

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**NATIONAL POLICY IN THE AZERBAIJAN SSR AND
ITS MAIN DIRECTIONS (1970S – EARLY 1980S)**

Specialty: 5503.02 — History of Azerbaijan

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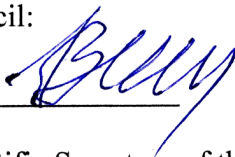


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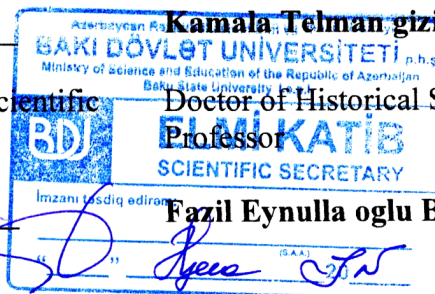
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I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance of the Topic and the Degree of Its Study. Azerbaijan, as one of the ancient cradles of civilization, possesses a rich historical and cultural heritage. With more than five millennia of statehood traditions, it has made valuable contributions to the treasury of world civilization. Throughout the course of historical development, the system of national and spiritual values has been closely linked with the traditions of Azerbaijani statehood and has become one of the fundamental pillars of its socio-political, scientific, and cultural progress. In the twentieth century, particularly during the period of the Soviet totalitarian regime, these values — which constituted the core of national identity — were subjected to severe restrictions and ideological control mechanisms, significantly limiting their potential for development. Nevertheless, the Azerbaijani people succeeded in preserving their spiritual heritage and transmitting it to future generations.

In the 1970s–1980s, the policies implemented in Azerbaijan under the leadership of Heydar Aliyev marked a turning point in the protection and development of national and spiritual values. His initiatives ensured the preservation of national identity, created broad opportunities for the study of Azerbaijan’s historical and cultural heritage, advanced science and education, and strengthened national values within public life. These factors determine the relevance of the topic and highlight the necessity of a scientific analysis of national policy. The centuries-old traditions of tolerance and hospitality of the Azerbaijani people provided a favorable basis for the successful implementation of national policy in the 1970s–1980s. These traditions enabled the peaceful coexistence of various ethnic groups, ensured stability in interethnic relations, and consolidated mutual trust in the social and political life of the Azerbaijan SSR. As a result, the republic’s national policy was considered a model within the broader framework of the Soviet Union. The foundations for national solidarity laid in the 1970s–1980s continue to serve the preservation of multiculturalism and tolerance in modern Azerbaijan. The study of these features from a scholarly perspective is one of the key factors that

underline the relevance of the topic. The analysis of national policy in the 1970s–1980s is also a valuable source for understanding the ideological underpinnings of contemporary national policy in Azerbaijan. The national policy concept shaped during that period has become one of the fundamental pillars of the political and ideological course of independent Azerbaijan. Furthermore, the specialists and military cadres trained in those years played a leading role in state-building and in the formation of the national army during the period of independence

It was precisely during these years that the main directions of national policy — the creation of favorable conditions for the activities of the intelligentsia, the promotion of cultural and artistic figures, and the protection of the Azerbaijani language and national values — became more evident. Compared to other Soviet republics, the recognition and support given in Azerbaijan to the bearers of national-spiritual values, including prominent scholars and cultural figures, played an important role in the public life of the country. While well-known intellectuals such as I. Brodsky, B. Pasternak, and A. Solzhenitsyn were subjected to severe persecution in Russia, in the Azerbaijan SSR, thanks to Heydar Aliyev’s gradual and carefully designed national policy strategy, the intelligentsia enjoyed a safer environment to engage in scientific and literary creativity, thereby contributing to the development of the republic’s cultural life. In this respect, the study of the national policy of the 1970s–1980s in the Azerbaijan SSR, its main directions, achievements, and limitations is important not only for the objective evaluation of historical processes but also for the correct understanding of national policy concepts in the modern era

In the second half of the 20th century, particularly during the leadership of I. Mustafayev (1954–1959), steps taken to protect national and spiritual values were met with resistance from the Soviet central authorities, and in the years 1959–1969 a clear regression in national policy was observed. This experience demonstrates that the Soviet regime sought to restrict the development of national identity. Addressing these issues in the dissertation allows for a deeper understanding of the essence of the national policy implemented by Hey-

dar Aliyev in the 1970s–1980s and increases the scientific significance of the research. During the 1960s, Azerbaijan faced a profound economic and social crisis. The republic ranked among the last within the Union in terms of development indicators, while stagnation prevailed in both industry and agriculture.¹ The central government's perception of the republic primarily as a raw material base, along with ineffective planning policies, further deepened economic backwardness. This situation also had a negative impact on the implementation of national policy. During the totalitarian regime, the Azerbaijani language and national-spiritual values faced severe restrictions, and as a result of the policy of Russification, the socialization of the younger generation was carried out largely on the basis of Soviet ideology and Russian culture.² All these factors weakened the preservation of national identity and hindered the development of national consciousness.

The election of Heydar Aliyev as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on July 14, 1969 marked the beginning of a new stage in the socio-political life of the republic.³ During his leadership, significant steps were taken in Azerbaijan towards socio-economic progress, reforms in public administration, and the restoration and preservation of national and spiritual values. The period of 1969–1982 was characterized by the consolidation of socio-political stability, the acceleration of economic development, and the strengthening of the processes of national self-awareness.

Although Soviet state ideology proclaimed that the national question had been completely resolved, in practice the preservation of national language, culture, and identity in the republics faced serious restrictions. In the Azerbaijan SSR, these processes were carried out, on the one hand, in accordance with the central government's

¹ Zeynalov, İ.X. Azərbaycanın sosial-iqtisadi inkişafı XX əsrin II yarısında / İ.Zeynalov. – Bakı: Azər nəşr, – 2004. – s.5

² Hacıyev, İ.M. Heydər Əliyev siyasəti: tarix və müasirlik / İ.Hacıyev. – Bakı: Elm, – 2023. – s.147

³ Zeynalov, İ.X. Azərbaycanın Milli-Mənəvi Dəyərləri İntibah Dövründə (1969-1982-ci illər) // Türkiyə: Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi – 2022. № 3, – s.606-625

national policy, and, on the other hand, reflected the internal socio-political, socio-economic, and cultural development features of the republic.

The period under study also marked the beginning of a new stage in Azerbaijan's socio-political life, remembered not only for economic and cultural progress but also for the strengthening of national self-awareness. In this respect, the scholarly analysis of the directions and results of national policy implemented during these years is of particular relevance for the preservation of national identity and the sustainable development of cultural heritage in modern times.

This research, by examining the main directions along which Soviet national policy was shaped in the Azerbaijan SSR, the attitude of the local leadership towards this policy, and its long-term effects, will make it possible to obtain new scholarly results for contemporary historiography.

Although the subject of the study remains highly relevant in historical scholarship, its comprehensive and systematic analysis has not yet been fully accomplished. In the period of independent state-building and development in Azerbaijan, the study of national policy of that era has been carried out in different aspects — in the context of political governance, socio-economic processes, the protection of national-spiritual values, and cultural policy. In Soviet historiography, however, this issue was presented mainly within the framework of official ideology. Research conducted during the independence period has shown that the central government's national policy was in fact characterized by assimilation and mechanisms of ideological control, which imposed certain restrictions on the processes of national self-awareness and cultural development

Research on the topic, carried out on the basis of separate books, periodical press materials, archival documents, and official records of the period, as well as scholarly articles and information collected from internet sources, allows for a deeper assessment of the realities of that time. The research process has mainly been conducted through the analysis of various sources available in Azerbaijani and Russian. In particular, archival materials, official documents, as well as the speeches, reports, and interviews of organiza-

tions and official representatives of different states published in the press have been studied and comparatively analyzed.

Among the most important sources for the study of the problem are the works of Heydar Aliyev, especially the multi-volume collections that include his profound reports, speeches, and addresses delivered at conferences, cultural events, jubilees of cultural and artistic figures, and similar occasions. The 46-volume collection “*Our Independence is Eternal*” represents a fundamental body of publications reflecting Heydar Aliyev’s political legacy, his philosophy of statehood, and the activities he carried out for the establishment and strengthening of the independent Azerbaijani state.⁴ This work is an invaluable source for analyzing the activities carried out in the political, economic, cultural, and social spheres. The dissertation also makes use of the collections of the Archive of Public-Political Documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the State Archive of Azerbaijan, the materials of the congresses of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the online archive of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation⁵, and the electronic document collection entitled “Heydar Aliyev”⁶. In the process of gathering factual material, the current press of the period, official information sources, and significant data published in the mass media have also been used as part of the source base of the research. In this regard, materials from periodicals such as the *Kommunist* journal published during the Soviet era, as well as the *Khalq* newspaper, *Azerbaijan* newspaper, and *Respublika* newspaper published in the independence period, were utilized

⁴ Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – c.1. – 1997. – 615 s.; Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – c. 3. – 1997. – 488 s.; Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – c. 4. – 1997. – 528 s.; Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – c. 5. – 1998. – 500.; Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərneşr, – c. 17. – 2006. – 528 s.

⁵ Heydər Əliyev Fondu. Rəsmi sayt. [Elektron resurs]. / – URL: <https://heydar-aliyev-foundation.org/az>

⁶ Heydər Əliyev. Elektron sənədlər toplusu. [Elektron resurs]. / – URL: <https://heydaraliyev.preslib.az/>

In addition, the two-volume documentary collection *‘Science and Education in Azerbaijan through Documents. Decisions of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (July 1969 – November 1982)’*, published in 2019, covers the decisions adopted by the Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in the field of science and education, and is regarded as a fundamental source for the analysis of scientific and educational policy during the Soviet period.⁷ The two-volume documentary collection *‘Culture and Arts in Azerbaijan: Decisions of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (July 1969 – November 1982)’*, published in 2021, was prepared on the basis of documents obtained from the Archive of Public-Political Documents under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The documents included in this book cover the decisions adopted by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in the field of culture and the arts and represent an important source for studying the mechanisms of cultural policy implementation during the Soviet period.⁸

The research works of Azerbaijani scholars dedicated to the public and political activities of National Leader Heydar Aliyev are of great scholarly importance for the study of the policies he pursued in the protection and development of national values. These works provide an opportunity to systematically analyze Heydar Aliyev’s steps aimed at strengthening national identity, preserving cultural heritage, and guiding the directions of socio-political development. Among them İ.Zeynalov⁹,

⁷ Культура и искусство в Азербайджане: постановления Бюро и Секретариата ЦК КП Азербайджана (июль 1969 – ноябрь 1982 гг.): в 2-х томах / Управление делами Президента Азербайджанской Республики, Архив общественно-политических документов; ред.-сост. Э.С.Алекперова, сост. Л.Дж.Гусейнова [и др.]. – Т. 1: июль 1969 – декабрь 1975 гг. – Баку: Элм и Тахсил, – 2021. – 682 с.

⁸ Наука и образование Азербайджана в документах: постановления Бюро и Секретариата ЦК КП Азербайджана (июль 1969 – ноябрь 1982 гг.): в 2-х томах / Архив Политических Документов Управления Делами Президента Азербайджанской Республики; ред: М.Дж. Гасымлы, А.Дж. Искендеров, [и др.]. – Т. 2: январь 1977 – ноябрь 1982 гг. – Баку: Элм и Тахсил, – 2019. – 484 с.

⁹Zeynalov, İ.X. *Azərbaycanın sosial-iqtisadi inkişafı XX əsrin II yarısında* / İ.Zeynalov. – Bakı: Azərənər, – 2004. – 326 s.; Zeynalov, İ.X. *Azərbaycanın milli dövlətçilik*

Y.Mahmudov¹⁰, H.Orudzov¹¹, İ.Hüseynova¹², R.Mehdiyev¹³, Kh.Guliyeva¹⁴, M.Gasimli¹⁵, Pishnamazzade S.¹⁶, L.Aliyeva¹⁷, A.Gurbani¹⁸ and others have analyzed the concept of national policy of National Leader Heydar Aliyev and the various aspects of the policies implemented within this framework. These works were utilized in the preparation of the dissertation

In addition, foreign researchers have also conducted certain studies related to the topic. Turkish historians H.Adıguzel¹⁹ və İ.Ulku²⁰ in their works, analyzed the experience gained by Heydar

tarixində Heydər Əliyev zirvəsi: dahi şəxsiyyətin şərəfli ömür yolu / İ.Zeynalov. – Bakı: Füyuzat, – 2024. – 656 s.; Zeynalov, İ.X. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan Respublikasında ordu quruculuğu məsələləri // Bakı: BDU xəbərləri. Humanitar Elmlər seriyası – 2019. №4, – s.52-69.; Zeynalov, İ.X. Totalitar sovet cəmiyyəti: tarixin ibrət dərsəri / İ.Zeynalov. – Bakı: Ləman nəşriyyatı poliqrafiyası MMC, – 2017. – 720 s.

- ¹⁰ Heydər Əliyev: [2 cilddə] / red. Y.M.Mahmudov. – Bakı: AMEA A.A.Bakıxanov adına Tarix institutu, – c. 8: Turxan NPB. – 2013. – 500 s; Mahmudov, Y.M. Azərbaycan tarixində Heydər Əliyev şəxsiyyəti / Y. Mahmudov. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2002. – 328 s.; Mahmudov, Y.M. Heydər Əliyev: tariximizin dirçəliş konsepsiyası / Y.Mahmudov. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2006. – 328 s.
- ¹¹ Orucov, H.X. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycanda milli siyasət / H.Orucov. – Tbilisi: İntelekti, – 2003. – 182 s.
- ¹² Hüseynova, İ.M. Heydər Əliyev və Qafqazda sülh prosesi / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Çəşoğlu, – 2008. – 672 s.; Hüseynova, İ.M. Müstəqil Azərbaycan dövlətinin qurucusu / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2004. – 472 s.; Hüseynova, İ.M. Müstəqilliyimizin təminatçısı / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2003. – 504 s.
- ¹³ Mehdiyev, R.Ə. Azərbaycan: tarix, irs və müstəqillik fəlsəfəsi / R.Mehdiyev. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Ensiklopediyası nəşriyyatı, – 2001. – 276 s.; Mehdiyev, R.Ə. XXI əsrdə milli dövlətçilik / R.Mehdiyev. – Bakı: XXI – Yeni nəşrlər evi, – 2003. – 248 s.
- ¹⁴ Quliyeva, X.N. Heydər Əliyev və mənəvi-estetik dəyərlər / X.Quliyeva. – Bakı: Azər nəşr, – 2002. – 176 s.
- ¹⁵ Qasımlı, M.C. Heydər Əliyev – istiqlalə gedən yol (1969–1987-ci illər) / M.Qasımlı. – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti nəşriyyatı, – 2006. – 608 s.
- ¹⁶ Pişnamazzadə, S.P. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan Respublikasında milli-mənəvi dəyərlərin qorunması: / tarix elmləri namizədi dis. / – Gəncə, 2008. – 150 s.
- ¹⁷ Əliyeva, L.A. Heydər Əliyev: yenilikçi düşüncəyə malik siyasətçi (1969–1982) / L.Əliyeva. – Bakı, – 2023. – 208 s.
- ¹⁸ Qurbani, A. Mənim Hərbi liseyim / A.Qurbani. – Bakı: “Əbilov, Zeynalov və oğulları”, – 2002. – 352 s.
- ¹⁹ Hüseyin, A. Zirve: Haydar Aliyev’in hayatı / H.Adıgüzel. - İstanbul: İleri yayımları, - 2007. - 493 s.
- ²⁰ İrfan, Ü. Kızıl Yıldızdan Hilale Haydar Aliyev’in Fırtınalı Hayatı / Ü.İrfan. - İstanbul: Milenyum yayımları, - 2017. - 207 s.

Aliyev within the Communist Party system and the successful measures he implemented in the Azerbaijan SSR as a result of that experience. In particular, certain approaches regarding the general principles and local characteristics of Soviet national policy can be found in the works of Western scholars. Both Russian and Western researchers have touched upon some aspects of the problem under study in their works. Among these scholars are, A.L.Alstadt²¹, A.Bennigsen²², J.Dornberg²³, Brian D.Silven²⁴ and others. The studies of Soviet and Russian writers such as A.Likhanov²⁵, N.Zenkovich²⁶ are also significant for examining the period of Heydar Aliyev's leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The complex of sources and literature used in the research has made it possible to study the topic comprehensively and systematically in chronological order and from different perspectives. Therefore, the involvement of new sources, the extensive study of archival documents, and the application of a complex scientific approach to the various directions of national policy are essential for a thorough analysis of the subject.

Object and Subject of the Research: The object of the research is the national policy implemented in the Azerbaijan SSR during the

²¹ Alstadt, A.L. *The Azerbaijan Turks* / A.Alstadt. – Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, – 1992. – 357 p.

²² Bennigsen, A. *Azerbaidzhan* / A.Bennigsen. – Prepared for the Conference on the Soviet Caucasus, co-sponsored by the U.S. International Communication Agency and the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies. – Washington: The Wilson Center, – 1979. – 63 p.; Bennigsen, A., Broxup, V. *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State* / A.Bennigsen, V.Broxup. – New York: St.Martin's Press, – 1983. – 182 p.

²³ Dornberg, J. *Brezhnev: the masks of power* / J.Dornberg. – New York: Vikas Publishing House, – 1974. – 317 p.

²⁴ Silven, B.D. *Population Redistribution and the Ethnic Balance in Transcaucasia // Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change. Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, – Washington: Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, –1983. – 143–164 p.

²⁵ Лиханов, А: *Не иссякнет в памяти (о Гейдаре Алиеве)* / Альберт Лиханов. - Москва: - 2020. - 128 с.

²⁶ Zenkovich, N. *Heydar Aliyev. Life and Fate* / N.Zenkovich. - Moscow: - 2007. - 464 p.

1970s and early 1980s and the mechanisms of its impact on society in various directions. Within this framework, the reforms carried out in the sphere of national policy, their ideological and institutional foundations, the policy pursued by the Soviet central government towards the national republics, and the concept and essence of national policy developed by National Leader Heydar Aliyev — as well as its application in the socio-economic, political, military, national-spiritual, and literary spheres — are included in the scope of study. The subject of the research is the formation of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR, its influence on the socio-economic, cultural, and socio-political environment, the issues of national identity, and the study of this policy in the context of the protection and development of national and spiritual values. Within the research, a comprehensive analytical study has been conducted on the influence of national policy on the preservation of national-spiritual values, education, science, the arts, language policy, and the study of national history, based on official documents, primary sources, and scholarly works of that period

Purpose and Objectives of the Research. The purpose of the study is to provide a comprehensive scholarly analysis, on the basis of existing historiography and source materials, of the main directions of the national policy applied in the Azerbaijan SSR during the 1970s and early 1980s; to examine its political, socio-economic, and cultural impacts; and to analyze the dedicated activities and efforts of National Leader Heydar Aliyev in this sphere, with a focus on the role of this policy in strengthening national identity and ensuring the protection of national and spiritual values.

Objectives of the Research

1. To examine the formation of National Leader Heydar Aliyev's concept of national policy and its main directions — to study the principles of the formation of national policy in the Soviet Union and, in particular, the mechanisms of its application in the Azerbaijan SSR on the basis of the national interests of the Azerbaijani people.

2. To analyze the political context of the period — to investigate the problems encountered in the implementation of national policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as well as the internal political situation of the Azerbaijan SSR in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the

attitude of the central government towards the national republics, and the mechanisms of execution of this policy.

3. To assess the features of national policy during Heydar Aliyev's first leadership of the republic — to evaluate the measures he undertook in this sphere and his policy aimed at protecting national interests against the background of central government pressure.

4. To study the main directions of the national policy implemented by Heydar Aliyev in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1970s and early 1980s — to analyze his ethnic policy, his approach towards national minorities, and the impact of this policy on the development of society.

5. To investigate the role of Heydar Aliyev in the development of national and spiritual values — to examine the Soviet government's approach to national cultural heritage and the preservation of national identity, and to analyze the main directions of the development of national values in the 1970s–1980s.

6. To draw scientific conclusions on the basis of archival documents and sources — to systematize the facts obtained from official documents, articles, statistical data, and other sources of the period and to derive general conclusions.

The fulfillment of these objectives will allow the research to produce scientifically substantiated results on the topic and to provide an objective assessment of the specific features of this period in the history of Azerbaijan's national policy.

Research Methods. In the course of the research, numerous historiographical materials were approached from a scientific-theoretical and conceptual perspective. Methods of systematization, generalization, analysis and synthesis, comparative analysis, and retrospective study were applied. The use of various methods created favorable conditions for revealing the essence of the issues under consideration and for obtaining concrete scholarly results.

Main Provisions Submitted for Defense. Taking into account the relevance of the dissertation topic, the following provisions have been submitted for defense:

1. The formation and essence of National Leader Heydar Aliyev's concept of national policy — This concept was built upon the principles of preserving national and spiritual values, strengthe-

ning national self-awareness and self-identification, consolidating the foundations of the ideology of Azerbaijani identity (*Azerbaijanism*), and ensuring that state policy was conducted on the basis of national interests.

2. National cadre policy in the 1970s–1980s — Despite being under the influence of the dominant ideology of the Soviet Union, significant progress was observed in the preparation of national and military cadres and their promotion in state administration during the 1970s–1980s.

3. Language policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the 1970s–1980s — At a time when the Soviet Union pursued a policy of Russification aimed at creating a unified ideological and cultural space, important steps were taken under Heydar Aliyev’s leadership to preserve and develop the Azerbaijani language. One of the key achievements in this direction was the adoption of the 1978 Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, which enshrined the Azerbaijani language as the state language in a separate article.

4. The role of National Leader Heydar Aliyev in shaping national-spiritual policy — During this period, significant measures were undertaken to protect and promote national-spiritual values, and strategic decisions were made in the fields of culture, education, and other spheres.

5. The main directions of the development of national values in the 1970s–early 1980s — This period constituted an important stage in the history of the Azerbaijan SSR with regard to the protection and development of national values. Owing to the strategic approach of the Azerbaijani leadership, significant steps were taken in the formation and consolidation of national and spiritual values.

6. The strengthening of the process of national self-awareness — During the 1970s–1980s, the processes of national self-awareness and the development of national consciousness were observed in the republic, with Azerbaijani intellectuals and public-political figures playing an important role in safeguarding national values and shaping the ideas of future independence.

7. Directions for the promotion of Azerbaijan’s cultural

heritage — Azerbaijan's rich national-cultural heritage, shaped and developed throughout history under the influence of different cultures and civilizations, gained particular significance in the 1970s–early 1980s. During this period, the preservation and promotion of national-cultural heritage played a vital role in maintaining historical memory, strengthening national identity, and ensuring the recognition of Azerbaijan at the international level.

Scientific Innovation of the Research. The main scientific innovations obtained as a result of the conducted research are as follows:

1. Conceptual analysis of the national policy of the 1970s–early 1980s — In preparing the dissertation, based on the theoretical principles of historiography, the formation of Heydar Aliyev's concept of national policy and the mechanisms of its implementation were comprehensively analyzed through a complex approach and the application of modern scholarly methods.

2. Archival document–based analysis — Archival materials related to the implementation of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the renaissance period, which had not previously been introduced into scholarly circulation or had been used only in a limited manner, were involved in the research, and new scientific results were obtained on their basis.

3. Examination of the attitude towards national minorities in the 1970s–1980s — Heydar Aliyev's approach towards national minorities in the Azerbaijan SSR in the early 1970s–1980s was systematically studied on the basis of archival materials. The impact of this policy on the formation of the republic's national policy course and on the development of multicultural values was identified, while the demographic composition of minorities was presented in comparative tables.

4. Reconsideration of national policy in the 1960s and 1970s–1980s — Although certain initiatives were undertaken in the 1960s to preserve national-cultural heritage, these efforts did not acquire continuity due to ideological constraints. However, with Heydar Aliyev's leadership, tendencies of gradual liberalization in national policy emerged, and consistent and systematic measures were

implemented in the direction of preserving and developing national-cultural heritage.

5. Assessment of Heydar Aliyev's national policy strategy — A new scholarly perspective has been provided on the role of National Leader Heydar Aliyev in the formation and development of national policy, with a detailed analysis of the measures he implemented.

6. Identification of the sources of the fundamental principles of the national policy course — One of the scientific innovations of the dissertation is the demonstration of the sources of the fundamental principles of the national policy course in independent Azerbaijan, and the correlation of this process with the steps taken during the Soviet period.

This research, by comprehensively analyzing the essence, scope, and outcomes of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the 1970s–1980s, contributes to the formation of new approaches to national policy in Azerbaijani historiography.

Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Research. The numerous factual materials, collected literature, and scientific conclusions analyzed in the dissertation can be used in the preparation of textbooks and teaching aids; in conducting scholarly research on contemporary historiographical problems; in the writing of generalized works and historical reference materials concerning the renaissance period (1969–1982); and within the framework of institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Approbation and Application. The main content of the dissertation has been reflected in 6 scholarly articles published both in the Republic and in Turkey and Switzerland, as well as in 13 theses published in the proceedings of local and international scientific conferences.

Institution Where the Dissertation Was Carried Out. The dissertation was prepared at the Department of History of Azerbaijan (for Humanities Faculties) of Baku State University. On June 21, 2025, at a meeting of the Department, with the participation of invited experts from the Azerbaijan State University of Oil and Industry

and the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical University, the dissertation was discussed and recommended for public defense.

Volume and Structure of the Dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction (24031 characters), three chapters divided into subsections (Chapter I – 74617 characters; Chapter II – 97072 characters; Chapter III – 75437 characters), a conclusion (8303 characters), and a bibliography. The total volume of the text of the dissertation is 279460 characters.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the “**Introduction**” the applicant substantiated the relevance of the research topic, noting that the 1970s and the early 1980s represent an important stage in the socio-political and cultural development of the Azerbaijan SSR. Although the officially proclaimed principles of Soviet policy sought to ensure the equality of all peoples, in practice its implementation was often carried out in accordance with the ideological interests of the central government. Nevertheless, despite all restrictions, the application of national policy in various directions during this period created important opportunities for the preservation of national identity, the development of the Azerbaijani language, the enrichment of culture, and the training of national cadres.

During the totalitarian Soviet regime, the Azerbaijani people faced serious restrictions on the protection of their native language, religion, and national-spiritual values. The weakening of the role of the Azerbaijani language in socio-political and cultural life posed significant challenges for the preservation of national identity. The rise of Heydar Aliyev to leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1969 marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of national and cultural values, the protection of national identity, and the strengthening of statehood traditions. Compared to previous years, more systematic and purposeful approaches were established in the implementation of national policy during his leadership, and qualitatively new directions were identified in this sphere.

One of the main factors determining the relevance of the topic is

that in the 1970s–early 1980s, as a result of the initiatives of the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR, significant steps were taken towards the preservation of national-cultural heritage, the strengthening of the legal status of the Azerbaijani language, and the promotion of national cadres in the fields of education and science. This policy, on the one hand, was carried out in line with the Soviet ideology of ‘internationalism,’ while, on the other hand, it exerted a real influence on the development of the republic’s historical and national values.

Thus, the chosen topic is of great scholarly and practical significance, not only for the study of Soviet national policy, but also for the understanding of national statehood, cultural development, and the protection of national identity in the modern era.

Following the substantiation of the topic’s relevance in the **“Introduction”**, attention was given to the degree of its historiographical elaboration, with references made to works that addressed or bore close relevance to different aspects of the research problem. In this part, the applicant correctly identified the object and subject of the research.

The sections addressing the theoretical basis, source base, and scientific innovation of the dissertation may be considered satisfactory. The provisions submitted for defense were presented separately and grouped in a way that facilitates the comprehensive study of the topic.

The structure and content of the sections devoted to the theoretical basis, source base, and practical significance of the research are also adequate. By addressing the main purpose of the study, the applicant emphasized that its goal is to identify the main directions of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the 1970s–early 1980s and to analyze scientifically their impact on the socio-political, socio-economic, and cultural development of the republic

The first chapter, entitled **“The Formation of National Leader Heydar Aliyev’s Concept of National Policy and Its Main Directions”**, consists of three subsections. In the first subsection, **“Problems and Challenges in the Implementation of the National Policy Course in the Late 1960s – Early 1970s”**, the applicant analyzes the objective and subjective problems that arose in the implementation of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the late 1960s and early 1970s

During this period, the position of the Azerbaijani language in state administration, education, and public life weakened, while Russian gained a dominant status. The fact that most official correspondence and important events were conducted in Russian created serious obstacles to the preservation of national identity. This process led to the weakening of national consciousness. There were also restrictions in the fields of culture and education. Historical monuments remained neglected, and national literature and art functioned only within the Soviet ideological framework. In personnel policy, national interests were ignored, and the promotion of Azerbaijani specialists in state governance was limited.

Although the concept of “socialist internationalism” of the USSR leadership formally envisaged equality of nations, in practice national characteristics were disregarded. As a result, the development of the Azerbaijani language, culture, and national identity slowed down, and serious obstacles emerged in strengthening national consciousness.

In the second subsection, entitled “**The Formation and Essence of Heydar Aliyev’s Concept of National Policy**”, the applicant noted that one of the main priorities of Heydar Aliyev’s national policy concept was the elimination of the distorted perceptions created by Soviet ideology in the spiritual life and public consciousness of society, and the restoration of national identity on sound foundations rooted in historical traditions. The concept of national policy developed by him was not confined merely to political governance but embodied a multifaceted and comprehensive character, encompassing socio-political, socio-economic, military, scientific-cultural, and moral-spiritual values.

Heydar Aliyev’s concept of national policy was aimed at harmonizing economic development with national interests. Within this framework, industry and agriculture were strengthened, while the promotion of national cadres expanded the possibilities for economic independence. In the military sphere, the education of Azerbaijani youth in military schools and their advancement to high-ranking positions created the conditions for the formation of a national military elite.

Thus, Heydar Aliyev’s national policy was not limited to the

regulation of interethnic relations within the Soviet ideological framework, but also served the protection of national-cultural heritage, the strengthening of national consciousness, and the preparation of the ideological and socio-economic foundations for future independence

In the third subsection, entitled **‘Heydar Aliyev’s Ethnic Policy and Attitude Towards National Minorities in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1970s–Early 1980s’**, the essence of ethnic relations and the treatment of national minorities during Heydar Aliyev’s leadership is examined. Within his concept of national policy, special attention was devoted to the protection of the rights of ethnic groups, their socio-cultural development, and their integration into the socio-political life of the republic. Heydar Aliyev paid particular attention to the preservation of the cultural heritage of national minorities, ensuring conditions for the maintenance of their languages, customs, and traditions. The activities of cultural and educational institutions of ethnic communities such as Russians, Jews, Talysh, Lezgins, Georgians, and others living in different regions of the republic were supported, and opportunities were provided for the teaching of native languages in schools.

At the same time, national minorities actively participated in the economic, political, and social life of the republic. The use of their human potential in state administration, science, and culture contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of tolerance within Azerbaijani society.

Thus, during this period, Heydar Aliyev’s ethnic policy in the Azerbaijan SSR was based on the principles of mutual understanding and cooperation among different peoples and served the strengthening of national solidarity

The second chapter of the dissertation is entitled **‘National Policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the Period of Renaissance (1970s–1980s)’** and consists of three subsections. In the subsection **‘The Process of Formation and Development of National Cadres during Heydar Aliyev’s Leadership in the Azerbaijan SSR’**, the preparation of national cadres, their promotion in various fields, and the strengthening of their role in state administration during Heydar Aliyev’s leadership are examined.

Starting from 1969, special attention was given to national cadre policy in the republic, and purposeful measures were implemented to ensure the education of Azerbaijani youth, the training of qualified specialists, and their promotion to leadership positions. Heydar Aliyev regarded the development of national human resources as a strategic issue for the future political, economic, and cultural progress of the republic. For this purpose, thousands of young people were sent to the most prestigious higher education institutions of the USSR, while new research institutes and higher educational establishments were established within the republic. As a result, the number of national cadres increased, and their positions in governance and production were consolidated.

Thus, the national cadre policy carried out during Heydar Aliyev's leadership created a solid foundation for strengthening the intellectual potential of the Azerbaijan SSR, for the formation of professional specialists, and for the emergence of a national elite that would contribute to the development of the country during the period of independence

The second subsection, entitled **'The Directions of the Development of Azerbaijani Science in the 1970s–1980s and Heydar Aliyev's Role'**, analyzes such issues as the expansion of the network of scientific institutions, the establishment of new research institutes, the growing recognition of Azerbaijani scholars across the USSR, their participation in international scientific events, the strengthening of research activities in higher educational institutions, and the attention and support given to scientists and intellectuals. These years are assessed as a period when Azerbaijani science entered a new stage of development and laid the intellectual foundation for the era of independence.

The third subsection, entitled **'The Directions of the Development of National Culture during Heydar Aliyev's First Leadership of Azerbaijan'**, explores the trends and directions of cultural development in the Azerbaijan SSR during 1969–1982 under Heydar Aliyev's leadership. This period is characterized as an important stage for the preservation of national culture, the restoration of national heritage, and the development of literature and the arts

The third chapter of the dissertation is entitled **‘The Role of National Leader Heydar Aliyev in the Development of National-Spiritual Values’** and consists of two subsections. In the subsection **‘Heydar Aliyev’s Role in Shaping National-Spiritual Policy’**, the significant role played by Heydar Aliyev during his first leadership of Azerbaijan in the formation and implementation of national-spiritual policy is examined. During this period, the strengthening of the spiritual life of society, the protection of national identity, and the development of national-spiritual values were defined as key directions of state policy.

As a result, Heydar Aliyev’s work in the field of national-spiritual policy contributed to the consolidation of the national identity of the Azerbaijani people, the strengthening of national consciousness, and the transmission of spiritual and cultural values to future generations. This policy also created an ideological foundation for the formation of the national idea during the period of independence

In the second subsection, entitled **‘The Protection, Development, and Promotion of Historical-Cultural Heritage and National-Spiritual Values’**, the applicant examines the measures carried out during Heydar Aliyev’s first leadership of Azerbaijan to safeguard, develop, and widely promote national cultural heritage. In those years, the elevation of national-cultural values to one of the main priorities of state policy served both the strengthening of the spiritual unity of the people and the formation of national consciousness.

With Heydar Aliyev’s initiative, the restoration and preservation of a number of historical and architectural monuments were carried out in the republic. At the same time, wide-ranging efforts were made in the fields of literature, art, music, and theater for the promotion of national-spiritual values. The systematic collection and publication of folklore, the development of mugham, ashig art, and classical music were supported at the state level.

The international promotion of national-cultural heritage was also in focus. The participation of Azerbaijani cultural figures in union-wide and international events, as well as the recognition of national music and literature abroad, contributed to the enhancement of the republic’s cultural prestige.

Thus, this subsection demonstrates that during Heydar Aliyev’s

leadership, the protection, development, and promotion of historical-cultural heritage and national-spiritual values became a purposeful state policy, as a result of which the national identity of the Azerbaijani people was further strengthened and spiritual values were secured for transmission to future generations.

In the **‘Conclusion,’** the applicant summarized the research and presented the main findings:

1. Although the implementation of national policy in the Azerbaijan SSR during the 1970s–early 1980s took place within the ideological principles of the USSR, it nonetheless played an important role in the republic’s national and cultural development.

2. With Heydar Aliyev’s rise to leadership, a new stage began in the essence of national policy, as the protection of national identity, the strengthening of the position of the state language, the restoration of historical-cultural heritage, and the training of national cadres became priority directions of state policy.

3. As a result of the policy of forming national cadres, the role of Azerbaijani specialists in the governance, science, education, culture, and military sectors of the republic increased significantly. This process not only strengthened the republic’s internal administrative capacity but also laid the groundwork for the formation of a professional cadre base for the period of independence.

4. In Heydar Aliyev’s concept of national policy, special importance was attached to the development of culture and the arts, as well as the preservation of folk creativity, folklore, and national music. The measures taken in this sphere served to strengthen national consciousness and to ensure the transmission of national values to future generations.

5. In the sphere of ethnic policy, the attitude towards national minorities was based on the principles of tolerance and mutual respect, ensuring the protection of their cultural rights and creating the necessary conditions for the preservation of their languages and traditions.

In general, although Heydar Aliyev’s course of national policy was implemented within the rigid ideological constraints of the Soviet empire, it represented a crucial historical stage for the preservation of national identity, the development of national-spiritual values, and

the rise of national consciousness in the Azerbaijan SSR. This policy laid the foundation for the formation of the ideological basis of the independence movement in the following years and for the consolidation of national statehood traditions.

The Main Content of the Dissertation Has Been Reflected in the Author's Following Scholarly Articles and Theses:

1. Azərbaycan SSR-də Heydər Əliyevin hakimiyyətə gəlməsi ilə milli-mənəvi dəyərlərin inkişafında yeni mərhələnin başlanması // – Bakı: “Tarix və onun problemləri” jurnalı. Xüsusi buraxılış, – 2023. №2, – s.156-162
2. Heydər Əliyev və milli siyasət konsepsiyası // – Bakı: Geostrategiya jurnalı, – 2024. №2(80), – s. 85-91.
3. Heydər Əliyevin Azərbaycan elminə qayğısı (XX əsrin 70-80-ci illəri) // – Bakı: “Tarix insan və cəmiyyət”. Elmi-nəzəri, elmi-metodik jurnal, – 2024. №4(45), – s. 72-82.
4. Implementation of Heydar Aliyev's national policy concept (1970s-1980s) // – Türkiyə: Akademik tarix və düşüncə dergisi, – 2025. №12(1), – s. 771-784.
5. XX əsrin 70-80-ci illərində Azərbaycanda hərbiçi kadrların hazırlanması // – “Tarix və onun problemləri” jurnalı, – 2025. №1 (108), – s. 94-100.
6. Ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevin Azərbaycana rəhbərliyi dövründə ədəbi irsə və ədəbiyyata qayğı // – Bakı: “Bakı Universitetinin xəbərləri”. Humanitar elmlər seriyası, – 2024. №4, – s. 107-119.
7. 1969-1982-ci illərdə Azərbaycanda milli-mənəvi və milli mədəniyyət irsinin təbliği məsələləri – Qafqazda sülh və əməkdaşlıq məsələləri. Respublika elmi konfransı, – Bakı: AMEA, – 3 may, – 2023, – s. 136-138.
8. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan dilinin inkişafı (1969-1982-ci illər), – “Azərbaycan elminin və təhsilin inkişafında Heydər Əliyev epoxası” adlı beynəlxalq elmi konfransı, – Bakı: ADNSU, – 4-5 iyul,

– 2023, – s. 75-77.

9. 1969-1982 Yıllarında Karabağ'da Milli Manevi ve Milli Kültür Mirasının Tanıtılması Sorunları, – 5 Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, – Türkiyə: “Bayburt Universiteti”, – 19 oktyabr, – 2023, – s. 266.
10. Milli ruhun təntənəsi olan Şuşa şəhərinə Heydər Əliyevin qayğısı (1969-1982-ci illər), – “Şuşa şəhəri: Azərbaycan mədəniyyəti Qafqaza və dünyaya” beynəlxalq elmi konfransı, – Bakı: AMEA, – 1 noyabr, – 2023, – s. 97-98.
11. İntibah dövrünün milli-mənəvi siyasətinin müəyyənləşdirilməsində Heydər Əliyev siyasəti, – Türk dünyası: Ortaq tarixi-mədəni dəyərlər, müasir reallıqlar və gələcəyə baxış. I Beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, – Bakı: BDU, – 19-20 dekabr, – 2023, – s. 203-207.
12. Şuşa şəhərinin inkişafında Heydər Əliyevin milli siyasət konsepsiyasının rolu (1969-1982-ci illər), – “İslam mədəniyyətini zənginləşdirən şəhər: Şuşa” mövzusunda beynəlxalq elmi konfransı, – Bakı: AMEA, – 25 aprel, – 2024, – s. 75-76.
13. XX əsrin 70-80-ci illərində Azərbaycanda elm və mədəniyyət sahələrində əlaqələrin inkişafında Heydər Əliyevin rolu, – “Cənubi Qafqazda dövlətlərarası münasibətlərdə şəxsiyyət Amili: tarixdən günümüzə” Respublika elmi konfransı, – Bakı: AMEA, – 6 noyabr, – 2024, – s. 83-85.
14. Protection of the national moral heritage during the republic of the national leader Hayder Aliyev (70-80s of XX century), // – “14th International congress on social, humanities, administrative, and educational sciences in a Changing world”, – Türkiyə: Congress Proceedings Book – 6-8 noyabr, – 2024, – s. 1090-1096.
15. Heydar Aliyev's care for Azerbaijan scientists and science during his first leadership of the republic, – 14th International "Başkent" Congress on social, humanities, administrative, and

educational sciences– Türkiyə: Congress Proceedings Book – 12-14 dekabr, – 2024, – s. 1766-1769.

16. The role of National leader Heydar Aliyev in the development of the Azerbaijani language, – Proceedings of the 8th International Scientific and practical conference. Scientific paradigm in the context of technologies and society development – İsveçrə, 26-28 fevral, – 2025, – s. 289-294.
17. Heydər Əliyevin milli siyasəti kontekstində XX əsrin 70-80-ci illərində Azərbaycanın demoqrafik inkişafı, – Gənc tədqiqatçıların VIII Respublika elmi konfransı, – Bakı: Azərbaycan Universiteti, – 14 mart, – 2025, – s. 217-221

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping loops and lines, positioned to the right of the text.

The defense of the dissertation will be held on 29.10. 2025 at 10⁰⁰ at the meeting of the ED 2.20 Dissertation Council operating under Baku State University.

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