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KAZAKH STUDENTS IN GERMANY IN 1922–1926

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Abstract. *Introduction.* In 1922–1926 studying of the Kazakh students in higher education institutions of Germany under the program of Turkestan Republic became a vivid example of the education reform in the country. The issue of financial and moral support for these students has been the focus of attention of both the government and general public. The articles published in the newspaper “Ak zhol” on this issue and the data on T. Ryskulov’s visit to Germany provide new information about the history and fate of the students. *Goals and objectives of the study:* to reconstruct scientifically the history and fate of Kazakh students, who studied in Germany; to analyze the articles and archival data published in the newspaper “Ak zhol” and present the data for the scientific review; to find out the reasons for the political persecution of the students. *Results.* The article analyzes the history of Kazakh students who studied abroad based on press materials and archival data. Conclusions about the published articles of national intelligentsia, who provided financial and moral support to young people studying the professions that were extremely necessary for the national economy of the Republic of Turkestan, and T. Ryskulov’s activities. An analysis of the articles written by young students of foreign educational institutions has been conducted. *Conclusion.* It is estimated that the measures to train the specialists necessary for the national economy in the Turkestan region became the predecessors of the “Bolashak” state program during the period of independence.

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1922-1926 ЖЫЛДАРЫ ГЕРМАНИЯДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ СТУДЕНТТЕРІ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* 1922–1926 жылдары Түркістан Республикасының бағдарламасымен Германия жоғары оқу орындарына студенттер жіберу елде білім саласын реформалаудың жарқын мысалына айналды. Германияда оқыған студенттерге қаржылық және моральдық қолдау мәселесі үкіметтің де, бұқара халықтың да назарында болды. Осы мәселеге қатысты «Ақ жол» газетінде жарияланған мақалалар, Т.Рысқұловтың Германияға сапарына қатысты деректер студент жастардың тарихы мен тағдыры жайлы тың мағлұматтар береді. *Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері* – Германияда оқыған қазақ студенттерінің тарихы мен тағдырын ғылыми қалпына келтіру; «Ақ жол» газетінде жарияланған мақалалар мен архив деректерін талдап, мәліметтерін ғылыми айналымға ұсыну; шетелде білім алған студенттердің саяси қуғын-сүргінге ұшырау себептерін нақтылау. *Нәтижелер.* Мақалада баспасөз материалдары мен архив деректері негізінде шетелде білім алған қазақ студенттерінің тарихы деректік негізде талданды. Қазақстандағы 1931–1933 жылдардағы жаппай ашаршылықтың алғышарттары және Германияда оқыған қазақ студенттерінің саяси қызметі және қуғындалуы зерделенді. Түркістан Республикасының халық шаруашылығы үшін маңызды болып саналған мамандықтарда білім алған жастарға қаржылық және моральдық қолдау жасаған ұлт зиялыларының баспасөзде жариялаған мақалалары және үкімет басшысы Т. Рысқұловтың қайраткерлік әрекеттері туралы тұжырымдар жасалды. Шетелдік оқу орындарында білім алған жастардың өз мамандықтарына қатысты жариялаған танымдық мақалаларына талдау жасалды. 1921–1922 жылдардағы ашаршылық кезінде Түркістан үкіметінің шетелде мамандар дайындау саясаты 1931–1933 жылдардағы ашаршылық кезіндегі Қазақстан үкіметінің қуғын-сүргін саясатымен салыстыра бағаланды. *Қорытынды.* Түркістан өлкесіндегі халық

шаруашылығы үшін аса зәру мамандықтарға кадр дайындау мақсатында іске асырған әрекеттері тәуелсіздік кезеңде іске асырылып жатқан «Болашақ» мемлекеттік бағдарламасының ізашары болды деп бағаланды.

Алғыс. Мақала «Қазақ мемлекеттілігінің тарихи дәстүрлері және ұлттық бірегейлікті сақтау мәселелері» BR20280975 жобасы аясында орындалды.


Түйін сөздер: «Ақ жол» газеті, Германияда оқыған қазақ студенттері, ұлттық идея, ұлттық идентификация, 1931–1933 жылдардағы ашаршылықтың себептері

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КАЗАХСКИЕ СТУДЕНТЫ В ГЕРМАНИИ В 1922–1926 ГГ.

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В 1922–1926 годах направление студентов в Германские высшие учебные заведения по программе Туркестанской республики стало ярким примером реформирования сферы образования в стране. Вопрос финансовой и моральной поддержки студентов, обучающихся в Германии, находился в центре внимания как правительства, так и широкой общественности. Статьи, опубликованные в газете «Ақ жол», посвященные этому вопросу, данные, связанные с визитом Т. Рыскулова в Германию, дают новую информацию об истории и судьбе студенческой молодежи. *Цель и задачи исследования:* научное реконструирование истории и судьбы казахских студентов, обучавшихся в Германии; анализ статей и архивных данных, опубликованных в газете «Ақ Жол», и представление их данных в научный оборот; уточнение причин политических репрессий студентов, обучавшихся за рубежом. *Результаты.* В статье проанализирована история казахских студентов, обучавшихся за рубежом на основе материалов прессы и архивных данных. Сделаны выводы об опубликованных в прессе статьях национальной интеллигенции, оказавшей финансовую и моральную поддержку молодежи, получившей образование в профессиях, считающихся важными для народного хозяйства Туркестанской республики, и о деятельности главы правительства Т. Рыскулова. Проведен анализ опубликованных молодежью познавательных статей, касающихся своей профессии, получивших образование в зарубежных учебных заведениях. *Заключение.* Была дана оценка, что реализуемые мероприятия по подготовке кадров по профессиям, необходимым для народного хозяйства в

Туркестанской области, явились предшественниками государственной программы «Болашак», реализуемой в период независимости.

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Ключевые слова: предпосылки массового голода в Казахстане, газета «Ак жол», казахстанские студенты, обучающиеся в Германии, Газымбек Биримжанов

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Introduction

One of the reform policies of the Soviet government in Turkestan was education modernization. The work carried out as a pilot measure at the government level was sending young people to foreign higher educational institutions for learning the professions extremely necessary for the national economy. About a hundred young people from the Turkestan and Bukhara republics were sent to Germany since 1922, and it was of particular importance for that period. Unfortunately, almost all young people who studied abroad were subjected to political persecution and terrible ordeal after returning to their homeland.

The issue of studying in foreign universities is a whole historical process. Before the revolution of 1917, the idea of Turkestan and Bukhara Jadids about modernizing education became widespread and integrated with the reform changes of the first years of Soviet rule. Most of the young people sent to study abroad were progressive-minded and leading representatives of the youth. In connection with the provision of financial and moral support to the youth studying abroad, the fund “Komek” was organized in Turkestan, and many articles on that issue were published. The public figures from the highest echelon of Soviet government as T.Ryskulov, F.Khozhaev, and S.Khozhanov engaged in intense political debate with representatives of issuing authorities as the Turkestan commission on the issue of training youth abroad. In the process, the chairman of the Council of People’s commissars of the Turkestan Autonomous republic T.Ryskulov had to go on a special business trip to Germany. Over time, during the “Great terror” his visit was regarded as espionage in conspiracy with foreign intelligence services, and became the basis for criminal prosecution.

The relevance of the research is determined by the formulation of the causes and consequences of the training in foreign educational institutions that began with Soviet educational reforms, but ended with political repression in accordance with ideological positions. The hypothesis of the study is to formulate this historical event of education modernization in the 20s of the XX century as a historical prerequisite of the state program “Bolashak” for training youth in the best foreign educational institutions in the period of independence.

Materials and methods

As research material, the object of analysis is the newspaper “Ak zhol”, official publication of Turkestan in the Kazakh language. The representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia published various initiatives to provide material and moral support to the students studying abroad. Students G. Birimzhanov and A.Munaitpasov published their informative articles on their specialties. Data from the Russian state archive of socio-political history (RGASPI) funds were used for the scientific restoration of the history of studying abroad. The available documents from Moscow archives and articles in the newspaper “Ak zhol” published in Tashkent, allow us to explore the issue based on data.

In addition to traditional general methodological principles, the archaeographic approaches in accordance with the specification of the data and materials were used, and historical-comparative analysis of archival data was carried out. The method of documentary criticism was applied to determine the accuracy of information in press materials.

Discussion

It should be noted that this issue has been little studied in domestic historiography, because of unavailability of sources related to this issue. The fact that all issues of the newspaper “Ak zhol” have been transcribed from Arabic script into Cyrillic, and published in a multi-volume collection (Ak zhol, 2020) makes it possible to use publications as a source. The documents found in the collections of RGASPI expanded the base of research on the topic. It can be noted that Kh.Tursun’s research (Tursun, 2019), (Tursun, 2023) on the historiography of this topic brought some clarity to this issue. In his study new data about Kazakh students sent to study in Germany have been presented into scientific circulation. Uzbek historians published a number of studies on the young students in Germany and their further fate. Sheraly Turdiev wrote a voluminous work “They studied in Germany” (Turdiev, 2006) based on data from the archives of Tashkent and Germany, and for the first time presented scientific conclusions on the topic. His research includes a complete list of students from Turkestan and Bukhara. Although Turar Ryskulov, chairman of the Council of people’s commissars of Turkestan, who had significant influence in this historical process and was mentioned among general issues, his visit to Germany was not considered at all. B.Rizaev (Rizaev, 2022) collected and analyzed publications in Uzbek-language periodicals dedicated to Turkestan students in Germany. The activities of the fund “Komek” were widely discussed, and the biographies of 27 Turkestan-Bukhara students were restored in his work.

We believe that the history on training of Kazakh students in higher educational institutions of Europe and the central cities of Russia in the first years of Soviet power will become the basis for future comprehensive research in domestic historiography.

The authors have explored to some extent the aspects of the publication related to the formation and promotion of the national idea. In particular, they used the materials of the newspaper «Ak zhol» as evidence of the history of political repressions and made conclusions about the applied significance of the multi-volume collection of the edition published in transliteration (Tursun, 2024: 163) and about the role in promoting the idea of national-territorial unity (Tursun, 2024: 27). The peculiarities of the history of famine and forced resettlement in the southern region of Kazakhstan in 1921–1922 and 1931–1933 were analysed (Kaby1, 2024: 370).

Results of the study

The newspaper “Ak zhol” gave high priority to important issues of science and education of the Kazakh people, and promoted them. An example of this is the article about the congress of Kazakh-Kyrgyz people in Turkestan on January 20–30, 1921 in Aulieta. At this congress, many issues of concern to the people were discussed and appropriate decisions were made. The report on the situation in the Turkestan region openly says that it is extremely bad. “There is still no school in any place for Kazakh children from different localities. A very small number of schools are in sarts’ wintering grounds. In these sart schools there is no place for teaching Kazakh children, and no good teacher. Therefore, it is not possible to gain knowledge”. (Aulie-ata congress, 1921).

One of the main issues was sending young people to study abroad for the benefit of the country. This issue was repeatedly raised at the level of the Education committee. The matter was referred to the central government. The leaders of the Bukhara People’s republic Faizulla Kozhaev and Fitrat came up with similar initiatives, and eventually, together with the Republic of Turkestan, they found a solution to this problem. As a result, about 70 young men and girls of different ages from Turkestan and Bukhara went to study in different cities of Germany at the end of 1922. The professions they chose covered important areas for the region. In particular, these are agriculture, textiles, chemistry, electrical engineering, leather processing, philosophy, pedagogy, and medicine.

F.Kozhaev directed Abduvakhid Burkhanov from Bukhara, the Tatar intellectual Alimzhan Idrisi from Germany and A.F.Kamensky to take the students to Germany. Alimzhan Idrisi was a graduate of a madrasah in Bukhara, who had visited Turkey and Germany before, was appointed head of the students.

Scholarships for young people from Bukhara and Turkestan studying in Germany were sent through the deputy People's commissar for foreign affairs Chicherin and other officials. At the same time, the students' living conditions, education, and political-ideological actions were under the close control of the Soviet government.

F.Kozhaev, Fitrat, and chairman of the Turkestan government T.Ryskulov provided great support to the students in continuing their studies abroad. However, some European representatives in leadership position of Turkestan were against continuing young people's studies in Germany and persistently demanded their return to the country. For example, at the end of 1922, V. Kuibyshev demanded that the students in Germany be returned and trained in Moscow, but F.Kozhaev objected to that (Turdiev, 2006:15). This matter was discussed in official places, and ended with T. Ryskulov's visit to Germany in 1923 to get acquainted with the situation. His visit to Germany was official, and organized at a high level with the consent of the Central committee of VKP(b) (All-union communist party of Bolsheviks). The main purpose of the visit was reviewing the situation of young students from Turkestan and Bukhara in Germany and the possibility of continuing cooperation in the field of education between the two countries.

In his article of December 2, 1923 (Turor Riskulov, 1923), T.Ryskulov wrote that the purpose of his visit was "to get acquainted with the situation of Central Asian students in Germany and determine the conditions and the need to continue their education". During that visit T. Ryskulov became convinced of the necessity of students' professions for the Turkestan region, and emphasized that they were studying with enthusiasm, strove to return to the country and apply their knowledge for the benefit of the people and the state. According to T.Ryskulov's article, there were 4 Kazakh students in Germany. At the embassy in Germany they talked about the need to open a representative office at the embassy for student guidance, and concluded that "if such structural changes are implemented, the risk of falling under some kind of negative influence for students will disappear".

Despite the conclusion of the public figure, the rector of the Central Asian state university Meyerson visited Germany in 1924, met with the students and made a political survey. He expressed political distrust in the personality of their leader Alimzhan Idrisi. So, at the end of his next visit, he strictly demanded that the students from Central Asia continue their studies in the Soviet Union, not in Germany.

The students periodically published articles about European science and culture, advanced technologies in the newspaper "Ak zhol". One of those articles was published by Gazymbek Birimzhanov on April 24, 1923 under the pseudonym Shegen (Gazymbek Birimzhanov, 1923). The fact that Gazymbek's education in Europe rose to the level of scientific knowledge can be seen from his philosophical views in his article: "From the moment of mankind creation, if there is only one person left, who from century to century grows stronger, grows and prospers, despite the multitude earthquakes, what continues his path immeasurably is work and knowledge. If these two things stop, the world will go backwards". His conclusion "Whatever the goal, it takes time, work and knowledge to achieve. Life depends on these three" shows that his intellectual level rose to a new stage. Unfortunately, Gazymbek's studying in Germany did not influence growth and prosperity, but rather the political persecution of the totalitarian government, leaving a deep mark on his fate.

Another informative article "Leather tanning by hand" in the newspaper "Ak zhol" of September 4, 1923 was published by Abdrakhman Munaitbasov, who studied leather processing in Germany. This article (Abdrakhman Munaitbasov, 1923) about detailing the advanced leather processing technologies would be of great importance for the development of that industry in accordance with modern requirements.

The fact that the author shared his knowledge demonstrates his dedication to his profession, and his professionalism in leather processing. In his article he proposes the ways to simplify complex leather processing technologies and perform them manually due to the fact that all the necessary tools and preparations in leather processing are not available. In this regard, benefit was that A.Munaitbasov was born and raised in conditions of nomadic cattle breeding. It can be noted that he knew enough how to connect the long-existing technology of leather processing of Kazakh people with modern production technology, and increase its economic efficiency in local conditions.

He also indicates for what products the leather after processing can be used. At the end of the article, he writes that he conducted that experiment in an industrial setting, and that anyone can do it, subject to safety rules.

In his article “Lay the foundation for good deeds” published in the “Ak zhol” Abdrakhmen Munaitbasov says that cattle skins either rot in vain in the steppe or they are taken abroad, processed, turned into goods, and sold for a high price. He wrote that the Kazakh people should process leather, increase its value and set an example for others”.

Abdrakhman says that if people learn crafts, get used to working and see the benefits, the number of small workshops in the country increase. He recommends considering the ways to achieve such a goal, using the experience of experts, and publishing them in newspapers and journals.

He says that he went to Europe to know all the intricacies of this profession, “learnt, understood and saw it with his own eyes.”

The newspaper’s editors did not try to soften the author’s opinion, which seemed unfavorable to Soviet ideology. Abdrakhman calls that “it is better to take into account the beneficial side than to simply continue to strive for images of Europe” (Abdrakhman Munaitbasov, 1923a).

A lot of work was accomplished in Turkestan to provide financial assistance to the students studying in Germany. The press reported that the Uzbek intelligentsia created the fund “Komek” and held many events to support students. From the “Ak zhol” newspaper we can see that such activities were organised by Kazakh and Uzbek intelligentsia. For example, Zhanabil Nurman from Akmeshit wrote about donating money from staging of M.Dulatov’s play to support students (Zhanabil Nurman, 1923). S.Asfendiyarov, A.Baitasov, M.Zhumabaev and I.Tokhtibaev published their article “Students need help” on May 27, 1923, saying that “it is possible to organize entertainment events in the places where there are many Kazakhs-Kyrgyz people and appoint several people from each region to take the initiative”. They offered Otegenov from Turkestan, Konyratpayev and Ospanov from Akmeshit, Kuletov, Kuzenbaev, Kulkashev from Kazaly, Zharmenov from Shymkent, Kushmanbetov, Ablanov from Aulie-Ata, Tolebaev from Tashkent, and the newspaper “Tilshi” from Zhetysu (Asfendiyarov, 1923). In an article published on February 27, 1924, the author under the pseudonym “Agaiyn” writes that “5 students from Kazakh and Kyrgyz are like a drop in the ocean. But this path of Kazakh youth who had never been abroad before, especially in the country with advanced technology as Germany, which is little known to the Kazakh people”. The author calls for a helping hand to students in Germany experiencing financial difficulties (Agaiyn, 1924).

At that time there was a practice for Turkestan students receive scholarships from various institutions and economic bodies. The telegram of the deputy chairman of the Turkistan executive committee S.Kozhanov was sent to the Central People’s committee on December 22, 1922, saying that scholarships of students were not paid on time for certain reasons. In this telegram S. Kozhanov asks to find out the reason for the delay in scholarship for students abroad (CSA RUz. F. P-34. Inv. 1. C. 1380. P. 510).

T. Ryskulov’s visit to Germany took place according to the plan of the official authorities. There was ongoing political struggles that forced students studying abroad to return to the country and study in Moscow and Leningrad. Political control over students became stronger. The consequences of the public figure’s visit turned out to be very difficult for his future fate. The first difficulty appeared in the form of a financial report on T.Ryskulov’s trip to Germany. A number of documents about his visit to Germany have been preserved in the RGASPI funds. In the database of these documents we find the information that T.Ryskulov was allocated 20 thousand gold coins or 2 thousand chervonets for that trip. The exchange rate of this money was \$9,500 when converted into American dollars.

T. Ryskulov submitted a written report of these funds to the competent authorities. Most of them were distributed to the students in the form of scholarships. In particular, 11 students from Turkestan were given a scholarship of \$200 each for the last four months of 1923 and January 1924. \$100 was spent on office expenses for the student bureau, \$20 on D. Bitileuov’s personal needs, \$ 67 on books about the East, \$950 on office supplies for the Council of People’s commissars, and \$ 531 on goods such as a microscope for People’s commissar for education. Looking at this report, we realize that T. Ryskulov hired photographers and cameramen, traveled with the students around

Berlin and made a film (RSAPH. F. 17. Inv. 84. C. 526. Pp. 78–80). Therefore, it is quite possible that the archives contain film and photographic documents about the students' life in Germany, which are becoming valuable data today.

Considering the fact that \$100 was paid to G.Birimzhanov, who served as a guide and translator from September 17 to October 10, 1923, T.Ryskulov's stay in Germany cannot be limited to that period. In one of his official documents, he wrote that he had been in Germany for more than a month.

The article "We must not forget about the students in Germany!" written under the pseudonym "Agaiyn" was published after T.Ryskulov's visit to Germany. The author of the article says that previously those who could afford it went to Bukhara to get education, and those who could not afford it received religious education in the Karatau and Sozak madrassas, and most of those studied in Russian schools in the hope of getting a European science became translators and officials. He wrote that thanks to the revolution, the Kazakh and Kyrgyz people of Turkestan gained equal rights, have a chance for education not only in their republic, but also in Moscow, Leningrad and other places in Russia. He notes that "Turkestan Republic has been sending several Uzbek and Kazakh students to Europe for a couple of years. Of these, five Kazakh young people are currently studying in Germany. Although there are only 5 students, studying in a country with strong technology like Germany should be an example for the future".

However, according to the students' letters from Germany, they were short of money. We consider that saying "although the government of Turkestan gave them money three months ago", the author means T.Ryskulov's visit to Germany. The author of the article calls for financial assistance to students in Germany (Agaiyn, 1924).

The next point is the number of Kazakh students studying in Germany. 42 students from Bukhara, 5 from Khiva, 15 from Kazakhstan, 10 from Bashkurtstan, and 10 from Tatarstan were planned to be sent to Germany in 1922 by order of the central authorities. The number of students from Turkestan was unknown at that time (Sirozhiy, 1922). T.Ryskulov's records indicate that 47 students from Bukhara, and 11 from Turkestan, of which 7 Uzbek and 4 Kazakh students (Turor Riskulov, 1923). This article was published in Russian in the newspaper "Turkestanskaya Pravda" on December 2. Four Kazakh students are recorded in the official documents (G.Birimzhanov, A.Munaitpasov, D.Bitileuov, T.Kazybekov), and there are five of them given in the newspaper "Akzhol". From the documents in the RGASPI funds, we found out that the fifth student was Sabyr Tanashov from the Tengiz district of the Bokey province, who moved from Kazan University to Turkestan University. He studied sugar production at the Berlin agricultural institute. T. Ryskulov satisfied his request "to include him in the list of recipients of the Turkestan scholarship" and "to assign a scholarship" and provided him with a two-month scholarship (RGASPI: F. 17, op. 85, d. 77. L. 84). According to other sources, Sabyr Tanashov studied leather processing in Rastenburg together with Damolla Bitileuov and Abdirahman Munaitpasov (Central Asian students in Berlin, 1923). This article reports that students from Turkestan and Bukhara in Berlin united, and elected Birimzhanov, Mankhulov, Ydyrysov, and Khakimov to the leadership of the central bureau of Central Asian students.

Outraged with the noise about the money spent on his trip to Germany, T. Ryskulov wrote a letter to Stalin and Rudzutak on December 18, 1923, and expressed his dissatisfaction with following his every step (RSAPH. F.17. Inv. 85. C. 77. P. 197). The largest consequence of T. Ryskulov's visit to Germany appeared in the form of evidence indicating his relations with pan-Turkic organizations abroad during the period of the "Great terror". In one of the first investigations conducted after his arrest, in particular, in the investigation protocol of July 3, 1937, it was written: "It all started with my trip to Germany" and indicated that "the purpose of sending the students abroad was to establish a connection with pan-Turkic organizations in exile, and for this reason, young nationalists were specially selected to go there". Gazymbek Birimzhanov's name is especially mentioned among them (Khaustov, 2010: 341).

The basis for bringing charges of "Great terror" against representatives of the Kazakh national political elite as N.Torekulov, T.Ryskulov, S.Kozhanov, N.Nurmakov, who served in the highest echelons of power in Moscow, was a "circular letter about organizations of anti-Soviet pan-Turkic

nationalism” of the main directorate State Security of the NKVD of the USSR of June 8, 1937. This letter laid the foundation for the campaign to arrest the national intelligentsia in the republics of Central Asia and Tatarstan. The circular letter states that the activity of nationalist elements working underground against Soviet power has recently increased in the eastern republics and regions. Their activities are connected with the well-known organizations “Alashorda”, “Mussavat”, “Milli-Firka”, “Milli-Ittihad”. T.Ryskulov was arrested on May 21, 1937 for this cause (Khaustov, 2010: 149). Stalin himself got acquainted with the protocols of their investigation in N.Yezhov’s application, and gave appropriate instructions.

Investigators exaggerated the activities of pan-Turkic organizations against Soviet power to such an extent that it even turned into absurdity. We believe that without psychological and physical pressure T. Ryskulov, who was persistent and strong-willed, could not sign such an absurd confession: “Our pan-Turkic organization gradually turned into the intelligence service of German fascism in the Soviet Union. ...the contact between me and the German embassy in Moscow was carried out through Torekulov and Khakimov” (Khaustov, 2010: 359). Then a strict procedure was established for the investigation of arrested figures. The investigation was carried out in violation of human rights, by beating the accused to obtain the “necessary” testimony. This is evidenced not only by those who were arrested and sentenced to different terms, but also by NKVD officers, accused of violating the law during mass repressions. Stalin’s instructions on using “physical pressure” during the investigation have also been preserved. Stalin studied the investigation report of the secretary of the All-union executive committee I.S.Unshlikht and gave Yezhov strict instructions “... to beat Unshlikht for not telling about the Polish agents” (Khaustov, 2010: 137).

In the investigative protocol of July 3, 1937, T.Ryskulov stated that he met with Torekulov and Khakimov, who served as the Soviet ambassadors in Hejas Arabia, after Rykov’s proposal to establish contacts with foreign embassies in Moscow, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan, and that that these two met and were in contact with the intelligence services of Germany, Japan and Turkey for a long time (Khaustov, 2010: 351). It is known that investigators of political persecution, working according to a complete and systematic plan, at their discretion, could change any messages of the accused that appeared before him and force them to confess.

The main reason for these accusations was related to T.Ryskulov’s visit to Germany in 1923. The above-mentioned investigation report of T.Ryskulov consists of about 25 pages, three pages of which represent the intelligence work that he carried out with the students during his visit, meetings with German foreign intelligence, the German industrial concessions in Turkestan, transfer of Turkestan and Kazakhstan under a German protectorate in case of separation from the Soviet Union and other mutual negotiations. The points in T.Ryskulov’s investigative report that pan-Turkist organizations in Turkestan and Kazakhstan “turned into German intelligence services” was formulated as a major accusation in connection with the “ability” of investigators to create large structures from small parts.

Particular attention should be paid to the fate of Kazakh students who studied in Germany. Gazymbek Birimzhanov (1896–1937), one of the representatives of the creative elite, who worked for the Akzhol newspaper, was sent to study in Germany in the fall of 1922. In the summer of 1928, he returned to the country as an agronomist, but was denied a job and left for Russia. In 1930 he was arrested and convicted along with A.Baitursynov and M.Dulatov. His writings promoted solidarity and unity of the Kazakh people, mutual understanding between peoples, and his materials published in the newspaper “Ak zhol” continued the ideas of A. Baitursynov and M.Dulatov. In August 1922, Gazymbek Birimzhanov published his article “Deserved respect” about A.Baitursynov’s visit to Tashkent, saying that “Akhmet Baitursynov, a master the art of writing and famous figure of the Kazakh people, made a visit to Tashkent... his mission is to unite the Kazakh people of two regions of Turkestan into Kazakhstan. The people of Turkestan met their hero with great honor (Kozhakeev, 1995: 12). This article, on the one hand, testifies to A.Baitursynov’s historical mission during his visit to Tashkent, and on the other hand, shows that his leadership was recognized by the people of Turkestan. Gazymbek considered it his main duty to glorify the interests of the nation. His opinion on “the need to loosen the reins of the nationalists, give them freedom, to tighten the reins of the

colonialists and hold them tighter, and cut the elbows of those who desire superiority” and his words: “If we achieve equality, we will achieve unity; if we achieve unity, we will prosper” found favor with the many people (Kozhakeev, 1995: 9).

Gazymbek Birimzhanov was one of the first to develop the program of the Alash party when it was created and he headed the Kazakh citizens' assembly in Tashkent during the famine of 1921-22, and extended a helping hand to the people during the famine. G. Birimzhanov, a demanding young man, who was involved in national affairs from a young age and received an education in Germany when the country of origin was in a state of famine, is an invaluable manifestation of not only true citizenship and purity, but also patriotism and love for his nation.

Along with the public services, his activities that remained outside the public eye are also worthy of attention. One of his unknown activities that left a heavy mark on his fate was his trip to Bukhara in 1921 to meet with Enver Pasha as directed by S. Kozhanov. There are no specific data on the results of this meeting. Most likely, S. Kozhanov planned to establish contact with Enver Pasha, who began an armed struggle against the Soviets in Bukhara. Similar actions were taken by some Uzbek figures in government structures.

Unrecognized aspects of Gazymbek's activities are associated with his stay in Germany. He regularly met with M. Shokai in Berlin. During T. Ryskulov's visit to Germany in 1923 Gazymbek asked him to provide financial assistance to M. Shokai. T. Ryskulov writes: “Then I told him that if he and other students met with him, they would all be called back. May be Kozhanov and others contacted Shokaev through Birimzhanov? I think so. In his articles slandering the Soviet regime, Shokaev constantly refers as evidence to “Akzhol” and excerpts from it” (RSAPH. F. 17. Inv. 85. C. 77. P. 197). This was the story of April 1924. In his letter to S. Kozhanov G. Birimzhanov said about Shokaev: “he lives very poorly, students wanted to help him, but he refused and said that we would need the money because we have a lot of things ahead” (RSAPH. F. 17. Inv. 84. C. 586. P. 42). Persecution and punishment of students G. Birimzhanov, D. Bitileuov, A. Munaitpasov, S. Tanashev, and T. Kazybekov, were based on establishing their connection with the Turkestan political emigration (M. Shokai, Z.U. Togan, etc. - author). Therefore, the personality of G. Birimzhanov deserves special attention.

Sabyr Tanashev (1900–1937) was persecuted and sentenced to death after returning from Germany. In 1928, Abdrakhman Munaitbasov was convicted in the “Alash case” and exiled to the Voronezh region for 5 years. Damulla Biliteuov and Temirbek Kazybekov also became victims of political persecution. Their further fate is unknown.

Of particular note is the activity of the newspaper “Ak zhol”, which was a national catalyst of the Kazakh elite in Turkestan. In 1920–25, prominent representatives of the national intelligentsia S. Kozhanov, N. Torekulov, I. Toktybaev, K. Kuletov, S. Osmanov, M. Dulatov, G. Birimzhanov and others were editors of the newspaper, published as the press organ of the TKP of the Central committee and the Turkestan executive committee. The newspaper became an ideological center uniting the national elite of Turkestan. National ideas of prominent figures found their way to the people of Turkestan through this newspaper. We can see that the name of the paper and issues in it were understandable to ordinary people. We believe that the reason for this is that the representatives of national elite, setting the ideological direction of the newspaper, were from among the population. Therefore, their positions on the modernization of society are much clearer than the class ideas of the October revolution. T. Ryskulov's opinion was the most controversial opinion about the newspaper “Ak zhol” that had a pronounced national character and expressed the words of the people. He said that “Ak zhol” was the result of Dulatov's creativity and brainchild, which continued “Alashorda” and “Qazaq”, and that “Alashorda” members expelled from the “damned Orynbor,” found a place for their activities in Turkestan” (RSAPH. F. 17. Inv. 85. C. 77. P. 218).

As the party nomenklatura system, guided by class and social principles, strengthened, it intensified the political struggle in the form of cleansing its ranks of “outside elements of the class.” The influence of the above-mentioned representatives of the very first group of national elite in the institutions of power continued to decline. The first trial of representatives of this group took place in March 1930 against representatives of the Alash movement. According to the indictment

(case No. 78754), the representatives of national intelligentsia in Turkestan as Akhmet Baitursynov, Mirzhakip Dulatov, Myrzagazy Esbolov, Zhusipbek Aimaulytov, Gazymbek Birimzhanov, Khayreddin Bolganbaev, Magzhan Zhumabaev, Dinmukhamed Adilov, Abdulla Baitasov (student SAGU), Karim Zhalenov (the secretary of the youth organization in Tashkent), Damula Bitileuov (studied in Germany, brought Validov's letter) (Mirzhakip Dulatuly, 2004: 337–373) were accused. The second wave of political repression was connected with the group led by M. Tynyshpayev, Kh. Dosmukhamedov and Zh. Dosmukhamedov. Most of the accused in that case were from Turkestan. As Soviet power strengthened, the issue of establishing international cooperation in the field of education became an impossible idea for the national regions of the Soviet Union.

Conclusion

In the course of the study, the causes and consequences of interrupting the process of education modernization at the state level in the 20s of the XX century due to the influence of Soviet ideology have been identified. These results, updating the content of historical knowledge on the topic, can be used as additional content in educational programs of higher educational institutions. The example of students sent to Germany left a bright mark on the cultural life of the Central Asian republics. Unfortunately, instead of using the knowledge of specialists trained abroad for the social and economic development of the country, the government persecuted them for political reasons. Kazakhstan's historical experience of educating young people in the best foreign educational institutions at the beginning of the XX century had its legitimate continuation during the years of independence. The proof of this is the adoption of the "Bolashak" program for training personnel in the most necessary specialties for our country in the best foreign educational institutions. As a graduate of this program, having studied in the UK, the issue of historical succession of the theme will be continued in our further research.

If we think about the consequences of the famine of 1921–1922, then this was the first test, a successful repetition of the catastrophic famine of 1930–1932. Kazakh students who studied in Germany like G. Birimzhanov were one of the first Kazakh representatives of the intelligentsia who fought against the Bolshevik policy against the Kazakh people.

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CSA RUz — Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan

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