

**REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

*In the manuscript right*

**RECONSTRUCTION POLICY OF THE USSR AND  
AZERBAIJAN SSR**

Specialization: 5503.02 – History of the Motherland

Field of science: History

Plaintiff: **Rubaba Yasin Azizova**

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ABSTRACT**

**Sumgait - 2024**

Dissertation work was performed at the Department of History of the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Eastern Europe of Sumgayit State University.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Sciences in History, professor  
**Adil Bakhshali Bakhshaliyev**

Official opponents: Doctor of Science in History, professor  
**İrada Mehdiqulu Huseynova**



Doctor of Science in History, professor  
**Gasim Ahad Hajiyev**

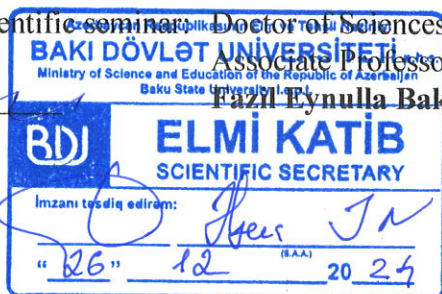
Doctor of Philosophy in History,  
Associate Professor  
**Afag Yusif Piriyeva**

Dissertation Council № 2.20 based on the Baku State University of the Higher Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Chairman of the Dissertation Board: Doctor of Sciences in History,  
Professor  
**Ibrahim Khudaverdi Zeynalov**

Scientific secretary  
of the dissertation council: Doctor of Philosophy in History,  
Associate Professor  
**Kamala Telman Najafova**

Chairman of the scientific seminar: Doctor of Sciences in History,  
Associate Professor  
**Fazil Eynulla Bakhshaliyev**



## I. OVERALL PROPERTY OF THE DISSERTATION

**Relevance of the topic and degree of development.** The Great Leader H. Aliyev highly assessed the history of the Azerbaijani people and their traditions and said: *“The path of the Azerbaijani people over the two thousand years of our era is an invincible, wealthy, heroic history!”*<sup>11</sup> From this viewpoint, it can be said with full confidence that the roots of our successes in the 20th century and our determination to build an independent state should be sought in our distant and recent history.

The research topic is very relevant. The research topic is very relevant. Because no matter how high our current level of development is, the achievement of new high peaks in the path of our nation and state's development requires the analysis of the experience gained on the path taken, and the determination of the future development prospects of our society.

National leader Heydar Aliyev at a meeting with scientists of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences on 31 January 1997 highlighted as an important task the scientific and objective study of our history and noted that *“one of the main tasks currently facing the Academy is to write the history of the Azerbaijani people of the 19th and 20th centuries”*.<sup>2</sup> Considering this point of view, the study of Azerbaijan's history of 1985-1991, which is especially characterized by the abundance of social and political events that occurred, is of great importance nowadays.

The socio-economic and political processes that occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the USSR, particularly the Azerbaijani SSR, which had remained a part of it for nearly 70 years, ultimately lead to the restoration of our national statehood. Despite the fact that in recent times many monographs and books have been published devoted to the study of these years, it would be wrong to claim that all the issues related to the socio-political situation of those years have been fully investigated. This is one of the reasons determining the relevance of the study.

---

<sup>1</sup>Aliyev, H. Azerbaijan on the crossroads of the 21st century and the third millennium. //Proclamation to the people of Azerbaijan in connection with the new year 2001, the new century and the third millennium. 29 December 2000 / H. Aliyev. - Baku: XXI - House of New Publications, - 2001. - p.51.

<sup>2</sup>Aliyev, H. Our independence is eternal: [in 9 volumes] / H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azernashr, - 8 volumes. - 1998. - p. 369.

In the mid-1980s, the policy of “restructuring” promoted by the last leader of the USSR, M. Gorbachev, caused deterioration in all spheres of social life in the republic and a sharp reduction in production. The movement of protest against Armenian separatism, which was supported by M. Gorbachev and his close entourage in the Daghlig Garabagh Autonomous Region, raised increasing tension in the republic. The socio-political situation deteriorated, the conflict in society was followed by the rise of the national movement for independence. Nowadays, the study of the problems related to the situation of those years is very actual, and the subject has great scientific-political and theoretical significance today.

The other reason enhancing the relevance of the research topic is the fact that despite colonial oppression, numerous acts of deportation and genocide policy during the period of totalitarian regime, our people have not only not lost their national essence, language, religion and spirituality, but rather fought for independence, foreseeing the processes taking place in the world. The years covered in the study are recalled as the last and highest stage of this struggle.

Particularly it should be considered such aspect that material base, cultural and personnel potential created during the years of H. Aliyev's leadership of the republic in 1969-1982 had a significant role in restoration of Azerbaijan's independence, and development of national self-consciousness and national spirit was of crucial importance. National leader H. Aliyev, referring to this subject, stated: *‘The proclamation of state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan is an event that arose due to historical necessity. It is a natural result of those socio-political processes that occurred in the USSR and all over the world in those years and several years before that. It was a natural result of historical objective processes, an invaluable contribution of fate to the life of the Azerbaijani people and the peoples of all ex-USSR republics.’*<sup>3</sup>

The topic of the Azerbaijan SSR prior the collapse of the Soviet empire has not yet been chosen as a special and independent object of research. On the other hand, the above-mentioned indicates that there is a serious necessity to thoroughly study and analysis the processes that

---

<sup>3</sup>H. Aliyev. Azerbaijan at the crossroads of the 21st century and the third millennium. //Proclamation to the people of Azerbaijan in connection with the new year 2001, the new century and the third millennium. 29 December 2000 / H. Aliyev. - Baku: XXI - House of New Publications, - 2001. - p.28.

took place in the Azerbaijan SSR from the mid-1980s to the collapse of the USSR and which resulted in the restoration of our state independence. Choosing the study of the history of Azerbaijan in 1985-1990, which is particularly prominent in the diversity and richness of these processes, as the topic of the thesis, follows from this necessity.

In the process of writing the research work, the author was guided by a similar concept of H. Aliyev: *“We must reflect each period of our history as it is, completely beyond subjectivity. We should pass the history to future generations as it is”*.<sup>4</sup>

Nowadays there are many books, articles and other publications devoted to one or another aspect of this problem. However, the topic of our research, its scientific and theoretical foundations, practical significance, principles, features and directions, their interrelation have not received a systematic study in any of them. Published works addressed individual directions of the topic of our study, frequently for different years, without selecting the topic as a special object of study.

Works, lectures and speeches<sup>5</sup> of the outstanding state and public figure with extraordinary thinking, Heydar Aliyev, have been comprehensively used in the research paper. The social and economic development of Azerbaijan over the past 34 years, the social situation and most importantly the successful completion of the struggle for independence have been substantiated in detail in various speeches of Heydar Aliyev.

Our conclusions are also based on approaches of I. Aliyev's speeches on some issues of the research topic.<sup>6</sup>

In the course of the research, we also focused on various articles describing the results of the reforms and changes related to restructuring

---

<sup>4</sup> Bright pages of the history of Azerbaijan. - Baku: Azerbaijan, 1998. - p.10.

<sup>5</sup> 48. H. Aliyev. Our independence is eternal: [in 9 volumes] / H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azernashr, - 8 volumes. - 1998. - 488 p.; in. 45. - 2013. - 384 p.; On guard of Azerbaijani science. Documents and materials. [In two volumes] / H. Aliyev. - Baku: NPB 'Turkhan', - 1 vol. - 2013. 668 p.

<sup>6</sup> İlham Aliyev. Development is our goal: December 2015 - February 2016. [105 volumes] / I. Aliyev. - Baku: Azernashr, - Seventy-second book. December 2015 - February 2016. - 2018, - 400 p.; Ninety-eighth book. November 2019 - December 2019. - 2019, - 392 p.; - One hundred and third book. May 2020 - June 2020. - 2020, - 392 p.

implemented since the mid-1980s and their impact on our republic and offered our opinion on most of them.<sup>7</sup>

We considered the importance of some works in terms of clarifying certain issues related to the socio-economic and political situation on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet empire in the Azerbaijan SSR<sup>8</sup>.

We also attempted to comment on works and documents in some collective publications analyzing the genocide of Armenians against Azerbaijanis, the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is historically the land of Azerbaijan, and the unfounded territorial claims of Armenian separatists against Azerbaijan<sup>9</sup>.

While summarizing the results of our research and comparing them with the ideas presented in some works and writings, we also focused on the works that referred to the expulsion of Azerbaijanis from the territory

---

<sup>7 7</sup> Aliyev I. The rule of Y. Andropov and his reforms in the USSR in the 1980s // - Baku: Geostrategy, - 2017. no. 04, - p. p. 3-6.; Amirov, N. Agriculture of the Azerbaijan SSR in the 60-80s / N. Amirov. - Baku: Elm, - 1989, - 214 p.; Nabiyeu, B. History of economic development of the Azerbaijan SSR (60-80s of the 20th century). / B. Nabiyeu. - Baku: BSU Publishing House, - 2016. - 250 p.; Panahov T. Winegrowing in Azerbaijan. / T. Panahov, V. Salimov, A. Zari. Baku: Uchitel, - 2010. - 224 p.; Shakhmuradov A.S. On the process of the USSR disintegration // - Baku: University Izvestiya, series 'Humanities', - 2012. № 4, - c. 60-70.; Zeynalov I. Socio-economic development of Azerbaijan (70-80 years) / I. Zeynalov. - Baku: Baku University Publishing House, - 1996. - 314 p.; Guliyev, J. To the history of formation of the second Republic of Azerbaijan / J. Guliyev. - Baku: Elm, - 1997. - 163 p.; National economy of Azerbaijan SSR to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Anniversary statistical yearbook / - Baku: Azerneshr, - 1987. - 314 p.

<sup>8</sup> In 3 parts. Part I. Scientific-theoretical and practical problems / K.Shukurov. - Baku: Baku University - 2004. - 233 p.

<sup>9</sup> Realities of the genocide / Compiled by F. Abdullazadeh - Baku: - 2000. F. Abdullazadeh - Baku: - 2000. - 204 p.; Bankruptcy of Armenia's aggressive policy. Collection of articles / per. from English Teacher. E. Suleymanov - Baku: - 2019. - 304 p.; Ruente K. Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan and world politics / K. Ruente. - Baku: Adiloglu Publishing House, - 2008. - 260 p.; Shakhmuradov A.S. IFANDS of Armenia's aggressive policy // - Baku: Collection of articles, - 2019. P.127-147.; To the history of the formation of Daghylyg Garabagh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan SSR. 1918-1925. DocUments and materials / edited by D.P. Guliyeva - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1989. - 334 p.; CandFlict in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous District of the Azerbaijan SSR. CANDFLICT IN THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH STATE / COMPILED BY SH. Sh. Shukurov - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1990. - 272 p.; Nagorny carpets: Dressing. Docoument and Materia / - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1990. - 445 p.; Black Yangar. - Baku - 1990: Documents and materials / - Baku: Azerbaijan - 1990. - 288 p.

of Armenia and their ancestral lands, the war in Nagorno-Karabakh and the tragedy of 20 January<sup>10</sup>.

In addition, we should like to dwell on several works that present certain issues related to the topic of our study in the historiography of the Motherland. The work written under the editorship of J. Guliyev is devoted to the struggle for the restoration of independence of our people.<sup>11</sup>

The monograph written by A. Mammadov, based on rich factual material, is devoted to the struggle for the restoration of Azerbaijani statehood and its strengthening.<sup>12</sup> The author focused much attention on the merits of Heydar Aliyev in the 80-90s in the struggle for the victory of the people's movement, restoration of state independence and its strengthening.

Huseynova's works are devoted to great merits of Great Leader Heydar Aliyev in the history of Azerbaijan. The author also devoted considerable attention to the socio-political processes taking place in Azerbaijan in the 80s and 90s.<sup>13</sup>

Some aspects related to the events in Daghigh Garabagh, Armenia's aggressiveness against Azerbaijan and its influence on the popular movement were analyzed in a number of works by E. Akhmadov and were considered in our study<sup>14</sup>.

---

<sup>10</sup> Aliyev, I. Daghigh Garabagh. History, facts, events / I. Aliyev. - Baku: Elm, - 1989. - 120 p.; Mammadov I. Azerbaijanis of Armenia and their bitter fate. / I. Mammadov, S. Asadov. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1992. - 72 p.; Musayev, T. The legal aspects of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. - Baku: Sharg-Garb, - 2001. - 72 c.

<sup>11</sup> Guliyev Ch. History: thoughts, considerations and notes.... (1953-2003) / Ch. Guliyev. - Baku: Elm, - 2004. - 764 p.

<sup>12</sup> Mammadov A. The struggle for the restoration and strengthening of the Independent State of Azerbaijan / A. Mammadov. - Baku: Elm, - 1999. - 368 p.

<sup>13</sup> <sup>13</sup>Huseynova, I. Guarantee of our independence. (Articles, speeches, interviews, opinions...) / Huseynova I. - Baku: Prosveshcheniye, - 2003, - 504 p.; Founder of independent Azerbaijan state / I. Huseynova. Baku: Prosveshcheniye, - 2004. - 472 p.

<sup>14</sup> Akhmadov E. Aggression of Armenia towards Azerbaijan: a chronicle with analysis (1987-2011). Encyclopaedic edition / E. Ahmadov. - Baku: Letterpress, - 2012. - 912 p.; Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan: ethnic cleansing, genocide, terrorism, occupation. Book two / E. Ahmadov. - Baku: Foundation for Development of Science under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, - 2015. - 408 p.; Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan: the policy of international organisations and great powers. Book III

Among Russian authors, the works of Y. Pompeyev are of great importance for exposing the policy of Armenian extremists to occupy the Azerbaijani lands.<sup>15</sup>

The general aspect of the mentioned works is that Armenian extremists have always launched military aggression against Azerbaijan using the crisis of power and the policy of restoration.

The selection of various problems close to our field of research as a thesis topic became intensive after the restoration of Azerbaijan's state independence, and this work continues even today. In this regard, we have some thoughts about these dissertations.<sup>16</sup>In the process of our research, we have familiarized ourselves with the main provisions of dissertations investigating the problems related to the processes that took place in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Georgia and other republics on the eve of the collapse of the USSR.<sup>17</sup>

---

/ E. Ahmadov. - Baku: Foundation for Development of Science under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, - 2015. – 368 p.

<sup>15</sup> Pompeyev, Y. Karabakh in blood. Translation / Y. Pompeyev. Baku: Azerbaijan Encyclopaedia NPB, - 1996. - 160 p.; Blood pool of Karabakh / Y. Pompeyev. Pompeyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1992. - 208 p.; Karabakh Diary/Y. Pompeyev. Moscow: - Kanon+POOI Rehabilitation, - 2010.-416 p.

<sup>16</sup> Akhmadov, E.I. The policy of the great states regarding the Karabakh conflict: / Author's abstract of the dissertation of the doctor of philosophical sciences. / - Baku, 2001, - 32 p.; Ibrahimova, P.Ya. Position of international organisations on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijani media (1988-2005 years): / Author's abstract of the dissertation of doctor of philological sciences. / - Baku, 2011. - 18 p.; Mammadov A.M. Struggle for restoration and strengthening of independent state of Azerbaijan (the end of 1980s - 1997): / Author's abstract of dissertation of doctor of philosophical sciences. / - Baku, 2005. - 58 p.; Mammadov I. Component of Armenia's aggressive policy against Azerbaijan: / Author's abstract of the dissertation of doctor of philos. sciences. / - Baku, 2015. - 32 p.; Mammadov N.R. History of the Daghlig Garabagh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR (1923-1991): / Author's abstract of the dissertation of doctor of philosophical sciences. / Baku, 2011. - 64 p.; Mustafayev A.H. The position of the Russian Federation in the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (1988-2005): / Author's abstract of Dr. philos. sciences. / - Baku, 2017. - 26 p.; Gurbanly M.M. Geopolitical aspects of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: / Author's abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in political sciences. / - Baku, 2017. - 35 p.

<sup>17</sup> Alimov, B.H. Socio-economic and political processes in the Republic of Tajikistan (1991-1997): / abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences. / - Khujand, 2008. - 22 p.; Asano, Naomi. Ukraine: Obtaining Independence. 1985 - 1991 gg: / abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences. / - Moscow, 1999. - 29 p.; Vyvikin, K.C. Economic policy of the USSR 1985-



We have considered in our dissertation the views of works that are different from the point of view of studying issues related to some aspects of the topic of our study in Russian historiography.<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that works and articles of different styles that explore issues related to the topic of our study are found in Turkish historiography and media. These works have attracted attention by describing the restoration of Azerbaijan's regional independence, the expansion of bilateral relations and other issues.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of the scientific content and significance of each of the types of research, monographs, and papers that we have reviewed, none of them have chosen our research years, our topic, as the subject of a research study or dissertation.<sup>19</sup>

---

1991 in the assessments of contemporaries: / dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences. / - Moscow, 2006. - 220 p.; Kobilova, S.Y. The escalation of the socio-political situation in Tajikistan in the period of restructuring: / 1985-1991 auth. dissertation ... candidate of historical sciences. / - Khujand, 2007. - 27 p.; Musatov, I.M. Soviet society in the conditions of restructuring in the USSR at the turn of the 1980s - 1990s: / autoreferat diss. for the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences. / - Moscow, 2007. - 30 c

<sup>18</sup>Bezborodov, A. Restructuring and the Collapse of the USSR. 1985-1993. / A.Bezborodov, N.Eliseeva, V.Shestakov. - SPb.: Norma, - 2010. - 216 p.; Boldin V.I. The collapse of the pedestal. Shtrikhi to the portrait of M.S.Gorbachev / - Moscow: Republic, 1995. - 447 p.; Eliseeva, N. History of restructuring in the USSR. 1985 - 1991 / N.Eliseeva. - Moscow: RGGU, - 2017. - 548 p.; Zhirokhov, M. Seeds of disintegration: wars and conflicts on the territory of the former USSR. / M.Zhirokhov. - St. Petersburg: BHV - Petersburg, - 2012. - 688 c.; Zhukov, V. Modern history of Russia: Restructuring and transition period. 1985 - 2005 / V. Zhukov. - SPb.: SPbG ASU, - 2006. - 183 p.; Kirillov, V.V.. The problem of the collapse of the USSR in the latest historiography // - Moscow: Vestnik of Moscow City Pedagogical University, Series: Historical Sciences, Moscow City Pedagogical University, 2015. no. 3 (19), - p.. 62-70.; From Mayendorf to Astana: Principled Aspects. On the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict / Edited by G.M.Alekseev - Moscow: Information and Analytical Centre, - 2010. - 552 p.; Solomentsev, M. Zachistka v Politburo. How Gorbachev removed the 'enemies of restructuring' / M. Solomentsev. - Moscow: Eksmo, Algorithm, - 2011. - 221 p.; Taubman, U.

<sup>19</sup> Aynura Pashayeva. 1988 - 1994 Approach of Turkish press to political events in Azerbaijan:[Electronic resource] <https://dergipark.org.tr/pub/tudad/issue/43081/481874>; Karabayram, Euphrat. Politics of the Russian Federation in the South Caucasus / Firat Karabayram. - Ankara: Atılım University, - 2007. - 357 p.; Levent, Shen. The Reality of Turkey and the South Caucasus: Turkey's Policy in the South Caucasus after the Cold War / Shen Levent. - Ankara: Urun Publications, 2009. - 205 p.

In our research we focused on many issues related to the events and processes taking place in Azerbaijani society on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, as cited on internet sites, and made certain conclusions based on their results.<sup>20</sup>

In the course of our research, we considered the provisions concerning the content of the materials of the 7th volume of the multi-volume edition of the history of Azerbaijan and a number of official party-state documents.<sup>21</sup>

**The object and subject of the study.** The object of the study is the socio-economic and political situation in the Azerbaijan SSR prior to the collapse of the USSR. The subject of the study is a comprehensive and scientific study of the processes occurring in the republic at that time.

### **Goals and objectives of the research.**

The main goal of the research work is to objectively study the socio-political situation and processes in Azerbaijan on the eve of the crisis and collapse of the Soviet regime. For a more extensive and complete realization of the research goal, the following tasks have been defined:

- To comprehensively analyse the socio-economic and socio-political situation in Azerbaijan SSR on the eve of independence;
- To illuminate the destruction of the country by the policy of 'Reconstruction' and its tragic consequences for Azerbaijan;
- Disclose new aspects of the struggle against the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the Centre in the republic with the participation of various categories of the population;

---

<sup>20</sup>Ilham Abbasov. Bloody January tragedy: [Electronic resource] <http://www.respublica-news.az/index.php/dig-r-x-b-rl-r/item/1812-ganli-yanvar-fadziaesi>; Characteristics of the national liberation movement of Azerbaijan. [Electronic resource] [http://www.elibrary.az/docs/jurnal/jrn2007\\_330j.htm](http://www.elibrary.az/docs/jurnal/jrn2007_330j.htm); Day that changed the fate of Azerbaijan - 18 October: [Electronic resource] <https://demokratik.az/18097-azerbaycanin-taleyini-deyishen-gun-18-oktyabr.html>; Armenian Crime. Genocide, deportation, terror. E - Articles: [Electronic resource] [https://genocide.preslib.az/az\\_f1.html](https://genocide.preslib.az/az_f1.html); Huseynli Ali. National Liberation Day - the turning point of our modern history of independence: [Electronic resource] <http://www.xalqcebhesi.az/news/politics/49802.html>

<sup>21</sup> History of Azerbaijan. [In seven volumes] / - Baku: - Nauka, Volume 7 (1941-2002). - 2008. - 608 p.; Twentieth anniversary of the restoration of state independence of the Azerbaijan Republic / tetr. ed. by M. Valiyeva and dig. - Baku: National Library of Azerbaijan, - 2011. - 668 p.

- To demonstrate further exacerbation of the socio-political situation in the republic under the conditions of intensification of military aggression of Armenian extremists against Azerbaijan;
- Provide an analysis of various features of the failure of the Centre's attempts to suppress the struggle for independence of the Azerbaijani people and deepening of the national crisis;
- Provide an explanation of the importance of establishing a multi-party system and dissolution of the bankrupt Azerbaijan Communist Party in terms of the rise of the national liberation movement;
- To demonstrate the significance of the Constitution Act on the restoration of the state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

**Theoretical and methodological basis of the study.** The theoretical and methodological basis of the research consisted of interdisciplinary methods, including modern political concepts, general scientific, historical comparison and other methods as synthesis, analysis. The dissertation is written on a specific-historical analysis, with special focus on the generalization of rich archival documents and statistical materials.

**The major statements submitted for defense:**

- Socio-political situation and processes in Azerbaijan prior to the collapse of the USSR;
- Socio-political situation in Azerbaijan;
- Role of prominent figures in the Azerbaijani national liberation movement, first of all, the study of the exceptional merits of H. Aliyev;
- New incontrovertible facts that prove that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan had special role;
- The role of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the emergence and strengthening of the national liberation movement;
- The progress of the popular movement and the emergence of various political organizations and parties;
- The major events of the last stage of the road leading to the restoration of state independence and the significance of their results;
- The main stages, progress and logical conclusion of the national struggle for independence.

**Research base.** Necessity of research of the socio-political situation in the Azerbaijan SSR in the second half of the 80s - early 90s of the XX century requires collection, systematization and study of documents and materials containing even the most insignificant facts related to the topic of our research. Numerous archival documents, collections of printed documents, state and government documents, and periodicals were used in the dissertation. For the first time, some documents related to the research problem stored in the Archive of Political Documents of the Presidential Affairs Department of the Republic of Azerbaijan (AR PII APD), the Central State Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan (AR CSA) were included in a scientific periodical.

On the basis of these documents, a serious analysis of the socio-political situation in Azerbaijan in those years was conducted. The importance of numerous documents on the socio-political situation in Azerbaijan in the first collection of the AR PII APD should be emphasized.

In the dissertation were used collective and statistical publications published in the republic and other cities of the Union to analyze the indicators related to the socio-economic situation in that period of the century.<sup>22</sup>

Among them, the book “On Historical Documents and Publications of Azerbaijan” edited by academician Z. Bunyadov [17]<sup>23</sup> should be especially noted. The book collected valuable documents and archival materials concerning the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the totalitarian regime, the struggle of our people for their independence, the completeness of unjustified territorial claims of Armenian extremists.

---

<sup>22</sup> Azerbaijan's historical documents and publications / - Baku: Elm, - 1990. - 381 p.; Azerbaijan - 80: (1923-2003) [Text]: Bibliographic index / edited by A. Efendiyev - Baku: Chinar-Chap, - 2004. - 544 p.; Guliyev, J. Toward the history of the formation of the second Republic of Azerbaijan / J. Guliyev. - Baku: Elm, - 1997. - 163 p.; National economy of the Azerbaijan SSR to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. Jubilee status. Collection / - Baku: Azerbaijan State Publishing House, - 1982. - 468 p.; National economy of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1985. Statistical Yearbook / - Baku: Azerbaijan State Publishing House, - 1986. - 315 p.

<sup>23</sup> On historical documents and publications of Azerbaijan / - Baku: Elm, - 1990. - 381 p.

The book “Crimes against humanity of Armenian terrorist bands (XIX-XX centuries)”, published by the Institute of Human Rights and Law of ANAS, is based on numerous archival documents.<sup>24</sup> The work is of special importance in terms of exposing the deportation, genocide and terrorist acts that Armenian villains used against Azerbaijan and other Turks, as well as against the whole humanity during the last two hundred years.

It should also be noted that official state documents, laws of the Republic of Azerbaijan, orders and decrees of the head of state are important for a more extensive and fundamental study of the thesis topic.

**The scientific novelty of the research.** The novelty of the research consists in the following:

- Dissertation is the first work devoted to a comprehensive study of socio-political situation and processes in Azerbaijan in 1985-1991 in domestic historiography;
- Dissertation is written on the basis of attraction of rich factual, statistical and archival material in scientific periodical publication, it analyzed the socio-political situation in Azerbaijan, related events, made necessary generalizations;
- During the research, personalities who played an important role in the Azerbaijani national liberation movement were revealed, first of all, the exceptional merits of H. Aliyev;
- According to the dissertation, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, fully supported by the center, and Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan, based on new irrefutable facts, play a special role in aggravating the socio-political situation in the republic;
- Due to the geostrategic position and economic potential of Azerbaijan, the study focuses on the involvement of world states in the diplomatic struggle and their use of various means to realize their plans;
- The dissertation fully substantiates that the restoration of Azerbaijan's independence in 1991 was the inevitable result of our people's 70-year struggle against the Soviet empire;

---

<sup>24</sup> Crimes of Armenian terrorist and bandit groups against humanity (19th-21st centuries) / - Baku: Elm, - 2002. - 395 s.

- During the research, were sufficiently studied the tense socio-political and socio-economic processes that occurred in Azerbaijan, the national struggle for independence and the successful completion of the independence movement.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the study.** Based on the results of the research, the conclusion of the study provides a number of necessary recommendations and suggestions. The dissertation theoretically concretized and substantiated the goals and tasks that need to be implemented in the coming years after the restoration of national statehood.

From the materials of the dissertation:

- Writing scientific works on the history of Azerbaijan;
- Development of new tasks of effective and well-thought-out state policy of the Azerbaijani state in modern terms;  
In preparation of textbooks and lecture texts;
- “History of Azerbaijan”, “National statehood: historical traditions and prospects”, “Azerbaijan's foreign policy and issues of statehood”, “Azerbaijan's cooperation with international organizations”, etc. conducting special courses on specialties at higher school;
- Drafting of a new encyclopedic edition on “History of Azerbaijan”;
- The dissertation can be used in the preparation of new perspective concepts of national statehood, socio-economic and political development.
- In particular, we would like to note that the dissertation serves to fill a certain gap in the field of problems studied in the historiography of the Motherland. Results, provisions and factual material of the work can be utilized in writing general works on the history of Azerbaijan.
- Moreover, the results of the study and the substantiated recommendations can serve as a starting point for specialists who in future will study various aspects of this problem.

**Approbation and implementation.** The dissertation was discussed at the session of the Department of “History of Azerbaijan and the Peoples of Eastern Europe” of Sumgait State University on April 22, 2022, and recommended for defense. The key provisions highlighting the content of the study were reflected in the author's articles published in scientific editions recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission

of the Azerbaijan Republic and in his speeches at scientific conferences held in the scientific centers of the country.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation work was performed:** Sumgait State University.

**The total volume of the dissertation is indicated by specifying the volume of structural sections of the dissertation separately:** Introduction of the dissertation (11 pp., 20656), Chapter I (36 pp., 70348), Chapter II (52 pp., 101220), Chapter III (31 pp., 58714), Conclusion (5 pp., 9 023) and the total volume of the dissertation, including the list of used literature, is 156 pages, 259965 characters.

## **II. THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION**

In the first sub-chapter of the thesis titled **“Socio-economic Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR in the Mid-1980s”**, of the first chapter **“The Beginning of the Reconstruction Campaign and its Impact on the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR”**, is mentioned that the 1980s in the history of Azerbaijan in terms of socio-economic development differed from the previous decades and eras in many ways.

From this point of view, it is most important to consider the socio-economic spheres among the processes occurring in a different direction from the previous ones in the last 5-6 years on the eve of the collapse of the USSR.

Indicators of the socio-economic situation in the mid-1980s cannot be evaluated unequivocally. This was the period when during the leadership of H. Aliyev, started in 1969, a period of rise and revival of our history measured in millennia, the Azerbaijan SSR reached the most advanced level in the union in terms of basic socio-economic indicators.

Meanwhile, at that time, probably, it was impossible to assume that in 1983-1985, that is just within 2-3 years, after such dynamics of development and growth, the situation would change dramatically, and to be more precise, the level of socio-economic development would decrease. However, in each specific case there were certain changes and regressions in the main indicators of socio-economic development.

In the mid-1980s, in contrast to the dynamic development in the 1970s in the agrarian sector and in most spheres of industrial production of the republic, the negative economic trends, such as a decline in the

growth rate of production and a tangible decrease in the gross product, became more obvious.

*Overall agricultural production in 1990 amounted to 86.4% of the 1985 level.*<sup>25</sup> On the eve of the restoration of state independence, the economy of Azerbaijan as a whole was in crisis and gradually lost a significant part of its production potential.

Other reason for this situation “*after H. Aliyev's leaving Azerbaijan, who in November 1982 was appointed to one of the highest positions in the leadership of the Union - the post of First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers*”, was related to the activities of the leadership of the new republic.<sup>26</sup> Certainly, irrespective of his identity, the new leader, who stood at the helm of the Azerbaijan SSR, now spends most of his working day and in general time solving a variety of complex problems in all spheres of national economy, and not only from his office, but also in the districts, in the field, in the enterprises, it was impossible for H. Aliyev, spending his time in the field and in direct contact with the population, to repeat what had been achieved and continue the previous management course.

Since the middle of 80s, recession in all main spheres of economy caused serious negative tendencies in social sphere of life of the republic. The population's demand for food and non-food products was not fully satisfied. Early and mid-1980s basic foodstuffs in the cities of the republic were given out on coupons.

*“Based on 1990 data, Azerbaijan's 10.1 percent of the population had an aggregate income of more than 200 manats per person, which meant that the republic was 3 times behind the Union average, more than 3 times behind Georgia, and 2.7 times behind Armenia.*<sup>27</sup> “Thus, on the eve of the restoration of state independence, Azerbaijan gradually began to lose the powerful economic potential that it had acquired in the 70s and 80s.

---

<sup>25</sup> Nadirov, A. Development issues of the economy of independent Azerbaijan / A. Nadirov. - Baku: Elm, - 2001. - p.137.

<sup>26</sup> The gray fate of the Second Bagirov: [Electronic resource].  
[https://musavat.com/news/ikinci-bagirovun-boz-taleyi\\_92738.html](https://musavat.com/news/ikinci-bagirovun-boz-taleyi_92738.html)

<sup>27</sup> There again



Hence, after 12-13 years of development and progress, the indications of the period of stagnation that covered the whole Union at that time and their negative impact on socio-economic life were reflected in the Azerbaijan SSR as well.

In the second sub-section of this chapter, titled “Reconstruction Campaign and Its Initial Results”, the heavy consequences of M. Gorbachev's activities were analyzed in the name of political and economic reforms in the Azerbaijan SSR. After the 3- times change of the head of state in the Soviet empire called USSR, M. Gorbachev in March 1985 “took the post of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU”,<sup>28</sup> which was considered at that time as the first place in the management system of the union, at first sight did not promise anything controversial, but soon not only in the union, but also in the whole world, serious socio-economic and a little later political changes began.

The Azerbaijan SSR was subjected to various socio-political and economic influences during these years. Azerbaijan SSR turned out to be the biggest beneficiary of all political and economic reforms and amendments that occurred during this period.

The same is true of the situation in the system of governance in our republic. While over half of the party and Soviet personnel in the central party and state administration apparatus, as well as in most of the union republics, were renewed, the composition of the first and district party organizations and Soviet-economic bodies in the republic remained practically unchanged.

The entire activity of K. Bagirov up to his departure from power in 1988 was not associated with any serious, sensational steps or decisions. As we mentioned above, at the first stage of “restructuring/reconstruction” there were serious personnel changes in the central structures of the party and state administration, but the situation in this area practically did not change in the republic.

Unfortunately, we note once again that at the first stage of “restructuring/reconstruction” the inertia of the republican leadership of

---

<sup>28</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikası 1991-2001 / - Bakı: XXI- New Publications House, - 2001. - s.59.

the Azerbaijan SSR, careless supervision and other factors led to the fact that the opportunities offered by the initiated economic and political reforms were not utilized, even if they were insignificant.

In spite of the position of the head of the republic and officials, our intellectuals are trying to use the opportunities provided by the new political changes, though with difficulty, overcoming the difficulties caused by the continuing strict requirements of the censorship, writing articles to some newspapers and sometimes directly to the leadership of the republic.<sup>29</sup>

The comparison of the positions of republican officials and the public in terms of raising the decades-old problems of the republic and taking the initiative to solve them revealed that the second party had a certain active influence in contrast to the wait-and-see and passive position of the first party. This situation created a contrast with the first party's slowness in utilizing its capabilities and official powers, perhaps because it was reluctant of doing so, and the fact that the second party did not have real, official powers to implement them, despite the fact that the second party's goals and intentions were aimed at serving the national interest.

It was impossible to conduct serious public discussions of reforms in management, production and other spheres in those years, at least it was not discussed. Development of a set of measures of perspective national economic character was only in the competence of the government of Azerbaijan SSR and within its capabilities as a result of specific calculations, broad comparisons and analyses, highlighting of republic-wide problems before the center, but this did not happen.

In the first subsection of the second chapter titled **“The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict and the Beginning of the People's Movement** of the second chapter of the dissertation titled **'The Nagorno-Karabakh Problem. Strengthening of the popular movement’** stated that from the beginning of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to the 44-day Patriotic

---

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Rauf Amir oglu Huseynov, senior researcher of the Institute of History of EA Azerbaijan, professor, to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan A. Vazirov. Vazirov. 27. 12. 1989 // Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, fund No. 1, list No. 84, case No. 212, sheet - 288-292.

War, victoriously ended on September 27-November 10, 2020, the authors of hundreds of books, monographs and other scientific works on this problem believe that the beginning of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict escalated the socio-political situation in the republic as a whole, took it to a critical level, thus influencing the acceleration of the struggle for independence, which led to the restoration of state independence.

While the administration of the republic, which was supposed to timely and promptly interfere in the course of events, immediately take urgent and necessary measures, instead of preventing the events and taking preventive steps, as was previously accepted, waited for orders from the center. *“Armenian nationalists in Nagorno-Karabakh have raised the issue of separating Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and transferring it to Armenia. “Unfortunately, the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan treated this issue very indifferently, did not realize its responsibility and thus let the situation out of control.”*<sup>30</sup>

In our opinion, these words were the most accurate assessment of the mood in the republic in late 1987 - early 1988 years and, frankly, the inactivity of the governing bodies. However, at the same time and later in Kazakhstan, the Baltic States and other republics there were not infrequent cases of serious criticism at the level of republican leadership of the center's positions contrary to national interests.

On February 20, 1988, at the session of the regional council, the majority of Armenian deputies voted to transfer the region from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. “Appropriate appeals were sent to the Supreme Soviets in Baku, Yerevan and Moscow”.<sup>31</sup>

At that time, it was possible to prevent the situation from further out of control by the forces of human rights organizations under the leadership of the republic, internal troops and other structures. But it did not happen. It was bitter truth to realize it 33 years later.

The main participants or figures of the ongoing socio-political processes are not the leadership of Azerbaijan, which is to influence and manage the situation in the republic, but masses of people, who are the

---

<sup>30</sup>Aliyev Ilham. Development is our goal: [in 105 volumes] / I. Aliyev. - Baku: Azernashr, - One hundred and third book. May 2020 - June 2020. - 2020, - pp. 62-63.

<sup>31</sup> Pompeyev, Y. The Bloody Maelstrom of Karabakh / Y. Pompeyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1992. - c.27.

main participants of spontaneous rallies and crowds in Baku and other cities and regions, and who look for a solution to the crisis situation, even our intellectuals have put forward some reasonable proposals. These three forces could unite and take the situation under control, reduce the crisis consequences of the events and even put an end to separatism in the provinces.

The first step taken by the center to divert public attention away from the events taking place in Daghlig Garabagh was to give its “blessing” to the beginning of the closing stage of the eviction or deportation of Azerbaijanis living in the Armenian SSR from our historical lands. As a result, in the first months of the events “in connection with the events taking place in *Daghlig Garabagh and its vicinity*, 33,942 families expelled from the Armenian SSR, 160,875 Azerbaijanis were registered in the republic and temporarily resettled in 50 cities and districts of the republic”.<sup>32</sup>

The “emergence of the Sumgayit events in February 1988”<sup>33</sup>, which became the next step in a series of actions aimed at diverting Azerbaijan's attention from the situation in Karabakh, was the next step in the scenario of events prepared in advance and secretly by the special services of the Union.

It would be relevant to cite Ilham Aliyev's opinion on the essence and roots of this event. Claiming that the scenario of the Sumgayit tragedy was prepared well in advance with the participation of Armenian nationalists and their patrons in the center, I. Aliyev stated that “*the goal was to cause disturbances and then declare that Daghlig Garabagh could not remain as part of Azerbaijan*”.<sup>34</sup>

At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan held on May 21, 1988, Moscow achieved another insidious goal and replaced the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan K. Baghirov with A. Vazirov, who had

---

<sup>32</sup> On the work carried out to settle refugees from the Armenian SSR and compensation for material damage caused to them // State Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund No. 411, list No. 56, work No. 27, p - 241.

<sup>33</sup> Ismayilov, A. Sumgait - the process of the beginning of the collapse of the USSR / A. Ismayilov. Baku: Chaşoĝu, - 2010. - p.11.

<sup>34</sup> See page 65, Ibid.

already been living outside Azerbaijan for many years ostensibly due to deteriorating health. It was officially stated that “the Politburo discussed the issue of candidacy for the position of the *First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and recommended to elect A. Vazirov to this position*”.<sup>35</sup>

As mentioned above, at the same time the change of leadership of the Armenian SSR also served the goal of accelerating the plan to separate the region from Azerbaijan.

A. Vazirov successfully fulfilled the mission entrusted to him. As a result, it was possible at least for a while to divert the attention of the population from the demand to solve the problem of Daghlig Garabagh.

“Expansion of the People's Movement” “The Square Movement.” in the second sub-chapter states that the failure to use the opportunities and means to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh could not remain without results. In this situation our intellectuals were the most worried.

It should be admitted that despite the appearance of exciting new news from the provinces in those days, it was still not possible to organize the people's protest movement and unite it into a united front. In this case, the role of a trigger could have been played by the most ordinary, but ordinary event, in which it is important to express any strong attitude. It did not take long for this to happen.

*“The destruction of a forest near the town of Shusha by the Armenian administration of Topkhana province and the construction of an industrial facility there has fundamentally changed the situation.”*<sup>36</sup>

However, now, perhaps at first glance, this ordinary event united hundreds of thousands of people in just a few days, turning public demonstrations into a more organized force.

These months can be regarded as a time when the democratic movement, the activism of the masses, intensified and took on the

---

<sup>35</sup> Materials of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan of May 21, 1988 // Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund No. 1, list No. 83, case No. 7, sheet - 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> Agayev Nasir. About the square movement: [Electronic resource] <https://azrefs.org/elman-ceferli-tebriz-agayev.html?page=5>

character of national freedom. One of the characteristic features of this stage was the transformation of spontaneous demonstrations into a massive, gradually expanding, controlled organized force.

It is relevant to mention an incident that had serious impact on the progress of the people's movement in public activities here. Seeing the excessive tension of the situation in Azerbaijan on June 18, 1988, Moscow resorted to a new trick. M. Gorbachev stated at a meeting-show in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that “the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR temporarily applies a special form of governance in NKAR on condition that Nagorno-Karabakh is preserved as an autonomous region within the Azerbaijan SSR in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR”.<sup>37</sup>

This signified a gross violation of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR. Unfortunately, there were many at the meeting of those who said that the decision taken was in favor of Azerbaijan, who realized that the issue was resolved fairly, what was behind this insidious step, and very few who assessed it as another dangerous step in the course of a great tragedy that would lead to the violation of our territorial integrity.

A group of intellectuals began working in mid-1988 to create an organization to lead the people's movement. “*At the end of 1988, the Azerbaijan Popular Front (APF) was created.*”<sup>38</sup> The creation of the ANC was a sign of the strengthening of a kind of political and socio-political activism in Azerbaijan. The ANC represented a force capable of controlling the involuntary popular movement and directing it to solve the most important problems of the country. However, some difficulties at that time, including artificial obstacles created the regime and other reasons hindered the effective activity of the organization.

With the situation in Daghlig Garabagh deteriorating day by day, we remembered a new stage of the people's movement - “*The real liberation of Baku, which was considered as the stage that lasted from November 17 to December 5, 1988, and the holding of many years of*

---

<sup>37</sup> Minutes of the meeting of the party activists of the party organization of the republic. January 13, 1989 // Archive of Political Documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund No. 1, List No. 84, Case No. 161, Sheet - 6.

<sup>38</sup> Balayev Aydin., Mirza Rasim. The events of January 20. Documents, positions, comments (1990-2000). Baku: Çəşioğlu, - 2000. - p.17.

*rallies of the Azerbaijani people on Lenin Square*”<sup>39</sup> with a significant increase in the social and political activity of the population.

The situation that happened at the first Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in Moscow in the spring of 1989 was the opposite of the situation we mentioned.<sup>40</sup>

It was a serious political irresponsibility that our deputies participating in the Congress, with the exception of a few people, demonstrated a complete inability to refute the Armenian slander. Unlike our deputies, ordinary citizens strongly condemned the appeals of Armenian nationalists and called on the country's leadership to take urgent measures. However, the appeals of the Azerbaijani leadership to Moscow with suggestions to settle the situation, our intellectuals, “countless letters of complaint from tens of thousands of citizens about the violation of law in the region” were ignored.<sup>41</sup>

Undoubtedly, the situation that seriously troubled people throughout 1989 was the fact that A. Vazirov took a completely different path, while the power structures still had opportunities to solve the most discussed and divisive problems in the course of the people's movement. Consequently, no practical steps were taken to achieve public or civil solidarity that could have forced Moscow to change the content of its unofficial plans for Nagorno-Karabakh. Instead, attempts were made to divert public attention from the main problem by creating divisions between the ordinary participants of the popular movement, society and the organizations represented in it.

In the first sub-chapter titled **“The Attempts to Strangle the People's Movement.” “Bloody January.”** of the third chapter of the dissertation, headed **“Attempts by the Union leadership to strangle the national liberation movement in Azerbaijan and the strengthening of the struggle for independence”**. stated that on January 8, 1990, at the

---

<sup>39</sup> Restoration and maintenance of state independence: [Electronic resource] [http://republic.preslib.az/az\\_a3.html](http://republic.preslib.az/az_a3.html)

<sup>40</sup> Pompeyev, Y. *Bloody swirl of Karabakh* / Y. Pompeyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - 1992. - c.110.

<sup>41</sup> The appeal of Azerbaijani citizens to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR with a request to deprive Armenian nationalist Z. Balayan of his mandate // Archive of political documents of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan, fund No. 1, list No. 84, case No. 217, sheet - 1-53.

meeting of party-economic activists convened to discuss the situation in the republic, Prime Minister G. Hasanov openly criticized A. Vazirov and declared that *“the nation has no faith in the center, and the same is true for us. The nation sees in each of us an official who prefers to follow the instructions of the center without negotiations rather than serve the interests of the people”*.<sup>42</sup>

Recognizing that threat of protest meetings in the republic could aggravate the situation in the republic and lead to undesirable processes that would concern Moscow, the Union government finally “abolished the CEC in Nagorno-Karabakh” on November 28, 1989. *The management of the region was assigned to the Organizing Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR under the control of the Special Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR*.<sup>43</sup>

This Moscow's step could perhaps be regarded as a success of the people's movement. However, it was too late, the CEC had fulfilled its mission to the end, and the NKAR was removed from governing Azerbaijan.

This situation was the beginning of the last stages of preparation for the January tragedy, which was the most difficult and bitter in the course of realization of the center's plans for a serious attack on the people's movement.

The tragedy of January 20, 1990, was essentially a mass murder of our people by Soviet military units, which was a consequence of the policy of the country's leadership to patronize the criminal actions of Armenians, which started with territorial claims, instead of preventing them.

Some authors in Armenian and Russian historiography blame the leadership of the republic and law enforcement agencies for the tragedy and claim that *“the tragedy happened through their fault, hundreds of Baku Armenians were killed”*.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Black January. - Baku - 1990: Documents and materials / - Baku: Azerneshr, - 1990. - c.55-56.

<sup>43</sup> Restoration and maintenance of state independence: [Electronic resource] [http://republic.preslib.az/az\\_a3.html](http://republic.preslib.az/az_a3.html)

<sup>44</sup> Zhirokhov, M. Seeds of disintegration: wars and conflicts in the former USSR. / M. Zhirokhov. - St. Petersburg: BHV - Petersburg, - 2012. - c.23.



These opinions are absolutely impossible to agree with. The holders of these opinions jointly go to the point that in February 1988, in the province, in the Armenian SSR, killings of innocent, peaceful people began, but no legal significance was given to these crimes, and even the number of those killed was deliberately understated.

It should also note that the center, which was more aware of the situation on the eve of the tragedy, was an interested party in its occurrence. This provocation is connected to the fact that Moscow, fearing the expansion of the popular movement in Azerbaijan, is interested in “preventing” the situation from getting out of control, and the main “culprit” in creating a difficult situation in the republic is the intention to “gag” the popular movement, which can block the plan of “unification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia” as a real force.

In the evening of January 19, despite the repeated promises of 3 Union ministers in the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic, M. Gorbachev signed a decree *“On introduction of emergency situation in Baku city” from 00:00 hours of January 20 without the consent of the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan*<sup>45</sup> and the bloody massacre began.

*“By the decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan from January 5, 1994, it was recommended to Milli Majlis to give a full political and legal assessment of the events of January 20. By the decision of Milli Majlis of March 29, 1994, a political and legal assessment was given to the tragic events of January 20, 1990”*<sup>46</sup> and the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of January 19, 1990, was considered an act of aggression against the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR. The actions of high-ranking officials of the USSR who ordered the execution of this decree, resulting in the deaths and injuries of hundreds of people in Baku and its vicinity, were treated as a crime against the Azerbaijani people.

The historical and political significance of the January tragedy is very significant, and it is important even today to focus attention on it, to

---

<sup>45</sup> Black January. - Baku - 1990: Documents and materials / - Baku: Azerneshr, - 1990. - c.55-56.

<sup>46</sup> Aliyev, H. Azerbaijan at the crossroads of the 21st century and the third millennium. //Proclamation to the people of Azerbaijan in connection with the new year 2001, the new century and the third millennium. December 29, 2000 / H. Aliyev. - Baku: XXI - House of New Publications, - 2001. - p.23.

realize the implications of its essence, in terms of new prospects for preserving and strengthening our independence.

In the second subsection of the final chapter of the dissertation, titled **“The final stage of the path of restoration of state independence”**, it is mentioned that the bloody massacres committed by the leaders of the Soviet empire could not shake the people's determination to fight and, just as in the spring of 1918, the only way to save the people from similar future calamities was fully determined by the goal - to achieve the restoration of our independence as a path.

After the tragedy *“Great Leader Heydar Aliyev, who came to Azerbaijan's representation in Moscow on January 21, 1990, shared the grief of our people, exposed the bloody actions conducted by the red regime in our country, which became support and consolation for our people at that time. The nation felt that it was not helpless in those difficult days”*.<sup>47</sup> The statement of the Great Leader, made on this day, as the beginning of the last stage of the road to state independence, shed a kind of bright light on the course of this road.

In the statement of Moscow, the reasons for the tragedy were analyzed and it was demonstrated once again that the tragedy was a gross political mistake committed through the equal fault of Moscow and the leadership of the republic.

The most important change in the political mood after the tragedy was that *“on January 24, Moscow elected Ayaz Mutallibov, who won the struggle for power by all means, instead of A. Vazirov, who had secretly fled the republic.”*<sup>48</sup>

On May 18, 1990, the election of Ayaz Mutallibov as the first president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which had already justified Moscow's “demands” after the January tragedy, was not an unexpected event.<sup>49</sup>

It is necessary to note that all the successes of the people's movement on the last stage of the path to independence were related to

---

<sup>47</sup> Aliyev Ilham. Development is our goal: December 2015 - February 2016. [105 volumes] / I. Aliyev. - Baku: Azernashr, - Seventy-second book. December 2015 - February 2016. - 2018, - p.128.

<sup>48</sup> Restoration and maintenance of state independence: [Electronic resource] [http://republic.preslib.az/az\\_a3.html](http://republic.preslib.az/az_a3.html)

<sup>49</sup> Gasimli M. 20 years of Azerbaijan's independence: formation of foreign policy (1991-2003) // Aina. - 2011. - September 10. - p. 19.

the name and activity of the Great Leader H. Aliyev. Upon H. Aliyev's return to Baku on July 20, 1990, utilizing his political experience, he offered the government his assistance in eliminating the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and mobilizing all popular forces around this goal, but definite forces both in the government and in the opposition, front were not willing because they would have been overshadowed by their personality, political jealousy or other unreasonable reasons.

H. Aliyev, forced to return from Baku to Nakhichevan as a deputy of the Nakhichevan MSSR and Azerbaijan SSR, initiated and led the effective work in those days.

Following the insistent demands of the population of Nakhchivan, *“the effects and consequences of the political changes started here after the election of the national leader as Chairman of the Supreme Assembly of the Nakhchivan MR on September 3, reached Baku soon”*.<sup>50</sup>

There is one point which we would like to raise here. Whereas after the proclamation of the APC *“following the movement from Tiflis to Ganja on June 16, 1918”*,<sup>51</sup> the independence movement and the flag of independence came from Ganja to Baku, nowadays, after appeals and initiatives of H. Aliyev, our tricolor flag, a symbol of freedom and independence, stands on its way to Baku started from Nakhchivan.

One more important event occurred in those days. On February 5, 1991, the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, considering the urgent demands of the democratic forces and the people's movement, excluded the words Soviet and socialist from the name of the republic - this was not an ordinary event, but a reflection of the new political reality in Azerbaijani society. *“From that day on, the name of our State was changed to “Azerbaijan Republic”*”.<sup>52</sup>

The Declaration “On restoration of the state independence of the Azerbaijan Republic” was adopted on August 30, 1991, at the

---

<sup>50</sup> Mammadov M. Heydar Aliyev's Nakhchivan period of political activity // Azerbaijan. - 2008, - August 3, - p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Amrahov, M. National liberation movement in Azerbaijan in XX century / M. Amrahov. - Baku: ADPU, - 2009. - p.138.

<sup>52</sup> Restoration and maintenance of state independence: [Electronic resource] [http://republic.preslib.az/az\\_a3.html](http://republic.preslib.az/az_a3.html)

extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet after heated discussions at the insistence of democratic forces.<sup>53</sup>

The Declaration became an important program document in the history of the national liberation movement in Azerbaijan, it brought our people one step closer to the sacred act we had been waiting since 1920. *Acceptance of the law at the regular session of the Supreme Soviet on October 18, 1991, which definitively meant the restoration of state independence, brought our people a long-awaited history.*<sup>54</sup> “The acquisition of state independence by the Azerbaijan Republic became a necessary result of the socio-political processes taking place in the former Soviet Union and throughout the world since the first half of the 1980s.”

On December 8, 1990, three Slavic republics - the Russian Federation, the Republic of Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus - announced their resignation from the Union and created the Commonwealth of Independent States, which actually meant “*the collapse of the USSR as a logical result of the political game that began from the beginning of M. Gorbachev's rule*”.<sup>55</sup>

Azerbaijan's independence was once again formalized and became “irreversible”, “eternal”. This event has marked the beginning of a new bright, free, independent period of development in the history of the nation. This event marked the beginning of a new bright, free, liberated period of development in the history of our people - the period of independence when the independence of Azerbaijan was formalized.

In the part of “**Conclusion**” of the dissertation systematized and summarized the main conclusions made in the course of the study.

The research has shown that the first results of the campaign on the "reconstruction" of the Azerbaijan SSR were ambiguous and contradictory. In the first years of the campaign, due to the passive,

---

<sup>53</sup> Aliyev, H. Azerbaijan at the crossroads of the 21st century and the third millennium. //An appeal to the people of Azerbaijan on the occasion of the new year 2001, the new century and the third millennium. December 29, 2000 / H. Aliyev. - Baku: XXI - House of New Publications, - 2001. - pp. 28-29.

<sup>54</sup> Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the twentieth anniversary of the restoration of state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan. January 21, 2011. [http://e-ganun.gov.az/alpdata/framework/data/21/f\\_21170.htm](http://e-ganun.gov.az/alpdata/framework/data/21/f_21170.htm)

<sup>55</sup> Yunusov, A. Karabakh: Past and Present / A. Yunusov. Baku: Institute for Peace and Democracy, - p.36

inactive position of the republic's leadership, the opportunities provided by the reforms that covered the spheres of social and political life were not even utilized to a greater or lesser extent.

It was found that the leadership of the union decided to create national conflict and enmity between the nations, which had been used for decades as the main method of attack to weaken and suppress the national liberation movement, which formed new manifestations towards the Azerbaijan SSR.

It was established that however many years we talk about the tragedy of January 20, however many times we analyze the subtleties and consequences of the tragedy, there will always be a need to return to this issue repeatedly. Because today Azerbaijan is independent and is both the owner and defender of its lands and destiny. However, the attempts of some neighbouring states to stay in the region and strengthen themselves here again, using national relations and other factors, continue.

Therefore, the conclusions from the processes and events investigated in the thesis show once again that all attempts against our statehood and independence can be prevented only if all the people, regardless of their affiliation, profession, nationality, unite in a united front around the idea of the supremacy of our national interests and the inviolability of our state independence.

**Core content of the dissertation is reflected on the following published scientific works of the author:**

1. Deportation of Azerbaijanis from Armenia in 1988-1991 and its impact on the socio-political situation in the Azerbaijan SSR. Ethnic deportations: history and modernity. International scientific conference. December 17-18, 2020. Sumgayit State University. 2020. - pp. 242-247.
2. Starting of the national movement for the independence of the state // History, Man and Society. Scientific-theoretical and scientific-methodical journal. - 2021, 1 (31). - pp. 42-53.
3. Political regime's efforts to suppress the people's movement on the eve of the tragedy of January 20 // History and its problems. - 2021. № 2. - c. 163-166.
4. The struggle of labor union leadership against the people's movement on the eve of the restoration of state independence of

Azerbaijan // History, Man and Society. Scientific-theoretical and scientific-methodical journal. - 2021, 2 (32). - pp. 61-73.

5. Campaign "Reconstruction" and its first results in the Azerbaijan SSR // Izvestiya BSU. - 2021., c. 162-168.

6. New moments in the tragedy of January 20, 1990 // Litopis Volini. All-Ukrainian scientific journal. Founded in 2001. Issue 25. - 2021. - p.79-84.

7. Heydar Aliyev and the Restoration of State Independence of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan Republic 1991-2021: Restoration of state independence, economic and socio-cultural development. Republican scientific conference. Sumgayit 2021, October 14-15. p. p. 63-66

8. The last stage of the path towards the restoration of Azerbaijan's state independence. 5th International Conference on History and Culture. August 17, 2021 / Ankara - Turkey. - p. 83-89.

9. The criminal role of the USSR leadership in the outbreak of the Daghlig Garabagh war. Sumgayit State University. Scientific News. Sumgayit. 2022 № 1 (8) - c. 59-64.

10. Restoration policy of the USSR and the path to Azerbaijan's independence. Materials of the XXI Republican Scientific Conference of doctoral students and young scientists. Baku. 2017, October 24-25, pp. 11-12.

11. The hypocrisy of the special management committee during the Daghlig Garabagh conflict. Sumgayit State University. Materials of XXIV republican scientific conference of doctoral students and young scientists. Sumgayit. 2021, November 23-24, pp. 167-169.

12. Daghlig Garabagh conflict and the start of the people's movement. Sumgayit State University. History of Karabakh: political, economic, cultural aspects. Sumgayit, March 17-18, 2022, pp. 109-114



Dissertation defense on February, 12 2025 at 12<sup>00</sup> Baku State University ED functioning. It will be held at the meeting of the Dissertation Council No. 2.20.

Address: Az. 1143, Baku city, Z. Khalilov street 23

The dissertation is available in the Scientific Library of BSU.

The electronic versions of the dissertation and the abstract are uploaded on the official website of Baku State University.

The abstract was sent to the necessary addresses on December, 29 2024.

Signed for print: 04.12.2024  
Paper format: 60x84<sup>1/16</sup>  
Volume: 55481  
Circulation: 30