













**«TURKIY XALQLARNING MA'NAVIY** INTEGRATSIYASI: TILI, ADABIYOTI, **MADANIYATI» MAVZUSIDAGI II XALQARO ILMIY-NAZARIY KONFERENSIYA** 

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# «TURKIY XALQLARNING MA'NAVIY INTEGRATSIYASI: TILI, ADABIYOTI, MADANIYATI»

MAVZUSIDAGI II XALQARO ILMIY-NAZARIY KONFERENSIYA MATERIALLARI

**TOSHKENT - 2025** 



Mazkur ilmiy maqolalar toʻplamida «Turkiy xalqlarning ma'naviy adabiyoti. madaniyati» II Xalgaro integratsiyasi: tili. ilmiv-amaliv konferensiyasi materiallari jamlangan. Maqolalarda turkiy tillarning rivoji va oʻzaro oʻxshashliklarini, umumiy adabiy merosimizni ilmiy asosda chuqur o'rganish; madaniy aloqalarni zamonaviy texnologiyalar orqali kengaytirish; tarjima va adabiy almashinuv orgali xalqaro miqyosda muloqotni kuchaytirish; raqamli platformalar orqali integratsiyani amalga oshirishga oid fikrlar yoritib berilgan. Toʻplamdan dunyo boʻyicha taniqli turkiyshunos olimlar, metodistlar, oʻqituvchilar hamda ToshDOʻTAU iqtidorli talabalarining maqolalari ham oʻrin olgan.

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## THE AIM OF AZERBAIJANISM AND DISSIDENTISM IN KHALIL RZA **ULUTURK'S ARTISTIC CREATIVITY**

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#### **Abstract**

Khalil Rza Uluturk fought for the freedom of the Azerbaijani people with his poetry and socio-political activities, at the same time he was known as one of the active representatives of the national independence movement. In the article the manifestation of the ideas of azerbaijanism, glorification and promotion of the national values, motifs of opposition to the regime that have risen to dissidentism on the paths of affirmation of national existence in Khalil Rza Uluturk's poetry are investigated. Despite the ideological pressure of the Soviet regime, the poet presented the ideas of national freedom and independence as the main leitmotif of his poetry. In Khalil Rza Uluturk's poems call for the protection of azerbaijanism, national identity, language and cultural values are accompanied by provocative expressions. In his activity the skillful elaboration of the "Aesopian language" and the unity of the dissident spirit with the means of artistic expression are clearly noticeable. The facts given from the poet's diary and biography in the article serve to illustrate his image of a dissident more fully.

**Keywords:** Dissidentism, provocative poetry, a sense of individual "myself", the aim of Azerbaijanism, the struggle for the native language.



#### Introduction

Khalil Rza Uluturk fought for the freedom of the Azerbaijani people with his poetry and socio-political activities, at the same time he was known as one of the active representatives of the national independence movement. The poet, who was constantly persecuted in Soviet times, at the end of the regime, during the events of January 20, 1990, was arrested for opposing the despicable policy of the empire and held as a political prisoner in the famous "Lefortovo Prison" in Moscow. He continued his activity even during his days in prison, remained committed to his fight against the crimes committed by the empire and did not regret for it. He declared the inviolability of his will for freedom with some verses such as "Not only prison, punishment... Not even with death at all / My freedom can't be taken away from me!" (8, p. 173).

Throughout his life, Khalil Rza Uluturk was a militant poet who fought for national existence and resisted the pressure of the Soviet regime. Great leader Heydar Aliyev speaking about the dissident movement in Azerbaijan during the 1960s and 1970s years "Khalil Rza is remembered as one of the great dissidents" (1, p. 328). Highly appreciating the role of the first three poets, awarded the Order of Independence in the Republic of Azerbaijan such as Bakhtiyar Vahabzade, Mammad Araz and Khalil Rza Uluturk, in the struggle for national independence, the National Leader said: "Khalil Rza was at the forefront of the Azerbaijani people's struggle for national freedom, rose to this struggle and became an example to our youth as a scientist, a poet and a respected person. He has always lived with the feelings of independence of Azerbaijan, spent a conscious part of his life to achieve it and rendered great services" (1, p. 148).

# The main part

In 1960 Khalil Rza wrote the famous poem "Freedom" against the deceptive imperial policy of the Soviet regime, exposing the veiled nature of colonialism:

"I don't want freedom, gram by gram, grain by grain.

I have to break this steel chain with my teeth!

I don't want freedom as a drug, as a medicine,

I want it as the sun, as the earth, as the heavens!

Step, step aside, you, invader!

I am the loud voice of this land!

I don't need a puny spring,

*I am thirsting for oceans!"* (7, p. 70)

Such a poem, with its obvious purpose, could not have been published without circumventing Soviet censorship. Then the poet Ayaz Vafali, who worked in the newspaper "Literature and art" remembered that: "... no press organ dared to publish it. G.Gasimzade changed the name of the poem with the title "Africa's voice" and published it" (4, pp. 22-23). The poet-literary critic Gasim Gasimzade, who was also an ardent patriot, wrote about this in 1993: "Back in the sixtieth year, when I was the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Literature and art" Khalil's poems such as "... I don't want freedom, gram by gram, grain by grain...", I also internally perceived the reprimand of the



governing bodies as a reward for publishing his poems..." (5, p. 471). The name of the poem, its exposing essence, the determination of the lyrical hero to fight. his "loud voice", his "thirst" for freedom, although the goal seemed to change, caused a great resonance in a wide audience of readers. In general, the poem, first published under the title "Voice of Africa" occupied a symbolic place in the poet's activity, passing through his poetry under various names as a leitmotif. As shown by the literary critic Alizade Asgarli: "... The poetic searches of the 1960s largely clarified the sources of Kh.Rza's ideal and manifested the ideas of Turkism, patriotism, freedom and independence. In the poem "Voice of Africa" (1960) (later "The poet's voice", "Azerbaijan's voice", "Voice of people", "My voice")" the meaning capacity of the idea of freedom, its poetic intonation, means of expression, the human "myself" is strongly expressed" (3, p. 162).

Khalil Rza, who was pressured for his poems, had to resort to the "Aesopian" language" in his later work, in his poems of the 1960s and 1970s, he expresses his irreconcilable position and rebellious spirit towards the regime with more indirect points of view. The poet who showed his attitude to some different people's struggle for freedom in his poems such as in his poem "Homeland or Death" (1960-1962) to the Cuban people's, in the peom "Letter to the Kurdish People" (1963) to the Kurdish people, in the poems "Vietnam", "Get Out of Vietnam!" (1966-1968), "March of anger", "Vietnamese Girl Hanoi Baby" (1990) to the Vietnamese people, in the poem "Two arabs, two paths" (1977) to the Palestinian people, at the same time he made the voice of his people heard among the lines, writing down their feelings of protest: "The types of conquest have changed a bit in the 20th century / Now, conquerors bring not only wealth and gifts, / But also spirituality. / Our homeland is a blessing / It also tears the feeling of homeland from the minds! / From the hearts!.." ("Extortionists", 9, p. 334).

Khalil Rza Uluturk's militant poet character, his consistent struggle for the national goal and the ideal of azerbaijanism is reflected not only in his poetry, but also in his diaries, which he wrote during his lifetime. The poet's researcher Alizade Asgarli in the monograph "Khalil Rza Uluturk's poetics" (3) on the base of the "The poet's archive. During 1962-1994 years", including the poet's diaries, studies the bitter pages of the biography of the dissident poet persecuted by the regime.

The poem "Lenin's policy", based on Khalil Rza's self-defense intentions, was also a means of "Aesopian language" in the poet's activity. "There is almost no direct glorification of the Soviet system in Khalil Rza's poetry" (3, p. 184). Even in his poems such as "The Flag of Great Days", "My Sun", "Humanity and Lenin", "This Party", etc., which at first glance are about the praise and propaganda of the Soviet country, its structure, Lenin's teachings and the Communist Party, the poet, basing on Lenin's speech and the party, stands guard over values such as humanism, justice, homeland, truth and language, as if he was taking the opponent's weapon from his hands. In the 1970 variant of the poem "This Party" during the description of historical facts voiced from Lenin's



language, the poet declares his truth to the reader: "To live on the highest peaks, like Lenin! / To be able to love the Earth, the sky, the world, my homeland, my native country, glorious native language like Lenin! Neither silence, / nor bowing down, / nor retreating!" (7, p. 14). Or in the poem "My Weapon", written in 1979, the lyrical hero in his daily struggle for his truth, armed with the name Lenin, the Lenin password, completes his last goal with an enlightened ideal such as "I destroy all the hardships. / I go with Lenin / to the native-speaking tomorrow!" (7, p. 12).

National self-consciousness, the sense of freedom, the spirit of struggle are constant attributes in Khalil Rza's poem. At the first stage of his activity, these aspects appear in the poet's works in the form of attachment to the native hearth, expression of national-spiritual being, irreconcilability to any kind of alienation and estrangement. Khalil Rza came to literature in the 1950s, during a period of sharp criticism of the relatively "softening" of the Soviet regime, the era of the cult of Stalin's personality. In his poems such as "My Fatherland, My Father's Home" (1957), "Smile" (1958), "Friendship" (1958), "Father's hands" and others like as "the poems of 50s years" fatherly honor, maternal love, parental advice, feelings of friendship and loyalty to native land form the national and spiritual character of the poet's lyrical hero.

The lyrical poem "Floods carried Sara away" was written after the work "Gulustan" by B.Vahabzadeh and despite the persecutions faced by its author, he continued bravely the topic by accusing the perpetrators of the division of the Azerbaijani people in two, saying, "The Contract "Gulustan" was written / Thousands of beautiful gardens of my country were destroyed..." (11, p. 92).

The poem, which begins with sad and painful lyrical notes, referring to a folk song, suddenly changes its focus and becomes rooted in a tone of protest and anger: "Who says that the floods carried away Sara / Hands reaching out to my homeland took her from the Shahenshah's garden, from the Winter Palace/..." (11, p.91). As the rich wealth of the country, its mysterious beauty, unique geography, ancient historical and cultural monuments evokes pride and inspiration in the poet's poetic description, at the same time in the eyes of the usurper leads to jealousy and occupation: "On one side the Shah of Shahs and on the other the Tsar wrote the peace decree in blood. / They wrapped the wounds of a great nation with barbed wire..." (11, p. 92). Comparing the situation of Azerbaijan with the poet Fuzuli's grief such as "On the night of separation, my soul aches, my eyes bleed..." the poet, remembering his longing, ends the work with notes of protest-rebellion and hope-belief "The heart is a prisoner, the homeland is a prison, Where are Babek and Javanshir?":

"No longing, no anguish,

*Let there be a united Azerbaijan!* 

Let it unite, let it be one soul,

Both that shore and this shore!" (11, p. 93).

The Azerbaijani train, which made its way to the South in 1959 with the poem "Othe train goes along Araz River" by Khalil Rza, never stopped, but



accelerated even more. Reworking the poem, the poet tuned the calm-painful, tragic-languid notes to a sharper, emotional, evocative-spirited harmony: "The train is moving, carrying its anger with the winds, / The thunder is breathing into the lightning..." ("The train goes", 11, p. 103-105).

In the poem "When someone passes through the region Mehri..." (1989) by Kh.Rza, the poet again appeals to the image of the train. Describing the Karabakh events, including the stone-pelting and shooting of a train passing through Mehri, in realistic colors such as "Steaming, pure, warm blood flowed across the floor...", "My copybook, pen, book and table are in blood..." (10, p. 279), the poet sharply accuses those - Igidyans, Dedemyans, Balayans, Henrikh Baroviks, Igor Belyayevs - who started and incited the Karabakh conflict and reveals their innermost feelings. The pain of the North and the South is reflected in this poem: "The train is going, the train is passing through the wires. / The train passes through the wound of the country called Araz..." (10, p. 279). However, Khalil Rza does not intend to stigmatize the Araz River or dwell on its troubles, its.

However, Khalil Rza does not intend to stigmatize River Araz or to dwell on the troubles, his lyric "myself" says that: "Die on the rails, get out, black ghost, / Don't be a hindrance to my train..." (10, p. 281), he maintains the image of a brave man hardened in struggles:

"I am the stream of history that comes from behind the eras, Get out, oh darkness, I'm a train of light!" (10, p. 281)

The poet is optimistic, his "train of light" heralds tomorrow, just as it came from antiquity. He finishes one of the poems with the following words: "Turkan, the last quarter of the 20th century, Kazan-Darband-Baku-Tabriz-Tehran ... train" ("Don't be afraid, don't be afraid", 11, p. 117). In the poem called "Our power is unshakable" dedicated to the 1988 square events, not only "Mehri, Gafan, Basarkecher are in bloody situations", but also "The mountains such as Tabriz Mountain, Darband Mountain, / Borchali and Karkuk Mountain..." (11, pp. 142-143) are roaring together. The poet always live with the love of "Heart is Darband, dream is Tabriz" ("Your answer", 11, p. 126); but in the poem written with the epigraph "I send to Tabriz" the poet send the message with the following words: "Baku, Tabriz, Hamadan staring into the eyes as the weapon from Darband to Zanjan and to whole Azerbaijan!" ("My poem", 11, p. 147).

During the Soviet era, Khalil Rza was also criticized for his individualism, allegedly overemphasizing his sense of "myself" and placing himself above the collective "myself". However, the prominence of the individual "myself" feeling is the peculiarity and advantage of Khalil Rza's lyrics, it allows him to perceive any theme exactly "like himself", to write in his own style. As Alizade Asgar mentions: "Khalil Rza Uluturk's public protests are expressed in lyrical narration, sometimes in lyrical-pathetic, lyric-journalistic intonation. However, such diversity, naturally, comes from the restless, frantic, sometimes wise, calm nature of the lyrical hero" (3, p. 190).

Khalil Rza's poetry is characterized by struggle and this spirit was reflected in his poetry precisely in the struggle for the goal of nationality, humanism,



azerbaijanism. The poet believes in the sanctity of art, the word frantically ("Brave men and troubles", 1976) and tells: "What do I have besides purity... / What do I have besides purity in the daily art battle?" ("To live", 10, p. 135). Khalil Rza is a poet of faith, at the beginning his poetic idea is to protect national character, morality, purity, courage, honesty, to turn moral integrity against inhuman, imperfect, skinny, inhuman qualities. He names one of his poems so: "Anthem of humanity" (1984)": "I don't have time to think, day and night I'm at work, / I walk in water, in fire, in ice..." (10, p. 238). Telling "However, you are convinced / you are absolutely right in your own beliefs..." ("Forward", 7, p. 31), he prefers to jump into the field, in the poem "Self-portrait" he assures that he will overcome "Whatever thorns, stones and bumps are in his path" (10, 133), "Long live, my poetry, / Be stronger in the battle..." ("Honesty", 10, p. 87), "You are my professional weapon, poetry!" ("Poetry, poetry", 10, p. 175), in his poems "I am grateful to you" (1978), "When someone lives with conscience" the poet declares that he is ecstatic and gains strength from fighting all kinds of unscrupulous people; according to the poet's thought, "When someone is alone in the battle / Being a little brave" is heroism in itself ("Heroism", 10, p. 147). However, Kh.R. Uluturk never considers himself alone in the fight for justice, he accepts our thousand-year-old poetry as the qibla, telling the following words such as "These roads are dear for me / As the works "Hophopname" or "Khamsa" ("I am behind", 10, p. 144), "I have a path as white as the Milky Way in the world of art / I have a desk at home that looks like Babek Castle..." ("I want authority", 10, p. 174) - he continues his way in the field of battle with even louder voice.

Akif Huseynov writes: "Khalil has a hot, enthusiastic character. He writes with passion, reaching the point of madness... His poetry, his word is inseparable from his personality. There is no isolation between the inspiration of the poet and his "myself", there is integrity, unity here. It is no coincidence that the image of the author in these poems is so obviously" (5, p. 159).

During the end of 1970s and 1980s, Khalil Rza's sense of individual "myself" became fully socialized, the lyrical hero goes beyond self-expression on individual topics and begins to speak on behalf of the people, the nation, the native land and humanity. The poet now, with complete confidence, stands above all his ill-wishers and makes manifestations in the name of eternity:

I am Nasimi's wings, I am Fuzuli's legacy,

I will break with my teeth any handcuffs,

I am the backbone of my homeland, the scepter of the earth and the sky... ("I am eternal", 10, p. 155)

Kh.R. Uluturk, who gained this authority throughout his life and struggle, had the right to demonstrate his thoughts as the followings: "Your feet are on Earth, your hands are reaching for the Moon and Mars / If there are five sons in the world, one is you, Khalil Rza!" ("My country, cheers!", 10, p. 145), "Step a side, Khalil Rza is coming!" ("The song of Pride", 10, p. 253), "Khalil Rza lives in modern Azerbaijan - / He is an example to many generations!" ("At least one



person", 10, p. 267). In these monologue-poems, the citizen-poet, by becoming complete and identifying with his lyrical hero, expresses the voice of his nation in a generalized manner. The name of Khalil Rza itself was embodied and symbolized here:

"Wherever they criticize Khalil Rza,

If a person complains,

Just say one word, firmly and calmly,

*Tell: Khalil Rza is Azerbaijan!"* ("Your answer", 11, p. 125)

Those who accused Khalil Rza in self-indulgence were "Unfortunately, Khalil simply praises only himself in many of his writings. After all, modesty is also an important quality for a poet..." (5, p. 159). In his poems, Kh.Rza was not only the author, as it was said, but he was also an image of pride. The poet has always been able to approach this image demanding and critical and he has painted his psychological portrait: "With his all lucks and defects, tell, Khalil Rza is Azerbaijan!" (11, p. 125). In his poem "Woe to that day!", which was self-report characterized, the poet, who tells "myself", "My language, my country, my native land" in his poems, considers the possibility of one day succumbing to his own desires as a disaster:

How bad it is to sacrifice to the glory of a medal,

That you have dreamed of for years,

My aim fell silent immediately.

Woe to that day, Khalil Rza (Woe to that day!, 10, p. 236)

As the socio-political themes in Khalil Rza Uluturk's poems intensified, his sphere of influence increased, earning the poet nationwide recognition. Almost all of Rza's civic-minded, dramatic and conflict-filled works are dedicated to the poetic expression of the most important problems of our time and spiritual life (6, p. 17).

In his poems such as "I get younger in battles" (1989), "I am Azerbaijan", "Arm yourself" (1988), "It's good that there is Turkey" (1988), "People's will", "Our name, surname", "You gave me a gun", "Freedom Square" (1988), "Chanlibel", "Continues 37" (1989), "Baku in a rally" (1989), etc. the poet not only exposes the colonial nature of the regime, but also writes about the awakening of the nation, the desire and will for independence, the struggle against injustice, and answers to the voice of the people:

"Arm yourself with a flood called purity in your blood!

Arm yourself with your love, your love for the world!

Do not think that you are alone:

The Earth and the sky belong to you.

You will win!" ("Arm yourself", 11, p. 139)

These poems, written at a time when Soviet power had not collapsed yet, essentially carried the spirit of dissidence. National leader Heydar Aliyev, who led the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic during 1969-1982 years, protected the poet from persecution of the empire for his activities at that time: "We never arrested a dissident and never arrested a person for anti-Soviet propaganda or



nationalist propaganda. But there were many proposals and pressures like this... They also set the task of arresting Khalil Rza. However, I didn't allow to realize it. I saved him. I have saved many of them" (2, p. 342-343).

#### Conclusion

Khalil Rza Uluturk's activity is devoted to the glorification and promotion of the values of Azerbaijanism as a whole, the protection and development of the native language, the embodiment of the ideal of entire Azerbaijan. In 1990, during the events of January 20, Khalil Rza Uluturk was arrested by the regime, which kept the dissident poet under persecution throughout the Soviet system, the poet, accused of political activities related to his participation in the national movement, was released after eight months in prison only at the demands of the Azerbaijani people. Khalil Rza Uluturk's poems reflecting the life of the prison, along with the image of the militant poet, suffering, unbending and brave, read the death sentence to the Soviet empire, which was experiencing the last sunset.

This poetry, a vivid manifestation of dissidentism in literature, does not fit into the ideological frameworks of the Soviet regime and gives a lesson in national identity for future generations. Khalil Rza Uluturk's image as a dissident poet has become a symbol of the national struggle of the Azerbaijani people.

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