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WOMEN FROM SHUSHA WHO WERE EXPOSED TO REPRESSION
DURING THE “GREAT TERROR”: IN THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS
OF THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF
AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

During the research, we tried to find answers to the following questions. First of all, was the Soviet government innately ruthless only against its enemies? Secondly, after years, what was the evidence of the acquittals (verdict of “not guilty”) given to those people? It should be noted that not all of the results obtained through the study of the documents of the women from Shusha and their family members available in our state archives and information collected about them from other sources are scientific novelty. This work nevertheless provides valuable material and insights, because we essentially used the archive documents of the State Security Service of the Republic of Azerbaijan. By the way, we used documents of the Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, too. These sources gave us very detailed information about this issue. Another advantage of that, they help us to explain the meaning of the “Great terror”. Because great terror was “great” not only in terms of the numbers of its victims, but also in its great quantity of perpetrators, and that it was the regime’s combining of “democracy campaigns” with the hunt for “enemies” that blurred the difference between hunter and hunted. Overall, this article is a unique investigation (only the families of the women from Shusha were studied) which confirms the results of the various studies on repression conducted earlier. This work is a valuable addition to the picture of the terror in Shusha, in the historical city of Azerbaijan.

Keywords: Shusha, political repression, totalitarian, exile, “the great terror”

LE DONNE DI SHUSHA ESPOSTE ALLA REPRESSIONE DURANTE IL
«GRANDE TERRORE»: NEI DOCUMENTI D’ARCHIVIO DEL SERVIZIO DI
SICUREZZA DI STATO DELLA REPUBBLICA DELL’AZERBAIGIAN

SINTESI

Durante la ricerca abbiamo cercato di trovare risposte alle seguenti domande. Innanzitutto, il governo sovietico era intrinsecamente spietato solo contro i suoi nemici? In secondo luogo, a distanza di anni, quali erano le prove delle assoluzioni (i verdetti

di «non colpevolezza») date a queste persone? Va notato che non tutti i risultati ottenuti attraverso lo studio dei documenti delle donne di Shusha e dei loro familiari disponibili nei nostri archivi di Stato e le informazioni raccolte su di loro da altre fonti sono una novità scientifica. Comunque riteniamo che il nostro lavoro fornisce materiale e spunti preziosi. Essenzialmente abbiamo utilizzato i documenti d'archivio del Servizio di sicurezza di Stato della Repubblica dell'Azerbaijan e, inoltre, abbiamo utilizzato anche i documenti dell'Archivio del Ministero degli Affari Interni della Repubblica dell'Azerbaijan. Queste fonti ci hanno fornito informazioni molto dettagliate sulla questione. Un altro vantaggio è che ci aiutano a spiegare il significato del «Grande terrore». Difatti, il grande terrore era «grande» non solo in termini numerici delle sue vittime, ma anche per la grande quantità di carnefici, e che fu il regime a combinare le «campagne per la democrazia» con la caccia ai «nemici» per confondere la differenza tra cacciatori e prede. Nell'insieme, l'articolo è una indagine unica nel suo genere (sono state studiate solo le famiglie delle donne di Shusha) che conferma i risultati dei vari studi sulla repressione condotti in precedenza. Si tratta di una preziosa integrazione al quadro del terrore a Shusha, nella storica città dell'Azerbaijan.

Parole chiave: Shusha, repressione politica, totalitario, esilio, «il grande terrore»

INTRODUCTION

The choice of name for the waves of Stalinist repression in 1937 and 1938 is crucial to any analysis of the period. Following Robert Conquest's terminology, many Western historians refer to the period as the "Great Terror" (Conquest, 1990). In Russian the period is often called the "Ezhovshchina," or the "era of Ezhov." At the beginning of July in 1937, Joseph Stalin abruptly decided to launch a mass purge of Soviet society that extended far beyond the purges of state and Communist Party elites already under way. Stalin and his political police chief, Nikolai Ezhov, ordered local party bosses and police chiefs to prepare for mass arrests of "criminals" and "former kulaks"—the latter term referring to those peasants who were exiled from their homes during the collectivization of Soviet agriculture in the early 1930s and had been kept under surveillance by the local police ever since. At the end of the month, Stalin and Ezhov provided local police chiefs with arrest and execution quotas for every administrative region of the USSR and instructed them to begin what were termed "mass operations of repression of kulaks, criminals, and other anti-Soviet elements." These operations were to begin on August 5, 10, or 15, depending on the region of the country. The initial waves of arrests in the fall of 1937 were expansive enough, but as the weeks of mass operations turned into months, local police made use of whatever means

they could to fulfill the demands emanating from Moscow for continued arrests of “anti-Soviet elements.” After local police administrations exhausted readily available categories of suspects, they swept up individuals in raids of public squares or open air markets and arrested them for lack of proper identification, or they arrested individuals known to them as petty criminals, vagrants, or individuals otherwise on the margins of Soviet society. The mass operations were nothing like the well-known purges of Communist Party and state elites—the Moscow “show trials” of top party leaders, the purge of the party at large, and the devastating purge of the Red Army—which wracked the Soviet Union at the same time and which, for fifty years after they occurred, were synonymous with Stalin’s “Great Terror.” Stalin and Ezhov maintained tight control over these operations, but they approved continual expansions of arrests and executions throughout 1937 and 1938. By the time Stalin called off the mass operations in late November 1938, the NKVD had sentenced some 1.15 million people. Roughly 683,000 were shot, representing the vast majority of the individuals executed by the regime in these two appalling years of Stalinist terror (Hagenloh, 2009, 1–2).

In the paper we have aimed to bring the results obtained through the collection, systematization and analysis of existing materials, especially archival documents in the state archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in the press and other sources about repressed women from Shusha into scientific circulation.

When we get acquainted with those women’s documents involved in the research, it becomes clear that the main point of the articles they were accused in the court are identical to each other (articles: 63, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 130), and one point is the same. That is, the main reason they were considered “guilty” was that they were “family members of traitors”. Women, whose husbands were executed by shooting as “traitors of the country”, “anti-revolutionaries”, “musavatists” and so on, (cf. Table 2) were not only sentenced to life in prison and exile, but also had their tender age children taken from them. Even pregnant women were not spared. During the research, we tried to find answers to the following questions. Was the Soviet government innately ruthless only against its enemies? What was the evidence of the rehabilitations given to those people years later?

WAS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT INNATELY RUTHLESS ONLY AGAINST ITS ENEMIES?

Beginning from April 28, 1920, as a result of the arbitrariness and violence committed on the basis of laws against human rights by the totalitarian state regime hundreds of thousands of innocent people were repressed for their political beliefs, activities, thinking differently and other reasons in the territory of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 1996). Although the peak of the state terror and repression against its citizens was considered to be 1937–1938 years, in fact, during the Soviet regime, repressions were almost always carried out. This was due to the essence and ideology of this regime. The regime,

which was constantly looking for class enemies, anti-Soviet elements, “traitors of the motherland”, organized these repressions and terror purposefully. Anyone could be its target.

Those, arrested during the harsher repressions in the 1930s, were subjected to severe torture, and laws were not observed in the process of court. As a result of the 10–15 minute court, dozens of people were sentenced to the most severe punishment. Due to the large number of prisoners, such courts were conducted by “troikas” (a group consisting of three men) made up of senior officials. Not only the person declared an “enemy of the people”, instituted criminal proceedings against his relatives and friends and they were subjected to severe punishments. These punitive measures left a heavy mark on the fate of many people - women, children, and the elderly. The years of repression are called the period of “great terror” not without reason (Ismailov, 2015). If we pay attention to the archival documents, we will see that during this terror only on July 30, 1937, in the operating order No. 00447 of the ECPD of the USSR, they were branded as Ittihadists, Musavatists and counter-revolutionaries, and from August 5, 5.250 people in Azerbaijan were ordered to be repressed (Lubyanka, 2004, 273–275). The city of Shusha of Azerbaijan was also involved into this historical process; not only individuals of Shusha who were branded as anti-Soviet, anti-Bolshevik, counter-revolutionary were shot, mass deportation of Azerbaijanis was organized in the mountainous part of Karabakh as a whole (Mammadov, 2008, 71). Against the background of all these events, the women of Shusha, which we studied in the article, became victims of this “great terror” as well. Although the number of women involved in the investigation was 19, this meant the repression of 19 families and all their close relatives, but not 19 people. It is supposed that the repressed women from Shusha were more than 19. However, as a result of the research conducted in the Archives of the State Security Service of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, we could investigate the documents of 19 Shusha women and their husbands and some family members. As these studies are continued in the future, it is very likely that new persons and facts will be revealed.

Based on the documents collected from the archives, some statistical analyses were conducted and the following results were obtained:

1. The archival documents of 7 out of 19 repressed families contain information about their children (names and dates of birth). These 7 families had 22 children. 17 of the children were of tender age when their parents were arrested. (Among them even 1 child was 2 months old, 1 child was 11 months old.)
2. At the time of arrest, 7 out of 19 women from Shusha were between 20–25 years old, 10 were between 26–40 years old, 1 was 42, and 1 was 60 years old. (Table 1)
3. Among the women, 8 had higher education, 2 – secondary education, 1 – primary education and 8 had no education.
4. Among the women, 15 had no party affiliation, 2 were members of Azerbaijan K (b) P, and no exact information about party affiliation of the 2.

5. Among the arrested men, 1 was 25 years old, 16 were between 26–50 years old, and 2 were over 60. (Table 2)
6. Among the men, 7 had higher education, 1 – secondary education, and 1 – primary education. There is no information about the education of 1 person. (Table 2)
7. Among the men, 9 had no party affiliation, 7 were members of Azerbaijan K (b) P, 2 were claimed to be members of the Musavat Party, and 1 to be a member of the Ittihad Party. (Table 2)

Despite the fact that some of the collected materials about women from Shusha are systematized and given in the table below (cf. Table 1), we need to present the information of several families in more detail in order to get the answer to the question “*Was the Soviet government merciless only against its enemies?*”. This will allow us to understand better what was happened.

One of the victims of repression is Hajiyev Khanlar Abdul Huseyn oglu, who was born in 1901 in the city of Shusha, the husband of Hajiyeva Gulustan Bahlul gizi. He had only primary education. Khanlar Hajiyev served in the army from the age of 16 and even became an officer. He was a member of the All-Union Communist (b) Party since 1925. In the last years of his life, he worked as a captain in the Goychay District Military Commissariat, and was the chief of the 77th Azerbaijan Artillery Regiment in charge of supplies. He was convicted in court under category I for alleged counter-revolutionary activity. Those convicted under this category were shot. During his trial, he was accused of being a member of a Trotskyist-Zinovyev counter-revolutionary organization and a terrorist center in Azerbaijan. Allegedly, in the Azerbaijani divisional formations he tried to overthrow the Soviet government by armed means and create a bourgeois-nationalist state. First, he was charged with articles 72, then 64, 70 and 73 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR and was shot on January 3, 1938 with his property confiscated. He was acquitted on July 30, 1957, as the accusations were proved to be groundless (ASSRA-AWR, 13896, 1–12). His wife Hajiyeva Gulustan Bahlul gizi was born in 1910 in the city of Shusha. She was also able to study only at the primary level. On October 27, 1937, she was accused and arrested under Articles 72–73 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR. When she was sentenced, her daughter Turan was a one-month-old baby. Although her husband was rehabilitated in 1957, the acquittal of Gulistan was delayed until July 2, 1997. Gulistan died in 1983 (ASSRA-AWR, 8829, 1–3).

Askerov Baba Abi oglu, the husband of Khalifazadeh Surayya from Shusha, was born in 1902 in Guba district. He was a member of All-Union C (b) P since 1922. In 1930, he graduated from the Azerbaijan State University, and in 1932, he was admitted to the post-graduate course of the Azerbaijan State Scientific Research Institute. He was first accused of allegedly spreading Trotskyism among students, and later was arrested on May 21, 1937, as a member of a terrorist insurgent organization that actively participated in the preparation of a terrorist act against Mir Jafar Bagirov, according to articles 64, 70, 73 of the CC of the Azerbaijan SSR. He was shot on October 12, 1937. He was acquitted on May 12, 1956, as the accusations were false and the claims had no

basis (OPENLIST, 2022a). His wife, Khalifazadeh Surayya Suleyman gizi was born in 1906 in Shusha, grew up there. In 1924, she was among the first 17 women graduates of the Higher Pedagogical Institute. From October 14, 1937, until her arrest, she worked as a teacher at secondary school number 13 in Baku. From February 2, 1938 to October 15, 1945, she was imprisoned in the “Akmolinsk Camp of Wives of Traitors to the Motherland” (ALZhIR) in harsh conditions (ALZhIR).

Fatma and Anvar Tutayug sisters, like Surayya Khalifazadeh, were among the first women educators with higher education. In 1922, Fatma Tutayug Khaspolad giri was sent to study at the newly opened Azerbaijan Higher Pedagogical Girls’ Institute in Baku by the educational department of Shusha district and successfully completed her studies (Khalilzadeh, 2014, 10). Fatma and Anvar Tutayugs have always attracted attention as the most active Komsomol members from the years of their education. They remained loyal to the communist ideology almost until the end of their lives. However, after their husbands’ cooperation with the secretly operating Karabakh Provincial Committee of the Musavat party was discovered they both were also subjected to repression (According to the criminal case against Hashim Feyzullayev, the husband of Fatma Tutayug, he was allegedly elected a member of the Karabakh Provincial Committee of the Musavat Party, which operated secretly in 1926) (Guliyev, 2011a, 6–7).

Anvar Khaspolad gizi Tutayug divorced from her first husband Ayyub Hajiyev and married a certain Yusif Jabrailov. Despite this, in 1937, when Ayyub Hajiyev was arrested, Anvar Tutayug was also accused (Guliyev, 2011b, 6–7). In the year of her arrest, Anvar Tutayug was admitted to the Medical Institute. On April 9, 1938, she was sent to Bail prison. Anvar Tutayug was sentenced for 8 years and sent to the Temnikov city corrective labor camp in the Mordva ASSR. In May 1938, Anvar, pregnant when she was imprisoned, had to give birth to her son in prison camp No. 15 in Yavash settlement, Potma district of Moscow province. A two-month-old baby named Khaspolad was taken from her and sent to an orphanage, and she herself was sent to exile. On September 9, 1938, at the age of 28 Anvar died of a heart attack (Guliyev, 2011b, 6–7).

Mammadov Ali Samad oglu, the husband of another woman from Shusha, Mehmandarova Surayya Alinagi gizi, was elected as a representative to the 1st Congress of the Communists of Azerbaijan in Lankaran district in 1919. He graduated from the Y.M.Sverdlov Communist University in Moscow. In different years, he was the head of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Lankaran district, the instructor of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan C (b)P, secretary of the Party Committee of the Lankaran district, head of the Executive Committee of the Ganja district, the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, head of the Executive Committee of Aghdam district, People’s Finance Commissar of the Azerbaijan SSR, head of the Executive Committee of Gutgashen (Gabala) District, Commissioner of the Azerbaijan Office of the Grain Supply Department, member of C(b) CC of Azerbaijan, CEC of Azerbaijan, CEC, USSR CEC of Transcaucasia and UC (b)P of Transcaucasian Country Committee Inspection Commission. However,

he was arrested on false charges and shot on January 7, 1938. He was acquitted on September 29, 1956, considering that the charges were groundless. (It should be noted that in his young years, he was also a member of the “Yeni Javanlar” musavat youth organization in Lankaran since 1916) (Guliyev, 2019, 334–335).

Mehmandarova Surayya Alinagi gizi was one of the intelligent women of the famous Mehmandarov kin. She was arrested on July 15, 1938 and sent to a corrective labor camp for 5 years, and was released from prison in 1943. On December 7, 1948, she was under judicial investigation for contacting “family members of enemies of the people”, and on January 14, 1949, she was again imprisoned for 5 years. She was rehabilitated on September 29, 1956 (Guliyev, 2019, 333–340).

One of the victims of repression was Hajiyeva Rafiga Hassan gizi, who was born in Shusha in 1922. She was charged with Article 63–3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR and arrested on January 20, 1949. Rafiga Hajiyeva, who was rehabilitated on March 14, 1956, had no party affiliation. In her personal file, information is also given about her sister Hajiyeva Sanubar Hassan gizi. It turns out that her sister’s husband was Hassanov Garyagdi Ziyad oglu, who worked at the USSR embassy to Turkey. Hassanov Garyagdi refuses to return to the USSR in 1947. As Hajiyeva Sanubar Hassan gizi moved to her husband in 1946, both were accused of treason. Although the Soviet government could not punish them, it took revenge on Hajiyeva Rafiga Hassan gizi and her husband Zamanov Abbas Fattah oglu. It is true that in the documents it was mentioned that this point was not taken into account in the repression of Rafiga and her husband (ASSSRA-AWR, 542, 1–8).

One of the highly educated women from Shusha was Hajiyeva Faguma Hassan gizi. She graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Azerbaijan State University and became a member of the trade union of employees of higher schools and scientific institutions. She was charged with Article 63-3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR and arrested on January 20, 1949, and on March 9, 1956, she was acquitted as the allegations were proved to be groundless (ASSSRA-AWR, 542, 1–6).

These facts suggest that among the repressed persons, not only members of the Communist Party, but also persons who had been actively participating in this party for many years and who rose to important positions, were easily slandered and sentenced to be shot on false charges. So, even those who loyally served the regime, their lives could end tragically at any moment due to some slander. If one closely looks through the documents stored in the archives, especially the interrogation reports, expert documents created to prove the “guilt” of the defendant, in the vast majority of them you can see the signatures of people of Armenian, Russian and Jewish origin. If it were reasonable that those defendants were guilty, then the vast majority of them could not be acquitted later, even if it was late.

If Surayya Mehmandarova, Fatma and Anvar Tutayugs, Geisu Sadikhova and other well-known women from Shusha were educated and intelligent women of Azerbaijan, and they unjustifiably considered them dangerous and sentenced them to life in exile under the name of “family members of traitors”, the situation of Mehtiyeva Ziba Abdulazim gizi, Alasgarova Khatun Azim gizi and Hajiyeva Gulustan Bahlul gizi and others was

completely different. So, when getting acquainted with their documents, it is known that some of them did not even complete their secondary education. This meant that the Soviet regime invented various pretexts to repress people from all strata of society.

One of the most terrible moments in the implementation of repressions was that it was determined by a special plan and set a quota. In the Soviet government, planning was the main goal in politics, as in economics (They claimed that it was possible to keep all the processes under complete control with this method). So, how many people should be exiled and to which areas they should be exiled was determined in advance. However, in many cases, as they themselves admitted, they exceeded the “quota”.

WHAT IS ACQUITTALS EVINDENCE OF?

March 5, 1953 entered history as the end of the life of I.V.Stalin, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, and the end of mass repressions in the USSR. Since 1954, acquittals have been given to the persons subjected to repression. Although some of the victims of repression were exonerated in 1956 and others in 1960, there were families whose exoneration was delayed until the 1990s. Despite of their acquittal, both they and their children suffered from various diseases and lived in need until the end of their lives.

Even the change of power in the same political system uncovers and exposes the crime committed by the previous government, if it acquits the people who were shot years ago and their family members who were sentenced to exile it proves that the system is imperfect, authoritarian and totalitarian. In other words, the persons sentenced to be shot and their family members who were sentenced to live in exile (as can be seen from the table, many of them died tragically in exile – cf.: Table 1), if the family members were a “serious danger” for the Soviet society, as claimed in the indictment documents and “proved” in the examination documents, then why did that system and its new laws acquit them?! It is true that these acquittals not only failed to restore their lost lives and rights, but also did not even make the difficult life of the majority of the surviving family members easy, because these acquittals were not intended to restore justice and human rights. The main purpose of taking such a step was to replace the members of the old team with new ones, as in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Such acquittals provided them with the opportunity to have a better representation in the government and to place their “new staff” in the authorities by simply proving the crimes of the “old”.

CONCLUSION

It should be noted that not all of the results obtained through the study of the documents of Shusha women and their family members available in our state archives and materials collected about them from other sources are scientific innovations. But it is a unique investigation (only the families of Shusha women were studied) which confirms the results of the various investigations conducted earlier on repression. By its result, this research suggests that if the country’s regime is based on terrorism, anyone, without exception can be a victim of this policy. Because among them there are people with

primary education, who could not write her own name and answer the accusations made in Russian-language court case. There were also women, who were party members, serving the government, as well as quite intelligent and highly educated people. They were simply branded as “traitors” and forced to live in exile. Overall, our research again confirmed that even ordinary women were imprisoned, who posed totally no danger to him or to his regime. Stalin reserved the right to repress those whom he felt might be a threat in the future but even with this version, it is difficult to imagine that many of his victims posed even a future danger.

Table 1: The repressed women

No.	Name, surname and father's name	date and place of birth	Educa-tion	the article which she was charged with	date of arrest	date of acquittal	party affiliation and working place	Reference
1	Alasgarova Khatun Azim gizi	1877, Shusha district, Zarisly village.	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	21.10.1944	-	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 486, 3
2	Hajiyeva Faguma Hasan gizi	1926, Shusha city.	higher	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	20.01.1949	09.03.1956	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 542, 1-6
3	Hajiyeva Gulustan Bahlul gizi	1910, Shusha city	Primary	Article 72 – 75 of the Azerb.SSR CC	27.10.1937	02.07.1997	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 8829, 1-3
4	Hajiyeva Mahira Hasan gizi	1918, Shusha district,	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	20.01.1949	-	-	ASSSRA-AWR, 542, 1-6
5	Hajiyeva Rafiga Hasan gizi	1922, Shusha city.	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	20.01.1949	14.03.1956	She was a member of All-Union C (b)P. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 542, 1-8
6	Khalifazadeh Surayya Suleyman gizi	18.03.1906, Shusha city.	Higher	-	14.10.1937 She was sent to a forced labor camp for 8 years. On 02.02.1938, she was brought from the Baku prison to the Aknola Special Camp of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Karaganda. On 15.10.1945, she was released from the corrective labor camp in Karaganda.	-	No party affiliation. She was a teacher at school No. 13 in Baku.	ALZHR
7	Isazadeh Sura Alasgar gizi	1907, Shusha city	Sec-ondary	Article 72/73 of the Azerb.SSR CC	17.01.1938	-	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 10778, 1-10
8	Isgandarova Hajjar Astan gizi	1919, Shusha district, Shirfan vil.	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	23.09.1942	05.02.1990	No party affiliation. She was a collective farmer in the village of Kosalar, Khankendi district.	ASSSRA-AWR, 4, 3-6
9	Guliyeva Mima Hasan gizi	1923, Shusha city.	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	18.03.1944	19.02.1990	She was a member of All-Union C(b)P. She worked as an accountant in the financial department of Barda district.	ASSSRA-AWR, 464, 1-4, 7, 10
10	Guliyeva Valida Hilal gizi	1914, Shusha city	Sec-ondary	Articles 69, 70 and 73 of the Azerb.SSR CC	09.01.1938	12.01.1956	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 6931, 1-2, 5, 6

11	Mahmudbeyova Antiga Ali gizi	1919, Shusha city.	Higher	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	10.03.1943	08.03.1956	No party affiliation. She was a dentist in an outpatient clinic.	ASSSRA-AWR, 276, 1, 2, 4-7, 13-20
12	Mehmandarova Surayya Alinagi gizi	1910, Shusha city.	higher		She was imprisoned for 5 years on 15.08.1938. On 14.01.1949, she was again sentenced to 5 years prison, pardoned in 1951.	29.09.1956	No party affiliation. She was a resident doctor at the stomatology department of the Azerbaijan Medical Institute, and a sanitary doctor after her release.	Guliyev, 2019, 333-340
13	Mustafayeva Finuza Salim gizi	1905, Shusha city.	Higher	Articles 130, 200 of the Azerb.SSR CC	25.07.1947	07.04.1948	No party affiliation. She was a doctor at the Children's Colony Trust.	ASSSRA-AWR, 125, 5-8, 17, 25
14	Najatova Gamar Gazi gizi	1902, Shusha dist., Qatbaly vil.	-	-	05.10.1937 (Kazakhstan)	-	-	AMIARA-RF, R-814, s.9,16,17, 20
15	Rahimova Leila Maharam gizi	1917, Shusha city	-	Article 63-3of the Azerb.SSR CC	29.12.1943	19.02.1990	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 435, 1, 2, 4, 7
16	Salayeva Zurnud Mammadali gizi	1916, Shusha city	higher (student)	Articles 72-73 of the Azerb.SSR CC.	02.08.1938	04.05.1960	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 8998, 1-6, 9 12-17
17	Shahsuvarova Dilgusha Firudin gizi	1901, Shusha city	-	Articles 72-73 of the Azerb.SSR CC.	04.07.1934 - 20.03.1939	-	No party affiliation. She was a housewife.	ASSSRA-AWR, 12493, 3
18	Tutayug Anvar Khaspolad gizi (later she was married for the second time with Yusif Jabrayilov)	1910, Shusha city	higher (student)	Articles 72-73 of the Azerb.SSR CC.	In April 1938, she was imprisoned for 8 years.	-	No party affiliation. She taught at "Narmaniya" school in Shusha.	Khalilza-deh, 2014, 10; Azadliq, 23.08.2013, 14; Guliyev, 2011b, 6-7
19	Tutayug Fanna Khaspolad gizi	1906, Shusha city	higher	Articles 72-73 of the Azerb.SSR CC.	She was arrested in 1931 and released after a while.	-	No party affiliation. She worked as the director of the city first-class school in Shusha, a teacher, a teacher at the cotton growing technical school in Salyan, after her release from prison, she worked as a teacher of Russian language and literature in various secondary schools, and as a department head at the Ministry of Education of the Azerb. SSR.	Khalilza-deh, 2014, 10; Azadliq, 23.08.2013, 14; Guliyev, 2011a, 6-7

Table 2: *The repressed men*

No.	Name, surname and patronymic	date and place of birth	edu- cation	the article which he was charged with	Date of arrest	date of acquittal	Party affiliation and working place	Reference
1	Javadov Alijavad Mammadali oglu (husband of Mustafayeva Fruzza Salim gizi)	1899, Baku city	high-her	Article 130 of the Azerb. SSR CC.	He was arrested on 24.06.1947.	-	He was a member of All-Union C(b)P. He was the head of the health department of Baku city, Azizbeyov district.	ASSSRA- -AWR, 125, 3,9, 15, 16-23
2	Alasgarov Gafar Huseyn oglu – (husband of Alasgarova Khatun Azim gizi)	1847, Shusha district, Zarisli village.	-	-	21.10.1944	-	No party affiliation. He was an ordinary collective farmer.	ASSSRA- -AWR, 486, 1-3
3	Askarov Baba Abi oglu (husband of Khalilazadeh Surayya)	1902, Guba district.	high-her	Articles 64, 70, 73 of the Azerb.SSR CC	Arrested on 21.05.1937, shot on 12.10.1937.	12.05.1956	In 1932, in 1922, he was admitted to the membership of All-Union C(b)P. He was an employee of the Institute of Party History. From 1928 to 1937, he was a history teacher and deputy dean of the History Faculty of Azerbaijan State University.	OPENLIST, 2022a
4	Feyzullayev Hashim Mustafa oglu (husband of Tutayig Fatma Khaspolad gizi)	1902, Baku gubernia, Agdere vil.	-	-	He was arrested on 02.02.1927 and exiled to the Solovki Islands for 10 years.	-	In the criminal case, he was described as a member of the Musavat organization. No party affiliation. He was a teacher at the cotton growing technical school in Salyan.	Khalilza- -deh, 2014, 10; Azadliq, 23. 08. 2013, 14; Guliyev, 2011a, 6–7
5	Hajiyev Ayyub Ahmad oglu (husband of Tutayig Anvar Khaspolad gizi)	Date of birth is unknown, Karayagin district, Sarajik vil.	-	-	He was arrested on 04.01.1938.	-	He was accused of being musavatist, counter-revolution and anti-Soviet propaganda. In the criminal case, he was described as a member of Musavat since 1935. The working place is unknown.	Khalilza- -deh, 2014, 10; Azadliq, 23. 08. 2013, 14; Guliyev, 2011b, 6–7; OPENLIST, 2022c

6	Hajiyev Khanlar Abdul Hussein oglu (husband of Hajiyeva Gulustan Bahluł gızı)	1901, Shusha city	primary	At first Articles 72-73 of the Azerb.SSR CC, then Articles 64, 70 and 73 of the Azerb. SSR CC.	He was arrested on 26.09.1937 and shot on 03.01.1938.	1956 (30.07.1957)	He was a member of C(b)P from 1925 to 14.10.1937. Since 1934, he was described as a member of the Trotskyst-Zinoviyev counter-revolutionary organization, terrorist center, and national organization in Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan was accused of the overthrow of the Soviet government by armed means and an attempt to create a bourgeois-nationalist state. He served in the army from the age of 16 and became an officer. In the last years of his life, he worked as a captain in Goychay District Military Commissariat. He was the chief of the 77th Azerbaijan Artillery Regiment for supply work.	ASSSRA-AWR, 13896, 1-12; OPENLIST, 2022d
7	Hajiyev Ismayil Isfandyar oglu (Hajiyev Saleh's brother)	1912, Basar-kecher district, Mazra vil.	-	-	He was shot on 15.12.1942.	-	No party affiliation. He was a hydraulic technician.	ASSSRA-AWR, 464, 11-20
8	Hajiyev Mammad Alakbar oglu	1912, Ganja city	-	Article 63-2 of the Azerb. SSR CC	-	-	No party affiliation. He was a teacher at a village school.	ASSSRA-AWR, 464, 23
9	Hajiyev Saleh Isfandyar oglu (husband of Hajiyeva Mina)	1914, Ganja city	secondary	Article 63-3of the Azerb. SSR CC	He was arrested on 27.02.1943 and shot on August 3, 1943.	14.03. 1956	He was a member of the All-Union CP, a member of the Red Army in October 1941. of the 803rd rifle battery He was a battery commander and a teacher.	ASSSRA-AWR, 464, 1-18, 25
10	Isazadeh Mammad Ismail oglu (husband of Isazadeh Sura Alasgar gızı)	1898, Place of birth is unknown.	-	-	He was arrested on 26.08.1937 and shot on 03.01.1938.	05.11.1957	No party affiliation. He was the regiment commander of the 231st infantry regiment and the 77th Azerbaijani infantry division.	ASSSRA-AWR, 10778, 4; Larkin, 2016, 59; OPENLIST, 2022e
11	Iskandarov Murshud Muralim oglu (husband of Iskandarova Hajjar Astan gızı)	1914, Place of birth is unknown.	uneducated	-	He was arrested on 10.03.1942.	-	No party affiliation. He was a Red Army member of the 9th Company, 3rd Battalion and the 775th Infantry Regiment.	ASSSRA-AWR, 4, 7-9

12	Guliyev Ashraf Gulu oglu (husband of Guliyeva Valida Hital gizi)	1908, Shusha city	higher	Articles 69, 70, 72-73 of the Azerb. SSR CC.	Arrested on 04.08.1937 and shot on 13.10.1937.	-	He was a member of the Leninist Young Communist League of Azerbaijan. In the criminal case, he was described as a member of the Trotskyist-Zinoviev counter-revolutionary organization in Azerbaijan. He was a general history teacher at the Higher Pedagogical Institute and Azerbaijan State University. He was the dean of the Faculty of History of the Azerbaijan Pedagogical Institute. He was removed from the higher educational institution for his public activities. (Deputy director of the Institute of History of ANAS in another document - see: OPENLIST, 2022b)	ASSSRA- -AWR, 12493, 1-5, 8, 9, 16, 18, 20
13	Mahmudbeyov Shahlar Ibadulla oglu (husband of Mahmudbeyova Antiga Ali gizi)	1856, Place of birth is unknown.		Article 63-3of the Azerb. SSR CC	05.02.1943		-	ASSSRA- -AWR, 276, 1, 3, 10
14	Mammadov Ali Samad oglu (husband of Mehmandarova Surayya)	1900, Lankaran town.	higher	-	He was shot on 07.01.1938.	29.09.1956	He was a member of the CC of AC(b), CEC of Azerbaijan, CEC of Transcaucasia, CEC of the USSR and All-union C (b) P, inspection commission of the Transcaucasian Country Committee. Since 1916, he has been a member of the Musavat youth organization "Yeni Javanlar" in Lankaran. He actively propagandized in the uyezd. In 1919, was elected a representative to the 1st Congress of Communists of Azerbaijan in Lankaran uyezd. He worked in the positions of the head of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Lankaran uyezd, Instructor of the Central Committee of C(b) P of Azerbaijan, Secretary of Lankaran Uyezd Party Committee, Head of Ganja Uyezd Executive Committee, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, head of Aghdam District Executive Committee, People's Finance Commissioner of the Azerbaijan SSR, Head of the Gutgashen Executive Committee, commissioner of Azerbaijan department of the Grain Supply Office.	Guliyev, 2019, 334-335

15	Novruzov Hajj Gara oğlu	1908, Shusha city.	uneducated	-	He was arrested on 09.03.1942.		No party affiliation. He was a worker, a member of the 9th company, 3rd battalion, 775th infantry regiment of the Red Army.	ASSSRA-AWR, 4, 7, 9-13
16	Rahimzadeh Rasul Abdulla oğlu (husband of Rahimova Leila Maharram gizi)	1904, Goychay district, Garabulag vil.	higher	Article 63-3of the Azerb. SSR CC	He was shot on November 16, 1942.	-	-	ASSSRA-AWR, 15, 1-8
17	Salayev Aga Dadash oğlu (husband of Salayeva Zümrüd Mammədali gizi)	1908, Lankaran town.	higher	Articles 21/64, 70 and 73 of the Azerb.SSR CC	He was arrested on 23.07.1937.		He was a member of the All-Union CP (since 1932). In his criminal case he is accused of being a musavatist. He was the head of the District Department for Public Education of Sabirabad District Executive Committee.	ASSSRA-AWR, 6254, 6-8, 10-14
18	Shahsuvarov Samad Adilqan oğlu (husband of Shahsuvarova Dilqusha Frudin gizi)	1894, Lachin district, Minkend vil.	higher	Articles 64-18, 70, 72, 73 of the Azerb.SSR CC	He was arrested on 09.01.1938.	16.07.1957	In his criminal case he was described as a member of the counter-revolutionary "İftihad" organization. He was a teacher at Shusha Pedagogical Technical secondary school.	ASSSRA-AWR, 12493, 1-3, 6, 7-11, 14, 15; OPENLIST, 2022f

ŽENSKÉ IZ ŠUŠE, KI SO BILE IZPOSTAVLJENE REPRESIJI MED “VELIKIM TERORJEM”: V ARHIVSKIH DOKUMENTIH SLUŽBE DRŽAVNE VARNOSTI REPUBLIKE AZERBAJDŽANA

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POVZETEK

Med raziskavo smo skušali najti odgovore na nekaj ključnih vprašanj. Prvič, ali je bila sovjetska vlada »po naravi« neusmiljena le do svojih sovražnikov? Drugič, kakšni so bili po dolgih letih dokazi o oprostilnih sodbah (razsodba »nedolžen«), ki so bile izrečene tem ljudem? Poudariti je treba, da vsi rezultati, pridobljeni s preučevanjem dokumentov žensk iz Šuše in njihovih družinskih članov, ki so na voljo v naših državnih arhivih, ter gradiva, zbranega o njih iz drugih virov, niso znanstvena novost. Kljub temu pričujoče delo prinaša dragoceno gradivo in spoznanja, ker smo v glavnem uporabili arhivske dokumente Službe državne varnosti Azerbajdžanske republike. Mimogrede, uporabili smo tudi dokumente arhiva Ministrstva za notranje zadeve Republike Azerbajdžan. Ti viri so nam dali zelo podrobne informacije o tem vprašanju. Njihova dodatna prednost je, da nam pomagajo pojasniti pomen »velikega terorja«. Veliki teror namreč ni bil »velik« le po številu žrtev, temveč tudi po veliki količini storilcev, in po tem, da je režim z združevanjem »kampanj za demokracijo« z lovom na »sovražnike« zabrisal razliko med lovцем in tistim, ki ga lovijo. Na splošno je ta članek edinstvena raziskava (preučevane so bile le družine žensk iz Šuše), ki potrjuje rezultate različnih prej opravljenih raziskav o represiji. To delo je dragocen dodatek k sliki terorja v Šuši, v zgodovinskem mestu Azerbajdžana.

Ključne besede: Šuša, politična represija, totalitarizem, izgnanstvo, »veliki teror«

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