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## THE POLITICS OF THE NATIONALIST STIGMA IN MASS REPRESSIONS IN THE AZERBAIJAN SSR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

*One of the most tragic pages in the history of the Soviet empire is the mass political persecutions of the 1930s. The formal reasons for political persecutions and the motives of the fabricated verdicts were very diverse. Enmity against the Soviet system, sabotage, connections with anti-Soviet elements and a number of other fictitious reasons were the most common accusations in the investigation process.*

*It was a bitter truth that most of the victims of the mass persecution period of the Soviet regime in just 2–3 years were our national intellectuals who loved their people. The punitive measures served to deprive our intellectuals, who are the executors of a special social mission, of free thinking and to replace them with new Soviet diploma intellectuals who serve the ideals of equality and Soviet internationalism. The most regrettable and incredible thing about the process of unjust punishment was that the plans and norms of people being accused and punished were strictly determined in advance.*

*The other part of our intellectuals, who held responsible positions in the party and Soviet bodies, and who had more or less services in establishing and strengthening the Soviet power in Azerbaijan, were falsely accused of treason, counter-revolutionary activities, and cooperation with secret emigrant centers abroad.*

*The consequences of the repressions for the following decades, perhaps even half a century, were severe. These are a severe demographic crisis, a sharp decrease in the number of educated people, not only intellectuals, but also engineering and technical personnel, irreparable damage to Azerbaijani science by depriving our well-known scientists who have been trained for decades and thousands of hard work, social harmony between the city and the village, between people within the village. disruption, confrontation was the visible side of what the campaign caused. The physical and psychological stress experienced by the persecuted themselves, their family members, their relatives, the society's attitude towards them, etc. factors should not be ignored.*

**Key words:** *political reconsideration, nationalism, court, process, political trio.*

**Introduction.** In the 1930s, the political situation in the Azerbaijan SSR became much more tense. It would not be correct to connect this only with the difficulties of the collectivization campaign. Mistakes made during the implementation of the political course were, strangely enough, explained by the leadership of the republic, especially by the positions of its non-national majority against the national interests, as well as by the negligence and even criminal acts of the local party management bodies.

On the eve of the beginning of mass political persecutions, the tension of the situation in the cities, especially in Baku, within the republican leadership reached its peak. In the period before 1934, the entire atmosphere in the leadership of the republic took the form of a campaign to search for criminals and punish the guilty, regardless of their previous services and positions. Despite the official

start of mass persecutions in 1934, in 1933 there were already possibilities that the political situation would worsen in the near future, and punitive measures were expected.

The formal reasons for political persecutions and the motives of the fabricated verdicts were very diverse. Enmity against the Soviet system, sabotage, connections with anti-Soviet elements and a number of other fictitious reasons were the most common accusations in the investigation process.

It was a bitter truth that most of the victims of the mass persecution period of the Soviet regime in just 2–3 years were our national intellectuals who loved their people. The punitive measures served to deprive our intellectuals, who are the executors of a special social mission, of free thinking and to replace them with new Soviet diploma intellectuals who serve the ideals of equality and Soviet internationalism.

**The beginning of political persecution.** In two stages of political persecution: 1) from the beginning of 1937 to September 1938; 2) In the stages from September to December 1938, the main target of the coup was the intellectuals. We have already stated that cases of persecution of ordinary people, kolchomoks, began in the early 1930s. Also, the executives, who clearly understood that it was not credible to accuse party-farm workers of nationalism, blamed these people for negligence, sabotage, and working in opposition party groups and factions, and still achieved what they wanted.

Let's also note such an issue that, while it was considered mandatory to conduct correspondence in the Russian language in the state offices throughout the republic, special attention was paid to the problem of learning the Russian language at the level of the republic's administration. On April 1, 1938, the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Council of People's Commissars "On compulsory study of the Russian language in non-Russian schools in Azerbaijan" was published in the republican press [7, p. 1]. In general, the adoption of such a special resolution was related to the confirmation of the thesis about the special mission of the Russian people in the fate of the peoples of the entire union state in the ideological policy of the party. On the other hand, such a policy aimed at almost forgetting the national language was incompatible with the principles of the Soviet national policy. Of course, it was unthinkable that our intellectuals who opposed this injustice, who once voiced an opinion in favor of our native language, would later become the object of persecution.

In 1933, on the eve of mass political repressions, special inspections were carried out in order to clear the party ranks from enemy elements who had supposedly "infiltrated here", many innocent people were subjected to various punishments. Let's note only this fact that "at the beginning of 1936, more than 57 thousand communists passed the verification of party documents in Azerbaijan. According to the results of the inspection, more than 12 thousand people or 22 percent were expelled from the party ranks [1, l.19-25]. The fear of becoming the next victim in such illegal but "legal" processes made hundreds of people look for ways to escape to neighboring Iran, Turkey and other places.

In those years, the fact that Y. Sumbatov, Kh. Grigoryan, R. Markaryan and other Armenian "internationalist" leading personnel subjected our intellectuals, other people, and their family members to difficult living conditions with complete impunity

did not bother Moscow, nor the internationalist leadership in the republic.

Among the condemned people, there were quite a few who were branded as "nationalists", who were accused of violating the Soviet national policy and opposing the upbringing of internationalism [6, p. 799].

Among those severely punished in the course of the mass political persecutions, there were not a few Azerbaijani statesmen who were among the elite of the Azerbaijani leadership, but at some point, perhaps, did not satisfy the internationalist Bolshevik leadership with their different approach to the solution of some issue. It was very hard and sad that E. Khanbudagov, T. Shahbazov, A. Karimov, R. Akhundov and dozens of others were among those punished [2, l.86].

The fate of our intellectuals, whom the Soviet government labeled "nationalist" and punished even more severely, was celebrated with heartburn by the surviving members of the APC, who continued to operate outside the republic.

**Planning recessions.** An important part of archival documents and other documentary materials reflecting the course of the processes carried out under the direct instructions and control of the center in Azerbaijan during the repression, the illegality of the verdicts, as well as numerous facts aimed at the gene pool of our people and the physical elimination of our intellectuals, has been published.

In order to speed up the procedure of prosecution and trial of those who were punished, institutions and groups were operating at different levels of the management system. On the basis of the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the RK(b)P on July 10, 1937, the special "troika" consisting of Y. Sumbatov, T. Guliyev and D. Akhundzade in Azerbaijan unjustly punished innocent people and attempted to destroy intellectuals by accusing them of "nationalism".

The most regrettable and incredible thing about the process of unjust punishment was that the plans and norms of people being accused and punished were strictly determined in advance. According to the verdict of the "trio" mentioned in the document in question, the shooting of innocent people, including our national intellectuals, the deportation to the eastern regions of the country, or the sending of their family members to the camps in the KhDIK system, in any case, the evidence in the indictments is not true, everything was planned in advance. it was proof that the task of the center was obediently followed.

**The main target of political persecution.** In those 2 years, 29,000 of the 70,000 people found

guilty of crimes of various degrees were our national intellectuals. B. Talibli, H. Zeynalli, H. Bilandarli, B. Hasanbayov, Y. Chamanzaminli, B. Chobanzade, V. Khulufu and others are the main fault of being victims of repression because they love their people, they are “nationalists” while simply defending national, cultural and spiritual values. they took the name [8, c. 80].

The main excuse for “proving” the “guilt” of advanced people who are scientists and cultural figures in the investigation and trial processes is to use all kinds of lies and fabrications to “prove” the events with open eyes, because they did not hide their concerns by foreseeing the danger and tragedy being prepared for the fate of our people. was a nationalist brand. The other part of our intellectuals, who held responsible positions in the party and Soviet bodies, and who had more or less services in establishing and strengthening the Soviet power in Azerbaijan, were falsely accused of treason, counter-revolutionary activities, and cooperation with secret emigrant centers abroad.

Family members of people convicted and punished for nationalism, relatives persecuted and often punished, suspects, etc. inclusion in the categorical lists was a continuation of the tragedy in another form.

In the course of the mass persecutions, the non-national representatives of the republic’s leadership did not give up new blackmail, tricks, sending informants to the center and other provocations every day, as if what they had done in the course of the campaign against Azerbaijanis was not enough. The situation reached such a point that M. Bagirov was forced to admit that he was directly responsible for the calamities that befell our people.

**One of the highlights of mass persecution.** It was mainly a slander organized for the non-Azerbaijani representatives of the republic’s leadership in Baku, and their henchmen on the ground to slander and prosecute intellectuals and other honest citizens. In this regard, there were also reports that the republic was leaving behind other members of the union. In 1937-1938, such anonymous letters with various fake content were sent from Azerbaijan to Moscow.

Nevertheless, in 1938, as a result of numerous denunciations addressed to the center about M. Bagirov’s position, various inspection commissions were sent to Baku. One of these commissions was even chaired by N. Yezhov himself, the USSR State Councilor at that time [5, p. 127].

Although they tried to prove that M. Bagrov was loyal to the counter-revolutionaries and that he did not organize the fight against them at the proper

level, it was unsuccessful. In fact, M. Bagirov saved his personal relations with L. Beria, the next head of the Soviet Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, from facing Stalin’s wrath.

**Political persecution campaigns.** In the course of the research, we mentioned the name of “Shamakhi case”. The public trial of a fairly large group of party and economic leaders accused of counter-revolutionary crimes by the republican leadership began as early as May 1937. A special headquarters was organized to carry out the “Operation”, and the head of the headquarters was appointed A. Markaryan. The main accused in the trial, which lasted from October 27 to November 2, 1937, was Hamid Sultanov, the former People’s Communal Economy Commissioner of the republic. Thus, the main accused Hamid Sultanov admitted that he was a member of the “counter-revolutionary” center, a nationalist organization created with the aim of overthrowing the Soviet government, separating the Azerbaijan SSR from the USSR, and restoring capitalist property. During the process, 400 persons holding various positions were arrested and punished [8, pp. 128–129].

During the period of persecution, our intellectuals, who were massively labeled as “nationalists”, were accused with template labels – “pan-Turkist”, “Islamist” and other false pretexts. In some literature, there is also an opinion that the mass punishment of our intellectuals for such slanderous and slanderous crimes can be caused to a certain extent by the national composition of law enforcement officers, and to a certain extent by the low level of literacy and education of most of them. In our opinion, it is difficult to agree with this provision. Because the last conclusion is not at all reasonable and did not influence the mentioned mass accusations even a little. Actually, since 1934, the persecutions, which have become massive, served other political centers to cover up the reasons for the failure of the celebration of the promised socialist ideas, which were carried out throughout the union.

The fact that the persecutions led to particularly disastrous results was due to indifference to the existence of a ready-made enforcement mechanism against the law in the Azerbaijan SSR, as well as the consideration of the Armenian factor, as well as other subjective reasons in general.

**One of the main accusations of political persecution.** Among the false accusations that our intellectuals were engaged in “secret nationalist activities” that were used as the basis for their trial, which were voiced against most of the unjustly accused people, were the most frequently voiced.

During the period of political persecution, the mass deportation of thousands of representatives of our national intellectuals from Azerbaijan to other remote areas of the union, among them there were well-known scientists, cultural and artistic workers, and even religious figures, the morale of the people in the society, its educated people, who more or less understood what was happening, served the destruction of the class that was able to draw conclusions. At the same time, these and other mass forced transfers were carried out in a completely reasonable manner.

It should be taken into account that these persecutions meant a new stage of the campaign aimed at ending the existence of the intelligentsia, or bringing them to the level of serving the principles and interests of the Soviet regime. The difference was that the political persecution lasted for almost a year in the first stage. The victims of the first stage were the members of APC, who are the most advanced representatives of Azerbaijani intellectuals, and other intellectuals who did not accept the new government and did not agree with its principles of activity.

However, like other people who were punished in the next stage of persecution, our intellectuals did not do anything to justify the false accusations brought against them in their words or actions. It's just that the regime was trying to eliminate all potential opportunities and possibilities in the future in the direction of national interests, independence, and statehood in the face of brains and smart people who think like this for the sake of its own security.

It should be noted that mass political repressions, which accelerated since 1934, continued in almost the same way and according to the same scenario throughout the union.

For the sake of justice, it should be said that the processes and cases considered in the first months of the persecution were few compared to other republics. Those were also related to the prosecution of wealthy Golchomak peasants, which began in 1930. However, in the following months, the concrete tasks of the center, allegedly due to the gradual escalation of the class struggle, accelerated the punitive campaign.

**New targets of political persecution.** Following the intellectuals, the new target of persecution was Azerbaijani cadres of higher and local party management bodies. In the false accusations made against these people, there were many who were accused of "nationalism", along with allegations of anti-party activity, cooperation with secret political organizations.

Most of the political persecutions and trials of those accused of nationalism were carried out in

1937. Thus, in that year, 22 people's commissars, 49 secretaries of party committees, 79 district executive committee chairmen, 57 industrial and oil enterprise directors, 110 military personnel, 207 trade union activists and 8 professors were sentenced to be shot [4, 1.3].

The wave of persecution of party-economic activists from Baku to the regions resulted in the punishment of a large group of employees of the party committees of Nakhchivan MSSR, Ali-Bayramli, Goychay, Gazakh, Lankaran and other regions [8, p. 118].

Still, on the basis of a ready-made scenario, forced confessions, statements of false witnesses, H. Sultanov, together with his associates R. Akhundov, J. Efendiyev, G. Musabayev, H. Vazirov, D. Bunyadzade, E. Khanbudagov and others, allegedly killed the Soviet Union in the USSR. It was "proved" that he cooperated with a secret center engaged in nationalist activities organized for the purpose of overthrowing the government and forcible separation of the Azerbaijan SSR from the USSR. The highest punishment was imposed on 3 of those convicted, and prison sentences of 8–20 years were imposed on the rest [5, pp. 128–129].

We could expand this range a bit. Most of the family members of those who were persecuted had experienced the same fate, and at the time it was considered a relationship.

The names of our national intellectuals, who were condemned as "former Musavatchi", "pan-Turkist", "nationalist", often appeared in the republican press pages of those years.

Ordinary organized denunciations were enough for our prominent intellectuals M. Mushfiq, H. Javid, Y. Chamanzaminli, T. Shahbazi and hundreds of other intellectuals with a national spirit to be arrested and receive the most severe punishments.

The search for "nationalist", "enemy of the people" or "hunting" was repeated more often in higher schools, scientific organizations, and cultural and educational institutions where our intellectuals were in majority in the Azerbaijan SSR. Those whose guilt was "proved" in the course of such searches and sentenced to various severe punishments made up almost half of those organizations.

One of the addresses of a group of those accused of "nationalism" and punished as enemies of the people among the collectives of various scientific organizations and institutes was the employees of the Azerbaijan branch of the EA of the USSR.

In the course of the mass persecutions, the punishment authorities had already issued sentences

and used the false statements they forcibly obtained from the “guilty” to arrest and punish new intellectuals. It is on the basis of such false, coerced statements.

Despite the fact that during the two years of the persecutions, except for a few of our intellectuals, the rest gained credibility with the authorities by glorifying the Soviet regime, but it was no coincidence that the organizers of the persecutions targeted such influential people who were more well-known among the population in order to create fear.

In May-June 1937, the Azerbaijan Soviet Union of Writers became the closest object of attention. After the serious criticism of a group of members of the Union at the urgently called meeting of the Union on June 3, the great Azerbaijani writer Huseyn Javid, as well as Ali Nazmi, Talybli, Taghi Shahbazi, Ali Razi, Sanili, Seyid Huseyn and others were arrested. A little less than half of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan – 27 people were accused and sentenced to heavy sentences. The deprivation of life of our well-known and influential writers and poets among the population is a grave tragedy for our culture and people. was [8, p. 97].

Among the people who were subjected to political persecution, there were also many facts of searching and “finding” the “culprits” among those who came from South Azerbaijan in search of work. Nationalism, sabotage, etc. are blamed for such people. although there were no slanderous accusations, it was a fact that criminal cases of this type were of a political nature and that I. Stalin himself directly controlled it. In December 1936, M. Bagirov sent a letter to Stalin, indicating that 17,746 people, 67,300 Iranian citizens with their families lived in the Azerbaijan SSR, and stated that most of them were people who joined criminal elements, were not engaged in socially useful work, smugglers, and to a large extent foreign nationals. persons of interest to intelligence agencies and various counter-revolutionary groups. It was this idea that became the basis for the expulsion of Azerbaijanis of Iranian origin. However, these opinions about them had no resemblance to the truth and most of them were Azerbaijanis [8, p. 73].

Although this number in itself is not large compared to other republics of the union, the fact that the total number of victims of the tragedy is high compared to the population allows us to understand the scale of the tragedy and the consequences it can cause later. According to the union census of 1939, the number of casualties for Azerbaijan, whose population was only 3.2 million people, was 3.75 percent of this figure, which indicated many points.

Torture and coercion were used in penal institutions to obtain the necessary statements from the accused

for investigation and punishment. The fact was that among the reasons why the appeals addressed to various authorities by the family members of the accused were left almost unanswered and without results, such physical torture was allowed by the leadership of the law enforcement agencies, albeit unofficially. From this point of view, it was understood that during the course of the trial, statements obtained by force from the defendants were completely and unequivocally rejected.

In 1937, at the time when the persecutions were most severe, pan-Turkic, Musavatist, bourgeois nationalist statements were often repeated in the accusations made against the people that the regime perceived as a special threat to itself in Azerbaijan. Party Soviet cadres who intended to protect our national intellectuals, our national roots, and values, or who refused to oppose them, were labeled as unreliable and enemies of the regime and were severely punished.

In the early years of Soviet rule, the position of the local authorities, which called the “intellectuals of the bourgeois era” for cooperation and solidarity, has now turned into the direct physical destruction of these people.

There was no doubt that the Soviet system paid special attention to the issue of loyalty and attitude of the upper class of the people and intellectuals to the regime in the national regions. From this point of view, the totalitarian Soviet management system always kept in mind the control of national cadres and their nationalistic views, which they considered to be a special threat to their authorities. On the other hand, as in the rest of the allied republics, what the national intellectuals and party leaders feared most in Azerbaijan was the realization that they would be accused of nationalism, just as they expected at any moment.

Among those punished in the campaign of persecutions, there were few people whose indictment did not contain a clause on the charge of nationalism. Even if the very few Azerbaijani employees of the law enforcement agencies who participated in the trial processes were simply observing the processes and the accusations were baseless, let's admit that it is also an undeniable fact that such fake investigation and trial processes were the absolute majority, and they refrained from commenting on them. The reason was that they themselves were in danger of falling into these lists. The analysis of investigative materials related to mass persecutions first of all showed that regardless of the identity, position, after determining the process, scenario, identity of the organizer,

subject to be punished, forms of punishment, specific indictment documents, national issues, religious views, etc. motifs related to

Following the “nationalist” stigma shown in the texts of “ready-made” accusations against our intellectuals and other categories of educated people, their punishment by declaring them “enemies of the people” was only a brief procedure.

**The consequences of mass persecution.** It should be noted that there are different, sometimes even contradictory figures about this issue in both sources and studies.

If we talk about the consequences of mass political persecution for Azerbaijan, we must say that it has not been possible to determine the total number of victims of repression in different literatures of individual authors until now. Some say that the number of those who lost their lives reached 70,000 from these figures, while others say that there were 70,000 of them only in 1940. According to most authors, the total number of victims of the tragedy in 1937–1938 reached 120 thousand.

Among the official legal documents, we can first mention the reference submitted by the Public Prosecutor to I. Mustafayev, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on May 4, 1955. The document stated that <...> 2846 people were arrested and 2215 people were sentenced to death by the Troika in 1937 only for political crimes [3, 1.4].

In April 1956, in the verdict issued against M. Bagirov and his co-convicts, the fact that inhumane, illegal actions and violence were committed with the persecuted was a historical fact that acknowledged the depth of the tragedy [9]. During the investigation of the convicted persons, it was established that citizens were illegally arrested without any reason, or those who were punished were illegally arrested on the basis of false statements obtained by force from some persons. Arrested people were tortured by violent methods based on false statements and forced to sign fabricated interrogation protocols and false charges.

Although the figures given in archival documents and other research articles are different, they allow to create a complete picture of the overall picture of the tragedy. In 1937, the “trio” sentenced 2,792 people to death and 4,425 to long-term imprisonment for political crimes alone. In 1938, the “troika” handled the cases of at least 10,000 people. Most of them were sentenced, some were sentenced to be shot, and some were detained in camps for political prisoners and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. At the same time, there were those who were tried in the mobile meetings of the Military Collegium, by military tribunals, and in

the sessions of ordinary courts, and there were those who were convicted and tried [4, 1.4].

It is also known that from the middle of 1936 to the middle of 1938, 13356 Azerbaijanis were arrested for political reasons by different structures [8, p.170].

Another purpose of the punishments was that during the years of the cultural revolution, he tried to “neutralize”, weaken, and tie the hands of our progressive-minded, nationally-minded intellectuals, who were different from the newly formed, standard-thinking Soviet intellectuals, knowing the potential danger. The reason was that before the establishment of Soviet power, they received higher education in universities of Russia and Europe, and were considered “bourgeois intellectuals”.

**The result.** From the facts and opinions we discussed, it became clear that the only right and main reason for the punishment of tens of thousands of people, especially our intellectuals, is that they love their homeland, their people, and try to protect national traditions and moral values, in short, due to their national roots. was to be.

Labeling the convicts as “nationalist” and other similar labels, historically distinguished by their loyal attitude towards other peoples and nations, whose land is distributed to neighbors from time to time with internationalist propaganda, whose natural and economic resources are “fraternal aid”, “proletarian internationalism”, etc. it was the worst insult for a nation that was plundered by being “donated” to the main economic regions of the union with ideological-propaganda slogans.

The severe consequences of the repressions for the following decades, perhaps for half a century – the demographic crisis, the sharp decrease in the number of educated people, not only intellectuals, but also engineering and technical personnel, and the deprivation of our well-known scientists who have been trained for decades and thousands of hard work, have been inflicted on the science of Azerbaijan. incurable damage, disruption of social harmony between the city and the village, between people within the village, conflict, etc. was the visible side of what the campaign was doing. The physical and psychological stress experienced by the persecuted themselves, their family members, their relatives, the society’s attitude towards them, etc. factors should not be ignored. The fact that the victims of the mass political persecution campaign in the national regions, especially in Azerbaijan, were more than the ratio of the total population was also related to the center’s excessive bias towards non-Russian and Muslim peoples.

In general, there were many victims of mass persecution in Azerbaijan, and the purpose of such cruelty towards those who were punished was different.

The Soviet regime created special fear and tension in the population and society in order to speed up the pace of socialist changes with such punishments.

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### Ханалієв Дж.В. ПОЛІТИКА НАЦІОНАЛІСТИЧНОГО КЛЕЙМА В МАСОВИХ РЕПРЕСІЯХ В АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСЬКІЙ РСР ТА ЇЇ НАСЛІДКИ

*У статті розглянуто масові політичні переслідування 1930-х років, що є однією з найтрагічніших сторінок історії радянської імперії. Формальні причини політичних переслідувань і мотиви сфабрикованих вироків були дуже різноманітними. Ворожнеча проти радянської системи, саботаж, зв'язки з антирадянськими елементами та низка інших вигаданих причин були найпоширенішими звинуваченнями на слідстві.*

*Гіркою правдою було те, що більшість жертв масових переслідувань радянської влади лише за 2–3 роки становила наша національна інтелігенція, яка любила свій народ. Каральні заходи мали на меті позбавити нашу інтелігенцію, яка є виконавцем особливої суспільної місії, вільнодумства і замінити її новою радянською дипломованою інтелігенцією, яка служить ідеалам рівності та радянському інтернаціоналізму. Найприкрішим і неімовірним у процесі несправедливого покарання було те, що плани і норми звинувачування і караних людей були суворо визначені заздалегідь.*

*Іншу частину нашої інтелігенції, яка обіймала відповідальні посади в партійних і радянських органах і мала ті чи інші заслуги у встановленні та зміцненні Радянської влади в Азербайджані, було фальшиво звинувачено у зраді, контрреволюційній діяльності та співпраці з таємними центрами емігрантів за кордоном.*

*Наслідки репресій наступних десятиліть, а може, й півстоліття, були тяжкими. Це важка демографічна криза, різке скорочення кількості освічених людей, причому не тільки інтелігенції, а й інженерно-технічних кадрів, непоправної шкоди азербайджанській науці, яка позбавила наших відомих вчених, які готувалися десятиліттями і тисячами важкої праці, соціальної злагоди між містом і селом, між людьми всередині села. зрив, протистояння були видимою стороною того, що викликала кампанія. Не можна ігнорувати фізичні та психологічні навантаження, які переживають самі переслідувані, члени їхніх родин, родичі, ставлення до них суспільства тощо.*

**Ключові слова:** політичне переслідування, націоналізм, суд, процес, політична трійка.