olayları ve Türk Basını // VII. Uluslararası Göbeklitepe Bilimsel Çalışmalar Kongresi, - Şanlıurfa: Türkiye, - 11-12 Kasım, - 2023, s.528-529; Özbek-Kırgız kavgası sürüyor // Hürriyet. – 1990, 8 Haziran. – s.14 və b

³⁹ Türkmenistan’da mafya çetesi // Cumhuriyet. – 1988, 8 Mart. – s.9; Türkmenistan’da gösteriler // Cumhuriyet. – 1989, 13 Mayıs. – s.9; Türkmenistan’da ekolojik felaket // Cumhuriyet. – 1990, 26 Nisan. – s.9; Türkmenistan patlamaya hazır // Cumhuriyet. – 1990, 6 Haziran. – s.9; Türkmen bakanın iş birliği talebi // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 25 Kasım. – s.9 və b.

⁴⁰ Semerkand’da ‘binbir gece’ gerçeği // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 19 Aralık. – s.12; Taşkent’te yükselen islam // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 20 Aralık. – s.12; Fanatizme izin vermem // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 20 Aralık. – s.12 və b.

✓ News has also been published about the declaration of independence by the republics, their recognition by Turkey⁴¹.

✓ Moreover, the common feature of the news about all the Turkic republics of Central Asia was that Turkey, as an independent country outside the USSR, tried to evaluate the events taking place in Central Asia from a different perspective. The presence of a large number of newspapers defending different ideologies in the Turkish press allowed different opinions to be expressed and communicated to the public. Turkish newspapers gave the news based on TASS, the official Soviet news agency, as the first official source. However, the information provided by the agencies of European countries was not ignored either. At the same time, in order to give an objective assessment of the events, visits to Moscow and the republics where the events took place were organized, not content with the information received from the official USSR authorities and foreign agencies⁴².

In the **Conclusion** part, it is noted that the following conclusions were reached regarding the tasks set before the study:

1. During the period mentioned, a number of reforms were carried out to overcome the crisis in all spheres of life, as in the Turkic republics of Central Asia, as well as in the USSR, which they were part of, but the expected results were not achieved.

2. The situation in the republics was somewhat aggravated, problems related to governance and national issues were added to the existing problems. Changes in the political system of the country led to a slight increase in centrifugal tendencies in the republics, the Turkic republics of Central Asia -Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan,

⁴¹ Kırgızistan tanındı // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 24 Aralık. – s.9; Özal: Kırgızistan'ı tanıyoruz // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 23 Aralık. – s.9 və b.

⁴² F.B. Aydemir Baş. Türk Basınında Sovyetler Birliği ve Gorbaçov'un Yansımaları (1985-1991) // 20. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi,- Bışkek: Kırgızistan, - 18-20 Ekim, - 2022, - s.65-70; F.B. Aydemir Baş. 1987-1991 yılları arası Türk Yurdu Dergisine Göre Türk Cumhuriyetleri // 5th International Mardin Artuklu Scientific Researches Conference, - Mardin: Türkiye, - 15-16 Ocak, - 2021, - s.20-21; F.B.Aydemir Baş. Gorbaçov Dönemi Türk Basınında Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Yansımaları // 1 Millet, 6 Devlet, Ortak Medya Uluslararası Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Kongresi, - Bakı: Azərbaycan, - 17 Dekabr, - 2021, s. 283-289.

Turkmenistan - declared their independence, as a result of the events in general, the USSR collapsed.

The similarities and differences of the events in the Azerbaijani SSR and Turkish media, their causes were investigated and it was concluded that,

3. In the USSR, reforms in the field of press were carried out a little later than other reforms. In this regard, censorship continued in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR. In addition, the existence of an administrative-command system in the administration continued to limit the activities of the press.

4. After the military coup of 1980 in Turkey, many newspapers and magazines were closed, and there were serious troubles in the activities of the press. Although the situation began to partially soften since 1983, here, too, at the time of reporting, the events were covered both in terms of state interests of Turkey and in the interests of the Western bloc, of which it was an ally.

5. Since 1989, independent media have been allowed to operate both in the Azerbaijan SSR and in Turkey. On the pages of new newspapers and magazines, which began to be published in the Azerbaijan SSR, more news about Azerbaijan and the central government were given, and partly the events in Russia and other “main republics” of the USSR were covered. There is almost no room for news about the current situation in the republics of Central Asia. For this reason, research on the topic of the dissertation was carried out only on the basis of reports in official state newspapers. The Turkish Press began to reflect the events taking place from a broader point of view.

6. *When the events were covered in the press of both countries,* reports about Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were given much more often than about Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan.

However, national issues and conflicts were almost not touched upon in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR; the events became more informative;

The Turkish press paid more attention to issues that were not talked about in the USSR, in particular, national and religious problems and conflicts;

The reason:

The events were covered in the press of the Azerbaijan SSR taking into account the position of the central government of the USSR; in a number of cases, in accordance with this “position”, no news was reported;

As an independent country outside the USSR, Turkey had the opportunity to evaluate the events taking place in Central Asia from a different perspective. The presence of a large number of newspapers in the Turkish press that defended different ideologies (including Turkism, Turanism) made it possible to express and convey different ideas to the public. In this regard, reports in the Turkish press did not always reflect the facts (for example, the events of Alma-Ata in 1986 and Fergana in 1989 were reported in certain cases for reasons related to Turkism or religion⁴³).

Our conclusion is that the conflicts taking place in Central Asia, although at some point they were national in nature, were actually related to the mistakes made in the administrative sphere in Kazakhstan, and in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan they appeared more as a result of socio-economic problems.

7. It is possible to see that the events of 1985-1991 were treated with caution in the press of both countries. This prudence was not without reason. Although the Western powers, which were the opposite front of the ideological struggle during the Cold War, fought in the direction of the destruction of the USSR, although the events were covered in the western press from the angle we call objective today, in general, the West itself felt caution in relation to the events. For example, this approach can be clearly seen in the attitude of the United States to the recognition of the independence of Azerbaijan by the Turkish government, as well as in the recognition of the independence of the post-Soviet republics by

⁴³ Komünist Dünya’da Bir Şeyler Oluyor // Tercüman. – 1986, 22 Aralık. – s.1, 4; Göze, E. Rusya’da Neler Oluyor // Tercüman. – 1987, 12 Ocak. – s.13; Güvenlik güçleri Özbekistan’daki kanlı olayları bastırmakta yetersiz kalıyor Özbekler öfkeyle saldırıyor // Cumhuriyet. – 1989, 11 Haziran. – s.8; Kazakistan’da ‘Bozkurtlar’ın dirilişi // Cumhuriyet. – 1991, 15 Aralık. – s.7; Mesket Türkleri güç durumda: Güvenlik kuvvetleri aciz kalırken, ölü sayısı 80’e, yaralı sayısı da 800’e ulaştı Özbek terörü // Milliyet, –1989, 11 Haziran. – s.4 və b.

Western states and international organizations⁴⁴. The press of a later period will show bolder and more objective approaches.

Summing up all this, we would like to emphasize once again that the press in general has been of great importance in all societies throughout history and that is why it is considered the fourth wing of power today. Any political regime, even the most repressive one, tries to support the decisions taken by the authorities by public opinion and tries to implement them directly through the press. It is no coincidence that, whose cycle we studied one of the decisions signed by M.S.Gorbachev within the framework of his reforms was the establishment of the “All-Union Center for the study of public opinion” (December 1987)⁴⁵.

Proceeding from these statements, *we would like to draw attention to one of our recommendations on this issue*: we believe that taking into account the realities of our time, special attention should be paid to the implementation of educational work in the direction of eliminating media illiteracy, especially among young people, as well as increasing their skills in working with the press. For this:

- relevant subjects should be included in the curriculum in educational institutions;

- relevant projects should be developed and implemented within the framework of individually allocated programs and grants.

The fact that the use of social media has become dominant in all areas makes this issue necessary as one of the issues that should be given special importance, both as a matter of state, public and personal security.

The following articles, theses and conference materials covering the content of the dissertation were published:

1. SSRİ-də “Sinatra doktrinası” dövründə Qaxazıstandakı vəziyyətin Azərbaycan mətbuatında əksi (“Kommunist” və “Xalq qəzeti” nümunəsində) // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2023. №4, - s.124-130.

⁴⁴ Ruintən, S. Azərbaycan türk dövlətləri ilə siyasi əlaqələr sistemində (XX əsrin 90-cı illəri) / S.Ruintən. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2005. – s.31-32.

⁴⁵ История ВЦИОМ / Сайт Всероссийского (до 1992 года Всесоюзный) центра изучения общественного мнения: [Электронный ресурс] / URL: <https://wciom.ru/o-kompanii/istoriya-vciom>

2. Kommünist Gazetesi Ve Azerbaycan'daki Rolü (tezis) // Ege 10. Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, 22-24 Aralık 2023. İzmir, -s. 509-510.
3. Gorbaçov Dönemi Kazakistan'daki gelişmeler ve Türk Basınına yansımaları (tezis) // VII. Uluslararası Göbeklitepe Bilimsel Çalışmalar Kongresi, - Şanlıurfa: Türkiye, - 11-12 Kasım, - 2023, - s.526-527.
4. 1990 Oş Olayları ve Türk Basını (tezis) // VII. Uluslararası Göbeklitepe Bilimsel Çalışmalar Kongresi, - Şanlıurfa: Türkiye, - 11-12 Kasım, - 2023, s.528-529.
5. Küresel Çözumsuzlükten Vatan Muharebesine: Dağlık Karabağ'da Minsk Grubu'nun Rolü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // - Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi, 2022. №13 (33), - s.143-160. (həmmüəllif: Bahar Özsoy)
6. Azerbaijan-Russia Relations in the period from the First Karabakh War to the Victory in the Second Karabakh War // - Bakı: Sivilizasiya, 2022. №11 (2), - s.63-69. (həmmüəllif: Şeyda Çevikel)
7. Türk Basınında Sovyetler Birliđi ve Gorbaçov'un Yansımaları (1985-1991) // 20. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, - Bişkek: Kırgızistan, - 18-20 Ekim, - 2022, - s.65-70.
8. Ulus Kent Kimliđinin Oluşumunda Meydanların Rolü Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme: Bakü Örneđi // - Eskişehir: Genel Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2022. №4 (8), - s.939-952. (Həmmüəllif: Oğuz Kağan Bayrakdar, Şeyda Çevikel)
9. Sovyetlerin Son Lideri Mihail Gorbaçov Üzerine Kısa Bir Değerlendirme // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2021. №2, - s.158-162.
10. Bağımsızlık Yolunda Azerbaycan ve Orta Asya'daki Kitlesele Hareketler // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, 2022. №1, - s.196-202. (həmmüəllif: Şeyda Çevikel)
11. SSCB'nin Çöküş Sebepleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2021. №4, - s.159- 163.
12. Gorbaçov Dönemi Türk Basınında Türk Cumhuriyetlerinin Yansımaları // 1 Millet, 6 Devlet, Ortak Medya Uluslararası Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Kongresi, - Bakı: Azərbycan, - 17 Dekabr, - 2021, s.283-289.

13. 1987-1991 yılları arası Türk Yurdu Dergisine Göre Türk Cumhuriyetleri (tezis) // 5th International Mardin Artuklu Scientific Researches Conference, - Mardin: Türkiye, - 15-16 January, - 2021, - p.20-21.
14. Azerbaycan'da 20 Yanvar Katliamı ve Türk Yurdu Dergisi // - Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, - 2020. №4, - s.144-150.
15. 1986 Jeltoksan (Alma-Ata) Olaylarının Türkiye Basınına Yansımaları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme (tezis) // Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researchers and Recent Trends - VII, - Bakı: Azerbaijan - 9 December, - 2020. - p.341-342. Bir dönüşüm dinamiği olarak petrolün Bakü şehir kimliğine ve şehirleşmesine etkisi // - Skopje Ankara: Turkish Studies-Social, - 2020. № 15, - s. 3387-3402.

The defense of the dissertation will be held on 17 April 2024 at 10⁰⁰ at the meeting of the Dissertation Council ED 2.20 operating under the Baku State University.

Address: AZ1148, Baku, Zahid Khalilov str. 23.

The dissertation is accessible at the Library of the Baku State University.

Electronic versions of the dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of the Baku State University.

Abstract was sent to the required addresses on 15 . March 2024

Signed for print: 07.03.2024

Paper format: A5

Volume: 45.893

Number of hard copies: 20