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HISTORY OF POLITICAL REPRESSIONS: THE FATES OF INDIVIDUALS IN SOUTH KAZAKHSTAN

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Abstract. *Introduction* The article examines the problem of political repression in the period of Soviet Kazakhstan, in particular, the consequences of repressive policies in the southern regions of the country. The article analyzes the fate of unjustly convicted persons, touches upon fabricated criminal cases and interrogation protocols of citizens who became victims of Stalinist terror. Special attention is paid to uncovering the tragedy of repression based on archival documents stored in regional, national and foreign archives, many of which previously remained classified. *Goals and objectives:* to analyze the fate of victims of political repression in Southern Kazakhstan and identify the features of the functioning of the Soviet repressive system in the region. The materials of the State Archive of the Socio-political History of the Turkestan region are used as the main sources. In addition, the publications of the Soviet press devoted to the South Kazakhstan intelligentsia, preserved in the rare fund of the National Library of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as comparative data from national and foreign archives, are involved. The methodological basis of the research is based on the principles of historicism, comparative-analytical and source-based methods. *Results.* It has been established that, despite the fame of a number of figures, their fates have not yet received proper scientific understanding. The repressive cases of such personalities as B. Yerzhanov, executive secretary of the South Kazakhstan Regional Executive Committee, A. Askarov, head of the political education department of the Shymkent district Department of Public Education, and A. Belimenko is the director of the Shymkent Chemical and Pharmaceutical Plant, as well as other representatives of the South Kazakhstan intelligentsia. The facts of illegal actions of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs are revealed, the mechanisms of implementing the repressive policy are shown. *Conclusion.* The study demonstrates that political repression in the southern regions of Kazakhstan was systemic and affected a wide range of representatives of the local intelligentsia and managers. The introduction of archival materials into scientific circulation makes it possible not only to restore historical justice to the victims, but also to deepen understanding of the repressive mechanisms of the Soviet government as a whole.

Keywords: Political repression, southern region, personal destinies, press materials, archival documents

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Андатпа. *Kipicne.* Мақалада Кеңестік Қазақстан кезеңіндегі саяси қуғын-сүргін мәселесі, атап айтқанда, елдің оңтүстік өңірлеріндегі қуғын-сүргін саясатының салдары қарастырылады. Әділетсіз сотталған адамдардың тағдыры талданады, жалған қылмыстық істер және сталиндік террордың құрбаны болған азаматтардан жауап алу хаттамалары қозғалады. Аймақтық, республикалық және шетелдік архивтерде сақталған архивтік құжаттар негізінде қуғын-сүргін трагедиясын ашуға ерекше назар аударылды, олардың көпшілігі бұрын құпия болып қала берді. *Зерттеудің мақсаты* – оңтүстік Қазақстандағы саяси қуғын-сүргін құрбандарының тағдырын талдау және аймақтағы кеңестік қуғын-сүргін жүйесінің жұмыс істеу ерекшеліктерін анықтау. *Зерттеу әдістері мен материалдары.* Негізгі деректер ретінде Түркістан облысының қоғамдық-саяси тарихының мемлекеттік архивінің материалдары пайдаланылды. Сонымен қатар, Қазақстан Республикасы Ұлттық кітапханасының сирек кітаптар мен қолжазбалар қорында сақталған Оңтүстік Қазақстан зиялыларына арналған кеңестік баспасөз басылымдары, сондай-ақ республикалық және шетелдік мұрағаттардың деректері тартылды. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізі тарихилық принциптері, салыстырмалы-аналитикалық және деректанулық әдістері құрайды. *Нәтижелер.* Бірқатар қайраткерлердің атақ-даңқына қарамастан, олардың тағдырлары әлі күнге дейін тиісті ғылыми түсінікке ие болмағаны анықталды. Оңтүстік Қазақстан облыстық атқару комитетінің жауапты хатшысы Б. Ержанов, Шымкент қаласы уездік халыққа білім беру басқармасының саяси ағарту бөлімінің меңгерушісі Ә.Асқаров сияқты тұлғалардың репрессиялық істері егжей-тегжей зерттелді. Белименко – Шымкент химия-фармацевтика зауытының директоры, сондай-ақ Оңтүстік Қазақстан зиялыларының басқа да өкілдері. НКВД органдарының заңсыз әрекеттерінің фактілері анықталды, репрессиялық саясатты іске асыру тетіктері көрсетілді. *Қорытынды.* Зерттеу Қазақстанның оңтүстік өңірлеріндегі саяси қуғын-сүргін жүйелі сипатта болғанын және жергілікті зиялы қауым өкілдері мен басқарушылардың кең ауқымына әсер еткенін көрсетеді. Архив материалдарының ғылыми айналымына зардап шеккендерге қатысты тарихи әділеттілікті қалпына келтіріп қана қоймай, жалпы Кеңес өкіметінің репрессиялық тетіктерін түсінуді тереңдетуге мүмкіндік береді.

Түйін сөздер: Саяси қуғын-сүргін, Оңтүстік өңірі, тұлғалар тағдыры, баспасөз материалдары, мұрағат құжаттары

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ИСТОРИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕПРЕССИЙ: СУДЬБЫ ЛИЧНОСТЕЙ ЮЖНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА

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Аннотация. *Введение* В статье рассматривается проблема политических репрессий в период Советского Казахстана, в частности, последствия репрессивной политики в южных регионах страны. Анализируются судьбы несправедливо осуждённых лиц, затрагиваются сфабрикованные уголовные дела и протоколы допросов граждан, ставших жертвами сталинского террора. Особое внимание уделено раскрытию трагедии репрессий на основе архивных документов, хранящихся в региональных, республиканских и зарубежных архивах, многие из которых ранее оставались засекреченными. *Цель исследования* – проанализировать судьбы жертв политических репрессий в Южном Казахстане и выявить особенности функционирования советской репрессивной системы в регионе. В качестве основных источников использованы материалы Государственного архива общественно-политической истории Туркестанской области. Кроме того, привлечены публикации советской прессы, посвящённые южноказахстанской интеллигенции, сохранившиеся в редком фонде Национальной библиотеки Республики Казахстан, а также сопоставительные данные республиканских и зарубежных архивов. Методологическую основу исследования составили принципы историзма, сравнительно-аналитический и источниковедческий методы. *Результаты.* Установлено, что, несмотря на известность ряда фигур, их судьбы до сих пор не получили должного научного осмысления. Подробно исследованы репрессивные дела таких личностей, как Б. Ержанов – ответственный секретарь Южно-Казахстанского облисполкома, А. Аскарров – заведующий отделом политпросвещения уездного управления народного образования г. Шымкент, А. Белименко – директор Шымкентского химико-фармацевтического завода, а также других представителей южноказахстанской интеллигенции. Выявлены факты незаконных действий органов НКВД, показаны механизмы реализации репрессивной политики. *Заключение.* Исследование демонстрирует, что политические репрессии в южных регионах Казахстана носили системный характер и затронули широкий круг представителей местной интеллигенции и управленцев. Введение в научный оборот архивных материалов позволяет не только восстановить историческую справедливость в отношении пострадавших, но и углубить понимание репрессивных механизмов советской власти в целом.

Ключевые слова: Политические репрессии, южный регион, личные судьбы, материалы прессы, архивные документы

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Introduction

The Stalinist terror, political persecution, and repression of the Soviet period, as well as the fate of those who became victims of these events, represent an extremely significant topic that demands deep and comprehensive scholarly investigation. In fact, it is well known that the first wave of Stalinist terror began in the mid-1930s in Moscow, the center of the Union, with the persecution of the political elite holding high-ranking positions. As a result, around 40,000 individuals serving in leadership roles across various levels of the Soviet Union and its constituent republics were subjected to repression. This punitive campaign soon spread to our republic as well, where, during those years, many former members of the *Alash Orda* movement were prosecuted under fabricated charges in the so-called “Alash case.” A number of them were sentenced to death. During this process of unjust persecution of prominent national figures under false accusations, new ideological terms such as “Trotskyism,” “bourgeois nationalism,” and “espionage-diversionary activities” emerged in Soviet discourse, marking a transformation in the character of mass repression.

Between June 1937 and June 1938 alone, 1,284 individuals who held leadership positions in the republic were brought to trial, of whom 1,105 received the most severe punishment – execution. Among those labeled as “enemies of the people” were statesmen and public figures of the Kazakh SSR, artists, leading representatives of science and culture, journalists, poets, writers, and many others.

The majority of these extensive punitive operations were carried out by officers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (PCIA). Sanctions were issued for the arrest of nearly all high-ranking party and state officials, resulting in an ever-expanding scale of mass repression. What began with the confiscation and deportation of wealthy people evolved into a campaign to expose so-called “bourgeois nationalists,” which ultimately escalated into a full-fledged Great Terror.

Within this broader historical context, the southern regions of Kazakhstan also experienced the devastating consequences of political persecution. State and public figures, representatives of the educational and scientific spheres, and members of the local intelligent community were similarly branded as “enemies of the people” and suffered unjust punishment. Archival data indicate that thousands of individuals in the Turkestan, Shymkent, and Auliyeata regions fell victim to repression, among them prominent personalities who had contributed significantly to the social and political development of the country.

It should be noted that the issue of political repression against the inhabitants of southern Kazakhstan in the 1930s has not yet become a distinct subject of focused research among Kazakhstani historians. The analysis of newly uncovered archival materials highlights the growing relevance of this topic. Through examining the destinies and life paths of local people, one can uncover a more truthful and nuanced understanding of the historical realities of that era.

Therefore, a comprehensive study of the history of political repression in the southern regions, the restoration of the names of the innocently persecuted, and the scholarly examination of their life stories constitute an essential step toward restoring historical justice.

Materials and Methods

The primary sources for this study were materials from the State Archive of Socio-Political History of the Turkestan Region (SASPHTR) and the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RSASPH). In particular, the protocols and case files found in Funds 16, 40, 121, 165, and 708 of the Turkestan Regional State Archive served as the main foundation for reconstructing the fates of South Kazakhstan’s intellectuals who suffered political repression and were unjustly accused.

In addition to archival documents, periodical press materials and personal memoirs were also utilized as supplementary sources.

Throughout the research process, both general scientific and specialized historical methods were applied. The historical-comparative method enabled the identification of distinctive features of repression across different periods, while the systematic analysis approach facilitated a comprehensive examination of the data. Furthermore, the method of textual analysis contributed to a deeper understanding of legal, social, and political documents related to repression.

The study adopted an interdisciplinary approach, combining archival evidence with historical-legal and historical-economic analysis. As a result, it became possible not only to trace the individual destinies of victims of political repression in the South Kazakhstan region but also to uncover the underlying socio-political mechanisms of Soviet power.

This article specifically focuses on examining Soviet-era political repression through the concrete case of the South Kazakhstan region. Guided by the principles of historicism, systematization, and objectivity, the research aims to explore repression at a regional level. Conceptually, political repression is treated not merely as the persecution of particular individuals but as a complex socio-political phenomenon that profoundly affected the broader structure and dynamics of society.

Discussion

The history of political repression in the Soviet Union during the 1930s remains one of the most relevant and intensively explored areas of contemporary scholarship. The repressive policies of the Soviet regime continue to attract scholarly attention, particularly with the gradual declassification and introduction into academic circulation of materials that had long been kept secret, most notably, the archival-investigative files of terror victims. The discovery of these new sources has underscored the need to generate fresh scholarly interpretations, prompting researchers to revisit and reassess the events of that tragic period.

Following Kazakhstan’s independence, a new intellectual climate emerged, characterized by a reassessment of national history and a deeper engagement with the lived realities of the past. Yet, the political persecutions and violence-driven policies of the Stalinist system left indelible scars on collective memory. The authoritarian rule of the Communist Party and its rigid ideological framework have left many aspects of the history of repression in obscurity. Over the past three decades, Kazakh historians have made considerable progress in addressing this “blank page” of national history, but numerous “secret” and “top secret” archival cases remain inaccessible. This continued restriction highlights the enduring need to examine the uncharted mechanisms of the Soviet totalitarian system.

Research into the Stalinist political repressions in Kazakhstan gained momentum toward the end of the twentieth century, when new documentary sources became available. Foundational contributions were made by Kazakh scholars such as K. Nurpeisov (1995), M. Kozybaev (1991), M. Koigeldiev (2009), T. Omarbekov (1994), Q. Aldazhumanov, and Zh. Abylkozhin (Kozybaev, et al., 1992). Political repression functioned not only as an operational mechanism of the Soviet totalitarian system but also as a historical catastrophe that inflicted irreparable damage on the social structure of Kazakh society and on countless individual lives (Koigeldiyev, 2009).

In Russian historiography, one of the earliest and most influential analyses of the Great Purge appeared in L. Gordon and E. Klopov’s book *What Was It? Reflections on the Preconditions and Consequences of What Happened to Us in the 1930s–1940s* (1989: 169–170). Gordon and Klopov argued that political repression was an intrinsic feature of the Stalinist regime, which could maintain stability only through pervasive fear. They contended that the main purpose of the 1930s–1940s persecutions was not merely to eliminate individuals but to suppress entire social groups. In doing so, the state sought to establish total control and eliminate all potential sources of opposition. The mechanisms of repression, they noted, reflected the fusion of party and punitive institutions (the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the PCIA, and the Prosecutor’s Office) into a centralized system. False accusations, extrajudicial “troika” verdicts, and

mass arrests became hallmarks of Stalin’s political technology, devastating human lives: countless people were executed, and survivors endured the horrors of labor camps, often returning only to face social exclusion as “unreliable elements” or “relatives of enemies of the people.”

The origins and operational mechanisms of mass repression have also been thoroughly investigated by foreign scholars. Works by R. Conquest (1991) and A. Applebaum (2006) highlight how Stalinist terror became a key instrument in consolidating and maintaining the totalitarian order. Similarly, Hiroaki Kuromiya’s *Voices of the Dead: Stalin’s Great Terror* (2007) focuses on the “mass operations” of 1937–1938, reconstructing the lives of ordinary Soviet citizens caught in the PCIA’s punitive apparatus. Kuromiya’s primary aim was to restore the biographies of individuals who did not belong to the political, intellectual, or cultural elite, ordinary people who, in fact, made up the majority of those condemned by “troikas.” Yet, as the author points out, their stories remain underexplored, largely due to limited access to primary sources.

American historian Wendy Z. Goldman, in *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin* (2010), examined the political purges of 1937–1938 from a socio-economic perspective. According to Goldman, one of the underlying causes of mass repression lay in the economic crises of the early Five-Year Plans. These crises, resulting from inconsistencies in industrialization policy, intensified social tensions and contributed to the regime’s reliance on coercive mechanisms to manage instability.

Despite significant scholarly advances, the topic of Soviet political repression still demands further systematic and objective inquiry. Its comprehensive understanding depends heavily on the full declassification and scholarly integration of archival materials that have remained hidden for decades.

In recent years, research on political repression and the tragedies of famine and deportation has gained state-level importance in Kazakhstan. This has led to the discovery and publication of previously inaccessible archival collections. A notable milestone was the establishment of the *State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions* by Presidential Decree on November 24, 2020. Through methodological initiatives, the Commission has generated substantial scholarly outcomes, including multi-volume documentary collections that substantiate historical evidence and provide researchers with extensive new data.

Within the broader Soviet context, the repressive processes in Kazakhstan were closely linked to the party’s socio-economic and national policies and unfolded in distinct stages. Researcher Z. Saktaganova (2021) conducted an extensive analysis of the periods, socio-political consequences, and rehabilitation efforts related to political repression between the 1920s and 1980s. She emphasized that repression varied in form and scope across historical periods, affecting all social strata. Saktaganova also noted that, despite ongoing efforts, the issue of rehabilitation remains incompletely resolved, necessitating continued scholarly attention (Saktaganova, 2021: 136–144). In her classification, nine major stages of repression in Kazakhstan are identified, each representing large-scale campaigns not targeted solely at individuals but encompassing entire social, intellectual, property-based, or ethnic groups. Her study clearly delineates the distinctive features of Soviet repressive policies in twentieth-century Kazakhstan.

Research on the Great Terror of the 1930s has since diversified into multiple directions, ranging from statistical analyses of victim numbers to examinations of the institutional and ideological mechanisms of repression. In recent years, there has been growing scholarly interest in regional studies of the Great Terror (Myrzakhanov, Musagalieva, 2023; Mambetova, Muminov, 2023). Although the topic has not yet been exhaustively examined, the increasing number of studies based on local archival materials and diverse publication formats has created favorable conditions for a more comprehensive understanding of this multifaceted historical phenomenon.

Results

Since the repressive measures implemented by the PCIA were carried out under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the activities of party structures and security agencies became entirely intertwined during the Great Terror.

The Great Terror in the USSR was executed on the basis of the PCIA’s Operational Order No. 00447, dated July 30, 1937, with the mass repressions scheduled to begin on August 5. To this end, a plan was drawn up in Kazakhstan to set a numerical limit on the number of people to be repressed, and it was the responsibility of the republic’s leadership, PCIA officials, and regional party leaders to submit the reports. L. I. Mirzoyan, who was then head of the republic and actively contributed to the Great Terror, wrote to the central authorities claiming that the number of “enemies of the people” in Kazakhstan was exceedingly high and requested additional quotas. Ironically, he himself was arrested in May 1938 and became a victim of the same “punitive machine.”

According to archival documents, the initial repressive quota for Kazakhstan was 6,700 people, of whom 2,300 were to be executed (RSASPH. F. 17. Inv. 162. C. 21. P. 95). However, the figures approved under Order No. 00447 soon exceeded this number, rising to 7,500 individuals, including 2,500 death sentences. Moscow issued additional quotas upon requests from the regions, most of which were sanctioned by the Politburo of the Central Committee. Over the course of the operation, Kazakhstan received several such supplementary quotas, and the total number of victims ultimately exceeded the figure prescribed in Order No. 00447 by 3.5 times.

During that period, 350 people in South Kazakhstan were sentenced to death and 600 to imprisonment, with the implementation of this order assigned between August 10 and November 10, 1937. The mass executions and arrests occurred not only in urban centers but also rapidly spread to rural districts. As noted by the prominent regional historian and chronicler M. Abdyakimuly in his works such as “The History of Keles and Saryagash Districts”, “The History of Shymkent City”, and “The History of Kazygurt District”, numerous previously unknown facts about the tragedy have come to light. In “The History of Keles and Saryagash Districts”, for example, he notes the absence of precise data on the total number of victims in Keles during the 1937 repressions, yet he managed to identify 111 individuals by name who suffered persecution in those years. In the aforementioned work he wrote: “...Among those who were the first to be subjected to repression in the district were Bermukhamed Sisekenov, the first secretary of the Keles District Party Committee (1928–1932), and Aidarbek Saparov, who held the same post between 1937 and 1939. Others included district leaders such as the District Committee Chairman Aitubay Zhanyshiev, the head of the Agricultural Department Kyrgyzbai Zhantoreyev, the head of the District PCIA Omarbek Turarov, the district judge Abilkasym Berdaliyev, Karaman Zholshiev from the village of Darkhan, the head of the “Kommuna” collective farm Ensep Kudaibergenov, the ardent writer Ziyabek Rustemov, the accountant of the Amankeldi collective farm Ongarbai Zhambylov, the peasant of the “Kogertu” collective farm Onalkul Oztemirov, the director of the Saryagash Russian school Grigory Vasilyevich Abramov, a resident of the “Keles” collective farm Kozhakhmet Aimbetov, a worker of the “Kyzyl Zhuldyz” collective farm Inayat Abilov, a resident of Ishanbazar Mamatakhun Aisarakhunov, the foreman of the “Mirzoyan” collective farm Bekmakhan Amanbayev, the foreman of the “Enbek” collective farm Sarsen Amankulov, etc. were arrested. Many of them were sentenced to death” (Abdiakimuly, 2019: 161–162). Abdyakimuly emphasizes that the majority of those repressed in Keles were ethnic Kazakhs. Of the more than 2,000 individuals sentenced to death in the South Kazakhstan region, around 200 were from Keles alone, and of the 25,000 convicted, roughly 1,000 came from that district. Although the mass repressions were officially planned to conclude within four months in 1937, in reality, they continued sporadically until 1941, when the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War marked another devastating chapter in the nation’s history.

It is also worth noting that many public figures who had been born in other parts of Kazakhstan but later settled and worked in the Turkestan region were likewise unjustly persecuted. Among them was Bakhyt Erzhanov, a native of the Oral region, a member of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) since 1930, and Secretary of the Executive Committee of South Kazakhstan Province at the time of his arrest. On July 30, 1937, he was detained by the PCIA of the South Kazakhstan region.

According to the minutes of the Shymkent City Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Kazakhstan, dated August 13, 1937 (Protocol No. 22), Erzhanov was expelled from the Party as an “enemy of the people”. On February 27, 1938, he was sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR under Articles 58–2, 58–8, and 58–11 of the

RSFSR Criminal Code for alleged participation in an "anti-Soviet, insurgent, diversionary organization" (SASPHTR. F. 40. Inv. 4b. C. 912).

Only on December 21, 1957, did the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR annul the verdict against B. S. Erzhanov, declaring the case closed due to the absence of any criminal evidence. However, his desperate written appeals during the investigation, where he proclaimed his innocence, were ignored. In one of his letters dated December 31, 1937, written while imprisoned by the South Kazakhstan PCIA, Erzhanov addressed L. I. Mirzoyan, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan:

"...I consider it my duty to inform you that the active workers of the Keles district have been prosecuted mainly on the basis of false accusations regarding so-called counterrevolutionary and fascist activities.

I was arrested on July 30 this year. Unable to endure the severe interrogation regime and the physical and moral pressure exerted by PCIA officers, I was forced to confess to crimes that have no relation to the truth.

First, I admitted to being a member of a counterrevolutionary organization allegedly led by S. Osmanov, which is a structure that has never existed either in Soviet ideology, in my thoughts, or in my actions. During the 27 months I worked with Osmanov, I never once observed any anti-Soviet tendencies in him.

Second, I supposedly conspired with about eighteen individuals, including Karlybaev, Besedin, Palmanov, Karakhodzhayev (Head of the District Education Department), Sluchak, Kuletov, Kembayev, and others, all of whom were imprisoned as the members of the aforementioned organization. While I do know many of them personally, the accusation that we belonged to a nationalist organization is entirely false.

In reality, under pressure from the head of the PCIA's Fourth Department, I was compelled to sign papers naming my former colleagues as members of this so-called organization. Despite knowing nothing about any counterrevolutionary crimes or organizations, I pointed to a few individuals merely to survive. Dissatisfied with this, the PCIA demanded two additional lists, increasing the number of names to twenty or twenty-five.

Thus, I fabricated testimonies claiming that Osmanov (Head of the District Finance Department) and Sarsenbayev (Head of the Land Department) had been recruited by me into this organization. Gradually, I became accustomed to lies, and I wrote a list of false riots that did not exist, about sabotage activities in the Keles district, in particular, about taking control of livestock farming, about cotton under the leadership of Osmanov, about disrupting the grain harvest under the leadership of Karlibayev and Palmanov, and about the revival of religious practices, and I answered the investigation as required, and my crime was revealed.

I testified about the alleged political objectives of this organization solely under the dictation of K., the head of the 4th department of the PCIA. The investigation ignored all other materials, insisting that I answer five questions exactly as they wished. When I tried to explain that the accusations were fabricated, I was told simply: 'Write and sign,' or 'No problem, we'll fix it later.' When I refused, they beat me mercilessly."

This testimony, preserved in the archival record, illustrates both the cruelty of the investigative methods and the profound moral and physical suffering inflicted on countless innocent citizens during the Stalinist terror.

Thus, having fulfilled the five principal objectives of the investigation, I satisfied the demands of the interrogators by providing the aforementioned fabricated and fantastical testimonies, thereby securing a slight alleviation of the strict regime and living conditions.

A few days after signing the statements, remorse and anguish overwhelmed me as I realized the enormity of what I had done to my former colleagues. From August 12 to 16, I repeatedly pleaded with the cell guards, shouting and begging each day to be reinterrogated. However, I was denied paper and pencil to submit a written declaration retracting my testimony.

Later, while remaining in the cell throughout August and September, I did not conceal from my fellow inmates that my statements had been false. On October 9–10, a fellow prisoner, E.,

filed a denunciation against me, and I once again declared that my earlier testimony had been fabricated. I confessed that I had intended to write an appeal to Stalin and Yezhov, denouncing the excesses and abuses within the PCIA. This information reached the investigators, and my former interrogator summoned me back to his office. He began threatening me, saying, “I will have you executed and thrown into a special basement filled with rats and snakes”. He demanded that I immediately sign a new written confession reaffirming my previous testimony and write an apology for my “misconduct.” After that, the beatings resumed day and night without interruption. Unable to withstand the torture, I gave in to his threats, reaffirmed my prior testimony, and signed the documents as instructed. Once I had done so, the interrogator phoned Prosecutor Fedorenko, who sat in a neighboring room, and asked him to validate my signature. Without speaking a word to me, he certified the document.

A few days later, I heard that, on K.’s order, I was to be executed. Before that, I was kept in a special cell for 27 days (from October 10 to November 5) without light or air. On November 5, when I was transferred from the PCIA facility to a prison, the authorities confiscated this unfinished appeal during the search. For reasons unknown to me, perhaps because of this confiscation, I was placed in the death cell with twelve other condemned prisoners while awaiting the outcome of my clemency petition.

On October 10, I was formally informed of my death sentence, and from that night onward, I could no longer sleep, tormented by fear. On the eleventh day after sentencing, K. summoned me again and asked: “Do you wish to be executed according to the decision of the troika, or would you prefer to be retried with the other defendants?” When I chose the latter, he required that I reaffirm my statements and sign several new documents. Once again, I signed false papers that only strengthened the charges against me. Only after that was I transferred to a general cell, and around mid-September, I finally received 50 rubles that my family had sent through the PCIA.

Indeed, during my career, particularly in the regional consumer cooperative, there were certain shortcomings for which I had received a party reprimand in May 1934. Yet this had served as a lesson that improved my later work in the Keles district. Despite some professional deficiencies, I worked tirelessly to promote the district’s economic and cultural development. I have always felt a profound sense of responsibility before the Party, dedicating all my strength and knowledge to the success of socialist construction in the district, and I have never betrayed its ideals in my personal life. Nevertheless, this is what I have endured. I respectfully request your intervention to have my case reconsidered,” – he wrote in his petition, though it brought no result (SASPHTR. F. 708. Inv. 1. C. 104. P. 40–43).

Indeed, during 1937–1938, numerous resolutions of party and Soviet meetings in Shymkent resulted in the mass expulsion of prominent officials from the Party and their subsequent persecution. For instance, according to the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the South Kazakhstan Regional Executive Committee, held on August 28–29, 1937, members of the Plenum and Presidium V.E. Sluchak, K. Kuletov, A. Bokeikhanov, S. Kembayev, and M. Andizhanov were expelled as “enemies of the people.” Other Plenum members, such as Burnakovsky, Bogorad, B. Eleukenov, Belyakov, Beisembayev, Orymbayev, Osmanov, Satybalдиеv, Asimov, Yesengeldin, and Orazov, were also expelled. Moreover, those convicted by court verdicts, including Baitileuov and Izbasarov, were likewise removed from Party ranks. The press played an active role in amplifying such campaigns. For example, an accusatory article titled “*Teachers Expose the ‘Enemy of the People’ Karzhaubayev*” was published by the Regional KazTAG. According to a report from Baykadam, a district meeting was held in October 1937 in Sarysu, where local teachers denounced the former head of the District Department of Education, Karzhaubayev, as an “enemy of the people” (SASPHTR. F. 121. Inv. 1. C. 969. P. 57).

At this meeting, it was declared that the “nationalist-fascist” Karzhaubayev had continued to implement the subversive line of former regional education officials “enemies of the people” Andizhanov and Abdullakhatov. They were accused of appointing “class-alien elements,” such as the mullah Seitkayev, to teaching positions in district schools, while Karzhaubayev allegedly entrusted educational work to teachers who had failed examinations or accreditation, such as Baisakalov and Ospanov, thus “carrying out the tasks of a nationalist organization.”

Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Without question, the State Commission for the Full Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression has, in recent years, significantly advanced this work through regional working groups. Lists of many citizens who had not yet been rehabilitated were submitted for review. Although this work has somewhat slowed in recent times, regional archival staff continue, on their own initiative, to compile and publish annual collections of archival materials concerning victims of repression. One notable example is the biographical reference book *"The Innocently Punished,"* published just last year by the Turkestan Regional Archive of Socio-Political History. Based on archival documents, this work reconstructs, with remarkable precision, the lives of those unjustly persecuted across the districts and villages of South Kazakhstan during the tragic first half of the twentieth century.

The reference volume includes 550 individuals who suffered under Stalinist repression between 1930 and 1950. Drawing from personal files, membership records, and minutes of plenary and bureau meetings of the Communist Party committees of South Kazakhstan, Shymkent, and other districts, the publication provides full biographical data for each person: name, ethnicity, party status, workplace and position prior to arrest, charges, sentence, date of conviction and rehabilitation. In percentage terms, 52 % of these 550 victims were Kazakhs, 17 % Russians, 9 % Uzbeks, 6 % Koreans, 5 % Ukrainians, Jews, Latvians, and Poles, 2 % Tatars, and the remainder included Arabs, Bashkirs, Belarusians, Hungarians, Chinese, Germans, Tajiks, and Uighurs. Of these, 253 were sentenced to death, 8 to 25 years, 9 to 20 years, 1 to 17 years, 24 to 15 years, 2 to 12 years, 141 to 10 years, 23 to 8 years, 2 to 7 years, 5 to 6 years, 27 to 5 years, 2 to 4 years, 7 to 3 years, and 7 to 2 years of imprisonment. Thirty-nine individuals were held for up to one and a half years and later released after their cases were dismissed due to the absence of a criminal offense.

The sentences were issued by various bodies, including the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, the Special Collegium of the South Kazakhstan Regional Court, the Special Collegium of the TurkSib Railway Court, the Special Board of the PCIA of the USSR, the PCIA Commission, the "troikas" of the United State Political Administration in Kazakhstan and regional PCIA offices.

Later, during the Khrushchev Thaw, these individuals were rehabilitated through decisions of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, the Criminal Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR, the Military Tribunal of the Turkestan Military District, the Transport Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and the prosecutors and courts of the Kazakh SSR, South Kazakhstan, Shymkent, Zhambyl, and Kyzylorda regions.

However, there are still many prominent figures of the South whose lives and contributions remain insufficiently studied and whose names have not been included in existing compilations, even though they were later rehabilitated. One of the shortcomings of the ongoing research in this area is that the stories of victims of repression from among non-Kazakh ethnic groups in the region have not been sufficiently publicized, and there are relatively few researchers working on them. Among such individuals, we may include Abdiraiym Askarov, who once headed the political education department of the Shymkent District Education Administration. In truth, the biography of this man, born in the Karabulak settlement near the city, who began as a village teacher, later became a school principal, and eventually caught the attention of regional education authorities and rose to higher administrative positions, remains incomplete. It is beyond doubt that the relevant archival materials concerning his life and work in the field of education are still preserved in regional archives. Therefore, it would be appropriate in the future to undertake a deeper study of the life and public service of such leading representatives of enlightenment from the Uzbek community as A. Askarov. In doing so, one should also draw upon periodical publications of that time. Indeed, one article concerning Askarov was discovered in the national newspaper *Enbekshi Qazaq*, a leading publication of that period. In its issue dated January 9, 1927, a short piece titled "The Work of the Education Department", written by Duisebaiuly, head of the Shymkent district education department, reported the following:

"...In the Shymkent district there are 160 rural schools. Until recently, the education department had no knowledge of the deficiencies of these schools, what the teachers were doing, or who the pupils were, and therefore worked without a proper plan. In 1925, the head of the education

department, Myltykbaiuly, misappropriated 1,200 rubles, the head of the political education department, Askaruly, 898 rubles, and the secretary, Baidyuk, 200 rubles. Although the commission submitted its findings to the prosecutor, the case was left unresolved. Later, a man named Akzhan took over and embezzled 150 rubles. The expenses of rural schools were supposed to come from the local soviet (bolatkom) funds. At the beginning of winter, when teachers complained about the schools' poor condition, the bolatkoms ignored them, and some teachers used this as an excuse not to work while still receiving their salaries. Since November, political organizers from the education department have been sent to inspect village schools. If nothing changes, the work of the Shymkent district education department will continue as before. We have begun to bring order to the district's educational affairs, and higher education authorities should also provide oversight.” (Enbekshi Qazaq, 1927).

Articles of this kind appeared frequently in both republican and regional press between 1925 and 1930, which makes it difficult to determine the full truth of the accusations against Askarov. Although he was ethnically Uzbek, Askarov actively participated in the district's political and educational affairs. He worked closely with notable southern educators and intellectuals such as Musa Myltykbayev, Seilbek Usenov, and Tanirbergen Otarbayev, as well as with journalists and writers, earning a reputation as a dedicated public servant rather than an incompetent official. Unfortunately, very little information exists about the later fate and professional trajectory of those whose cases were brought to court. Even the workplace of Abdirayim Askarov prior to his execution remains unknown.

Another victim of political repression was Aleksandr Romanovich Belimenko (1888–1938), born in the village of Petropavlovka, Pavlograd district, Ekaterinoslav province. He was Ukrainian by nationality and a member of the RSDLP(b) since 1913. Before his arrest, he served as the director of the Shymkent Chemical and Pharmaceutical Plant.

On March 10, 1937, by resolution No. 7 of the Bureau of the Shymkent City Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), he was expelled from the Party for alleged involvement in a counterrevolutionary Trotskyist organization.

The PCIA Directorate for South Kazakhstan Province arrested him on August 1, 1937. On February 19, 1938, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court sentenced him to death under Articles 58–6, 7, 8, and 11 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (SASPHTR. F. 40. Inv. 1k. C. 2937).

He had already been reprimanded on December 4, 1936, for “anti-Party activity” related to the sale of a music box and records containing counterrevolutionary songs to the plant committee. Belimenko was also accused of showing undue favor to Trotskyists and exiles, particularly to an engineer named Korodev, whom he promoted to deputy director, and of hiring “socially alien elements” such as exiled accountants Botkin, Shkolnik, and Khatimskiy.

Further charges included employing Raisa Konstantinovna Sokolova, who allegedly had foreign connections. The investigators claimed that Belimenko developed a personal relationship with her, gifted her a comfortable apartment, furnished it with expensive furniture at the plant's expense, and sent her on a business trip to Moscow under the pretext of “procuring morphine,” costing the factory 700 rubles. She was said to have gained influence over hiring and firing decisions, contributing to mismanagement and production failures, including a two-month shutdown of the anabasine workshop.

Belimenko persecuted workers for criticizing him in the spirit of Bolshevik self-criticism. He removed Comrade Tursynov, a party member who had worked at the factory for 25 years, from his position as shop manager after Tursynov voiced criticism at a production meeting, and even attempted to have him dismissed from the factory. After a party meeting where shortcomings in production were discussed, Belimenko reprimanded party member Shamin for defects in production and demoted Comrade Zhuravlev from assistant shop manager to foreman for expressing criticism of him.

In 1935, the old Trotskyist leadership of the chemical-pharmaceutical plant issued a special directive to the Shymkent Chemical-Pharmaceutical Combine instructing the dismissal of Communists from their jobs. Belimenko sought to carry out this counterrevolutionary directive and succeeded in having groups of Communists dismissed from work.

Belimenko was also accused of embezzling and misusing factory funds. He spent much of his time on business trips to Moscow, where his family lived. For instance, on January 7, 1936, he departed for Moscow and remained there for 65 days, spending 3,647 rubles and 70 coins on this trip. The expense report indicated 724 rubles for accommodation, although in reality Belimenko stayed in his own apartment in Moscow. Moreover, he used the director's fund excessively for his personal breakfast and lunch expenses. According to the records, he received 1,300 rubles from the factory fund for February and April (Political Repressions, 2003: 77–78). Despite such grave accusations, this individual also became a target of the Stalinist terror system and eventually fell victim to its machinery of repression.

Indeed, even beyond the well-known regional figures, many ordinary workers also fell victim to repression. Those who survived often lived the rest of their lives ostracized from society and endured great suffering. One such individual was Kaul Daulov, born in Shymkent, Shymkent District, Syrdarya Oblast. He was of Uzbek nationality and worked as an ordinary collective farmer at the Ernazarov village until his expulsion from the Party in 1918.

On December 23, 1937, he was arrested by the Directorate of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (PCIA) of the South Kazakhstan Oblast. Two days later, on December 25, the Bureau of the Shymkent City Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Kazakhstan issued Protocol No. 37, expelling K. Daulov from the Party as a "enemy of the people." Subsequently, on December 30 of the same year, the PCIA troika of the South Kazakhstan Oblast sentenced him to ten years of imprisonment under Articles 58–2, 58–7, 58–8, and 58–11 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. However, on May 7, 1955, the Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the USSR annulled the troika's decision, ruling that there was no *corpus delicti* and closing the case (SASPHTR. F. 16. Inv. 1L. C. 884).

In fact, Kaul Daulov had once been a highly respected figure in the region. During the 1920s and 1930s, he was well known in the cities of Chernyaev and Tashkent, and his name frequently appeared in newspapers. In Shymkent, he was regularly elected as a member of the presidium at major public events. He served as a delegate to the 4th and 6th provincial congresses of the Turkestan Communist Party, as well as to regional and city conferences. In August 1921, the entire city of Shymkent ceremoniously saw him off as he departed to attend the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

He was the first citizen from southern Kazakhstan to receive such a high honor as to represent his region at the Party Congress. At the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), he had the rare privilege of meeting and speaking with V. I. Lenin, as well as taking a commemorative photograph with him.

However, after the political purges of 1937–1938, the local authorities sought to erase his name from public memory. During the period of political repression, Kaul Daulov lived in Shymkent at 44 Nerovnaya Street.

After the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the rehabilitation of victims of political repression was issued on January 16, 1989, his son, Tolen Daulov, a second-degree invalid and resident of the Telman district of Shymkent, submitted an official request to the archives. He began collecting copies of documents related to his father. Among the first materials he obtained were the decisions declaring Daulov an "enemy of the people" and expelling him from the Party for alleged "sabotage work" at the Ernazarov village.

"According to the stories of the elders, my father was a well-known man; it would be wrong to say that nothing about him has been preserved. I was very young when he passed away, and I have no documents about him. Please help me reconstruct his biography and learn more about his life. I also ask for your help in clarifying his ethnicity since some documents incorrectly list him as Uyghur," he wrote in a letter to the regional archives.

In order to assist Tolen in finding accurate information about his father, archivists reached out to archival institutions in several cities across the Soviet Union. Soon they received responses from Tashkent, Moscow, and other cities, which included copies of delegate questionnaires from the Party Congress, biographical data, and other important documents sent via postal service.

From these documents, it became clear that Kaul Daulov, a native of Chernyaev (now Shymkent), was ethnically Uzbek and came from a family of farm laborers. Orphaned at the age of seven, he began working for a merchant named Babkevich at ten and later served as a farmhand for the head of the Chernyaev prison, Zhiltsov, and a wealthy landowner, Khozhanazarov. At twenty-nine, he found employment at a cotton factory. In 1916, during World War I, he was conscripted for labor service at the front and sent to Petrograd as a soldier in a labor battalion, where he served for about a year.

This period proved to be formative in his life. While in Petrograd, he befriended local soldiers, observed the conditions and sentiments of workers, read newspapers and pamphlets, and gained firsthand insight into the social atmosphere of pre-revolutionary Petrograd.

In June 1917, upon his return from Russia, Daulov began participating in underground meetings in Chernyaev with political exiles such as N. Morozov and A. Kalashnikov. Beyond that, he met with local workers, telling them about the lives of Petersburg laborers and their struggles for rights. When news broke in October 1917 that the Tsar had been overthrown, Daulov climbed atop the mosque during the first public meeting and addressed the crowd. He spoke passionately about the revolution that had cast off the yoke of oppressors, proclaiming that power and land now belonged to the people, factories were being handed over to workers, and the rule of the wealthy had come to an end.

His words infuriated the local elites. Dragging him down, they began to beat him mercilessly, nearly killing him. Afterward, Daulov and his family faced harassment and persecution. To avoid further danger, he moved with his family to Mankent. Yet Kalashnikov, sending repeated messengers, urged Daulov to return. When he did, Daulov became deeply involved in organizing the establishment of Soviet power. Acting on instructions from city leaders, he and Rakhmankul Khanaliev delivered a letter from the Chernyaev Communards to the Turkestan Central Committee in Tashkent, seeking guidance on how to build a new life. They returned with Mikhail Ivanovich Zibarev, a representative of the Central Committee, who helped establish governing bodies and communications with the Turkestan Committee, later becoming the first head of the Chernyaev District.

Zibarev also formed workers' militias, and Daulov joined the Red Guard ranks. These very detachments repelled an attempted invasion in January 1919, when rebel troops under former Tsarist officer Osipov advanced toward Shymkent after staging an uprising in Tashkent. Osipov's band was ultimately destroyed.

By March 1918, Daulov had become one of the first members of the RCP (Bolsheviks) and soon led the old city party cell, serving as district committee secretary. When communal farms began forming that year, he was elected as the first chairman of one such commune. Daulov approached the task with zeal, studying arable lands, organizing sowing and irrigation, and ensuring timely harvests. His dedication and organizational talent earned him public respect and trust. In recognition, he was elected as a delegate to regional congresses in 1919 and 1921, and to the 10th Congress of the RCP(b) in Tashkent.

Under his leadership, communes achieved notable results by 1929. That October, as part of a Syr Darya district delegation, Daulov traveled to the Central Executive Committee in Almaty to report that the district's grain procurement plan had been overfulfilled (Political Repressions, 2003: 157).

During the collectivization period in 1930, he again played a key role. He was sent to Arys district as an experienced organizer of agricultural communes. There, the members of the newly formed Kalinin collective farm elected him chairman. His persistence and competence revived struggling farms, leading officials to transfer him successively to the Telman and Kuibyshev collectives to restore order. By 1935, he was serving as party organizer of the Ernazarov collective farm.

Despite his devoted service to the Soviet cause, on December 24, 1937, Daulov was arrested as an "enemy of the people," accused of "sabotage" within the collective. Archival documents from Moscow reveal that he spent ten years in labor camps, first in Komsomolsk-on-Amur (1937–1941), then at the Nikita state farm in the Jewish Autonomous Region. Throughout the investigation, he consistently denied guilt, yet was convicted based on the testimonies of Baymetov, Satybaldiev, and Mukhitdinov, who claimed that he was part of a nationalist-terrorist, insurgent, and espionage

organization seeking to overthrow Soviet power, detach Kazakhstan from the USSR, and establish a bourgeois Kazakh state under Japanese protection. Alongside Daulov, fifteen others were arrested on similar charges.

During his interrogation on December 25, 1937, an PCIA officer asked, “Do you admit to being a member of an anti-Soviet nationalist organization?” Daulov replied, “I do not know of any anti-Soviet nationalist organization; I have never belonged to one, nor have I acted against Soviet power.” Nevertheless, an indictment was drawn up based on the statement of another accused, Baymatov, who alleged: “Among the members of the anti-Soviet nationalist organization I know Abdurasakov, Daulov, the accused Satybaldiev, and Mirzaev...”

On December 30, 1937, the PCIA troika for South Kazakhstan reviewed the case and sentenced the members of the alleged anti-Soviet, nationalist, terrorist-insurgent, and espionage organization, which was said to aim at destroying Soviet power in Kazakhstan and the USSR. The resolution claimed that the group conducted sabotage in industry and agriculture, prepared armed uprisings, and planned terrorist acts against the leadership of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet government. Daulov was accused of being one of its active participants, supposedly organizing nationalist propaganda among the Uzbek population. Investigators further alleged that, as party organizer of the Ernazarov collective farm, he had allowed its collapse, while the farm’s chairman, Mirzaev, falsified reports on the cotton harvest (SASPHTR. F. 165. Inv. 1. C. 878).

As a result, among the fifteen arrested individuals, three, Makhkambai Mirzaev, chairman of the Ernazarov collective; Zhakyp Zhorabekov, chairman of the Kirov collective; and Yuldash Khodzhaev, a former wealthy mullah, were sentenced to death, while the rest received ten-year prison terms. Despite the vagueness and unreliability of the testimonies, this honorable man was unjustly condemned.

In 1940, the decree issued by the PCIA troika on December 30, 1937, was annulled, and among those serving sentences, the term of Gulmetov, one of the organization’s members, was reduced to five years, while the others were released. However, this decision never reached Vladivostok, nor Daulov himself, nor the public. Daulov served the entirety of his sentence. Severely ill, he returned from the camp only in January 1948, at the age of sixty-five. His wife, Momyn, and their children, sons Nashimbai and Tolebai and daughters Umsin and Nuri, could not withstand the persecution and hardships of being branded “the family of an enemy of the people” and passed away.

On May 7, 1955, the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the USSR reviewed the resolution of the PCIA troika of South Kazakhstan Region dated December 30, 1937, regarding Daulov. The court determined that there was no corpus delicti in his actions and annulled the criminal case. Daulov was fully rehabilitated.

At the age of seventy, Daulov married again and took a job as an ordinary collective farm worker at the Telman collective farm. Yet nothing changed over the years, society continued to reject him. He and his new family lived in extreme poverty. This is confirmed by a 1958 report from local veterans stating: “Seventy-five-year-old Daulov lives with his wife and three children, aged one, three, and five. They live in severe destitution; they have no chairs, beds, or warm clothing. Their house is dilapidated, without lighting, and when it rains or snows, water pours through the holes in the roof”.

The criminal case against Daulov clearly demonstrates that the accusations were fabricated during the years of political repression. The investigation lacked concrete evidence, relying primarily on false testimonies from other defendants, a practice that was widely used during the Stalinist purges, which cost the lives of countless innocent citizens.

The sentences and interrogation records of those unjustly convicted during the 1937–1938 political purges must be closely examined. In the early stages of the mass repressions, harsh sentences for “insurgents, terrorists, and nationalist saboteurs” were issued by republican-level “duos.” By 1938, under N.I. Yezhov’s Order No. 00606, the authority to sentence “enemies of the people” was transferred to “special troikas” (Vertikal i gorizontal Bolshogo terrora, 2024: 104–105).

Although the composition of these “troikas” was not formally approved by Moscow, they typically included the head of the PCIA, the regional prosecutor, and the first secretary of the regional

committee. Between September and November 1938, such “special troikas” were rapidly established in North, South, West, and East Kazakhstan, as well as in Kostanay, Aktobe, Karaganda, Almaty, Kyzylorda, Guryev, and Pavlodar regions, carrying out large-scale executions and imprisonments under the aforementioned directive.

The majority of those subjected to repression were sentenced under Yezhov’s earlier Order No. 00447, initially aimed at “kulaks and criminals,” but later extended to other “anti-Soviet elements.” During the peak years of repression, approximately 27,000 people were convicted in Kazakhstan, nearly half of whom were executed.

In 1938 alone, the PCIA Commission and the Prosecutor’s Office of the Kazakh SSR sentenced around 3,000 individuals, while the “special troikas” issued verdicts against approximately 5,800 more (Zhanbosinova, et al., 2019: 1–5).

In fact, the responsibility for carrying out mass operations in 1937–1938 fell to the heads of regional PCIA administrations, among them A.P. Panov (North Kazakhstan), S.F. Pintel and M.Ya. Kalnin (South Kazakhstan), M.K. Romeiko and A.P. Uzlikov (West Kazakhstan), K.A. Pavlov and M.E. Tyurin (Kostanay), B.N. Chirkov (East Kazakhstan), F.P. Demidov (Aktobe), and A.V. Adamovich (Karaganda), etc. All of them led their respective regional PCIA offices and served within the “troika” structure. However, the composition of these “troikas” frequently changed as the repressive operations continued.

Following the elevation of the Kazakh ASSR to the status of a Union Republic in early 1937, the local PCIA administration was reorganized into the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Kozybaev, et al., 2024: 52–53). At the provincial level, operational sectors were established to oversee city and district offices, conducting investigations and implementing verdicts independently. During the height of terror, not only state security investigators but also employees of local police, municipal offices, and village councils were mobilized. Personnel from passport offices and local councils assisted in preparing background reports.

The central PCIA leadership demanded the “exposure” of “counter-revolutionary organizations” and “vast spy networks,” thereby broadening the scope of repression. The regime sought to demonstrate the existence of a widespread anti-Soviet conspiracy and this objective was achieved through fabricated cases. Many detainees were accused not only of “counter-revolutionary” offenses but also of various economic or administrative crimes invented by the investigators. The falsified nature of these cases is indirectly confirmed by the fact that, by the end of 1938, about 66 % of criminal proceedings had been terminated, and many accused were released (Baltabaeva, et al., 2022: 106).

Those arrested were subjected to both physical and psychological coercion. Information about mass execution sites in the republic remained scarce. PCIA officers who conducted mass operations were awarded state honors, bonuses, and promotions, though many were later expelled from the Party and stripped of their titles. Between 1939 and 1941, about 7,500 PCIA officers across the USSR were dismissed, and 1,500 of them were convicted. In Kazakhstan, approximately 13 % of PCIA personnel were removed for “politically suspicious activities” and “violations of investigative procedures” (Kozybaev, 2019: 335).

Thus, in the southern region as well, many PCIA officers who sentenced innocent citizens to death were later prosecuted for “violating socialist legality.” Among those convicted were heads of regional departments, operational administrations, and city and district PCIA branches. The political repression in South Kazakhstan, and the fates of those unjustly persecuted, demand careful examination of archival materials still held in classified collections to reveal the full truth of those tragic years.

Conclusion

Regional studies show that during the 1930s political purges, the local intelligentsia of South Kazakhstan were accused as “enemies of the people” and punished for alleged opposition to the Soviet government’s economic and ideological policies. The events of political repression in the region profoundly affected not only individuals but also the broader social, cultural, and spiritual

fabric of society. Citizens were criminally prosecuted for issues related to collectivization, taxation, and labor obligations. The extensive use of certain legal provisions enabled the false prosecution of intellectuals and professionals across sectors. The consequences of political repression led to the disintegration of traditional family structures and the collapse of social relations. Studying the history of political repression in South Kazakhstan remains highly relevant today, not only to uncover the tragic pages of the past but also to preserve historical memory and restore justice. Future research should analyze the personal testimonies and family narratives of the victims’ descendants, as they offer invaluable insight into the enduring legacy of those repressive years.

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