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## **THE COURSE OF THE REHABILITATION PROCESS OF THE CITIZENS OF KAZAKHSTAN REPRESSED DURING THE STALINIST TERROR DURING THE PERIOD OF PERESTROIKA IN THE USSR (1985-1991)**

### *Abstract*

The proposed article examines the processes of democratization in the USSR after M.S.Gorbachev's coming to power, which gave a new impetus to the mass rehabilitation of repressed citizens of the Soviet Union during the Stalinist terror, analyzed new approaches to the policy of rehabilitation of victims of political repression during Gorbachev's perestroika, traced the main activities of the Kazakh SSR in the rehabilitation of victims of political repression and in perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression in during this period, the importance of this process in the moral and legal revival of Kazakh society is shown. The results of the rehabilitation process in 1985-1991 are also considered, conclusions are drawn on the rehabilitation process in these years and the features of the rehabilitation process in Kazakhstan are revealed.

**Keywords:** democratization, “Gorbachev's restructure”, perpetuation of the memory of victims of political repression, legislative basis of the rehabilitation process.

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## **ХОД ПРОЦЕССА РЕАБИЛИТАЦИИ РЕПРЕССИРОВАННЫХ В ГОДЫ СТАЛИНСКОГО ТЕРРОРА ГРАЖДАН КАЗАХСТАНА В ПЕРИОД ПЕРЕСТРОЙКИ В СССР (1985-1991 гг.)**

### *Аннотация*

В предлагаемой статье рассматриваются процессы демократизации в СССР после прихода к власти М.С.Горбачева, которые дали новый импульс для проведения массовой реабилитации, репрессированных граждан Советского Союза в период сталинского террора, проанализированы новые подходы к политике реабилитации жертв политических репрессий в период горбачевской перестройки, которые заключались во внесении ряда изменений в законодательство, касающиеся процесса реабилитации, прослежены основные направления деятельности Казахской ССР в деле реабилитации жертв политических репрессий и в деле увековечивания памяти жертв политических репрессий в указанный период, показана важность этого процесса в моральном и правовом возрождении казахстанского общества и в формировании новой нравственности и правового сознания, без которых невозможно создание атмосферы уважения к человеку, единого всеобъемлющего механизма защиты прав и свобод человека. Также рассмотрены итоги реабилитационного процесса в 1985-1991 гг., сделаны выводы по процессу реабилитации в указанные годы и выявлены особенности реабилитационного процесса в Казахстане.

**Ключевые слова:** демократизация, «горбачевская перестройка» массовая реабилитация, увековечивание памяти жертв политических репрессий, законодательная основа процесса реабилитации.

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## **КСРО-ДА ҚАЙТА ҚҰРУ КЕЗЕҢІНДЕ СТАЛИНДІК ТЕРРОР ЖЫЛДАРЫ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІНГЕ ҰШЫРАҒАН ҚАЗАҚСТАН АЗАМАТТАРЫН ОҢАЛТУ ПРОЦЕСІНІҢ БАРЫСЫ (1985-1991 жж.)**

### *Аңдатпа*

Ұсынылған мақалада Кеңес Одағында қуғын-сүргінге ұшыраған азаматтарды жаппай оңалтуға жаңа серпін берген М.С. Горбачевтің билікке келуіне байланысты КСРО-дағы 1985-1991 жж. жүргізілген демократияландыру, либерализацияландыруу, жариялылықты жариялау процестері қарастырылады, Горбачевтің қайта құру кезеңіндегі оңалту процесіне қатысты заңнамаға бірқатар өзгерістерді енгізуден тұрған, сталиндік террор кезеңінде саяси қуғын-сүргінге ұшыраған азаматтарды оңалту саясатына енгізілген жаңа тәсілдер талданады, аталған кезеңдегі сталиндік террор уақытында саяси қуғын-сүргінге ұшырағандарды оңалту, саяси қуғын сүргін құрбандарын еске алу ісіндегі Қазақ КСР қызметінің негізгі бағыттары бақыланады, онсыз адамға деген құрмет атмосферасын, адам құқықтары мен бостандықтарын қорғаудың бірыңғай жан-жақты тетігін құру мүмкін емес, бұл процестің қазақстандық қоғамның мораль-дық және құқықтық жаңғыруындағы және жаңа адамгершілік пен құқықтық сананы қалыптастырудағы маңыздылығы көрсетіле. Сондай-ақ, 1985-1991 жылдардағы оңалту процесінің қорытындылары, нәтижелері, кемшіліктері қаралады, көрсетілген жылдардағы оңалту процесі бойынша қорытындылар жасалады және Қазақстандағы оңалту процесінің ерекшеліктері анықталады.

**Кілт сөздер:** демократияландыру, либерализацияландыру, жариялылықты жариялау, «горбачевтік қайта құрулар», жаппай оңалту, саяси қуғын-сүргін құрбандарын еске алу, оңалту процесінің заңнамалық негізі.

### **Introduction.**

With the acquisition of state independence by Kazakhstan, new horizons and objects of research and restoration of national history opened up. At the same time, it became possible to reliably illuminate individual pages of the past. Today, the full restoration of historical truth and justice, the rehabilitation and return from oblivion of the names of victims of political repression during the years of Stalinist terror is a high moral duty of all our people. The speedy overcoming of the consequences of lawlessness, political crimes on the basis of abuse of power is necessary for all of us, for the whole society that has embarked on the path of moral revival, democracy and the rule of law.

**Relevance of the research topic.** The socio-political relevance of the topic of rehabilitation of citizens who were innocently repressed for political reasons is closely related to the task of more fully revealing the essence of totalitarianism and liberating society from its destructive legacy. It is necessary to do a lot of work to overcome the stereotypes left over from the administrative and command system, to form a new morality and legal consciousness, without which it is impossible to create an atmosphere of respect for a person, a single comprehensive mechanism for protecting human rights and freedoms. It was the policy of rehabilitation that formed the basis for the moral and legal revival of Soviet society in the past and Kazakh society in the present. All this necessitates a comprehensive historical and theoretical-legal study of the institute of rehabilitation, issues of ensuring its practical implementation, as well as the development of concrete proposals for the formation of an effective decision-making mechanism on a wide range of problems in this area.

**Goals and objectives of the study.** The purpose of the work is to investigate the process of rehabilitation Kazakhstan citizens repressed during the Stalinist terror during the period of restructure (1985-1991) and to show the importance of this process in the moral and legal revival of Kazakh society in the present and in the formation of legal consciousness, without which it is impossible to create a mechanism for the protection of human rights and freedoms.

To achieve this goal, we have set ourselves the following tasks:

- to investigate the processes of democratization in the country after coming to power in the USSR

M.S. Gorbachev, who gave a new impetus to the mass rehabilitation of repressed citizens of the Soviet Union during the Stalinist terror:

- to analyze new approaches to the policy of rehabilitation of victims of political repression during Gorbachev's perestroika;

- to trace the main activities of the Kazakh SSR in the rehabilitation of victims of political repression and in perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression in the specified period;

- to draw conclusions based on the results of the rehabilitation process in the country during the period of perestroika.

#### **Materials and methodology of the study.**

The main basis of this research was the materials stored in the collections of: the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), the Central Archive of Documentary Collections of Moscow (CADKM), the Russian State Archive of Modern History (RSAMH), the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (APRK), the Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CARK), a significant part of which is being introduced into the scientific turnover.

The sources used by the author can be grouped as follows: 1. Laws and regulations - legal normative documents that are they come from the supreme state authority and have the highest legal force within the entire state. Within the framework of this study, the legislative acts of the USSR on rehabilitation during the period of restructure are considered. These include the "Resolution of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU of September 28, 1987. "On the formation of the Commission of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU for the additional study of materials related to the repressions that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s" [1, 432-436], "Resolution on the results of the work of the Commission of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU for the additional study of materials related to the repressions that took place during 30-40s and early 50s" [2, 254-260], "Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU of July 11, 1988 "On additional measures to complete the work related to the rehabilitation of persons unreasonably repressed in the 30-40s and early 50s" [3], "Note A.N.Yakovleva, V.A.Medvedev, V.M.Chebrikova, A.I.Lukyanova in the Central Committee of the CC CPSU "On the unconstitutional practice of the 30-40s and early 50s and the restoration of historical justice" [4, 243-248]; "Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of January 16, 1989 "On additional measures to restore justice to victims repressions that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s" [5, 19-21 ss.], Decree of the President of the USSR of August 13, 1990 "On the restoration of the rights of all victims of political repression of the 20-50s" [6, 10-12]. This type of documents allows us to trace the development of the legislative framework of rehabilitation from 1985 to 1991.

2. *Records of the highest party and state bodies, as well as the prosecutor's office and the court.* From the documents of the highest party bodies, special attention should be paid to the working protocol records of the meetings of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU, materials for its resolutions, as well as materials of the work of the Commission of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU, specially created to study the history of repression and rehabilitation, which allow us to understand the mechanism of adoption of certain decrees, resolutions and laws of the government, to summarize the work of special commissions on carrying out work on the rehabilitation victims of Stalin's repressions.

3. *Sources of personal origin:* memoirs, correspondence and interviews.

The memories of people who were directly involved in rehabilitation policy are valuable historical sources for studying this topic.

4. *Reference literature.* The most valuable source for writing this work was a variety of reference books, martyrologies. For example, the biographical directory "People's Commissars of Kazakhstan" prepared on the basis of archival materials [7]. He introduces the biographies of 402 government leaders and People's Commissars of Kazakhstan who were repressed during the years of terror.

Invaluable assistance in writing our work was provided by the directory "Territorial leaders of the CC CPSU (b) in 1934-1939" compiled on the basis of materials from the state and departmental archives of the Russian Federation and the former Soviet republics of the USSR [8]. It contains biographical information on the secretaries of regional committees, regional committees and the Central Committee of the Allied Communist Parties in the period between the XVII and XVIII congresses of the CC CPSU (b), repressed by the whole during the years of Stalinist terror..

In the book "Repressed Turkology", on the basis of investigative cases introduced into scientific circulation for the first time in 1937-1939, the circumstances of the death of many outstanding figures of science and culture of Kazakhstan are clarified [9].

A special category of sources includes "Books of Sorrow" or martyrologies, which, since 1996, has been published by the Kazakhstan historical and educational society "Adilet" ("Justice"), Since that time more than 10 books have been published, which included the names of almost all persons shot from 1930 to 1939, as a result of political repression on all regions of Kazakhstan.

5. Materials of the periodical press. They allow us to consider rehabilitation issues through the prism of time, historical aspects of these issues and allow us to trace the position of the authorities and the public's point of view on the problem of rehabilitation.

All available literature on this topic can be divided into the following problems: 1) works devoted to the study of political, legal, and legal aspects of the rehabilitation of victims of political repression in 1985-1991; 2) works devoted to the study of the rehabilitation process in Kazakhstan in 1985-1991.

In the works of Russian researchers B.T.Bezlepkin [10], L.V.Boytsova, V.V.Boytsova [11] explore the political, legal, and law aspects of rehabilitation of victims political repression and the application of legal norms in changing political attitudes, as well as the evolution of legislation in these issues in 1985-1991.

Articles by domestic researchers E.A.Karibzhanova, E.A.Kostenko, M.U. Dauenov [12;13;14] are devoted to the general problems of rehabilitation of victims of political repression during the "Gorbachev's " restructure " in Kazakhstan.

The analysis of the degree of study of the problem shows that today there is a sufficient number of works covering certain aspects of the state rehabilitation policy in the USSR, but so far there is no work in domestic historiography where the historical and legal aspect of the rehabilitation repressed citizens of Kazakhstan in 1985-1991 would be specifically covered, the legislative basis of the rehabilitation process would be revealed during Gorbachev's "restructure ", a concrete analysis of the course of the rehabilitation process during this period revealed the stages, features and results of this process. The statement of these problems for the first time, which were not the subject of a special study, and their consideration once again emphasizes the novelty of our research.

**Methodological basis of the study.** The theoretical basis of the research was the synthesis of various approaches to the study of the past. The systematic approach allowed us to consider the studied problem in the light of the history the relationship between society and the state.

The work is researched on the methodological principles of historicism and objectivity, which allow us to consider the rehabilitation policy of the USSR and Kazakhstan taking into account the specific historical conditions of the era, as well as to study the rehabilitation process in all its complexity, versatility and inconsistency.

The following group of methods were made up: historical-genetic and problem-chronological. The historical-genetic method was used by us to study the causes, stages and results of the rehabilitation process of victims of political repression: he made it possible to understand the mechanisms of the evolution of rehabilitation policy in 1985-1991. and allowed us to comprehend the specifics of rehabilitation in the 2nd period of the state rehabilitation policy.

The use of statistical methods of systematization of historical information (tables) provided the author with the opportunity to avoid descriptive coverage of the activities of commissions for the restoration of the rights of victims of political repression, as well as in determining the number of rehabilitated persons from 1985 to 1991.

**Discussion.** In 1985, the country of the Soviets entered a state of deep systemic crisis in the economic, socio-political and spiritual spheres, and especially acute in the sphere of power and management. As Mikhail Gorbachev put it, at a meeting with media executives in 1986, "the current negative situation, life, demanded solutions, and in many cases non-standard ones." Such a "non-standard" solution to pressing problems becomes a new political course - " restructure", designed to "preserve the atmosphere of publicity, openness and truth" [15, 22 l.].

According to the Soviet intelligentsia, " restructure" was supposed to promote "openness of society" as one of the conditions for the moral and economic health of the country, international trust and security. Moreover, the concept of "openness" included "public control over key decision-making, freedom of opinion, freedom to receive and disseminate information, freedom to choose the country of residence and place of residence within the country" [16, 38 p.].

"Publicity" almost instantly "left the permitted shores and reached the scale of free access to information" In the minds of Soviet people there was a reassessment of many historical events.

First of all, it touched upon such a previously forbidden topic as the history of Stalin's repressions, for which something more significant was very quickly considered - the original criminality of the entire Soviet regime.

The word "rehabilitation" sounded again. In October 1986, the proposal of the President of the AUAASL A.A.Nikonov to rehabilitate a number of outstanding Russian economists who were destroyed in the 1930s caused acute controversy in the Politbureau. Rehabilitation would make it possible to put their theories into practice to raise Soviet agriculture. This proposal, moreover, clearly corresponded to Gorbachev's intentions to "renovate the facade" of socialism [17, 94 p.].

In this situation, the rehabilitation of victims political repression receives a new impetus and the beginning of its second stage in the history of our country can be attributed to the formation on September 28, 1987 of a special commission of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU for additional study of materials related to the repressions that took place during the 30-40s and early 50s. It consisted of: M.S. Solomentsev (Chairman), V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, A.I. Lukyanov and others [1, 432-436].

During its activity (about a year), the Commission of M.S. Solomentsev has done considerable work. Thus, on March 5, 1988, at the third meeting of the Commission, the case of the "anti-Soviet Trotskyist military organization" was considered and the criminal and party rehabilitation of Tukhachevsky M.N., Kork A.I., Yakir I.E., Uborevich I.P. was confirmed. In addition, the Commission considered the "Leningrad case" of 1950 [1, 254-260].

With the participation of the Commission of M.S. Solomentsev, on July 4, 1988, a draft Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CC CPSU "On the construction of a monument to the victims of repression" was developed.

On July 11, 1988, the Politburo announced "the need to complete the work related to the rehabilitation of victims of Stalin's repressions", instructing the Prosecutor's Office and the SSC of the USSR to "continue work on reviewing the cases of the repressed", and "regardless of the presence of applications and complaints of citizens" [3, 150-154]. At the same time, the general procedure for connecting to this the work of the Supreme Court, the Ministry of Justice, the Party Control Committee under the Central Committee, the republican Central Committee and party committees up to the district and city level.

On October 11, 1988, the composition of the Commission of M.S. Solomentsev changed and its new chairman was approved by the Secretary of the Central Committee, a member of the Politbureau A.N. Yakovlev. It was under him that the work of the Commission on additional study of materials related to repression in the 30-40s and early 50s began to gain momentum.

At the beginning of 1989, the Politbureau of the CC CPSU Central Committee finally recognized that in the 1930s and 1950s, "there was a practice of mass repression and arbitrariness." For the first time, it was clearly said: "the restoration of historical, legal justice has now acquired great political significance and largely depends on it... progress towards the formation of a socialist state governed by the rule of law" [3, 153 p.]. Note that although it was said about the "socialist" state, but the key words of the quoted statement were unprecedented in the context of the history of repression (and indeed Soviet history) "restoration of legal justice", "the rule of law". Moreover, it was recognized that "the public, relatives and friends of the victims are waiting for the complete rehabilitation of all the innocently repressed, perpetuation of their memory" [3, 154 p.].

In addition to the issues of restoring social and legal justice, the Politbureau Commission tried to analyze the causes and internal mechanisms of the practice of lawlessness. In this regard, in 1988, the Yakovlev commission focused on four groups of issues: "on the unconstitutionality, inconsistency of "triples", "special meetings", lists, and the like"; "on the personal responsibility of Stalin and his immediate entourage for organizing and carrying out mass repressions"; "on the burial sites of victims mass repressions and perpetuation of their memory"; "on the restoration of historical justice in relation to innocently deported citizens" [4, 243-248 p.].

The implementation of these issues in practice did not take long to wait, and in the same year there are: the Resolution of the CC CPSU Central Committee "On the anti-constitutional practice of the 30-40s and early 50s" and the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On the cancellation of the decisions of the PSIA Troika, the USPA Collegium and the Special Meeting at the PSIA-MSS-MIA of the USSR". As the first real step towards satisfying the public's expectation in the rehabilitation of victims of political repression, the Yakovlev commission proposed by a special legislative act to legalize the cancellation of all "extrajudicial decisions of the 30-40s and early 50s "triples", "special meetings", and "consider" all citizens who were repressed by the decisions of these bodies rehabilitated (except for traitors to the Motherland, punishers and nazi criminals, members of nationalist gangs)."

On January 16, 1989, these provisions were legislated by the relevant Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On additional measures to restore justice to victims of repression that took place during the 30-40s and early 50s". After that, with respect to the vast majority of those repressed by decisions of extrajudicial bodies, it remained only to document the one-time rehabilitation carried out in this way, which began in the spring and summer of 1989 in the center and in the Union republics. The decree proposed to

"determine the procedure for informing citizens about rehabilitation" [5, 340 p.]. At the same time, work on judicial (civil) and party rehabilitation was launched.

To emphasize the national importance and relevance of the ongoing work on the rehabilitation of victims of political repression that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s, Chairman of the special Commission of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU for additional study of materials related to the repression that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s, A.N.Yakovlev, at a meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat, summed up the results of the first year of the Commission's work and announced the following data. In 1988-1989, 856,582 cases were examined, 844,740 people were rehabilitated; more than 68 thousand letters, complaints and appeals of the repressed and relatives were considered [1, 264 p.].

The Resolution of the Secretariat adopted on July 7, 1990 was sent to the Republican Central Committee, regional committees and regional committees of the CPSU, heads of all four departments directly involved in the work [1,190-194]. This document reported that 807,288 people who were repressed by extrajudicial bodies and 31 were rehabilitated in all the Union republics of the USSR by January 1, 1990. 342 people repressed by the organs of the court and prosecutor's office [1,295 p.]. Thus, a total of 838,630 people were rehabilitated in 1989. It was really a huge leap forward. For comparison: in the previous 1988, only 6 110 people were rehabilitated. In other words, the pace of rehabilitation has increased more than 137 times!

The course of the rehabilitation process of citizens of Kazakhstan repressed during the Stalinist terror during the period of perestroika (1985-1991). Since 1989, in all national security bodies of the country, including the Kazakh SSR, together with the prosecutor's office and the court, work has been carried out to review criminal cases of innocent victims of totalitarianism. From the most qualified representatives of these law enforcement agencies, joint groups and commissions were created everywhere, which, based on the results of reviews of criminal cases, issued conclusions on rehabilitation. In the Table No. 5 below, some surnames of persons rehabilitated in Almaty and Alma-Ata region during the years of perestroika and democratization (1985-1991) are specified.

Table No. 5

List of persons  
rehabilitated in Almaty and Alma-Ata region during the years of perestroika and democratization (1985-1991)  
[18,50,101,240,261,286].

№№	S.N.P	Birth data	Nationality	Place of residence	Place of work	Convicted	Rehabilitated
1	Zanders Franz Yakovlevich	1898	Latvian	Shymkent region	Worker	Troika of the NKVD of the Kazakh SSR 22.12.1937 according to Article 58-6 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to Capital Punishment (VMN).	By the definition of the Military Tribunal (VT) of TurkVO 22.08.1989
2	Abdrakhmanov Abai	1877	Kazakh	Village Maloorlovka Taldykurgan region	Mullah	Troika NKVD A.-Atin. region. 07.02.1937 according to art.58-10 to VMN. shot 10.12.37 in Alma-Ata.	Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the USSR 16.01.89
3	Radko Julius Ioganovich	1901	German	c. Almaty	Locksmith	Special Meeting (OS) at the PSIA of the USSR 10.07.1938	Conclusion Military Prosecutor's Office (VP) TurkVO 05.08.1989
4	Solovyov Mikhail Kuzmich	1892	Russian	c. Almaty	The head of the construction sector of Kazakh	Troika of the PSIA in the A.-Atin. region on 15.02.1938	By the Resolution of the Prosecutor's Office of the Alma-Ata

					dairy industry		region on 12.04.1989.
5	Te Genady by the	1899	Korean	Collective farm "Kum-Aral" Karatal district	Collective farmer	Troika DPSIA on Almay region 09.10.1938	Conclusion of the prosecutor's office Taldykurgan region 07.05.1989
6	Afanasyeva Klavdia Ivanovna	1914	Ukrainian	c. Almaty	Technician Turksib. r.w.	Troika of the DPSIA in Almaty region. 28.10.1938	By the Conclusion of the Prosecutor's office Central Asian Military District (CAMD) 18.04.1989

It was only during the years of restructure that the question of reviewing the cases of Alash-Orda figures again arose.

In 1988, the Institute of Literature and Art of the Academy of Sciences (AS) of the Kazakh SSR appealed to the Prosecutor's Office of the Kazakh SSR with a request to review the case of A.Bukeikhanov. Then, on December 19, 1988, the Prosecutor of the Kazakh SSR, the State Adviser of Justice of the 2nd class, G.B. Elemisov, sent a "Protest (by way of supervision)" to the judicial board for criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR. On the basis of a protest on November 4, 1988, the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR, consisting of T.K. Aitmukhambetov (Chairman), E.L. Grabarnik and K.T.Kenzhebaeva overturned the 1937 verdict in the case of Alikhan Bukeikhanov and canceled the case (7, 1.193-194).

Alikhan Bukeikhanov (1866-1938) - one of the leaders of the Alash party, commissioner of the Provisional Government for Kazakhstan (1917). Chairman (Prime Minister) Alash autonomy from 1917 to 1920. In the 1920s and 1930s, he was arrested three times by the PSIA. On September 27, 1937, he was convicted of belonging to a "terrorist organization" and shot on the same day.

Also in 1988-1989, by the decision of the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR, by the Decree Board of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR, other figures of the Alash movement were acquitted:

A.Baitursunov (1873-1937) - one of the founders and leaders of the Alash movement. Educator, scientist, poet, publicist. From October 1920 to October 1921, People's Commissar, from October 1921 to June 1922, Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the KASSR. In June 1929, he was arrested and sentenced to death by firing squad. This decision was revised in 1931 and replaced with a reference to the Arkhangelsk region for 10 years. In 1934, he returned to Almaty. A.Baitursunov was arrested again in October 1937 and by the decision of the troika of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (PSIA) of the Almaty region on November 25, 1937, he was sentenced to death by firing squad [18, 89 p.].

Myrzakyp Dulatov - (1888-1935) - one of the leaders of the Alash movement. The founder of Kazakh prose. Poet, writer, playwright, publicist, teacher, public figure. In December 1928, he was arrested by the representative office of the Unified State Political Administration (USPA) in Kazakhstan and by decision of the USPA board under the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) of the USSR on April 4, 1930, he was sentenced to death. This decision was revised in 1931 and replaced by imprisonment for 10 years and serving it in a concentration camp. In 1935 he died in the Solovetski camp [18, 92 p.].

Aimauytov Zhusupbek (1895-1931) was a leader of the Alash movement. Educator, writer. From October 1920 to June 1921, Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the Kazakh SSR. On April 4, 1930, by the decision of the Board of the USPA under the CPC of the USSR, he was arrested and sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out in 1931 [18, 88 p.].

Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev (1880-1937) - former Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kokand Autonomous Government, "railway engineer, historian by vocation" as he was characterized by corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR K.N.Nurpeisov, a participant in the construction of Turksib, convicted for the first time in 1932 and was sentenced to 5 years of exile and shot in 1938 [7, 150 p.].

Adilev Dinmukhamet (1890-1930). Member of the Alash party. Member of the ARECEC-a (1925). From December 22, 1920 to January 12, 1921, acting as People's Commissar of the PSIA of the Kazakh SSR. Arrested in December 1928, sentenced to death in April 1930 [5, 30 p.].

Kenzhin A.K. (1887 -1938). Member of the Alash party. From June to October 1921, Deputy People's Commissar, from October 1921 to October 1922, People's Commissar of Education of the KASSR. In March-May 1924, Deputy People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the KASSR. From June 1924 to January 1928, the People's Commissar of Trade in the KASSR. In December 1932, he was sentenced to one and a half years of imprisonment, served his sentence in the Semipalatinsk FLC, released in April 1933, arrested in December 1936, sentenced to death in February 1938 [5,100 p.].

Conclusion on rehabilitation during the period of restructure in the USSR. Unfortunately, the success of rehabilitation during Gorbachev's restructure remained "one-time"; organizational conditions were never created to maintain the rehabilitation process, the process even at a much lower level than this, but still consistently higher than in 1988.

Nevertheless, already on May 29, 1990, a Special Commission of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU for additional study of materials related to the repressions that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s, chaired by A.N.Yakovlev, announced the decision to complete its work. At the same time, she proceeded from the fact that "the tasks that were set before her were mostly completed. The completion of rehabilitation work in court in cases requiring additional study of cases and investigation" was proposed "to be entrusted to law enforcement agencies, and in party terms – to the Party Control Committee under the CC CPSU and local party bodies." In general, the activities of the Solomentsev-Yakovlev commission were fruitful; her conclusions made it possible to revise many pages of Soviet history, to introduce into scientific circulation a huge number of historical documents that were not previously available to researchers, and she also contributed to the restoration of the good name of the innocently convicted.

Already after the Commission's work was curtailed, on August 13, 1990, the Presidium of the PSIA Central Committee issued a Decree "On the restoration of the rights of all victims political repression in the 20-50s" [19, 10-14]. In accordance with it, the fact of illegal repressions against peasants during the period of collectivization, as well as against all other citizens, was recognized. for political, social, national, religious and other reasons in the 20-50s, a decree was adopted on the restoration of the rights of these citizens.

A number of questions arise: is it correct to say that "restructure" was able to rebuild the totalitarianism that existed for years so quickly and rid the country of the repressive past? Was the "publicity" given to Soviet society in the second half of the 1980s a real announcement?

We think not. Gorbachev's leadership was not so ideal in its work to eradicate totalitarian elements in public administration. In our opinion, the period of "restructure" was contradictory in terms of the attitude of the authorities to political repression. Despite the fact that the state authorities resumed the rehabilitation process in 1987, the work of the SSC to identify anti-Soviet, political elements was quite active.

General Secretary of the CC CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev, members of the Politbureau of the PSIA Central Committee and the SSC oversaw the creation and work of public organizations that criticized the Soviet regime.

As for "glasnost", during the period of "restructure", as well as in previous periods, official censorship of literary works continued to exist.

Nevertheless, in comparison with the previous periods of the history of the state rehabilitation policy, the years of " restructure" and the activities of Mikhail Gorbachev, in particular, differed sharply from each other.

Firstly, the Soviet leadership of the second half of the 1980s finally recognized the policy of lawlessness against victims of repression carried out by Stalin. Yes, in the end, it recognized the very fact of the existence of innocent convicts in the USSR, the fact of repression.

Secondly, after a long period of "stagnation", the legislative framework on rehabilitation began to be seriously developed, and the rehabilitation process was resumed: in 1988-1989, cases for 856,582 people were reviewed, 844,740 of them were rehabilitated. According to Protocol No. 11 of the Meeting of the Commission on May 29, 1990 "On the results of rehabilitation" (1988-1989-the first half of 1990), the number of rehabilitated citizens amounted to about 1 million people [20, 343-348].

Thirdly, one of the main slogans of "restructure" - publicity - first led to a lightning awakening of public opinion, and then to the emergence of many civic associations, clubs and movements, which, because of their independent opinion, were given the name "informals", and which were engaged in defending the rights of victims of repression.

And finally, the period of " restructure" led to real interaction between the authorities and the public in solving many pressing problems, including in the field of rehabilitation policy and perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression. For example, it was the "informals" who reminded the country's leadership of the unfulfilled promise of N.S. Khrushchev at the XXII Party congress, where it was decided to build a memorial in



memory of those Communists who once stood in power, worked together with Stalin, and then, subsequently, they were repressed.

*Perpetuating the memory of the victims political repression in the second decade of the 80s.* As we pointed out above, during the period of "restructure", the rehabilitation of victims of political repression received a new impetus, and by the autumn of 1987, on September 28, 1987, a special Commission of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU was formed to further study materials related to the repressions that took place during the 30-40s and early 50s. It consisted of: M.S. Solomentsev (Chairman), V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, A.I. Lukyanov. During its activity (about a year), M.S. Solomentsev Commission has done a lot of work. On October 11, 1988, the composition of the Commission of M.S. Solomentsev changed, and its new chairman was approved by the Secretary of the Central Committee, a member of the Politbureau A.N. Yakovlev. It was under him that the work of the Commission on additional study of materials related to repression in the 30-40s and early 50s began to gain momentum.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Politbureau Commission chaired by A.N. Yakovlev, the Soviet leadership also paid attention to the problem of perpetuating the memory of victims repression. So, in 1988, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union Republics, the regional and regional committees of the PSIA were instructed to create Commissions from representatives of party, Soviet bodies, prosecutor's offices, the SSC and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, public organizations to perpetuate the memory of victims of political repression. These Commissions were supposed to carry out work on identifying burial sites, putting them in proper order, and constructing monuments and memorials.

By 1989, it became clear that the work on perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression in a number of republics, territories and regions was not carried out in an organized and consistent manner. The Party Control Committee of the CC CPSU, after another inspection, found "that some party, Soviet bodies are not active in this matter, the opportunities of the public are poorly used, and the work of many commissions created by local Councils of People's Deputies is slowly unfolding." In this regard, it was decided to introduce additional measures to improve the work related to perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression. Soon, the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On perpetuating the memory of victims of political repression of the period of the 30-40s and early 50s" was adopted, which once again emphasized the fact of insufficient public involvement in this problem [21,160-164].

In the period of Gorbachev's "restructure" and publicity in Kazakhstan, since 1989, memorial evenings dedicated to the life, creativity, anniversaries, repressed under the Stalinist regime of figures of the creative intelligentsia of the Kazakh people began to be held. In 1989, on February 1, a Memorial Day dedicated to the life and work of M. Zhumabayev was held in Alma-Ata under the title "Seal of Reflection, Sorrow and Love" [22,1 p.].

In 1989, in the regional periodical "Industrial Karaganda", A. Adilov's articles dedicated to the memory of rehabilitated figures of Kazakh culture and literature Zh. Aimautova, A. Baitursynova, Sh. Kudaiberdieva, M. Zhumabayeva were published for the first time. [23,2 p.].

On June 7, 1990, under the heading "Returned names", a literary evening was held in the library of the House of Political Enlightenment of the Taldykurgan Regional Party Committee, dedicated to the work of illegally repressed M. Zhumabayev, A. Baitursynov, Zh. Aimautov [24,1 p. ].

**The results of the study.** In the course of the study, we obtained the following results:

- based on the consideration of the causes of changes in the party and state policy of the USSR after the death of I.V. Stalin and the discussion in Soviet and foreign historiography about the role of post-Stalin leaders at the beginning of the process of democratization, which initiated the process of rehabilitation, it is proved that these processes were historically predetermined by the entire course of development of Soviet society;
- based on the study of decrees, resolutions, laws related to the process of state-the endowment rehabilitation policy adopted by the Soviet government during the "Khrushchev thaw" (1953-1964) proved that their main meaning, content was the restoration of legal norms of legislation violated during the years of Stalin's terror;
- consideration of the legislative framework of rehabilitation policy from 1953-1964. it made it possible to analyze the state, level, and quality of protection of the rights and freedoms of persons repressed for political reasons during these years, but also to determine the prospects of the rehabilitation process in the future;
- in the course of the study, the periodization of the state rehabilitation policy was clarified, concretized and further developed;
- the main directions of the state rehabilitation policy in the USSR as a whole are considered, and then a specific rehabilitation process in Kazakhstan is comprehensively investigated and an assessment of this policy is given;
- shows the concrete steps taken by the Government of the Kazakh SSR to rehabilitate party leaders, representatives of creative intelligentsia, illegally repressed during the years of Stalinist terror and their names were returned from oblivion to their people.

**Conclusion.** The state rehabilitation policy in the USSR reached its peak in 1988-1989, which entered the history of the Soviet country as the period of perestroika and publicity (1985-1991). A number of changes are being made to the legislation concerning the rehabilitation process. On July 11, 1988, the Politburo declared "the need for the complete completion of the work related to the rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repressions", and the Decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee of July 11, 1988 "On additional measures to complete the work related to the rehabilitation of persons unreasonably repressed in the 30-40s and early 50s" was adopted. At the beginning of 1989, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee finally recognized that in the 1930s and 1950s, "there was a practice of mass repression and arbitrariness." For the first time, it was clearly said, "the restoration of historical, legal justice has now acquired great political significance. It depends on him in many ways...progress towards the formation of a socialist state governed by the rule of law." The key words of the quoted statement were unprecedented in the context of the history of repression (and indeed Soviet history) "restoration of legal justice", "rule of law". Moreover, it was recognized that "the public, relatives and friends of the victims are waiting for the complete rehabilitation of all the innocently repressed, perpetuation of their memory." A special commission of the CC CPSU headed by N.N. Yakovlev, in 1988, an attempt was made to analyze the causes, internal mechanisms of the practice of lawlessness. Based on the conclusions made by the commission on these issues, the following were issued: the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the unconstitutional practice of the 30-40s and early 50s" and the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On the cancellation of the decisions of the PSIA Troika, the USPA Collegium and a Special Meeting at the PSIA MSC-MIA of the USSR". On January 16, 1989, a decree was issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On additional measures to restore justice to victims of repression that took place during the 30-40s and early 50s", after which, in relation to the vast majority of those repressed by decisions of extrajudicial bodies, it remained only to document the one-time rehabilitation carried out in this way, what did specially formed groups in those departments (Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs, SSC, Prosecutor's Office of the USSR) begin in the spring-summer of 1989 in the center, in the Union republics and in the field, The Decree proposed to "determine the procedure for informing citizens about rehabilitation" At the same time, work on judicial (civil) and party rehabilitation was launched. In order to emphasize the national importance and relevance of the ongoing work on the rehabilitation of victims of political repression that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s, the Chairman of the special Commission of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU for additional study of materials related to the repression that took place in the period of the 30-40s and early 50s, A.N. Yakovlev, at a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, summed up the results of the first year of the Commission's work and announced the following data: in 1988-1989, 856,582 cases were examined, 844,740 people were rehabilitated; more than 68 thousand letters, complaints and appeals of the repressed and relatives were considered. The Resolution of the Secretariat adopted on July 7, 1990 was sent to the Republican Central Committee, the regional and regional committees of the CPSU, the heads of all four departments directly involved in the work. This document reported that by January 1, 1990, 807,288 people repressed by extrajudicial bodies and 31,342 people repressed by court and prosecutor's offices had been rehabilitated in all the Union republics of the USSR. Thus, a total of 838,630 people were rehabilitated in 1989. It was really a huge leap forward. For comparison: in the previous 1988, only 6 110 people were rehabilitated. In other words, the pace of rehabilitation has increased by more than 137 times.

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