



Ye.Ye. Zhaksylyk ^{1*}, Seyfettin Ershahin ²

¹*L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan;*

²*Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey*

(E-mail: kz-erlan-kz@mail.ru; [ersahins\[at\]ankara.edu.tr](mailto:ersahins[at]ankara.edu.tr))

History of religious policy of the Soviet power in South Kazakhstan in the 40-80s of the twentieth century

In the article the object of study was the religious policy of the Soviet power, carried out in Kazakhstan, particularly in the south of the country in the 40–80 years of the twentieth century. In Kazakhstan in these years there is a tightening of anti-religious policy and intensification of anti-religious struggle. In this connection, the article focuses on the legislative basis of the religious policy of the Soviet state, forms and methods of anti-religious struggle, considers the religious situation and the role of Islam in the daily life of South Kazakhstan. The authors analyze the most important direction of the state policy connected with the cessation of pilgrimage to Muslim “holy places”, bringing pilgrims and organizers of pilgrimage to responsibility, activation of scientific and atheistic work in the relevant context, refurbishment of “holy places” for economic needs, etc. The authors conclude that, despite the opposition of state authorities, the proportion of believers in the period under consideration in southern Kazakhstan was significant, the harsh course of the Soviet authorities in relation to Islam did not prevent the inhabitants of South Kazakhstan to adhere to their religious principles and national cultural values.

Keywords: Soviet Union, religious policy, religion, Islam, South Kazakhstan, “holy places”, pilgrimages, anti-religious struggle.

Introduction

Today in Kazakhstan, religion plays an important role in the socio-political life of society. However, there is an imbalance in the presence of religious elements in the public sphere, which can aggravate social and ethnic conflicts and damage the stability of social relations. The contradictory and inconsistent behaviour of the state towards religious communities, excessive politicization of religion, and violations of constitutional rights in the area of freedom of conscience pose serious risks to the integrity and normal functioning of a multi-ethnic state. The roots of this complex situation lie in the recent Soviet past.

Analyzing the role of religion in society is key to understanding socio-political and spiritual life. This is particularly important in understanding the place of religion and issues of freedom of conscience in the specific conditions of Soviet power. From the very beginning, the Soviet state’s policy towards religious organizations was contradictory. According to the decree of 1918, freedom of conscience was officially proclaimed, which was reflected in the constitutions of the Union republics. Laws were passed to guarantee this right. At the same time, however, legislation restricted believers’ right to disseminate their religious ideas, to engage in charitable activities and to grant their associations the status of legal entities. As a result, believers did not have the rights that international conventions refer to as freedom of conscience.

The Muslim religious leaders in South Kazakhstan played a significant role in the area’s social and religious dynamics, holding distinct viewpoints on social progress that clashed with the Bolsheviks’ radical plans for restructuring society, which marginalized religion altogether. The Soviet regime implemented a series of anti-religious strategies, which included propaganda efforts, discriminatory practices, and punitive actions aimed at diminishing the clergy’s societal influence, ultimately seeking to eradicate it.

Thus, examining the state’s approach to religion becomes a crucial area of study within the humanities. In contemporary Kazakhstan, formulating a distinct policy to tackle these issues is essential. To create an effective policy framework, it is important to scrutinize the approaches taken by prior regimes in Kazakhstan, particularly in the southern regions. One such regime was the Soviet Union, religious policies of which were driven by specific objectives and evolved over the course of its existence, often influenced by various social, political, economic, and international developments.

* Corresponding author’s e-mail: kz-erlan-kz@mail.ru

Research methods

The basis of this study is rooted in the concepts of historicism and objectivity. The principle of historicism allows us to uncover the historical context of the persecution of the clergy by state authorities, to examine its causal links and results, and to identify the elements that led to these effects. Conversely, the principle of objectivity helps to shed light on the nature of such persecution and facilitates an assessment of its effects and outcomes. Throughout the research, we used scientific-comparative analysis along with problem-chronological methods. The problem-chronological approach allowed for an organized presentation of the material in a sequential order. The comparative and systematic approaches proved to be the leading methods in the analysis of documentary sources, facilitating a detailed examination of the Soviet Union's anti-Muslim policies. Using historiographical sources, the researchers applied techniques aimed at identifying and outlining the discursive practices of modern authors, capturing their evaluative assessments and conclusions regarding the challenges of Soviet religious policy from the 1940s to the 1980s. Overall, the application of these principles and methodologies enabled a comprehensive exploration of the evolution of Soviet strategies towards Islam during this period, thereby helping to understand and justify the factors that contributed to their intensification.

Discussion

If we take a brief look at the history of the formation of Soviet power in Kazakhstan, especially in the South of Kazakhstan, we know that in 1917 the processes of liquidation of Islamic foundations began to intensify: mekteb (primary schools where reading and writing of the Koran were taught), madrasas (higher Islamic schools), mosques, Muslim courts (Sharia) were closed, it was forbidden to celebrate religious holidays. For example, in one of the districts of the South Kazakhstan region, 30 out of 30 mosques were closed [1]. Relations between the state and religion were regulated by the Decree "On the Separation of Church and State and School and Church" of 20 January 1918. In the twenties of the last century, the state was neutral towards religion, but the mention of religion was forbidden. The Muslim Socialist Commissariat, organized under the People's Commissariat, and its representative offices in the Kazakh SSR (in Semey and Verny) attracted people who professed Islam to socialist rather than religious ideas. Although Friday was declared a public holiday in 1918 with the support of the Commissariat, the celebration of Eid al-Ait was allowed in 1919. But a year later, in 1920, the People's Commissariat began to tighten its grip on religion in general and Islam in particular. By decree, all property belonging to Islamic mosques and Koranic schools was transferred to the state: "...the property of Muslim organizations was declared to be the property of the people, the teaching of religion in schools was abolished" [2; 9]. In the period from 1920 to 1940, religious believers were the victims of the most brutal struggle with religious institutions. This struggle usually ended with the deprivation of a person's life or freedom, declaring him or her socially dangerous and forcing him or her into a particular type of work. In the Soviet Union, with its totalitarian system, special attention was paid to the ethnic composition of the population, rather than to the confessional one. According to B.M. Auanasova, "the 1920–1930s became an objective turning point between the development of Islam in the 19th and early 20th centuries and the Soviet period from 1941 to 1991" [3; 14].

Before the beginning of the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945), religion was persecuted by the state, i.e. the relationship between the state and religion was strained. However, the war served as an occasion to revise the state's policy on religion in order to unite the people; the most important thing for the state was an ideological truce. The establishment of Muslim spiritual administrations in Ufa, Baku and Tashkent did not mean the opening of a similar institution in Kazakhstan. According to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union (No. 1944 of 19 December 1944) "On the Order of Opening Prayer Houses of Religious Cults", prayer houses were opened in many cities of the Kazakh SSR (Alma-Ata, Semey, Pavlodar, Oral, etc.) in 1945, and in Akmola, Dzhambul and Shymkent in 1948. The total number of registered prayer houses was 30 [3; 18]. From the second half of the 1950s to the 1970s, the number of mosques reached 25 [4; 19]. The war and the "uselessness" of the fight against believers (as it sometimes had the opposite effect) served as a reason to stop the fight against religious representatives, at least under Stalin. On 28 January 1946, a decree was issued "On the Prayer Houses of Religious Communities", according to which local authorities could not close down religious organizations in an uncontrolled manner. In 1948 there were 30 mosques in the KazSSR, and by the early 1950s there were 20. In the 1950s, with the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev, the persecution of religion resumed, as evidenced by the small number of people who wanted to make the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca. The researcher Mustafina R.M. quotes the following

facts: “In 1958, 53 applications were made for the pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1959 — 52, in 1960 — 17. Of these, 1 person made the pilgrimage in 1958, 1 in 1959 and none in 1960” [5; 33].

Khrushchev’s time is considered the most “deplorable” period for Islam and other religions on the territory of Kazakhstan. The “cosmopolitan” religions, which included all confessions operating in the territory of the USSR, were persecuted. One of the main objectives of this anti-religious campaign was the liquidation of religious places of worship, including mosques, churches, synagogues, etc. In the 1960s there was one synagogue, one Armenian church, one Baptist congregation and one mosque [6], while in 1910 there were 36 mosques registered in Shymkent, 4 — in Perovsk, 5 — in Kazalinsk and 21 — in Aulie-Ata [7; 29].

In 1954–1964 there was a tightening of anti-religious policy, an intensification of the anti-religious struggle and the spread of “scientific atheism”. Destalinization in the religious policy of the “warming” 1941–1953-ies led to a powerful anti-religious campaign in Khrushchev’s time. After Stalin’s death, significant adjustments were made to religious policy and two decrees were adopted in 1954, four months apart (July and November). Their adoption is evidence of the dichotomy in the state’s policy towards confessions. On the one hand, the resolution “On Major Deficiencies in Scientific-Atheistic Propaganda and Measures for its Improvement”, which, noting the “activation of the Church and various religious sects” and the growing number of citizens practicing religious rites, urged party and Komsomol organizations and other institutions to carry out anti-religious work “systematically, with all perseverance, using the method of persuasion, patient explanation and individual approach to believers”. On the other hand, the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On Errors in the Conduct of Scientific Atheist Propaganda Among the Population” condemned the methods of slander, insult, administrative interference in the activities of religious organizations, and also demanded “the use of systematic, painstaking work in the propaganda of scientific knowledge and the ideological struggle against religion” [8; 66].

But not even two years had passed before the anti-religious policy became dominant, and although the period of Khrushchev’s rule is called the “thaw”, there was a significant cooling of relations between the state and religious organizations. And after a series of resolutions by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in 1958 (“On the note of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPSU Central Committee for the Union Republics “On the Shortcomings of Scientific-Atheistic Propaganda””, “On Monasteries in the USSR”, “On Increasing Taxes on the Income of Diocesan Enterprises and Monasteries”), an active struggle against “religious vestiges and the tightening of conditions for the existence of religious communities” began, which signaled a new stage in the offensive against the church. One should agree with the well-known Russian researcher of the history of religion in the USSR M.I. Odintsov, who believes that for state-church relations “Khrushchev’s thaw” turned into a setback to the 1930s. [9]. In the leadership of the CPSU, the supporters of a rigid course towards religion and the church won the victory, finally pushing the state away from the formation of church policy. Under the new conditions, the Soviets were assigned the task to contribute to the reduction of the number of religious organizations as much as possible. As a result, if at the beginning of 1954 in the USSR there were 18,474 active religious societies (including 13,423 Orthodox), in 1965 there were 11,702 (including 7,551 Orthodox) [9], i.e. in ten years there was a decrease by more than a third (36 %) [8; 66].

One of the main directions of the atheist struggle was also directed against the cult of saints and everyday religious traditions. All religious groups were monitored, especially in places where there were more pilgrimage sites. The worship of holy places played an important role in the lives of Muslim believers. Prominent figures of the Muslim religion, tribal ancestors and representatives of the Sufi clergy were considered holy and retained their influence during this period. The south of Kazakhstan remained a concentration of many sacred places. The largest Muslim shrine is the mausoleum of Kozha Akhmed Yasawi. The pilgrimage to the tomb of the Sufi preacher, who had a great influence on the Muslims of the region, did not stop throughout the year; during religious holidays the mausoleum was visited by a very large number of believers not only from Kazakhstan but also from other republics. In addition, there were places especially venerated by Muslims, such as Arslan Bab, Ibrahim Ata, Karashash Ana, Husain-Gazi-Kazi-Bai-Zauai, Mirali Bab, Khizir, Khoja-Tali, Abdil Gaziz Bab, Uzyn Ata, Asyk Ata, Ukash Ata, Baba Daruish, Ismail Ata, i.e. 14 most famous mazars in the South Kazakhstan region, where believers regularly visited as pilgrims.

The party report of 29 June 1959 on the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU of 28 November 1958 “On measures to stop pilgrimages to holy places” states that “On the territory of Kazakhstan there were 26 “sacred places” — water sources (lakes), caves, mausoleums where “saints” and “nobles” were buried”. By decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 13 of these (sacred) places were closed and pilgrimages to them were practically stopped. In the South Kazakhstan region, five mauso-

leums were closed: the mausoleums of Uzyn ata, Asyk ata, Ukash ata, Baba Daruish and Islam ata. On the territory of the tomb of Ukash's father, a pioneer camp for children of workers of the city of Kentau was organized. At present there are 13 other mausoleums in the republic. There are 9 in the South Kazakhstan region and 4 in the Zhambyl region. In other regions of the republic there are no such "shrines" or other "holy places" where believers worship.

This document shows that the state authorities reduced the number of sacred sites in Kazakhstan. At the time, there were only 26 sacred sites in the country. Of the 13 sites registered and protected by the state, only the mausoleum of Akhmet Yasawi had the official status of a saint. All of these historical monuments were located in the South Kazakhstan and Zhambyl regions. No sacred sites from other regions of the country were found. Moreover, the mausoleum of Akhmet Yasawi, considered one of the most important shrines in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, was under strict Bolshevik control. In order to reduce the number of pilgrims, it was planned to create a large museum in the mausoleum, which would serve as a means of anti-religious propaganda. It should be noted, however, that the population actively resisted the state's actions against holy sites. In 1959, for example, the faithful in Turkestan protested and questioned the imam leading the Friday prayers about the closure of the Akhmet Yasawi mausoleum. The imam replied that the mausoleum had been built by Amir Temir to confirm his status. He also pointed out that Amir Timur was known for his "cruelty" and "bloodlust" towards Muslims. This suggests that both the state authorities and their imams were opposed not only to the Akhmet Yasawi mausoleum but also to Amir Timur, who built it. During Khrushchev's religious attacks, Communist Party officials hatched plans to turn the Akhmet Yasawi Mausoleum into a museum of atheism, rather than just a normal museum, as a means of combating religious beliefs [10].

The religious policy of the Soviet state under Nikita Khrushchev was characterized by persecution of the Islamic faith and believers. Private examples confirm this: the number of those wishing to make the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca fell sharply. In 1958 there were 53 applications for pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1959 — 52, in 1960 — 17; of these, 1 person made the pilgrimage in 1958, 1 in 1959, and none in 1960 [11; 152]. Let us compare the situation with the pre-revolutionary period: in 1905, 500 Kazakhs in Omsk received permission to perform the Hajj [6; 116]. On the basis of the 1958 resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On measures to stop pilgrimages to the so-called "holy places", 13 out of 26 holy places in the Kazakh SSR were closed. The holy spring "Ayak-Kalkan" (Almaty region) became a holiday resort, the mausoleum of Ukach-Ata — a camp for pioneers, "Uzun-Ata" — a veterinary station [3; 37]. If in 1959 there were 839 Muslim "holy" places registered with the USSR authorities, by 1974 their number had fallen to 612 [12; 328]. Most of the functioning mosques in the USSR were closed down; from 1,500 in 1954, less than 500 remained ten years later (in 1964). Massive anti-Muslim propaganda was unleashed in the press, radio, television and theatre [13; 10]. The publication of anti-religious literature in different languages of the USSR increased. In the period 1962–1964, 210 such works were published in the USSR, including 50 in Kazakh language [8; 65].

The authorities did not allow an increase in the number of mosques, which ranged from 22 to 28 throughout Kazakhstan in the 1960s and 1980s. It is known from the sources that the policy of the Soviet authorities to eradicate religion did not lead to the complete elimination of this spiritual phenomenon from the social and public life of the Kazakhs. For example, the results of studies conducted in Kazakhstan in the late 1980s showed a relatively high level of religiosity. The proportion of people who described themselves as "believers" and "sympathizers" of religion ranged from 20 to 70 % in different regions of the country [14; 11].

Based on field research, Kazakh religious scholars distinguish two groups of believers in the 1950s and 1960s. The first was represented by people of the older generation who sincerely considered themselves Muslims, knew the basics of Muslim doctrine and performed Muslim rituals. Such believers were characterized by a tolerant attitude towards the atheistic worldview of others. The second group consisted of elderly and middle-aged people, including young people. They were not characterized by strict observance of religious rules, and in their minds their fragmentary, often vague religious ideas were combined with scientific knowledge, and many of them were even communists. There were reports in the press about the celebration of the main Muslim holiday, Eid-al-Adha: there were cases of people not going to work because of the celebration of Eid-al-Adha. For example, it was noted that on the day of the celebration of Eid al-Fitr, more than 350 residents did not go to work in just two collective farms in the Georgievsk district of the South Kazakhstan region. In the Dzhambul collective farm in the Dzhambul region, half of the population did not come to work. The number of sheep sacrificed was given: in particular, in the Andreyev collective farm in the Kaskelen district, 60 sheep were slaughtered during Eid-al-Adha [15; 65]. In the archives there is very little

information about absenteeism and lateness to work on the days of Eid. From the information received it is clear that in Karaganda there were 27 cases of absenteeism and lateness to work, including five cases in the mine named after Kostenko and three cases in mine No. 31. In the collective farm of Enbek (South Kazakhstan region) on the first day of Eid-al-Adha no one was working in the collective farm fields (everyone was celebrating), in the collective farm of Yntaly (South Kazakhstan region) only 45 out of 90 people were working in the collective farm fields until 12 noon. In the collective farms of the Shaulder district (South Kazakhstan region) only 700 out of 2,825 people were at work, in the collective farms of the Chayanovsk district (South Kazakhstan region) only 983 out of 2,496 people went to work [15; 66-67].

Conclusion

In this way, religious policy and anti-religious propaganda in Kazakhstan, especially in the south of Kazakhstan, affected every Soviet family and certainly played a negative role in the spiritual development of society, but religion continued to play an important role in the everyday life of the southern Kazakhs, without being driven out of the sphere of everyday life. In the mentality of Soviet Kazakhs and in Kazakh family traditions, Muslim customs and pre-Islamic beliefs were strangely and peacefully combined with the Soviet way of life.

In terms of whether the Communist Party's decade-long campaign to suppress pilgrimages to Islamic shrines was successful, it can be argued that it did not achieve its aims. Although the Bolsheviks limited the number of pilgrims, they did not succeed in eradicating the phenomenon. The creation of a totally atheist society, which the Bolsheviks dreamed of, did not take place. Even between 1958 and 1964, when attacks and agitation against holy places reached a significant level, the number of pilgrims decreased, but did not stop. And even after Khrushchev left office, the number of pilgrims continued to increase every year.

During the war and the post-war period, the struggle against religion continued with varying degrees of activity. The period of N.S. Khrushchev was marked by an intensification of the anti-religious struggle. It is known that the construction of mosques in Kazakhstan was stopped in the early 1960s. At the turn of the 80s and 90s, a period of ethnic revival, revival of old traditions and customs, including religious ones, began on the territory of Kazakhstan.

References

- 1 ЦГА РК. — Ф. 789. — Оп. 1. — Д. 29. — Л. 52.
- 2 Абдусамедов А.И. Ислам в СССР. Особенности процесса секуляризации в республиках Советского Востока / А.И. Абдусамедов, И.Ш. Алискеров, А.А. Артыков, Э.Г. Филимонов. — М.: Мысль, 1983. — 173 с.
- 3 Ауанасова Б.М. История эволюции религиозных отношений в Казахстане (на примере ислама 1941–1991 гг.): дис. ... канд. ист. наук / Б.М. Ауанасова. — Уральск, 2007. — 135 с.
- 4 Султангалиева А.К. Ислам в Казахстане: история. Этничность и общество / А.К. Султангалиева. — Алматы: КИСИ, 1998. — 188 с.
- 5 Мустафаева А.А. Исторический обзор эволюции ислама в советском Казахстане / А.А. Мустафаева // Вестн. Казах. нац. ун-та. Сер. востоковедения. — 2012. — № 3 (60). — С. 31–35.
- 6 Мухтарова Г.Д. Ислам в советском Казахстане (1917–1991 годы): дис. ... д-ра ист. наук / Г.Д. Мухтарова. — Уральск, 2007. — 310 с.
- 7 Мустафина Р.М. Представления, культуры, обряды у казахов (в контексте бытового ислама в Южном Казахстане в конце XIX–XX веков) / Р.М. Мустафина. — Алма-Ата: Қазақ университеті, 1992. — 176 с.
- 8 Сактаганова З.Г. Советская модель государственной религиозной политики в Казахстане и религиозная повседневность казахстанцев во второй половине XX в. / З.Г. Сактаганова // История повседневности. — 2017. — №1(3). — С. 60–77.
- 9 Одинцов М.И. Государственно-церковные отношения в России (на материалах отечественной истории XX века): дис. ... в виде доклада д-ра ист. наук / М.И. Одинцов. — М.: РАГС, 1996. — 50 с.
- 10 Жолдасұлы Т. Кеңестік Қазақстандағы исламдық қасиетті жерлер: атеистік шабуыл мен үгіт-насихат / Т. Жолдасұлы, Г.Н. Байжанова // Отан тарихы. — 2024. — № 27 (2). — Б. 328–346.
- 11 Султангалиева А.К. Ислам в Казахстане: история. Этничность и общество / А.К. Султангалиева. — Алматы: КИСИ, 1998. — 188 с.
- 12 Ислам и советское государство (1944–1990): сб. док. — Вып. 3 / сост. Д.Ю. Арапов. — М.: Изд. дом Марджани, 2011. — 528 с.
- 13 Бенигсен А. Мусульмане в СССР / А. Бенигсен. — Казань: Иман, 1999. — 84 с.
- 14 Религиозные объединения в Казахстане: Справоч. — Астана: МЦКР КДР МКС РК, 2015. — 42 с.
- 15 АП РК. — Ф. 708. — Оп. 5/1. — Д. 617.

Е.Е. Жақсылық, Сейфеттин Ершаһин

XX ғ. 40-80 жылдарындағы Оңтүстік Қазақстандағы Кеңес үкіметінің діни саясатының тарихы

Мақалада зерттеудің нысанына XX ғасырдың 40-80 жылдарындағы Қазақстандағы, соның ішінде Оңтүстік Қазақстандағы Кеңес үкіметінің дін саласындағы саясаты алынған. Бұл кезеңде Қазақстанда дінге қарсы саясат қатаңдап және қарсы күрес белсенді жүре бастаған болатын. Осыған байланысты, мақалада Кеңес мемлекетінің діни саясатының заңнамалық негізіне, дінге қарсы күресінің түрлері мен әдістеріне назар аударылған, Оңтүстік Қазақстанның күнделікті өміріндегі исламның рөлі мен дінге қатысты жағдайы қарастырылған. Авторлар мұсылмандық «киелі орындарға» қажылықты тоқтатуға, қажылар мен қажылықты ұйымдастырушыларды жауапкершілікке тартуға, тиісті контексте ғылыми-атеистік жұмысты жандандыруға, «киелі орындарды» шаруашылық қажеттіліктерге айналдыруға байланысты мемлекет саясатының маңызды бағытын талдайды. Сонымен қатар мемлекеттік органдардың қарсылығына карамастан, Оңтүстік Қазақстанда қаралып отырған кезеңде діндарлардың үлесі айтарлықтай болғанын атап өтілген. Кеңес өкіметінің исламға қатысты қатаң бағыты Оңтүстік Қазақстан тұрғындарының өздерінің діни принциптері мен ұлттық мәдени құндылықтарын ұстануына кедергі болмады деген қорытынды жасалған.

Кілт сөздер: Кеңес Одағы, діни саясат, дін, ислам, Оңтүстік Қазақстан, «киелі орындар», тәу ету, дінге қарсы күрес.

Е.Е. Жақсылық, Сейфеттин Ершаһин

История религиозной политики Советской власти в Южном Казахстане в 40–80-е годы XX века

В статье объектом изучения стала религиозная политика Советской власти, осуществлявшаяся в Казахстане, в частности на юге страны в 40–80-е годы XX века. В Казахстане в эти годы происходят ужесточение антирелигиозной политики и активизация антирелигиозной борьбы. В связи с этим в статье акцентируется внимание на законодательной базе религиозной политики Советского государства, формах и методах антирелигиозной борьбы, рассматриваются религиозная ситуация и роль ислама в повседневной жизни Южного Казахстана. Авторами проанализировано важнейшее направление политики государства, связанное с прекращением паломничества к мусульманским «святым местам», привлечение к ответственности паломников и организаторов паломничества, активизация научно-атеистической работы в соответствующем контексте, переоборудование «святых мест» под хозяйственные нужды и т.д. Сделан вывод о том, что, несмотря на противодействие государственных органов, доля верующих в рассматриваемый период в Южном Казахстане была значительной, жесткий курс Советской власти в отношении ислама не помешал жителям Южного Казахстана придерживаться своих религиозных принципов и национальных культурных ценностей.

Ключевые слова: Советский Союз, религиозная политика, религия, ислам, Южный Казахстан, «святые места», паломничество, антирелигиозная борьба.

References

- 1 TsGA RK [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. — F. 789. — Op 1. — D. 29. — L. 52 [in Russian].
- 2 Abdusamedov, A.I., Aliskerov, I.Sh., Artykov, A.A., & Filimonov, E.G. (1983). Islam v SSSR. Osobennosti protsessa sekularizatsii v respublikakh Sovetskogo Vostoka [Islam in the USSR. Features of the Process of Secularization in the Republics of the Soviet East]. Moscow: Mysl [in Russian].
- 3 Auanasova, B.M. (2007). Istoriiia evoliutsii religioznykh otnoshenii v Kazakhstane (na primere islama 1941–1991 gg.) [History of the evolution of religious relations in Kazakhstan (on the example of Islam 1941–1991)]. *Candidate's thesis*. Uralsk [in Russian].
- 4 Sultangalieva, A.K. (1998). *Islam v Kazakhstane: istoriia. Etnichnost i obshchestvo* [Islam in Kazakhstan: History. Ethnicity and society]. Almaty: KISI [in Russian].
- 5 Mustafaeva, A.A. (2012). Istoricheskii obzor evoliutsii islama v sovetskom Kazakhstane [Historical review of the evolution of Islam in Soviet Kazakhstan]. *Vestnik Kazakhskogo natsionalnogo universiteta. Seriiia vostokovedeniia — Bulletin of Kazakh National University. Series of Oriental Studies*, 3(60), 31–35 [in Russian].

6 Mukhtarova, G.D. (2007). Islam v sovetskom Kazakhstane (1917–1991 gody) [Islam in Soviet Kazakhstan (1917–1991 years)]. *Candidate's thesis*. Uralsk [in Russian].

7 Mustafina, R.M. (1992). *Predstavleniia, kultury, obriady u kazakhov (v kontekste bytovogo islama v Yuzhnom Kazakhstane v kontse XIX–XX vekov)* [Representations, cultures, rites at Kazakhs (in the context of everyday Islam in South Kazakhstan at the end of XIX–XX centuries)]. Alma-Ata: Qazaq universiteti [in Russian].

8 Saktaganova, Z.G. (2017). Sovetskaia model gosudarstvennoi religioznoi politiki v Kazakhstane i religioznaia povsednevnost kazakhstantsev vo vtoroi polovine XX v. [Soviet model of state religious policy in Kazakhstan and religious everyday life of Kazakhs in the second half of the twentieth century]. *Istoriia povsednevnosti — History of everyday life*, 1(3), 60–77 [in Russian].

9 Odintsov, M.I. (1996). Gosudarstvenno-tserkovnye otnosheniia v Rossii (na materialakh otechestvennoi istorii XX veka) [State-church relations in Russia (on the materials of domestic history of the twentieth century)]. *Candidate's thesis*. Moscow: RAGS [in Russian].

10 Zholdasuly, T., & Baizhanova, G.N. (2024). Kenestik Qazaqstandagy islamdyq qasietti zherler: ateistik shabuyl men ugitanasikhat [Islamic holy places in Soviet Kazakhstan: atheist attack and propaganda]. *Otan tarikhy — History of the homeland*, 27 (2), 328–346 [in Kazakh].

11 Sultangalieva, A.K. (1998). *Islam v Kazakhstane: istoriia. Etnichnost i obshchestvo* [Islam in Kazakhstan: History. Ethnicity and society]. Almaty: KISI [in Russian].

12 Arapov, D.Yu. (Comp.). (2011). *Islam i sovetskoe gosudarstvo (1944–1990): sbornik dokumentov* [Islam and the Soviet state (1944–1990): collection of documents]. Moscow: Izdatelskii dom Mardzhani, 3 [in Russian].

13 Benigsen, A. (1999). *Musulmane v SSSR* [Muslims in the USSR]. Kazan: Iman [in Russian].

14 (2015). *Religioznye obedineniia v Kazakhstane: Spravochnik* [Religious associations in Kazakhstan: Handbook]. Astana: MTsKR KDR MKS RK [in Russian].

15 AP RK [Archive of the President of Republic of Kazakhstan]. F. 08. Op. 5/1. D. 617 [in Russian].

Information about the authors

Zhaksylyk Yerlan — PhD student, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8378-7712>

Seyfettin Ershahin — Doctor of history sciences, professor of the Department of Islamic history and Art, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2551-9629>