

## **Turkic Studies Journal**

Journal homepage: www.tsj.enu.kz



# Activities of the Union of Militant Atheists in Kazakhstan in 1920-1930s 1

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#### ARTICLE INFO

# Keywords: atheists, antireligious propaganda, atheism, confessions, Soviet power, religion, Kazakhstan, archival sources.

IRSTI 03.20.09

DOI: http://doi. org/10.32523/ 2664-5157-2022-3-44-57

#### ABSTRACT

The Union of Militant Atheists (UMA) was created as a mass voluntary public organization, which set as its goal the fight against religion in all its manifestations. The Union's main task was considered to build effectively an organizational structure, forming regional, provincial, and district and volost councils with the aim of mass coverage of the population with anti-religious propaganda. The authors attempted to give a comprehensive analysis of the activities of the regional organizations of the Union of Atheists in Kazakhstan in 1920-1930s, to show the features of building an organizational structure, the nature and content of anti-religious propaganda. With the help of the method of discursive analysis of archival sources, the history of the formation of the regional organization of the UMA is studied, the stages of its development are indicated, and the main directions of activity, forms and methods of fighting against the religious worldview of the masses are considered.

According to the results of the study, it was found that the organization and activities of the UMA in Kazakhstan were carried out in accordance with the instructions and recommendations of the central party and Soviet bodies.

Received 08 July 2022. Revised 13 July 2022. Accepted 11 September 2022. Available online 30 September 2022.

### For citation:



Alpyspaeva G.A., Bekmaganbetov O.Zh., Baigoshkarova M.I. Activities of the Union of Militant Atheists in Kazakhstan in 1920–1930s // Turkic Studies Journal. – 2022. – Vol. 4. – №3. – P. 44-57. DOI: http://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2022-3-44-57

## Дәйексөз үшін:

Алпыспаева Ғ.А., Бекмаганбетов Ө.Ж., Байғошкарова М.И. 1920–1930 жылдары Қазақстандағы жауыққан құдайсыздар одағының қызметі // Turkic Studies Journal. – 2022. – Т. 4. – №3. – 44-57 б. DOI: http://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2022-3-44-57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This research has been funded by the Science Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Grant AP08855487).

### Introduction

With the victory of Soviet power in the 1920s, a state religious policy was formed in the country; a legal framework was created that determined the nature of state-confessional relations. In Kazakhstan, as in the country as a whole, anti-religious propaganda and a struggle to overcome religious vestiges in the minds of the masses was going on. Anti-religious propaganda in the country began from the first years of the establishment of Soviet power and was under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), created in 1920. Circulars and instructional letters were sent from the department to the regions of the country on the issues of conducting atheistic propaganda.

However, the anti-religious policy of the Soviet state in the 1920-1930s was undergoing significant changes with the establishment of the Soviet power. The aim of the study is to analyze the dynamics of state-religious relations in the context of the increase and intensification of anti-religious policy, to characterize the role and importance of the organization of the Union of Militant Atheists in the struggle against religion, to identify and show the features of the organization's activities in Kazakhstan, the methods and forms of the struggle against religion.

#### Materials and methods of research

The documentary materials from the archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (APRK), the state archive of Nur-Sultan (SANC), archives of a number of regions of Kazakhstan: Akmola, North Kazakhstan, Kustanai, South Kazakhstan, Pavlodar made up the source base of the given research. In the funds of the above mentioned archives, regulatory documents related to the activities of the organization were identified and studied: resolutions of the Kazregionkom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the immediate tasks of anti-religious work in the KazSSR and the creation of the DOB (District organizational bureau) of the Union of Atheists, instructive letters from the UMA (Union of Militant Atheists) of the KazSSR to the Kazakh councils of the Union on issues of anti-religious propaganda, administrative documentation of the central authorities, minutes of the meetings of the Presidium of the KazCEC and regional authorities on issues of anti-religious policy.

The instructions of the Central Council of the UMA on the organization of national groups of the Union of Atheists and the work of urban and rural groups of the Union were used as sources. They consisted of several sections. In addition to the generally accepted sections on the tasks, members of the organization, their rights and obligations, the instructions contained recommendations for working with an asset, using various methods of propaganda, from individual agitation to mass and artistic forms of work as well. They also contained advice on the obligatory registration of the «The atheist corner» at each organization. The instructions were aimed at the careful organization of accounting and information work, compliance with all requirements for the registering members, receiving and issuing membership cards, and collecting fees. The minutes of the meetings of city, district and provincial councils of atheist societies, as well as the reports of the leaders of the local small groups to the provincial bureau of the Union of Atheists were informative as sources. They reflected the activities of the local small groups of atheists, there were statistical data on the numerical composition of the groups, and contain a description of the level of religiosity of the population.

The theory of modernization, which makes it possible to rethink the problems of social transformation in society in the 1920s-1930s, was the methodological basis of the article. The modernization of the spiritual life of society, carried out by violent administrative methods, caused desperate resistance from believers who fought for the preservation of religious dogmas in society. In working with sources and texts, the following general scientific research methods were used: analysis and synthesis, generalization. Special historical methods – historical, systemic, and problem-chronological method made it possible to formulate the author's view of the problem. The comparative and historical method was used when comparing the general and the particular in the activities of the organization.

## The degree of the topic knowledge

The issues of the Soviet government anti-religious policy in the 1920s were covered in the works of the following Kazakh researchers: A.Zh. Zhanbosinova (Zhanbosinova, 2015: 264-275), N.D. Nurtazina (Nurtazina, 2008: 36), S.T. Rysbekova (Rysbekova, 2014: 25-30), co-authors A.B. Musagulova and K.D. Arystanbekova (Musagulova, Arystanbekova, 2014: 26-33). These authors agree that the the process of building state-religious relations in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the last century was ambiguous and complex, and the transition to harsh measures since the late 1920s is interpreted as a general political trend of the Bolshevik course to intensify the class struggle.

In modern Russian historiography, the activities of the UMA of the USSR are considered in the works of A.A. Slezin (Slezin, 2013: 125-189), S.V. Pokrovskaya (Pokrovskaya, 2007: 38), they provide a deep source analysis of the activities of the SVB. A number of authors has studied the regional aspects of the organization's activities. R.R. Suleimanov considers the activities of the UMA on the materials of the Tatar ASSR (Suleimanov, 2015 16-52), N.Yu. Streletsh uses materials from the Orenburg region (Streletsh, 2012: 164-170). The authors L.V. Tabunshchikova, A.V. Shadrina and T.K. Chaikin wrote about the features of the work of the Union of Militant Atheists on the Don Land in 1929-1941 (Tabunshchikova, 2017: 172-176; Tabunshchikova, 2021: 380; Shadrina, 2018: 49-55; Chaikin, 2020: 91-98). Bardileva Yu. P. analyzes the course of anti-religious propaganda in the European north of Russia (Bardileva, 2011: 42-49). The regional approach of researchers to the study of the subject is quite justified, since the activities of the organization in different regions of the country differed, the choice of forms and methods of anti-religious struggle was influenced by the «zeal» and competence of local officials, atheist activists.

## **Analysis**

Since the mid-1920s, anti-religious propaganda in the country has been carried out by the public organization Union of Atheists (UA). The prerequisite for the creation of the organization was the publication since 1922 of the all-Union newspaper «Bezbozhnik» (Atheist), around which the Society of Friends of the Newspaper was formed. In 1925, the Society was transformed into the all-Union organization «Union of Atheists». At the First Congress of Correspondents of the Bezbozhnik newspaper and members of the Society of Friends of the Newspaper in Moscow in April 1925, the charter of the organization was adopted and the central council was elected. The printed organ of the Union was the magazine of the same name, published by the Moscow Committee of the RCP (b).

Since the beginning of its activities, the Security Council received support and assistance from public organizations and party bodies. The construction of the organizational structure of the Union was carried out with the assistance of party organizations. They developed and sent out detailed instructions for the creation and operation of national groups of the Union. The instruction of the Central Council of the USSR Security Council defined the tasks of national groups as follows: training propagandists in their native language and conducting anti-religious propaganda among their people. To this end, in each group of the members, those candidates were elected who spoke the national language, knew the life and religion of their people very well. Of the most advanced in matters of religion, a section secretary was appointed, whose duties included further internal organizational work (GASKO. F. 1606. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 41). In addition, the central council of the Security Council developed and sent to the regions exemplary work plans indicating the main areas of work.

Based on central instructions, republican and provincial authorities developed and sent to the districts more detailed recommendations, which regulate the activities of local groups and take into account the confessional composition and characteristics of the regions. The instructive letter to the group of the Security Council in Kokshetau stated that "the local group of the Security Council in its area is working to record the activities of all religious organizations, their religious activists, is expanding the work with the believers, exposing the reactionary meaning of religion and helping them to free themselves from religion, to become an atheist! » (GAAO, F. 3274, Op. 1, D. 32, L. 3). In a letter of instruction from the chairman of the North-Kazakhstan provincial bureau of the Security Council in August 1925, the district groups were given the following tasks: to carry out a campaign by subscribing to the newspaper and the Bezbozhnik magazine and to regularly send a report on the work of the group to the PB (provincial bureau) (GASKO, F. 1606, Op 1, D. 1, L. 28). It was recommended that everyone wishing to join the Security Council accept an application and apply for membership, issue membership cards and receive membership fees from them (GAAO. F. 3274. Op.1. D. 32. L. 2). Detailed instructions to the groups were not given by chance; local features were taken into account - the high religiosity of the population and the lack of experience of anti-religious propaganda among local officials.

The composition of the local groups of the Union included people of different nationalities and age groups, party members and non-party members, as evidenced by archive data (GASKO. F. 1606. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 15-16).

Table 1 – Information on the composition of groups of atheists at the provincial courts of the Akmola region dated June 22, 1925

	ers	total number of group members							
Name of the groups	Tot. number of group members	Male	Female	Non party	Russians	Kirgiz	Others	From 17 till 35	Over 35 years old
Group of atheists at the provincial court of Petropavl	2	0		4	4			7	5

Group of atheists at the Akmola provincial court	0	8	3	3		6	4
Group of atheists at the provincial court of Kokchetau	8	2	0	1		9	9

The UMA had a clearly structured scheme for accounting for the number of its members and the receipt of funds. For each member, a registration card was issued, in which detailed data of a member of the organization were entered (GAGN. F. 32. Op. 1. D. 96. L. 21, 36). The size of contributions for members of urban groups was 5 kopecks, for village ones – 2 kopecks. Persons who did not have personal income and if they were the unemployed, Red Army soldiers, students, then they were exempted from obligations to pay dues. The groups on a quarterly basis carried out the collection of membership dues, funds were deducted to higher bodies. Since 1937, contributions were deducted according to a new grade: entrance fees: for ordinary Red Army and Red Navy men – 5 kopecks, for everyone else – 15 kopecks. Population groups differentiated membership dues (GAAO. F. 3274. Op. 1. D. 32. L. 4). In addition to deductions from membership dues, the organization had other sources of cash and other material resources; the party and various state institutions financed the Union of Atheists (Strelets, 2012: 169).

Anti-religious activities were carried out under the slogan of transforming the culture and way of life of the population, rejecting religious holidays and replacing them with Soviet ones. In this sense, the anti-religious campaign took place in the provinces of the republic according to a general scheme and included mainly the struggle against the holding of religious holidays: Easter, Christmas, Christmastide, Eid al-Adha, Ramadan, etc. (GAGN. F. 116. Op. 1. D. 70. L. 107). With the approach of religious holidays, the agenda of meetings of the city and district councils of the Union of Atheists certainly raised the question of conducting anti-religious work. All groups before the onset of these holidays were recommended to work out issues at meetings (GASKO. F. 1606. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 10).

Despite detailed instructions, the work of the UA groups in the republic was unsatisfactory. The Regional Organizing Bureau of the Union was created only in the late 1920s. At the same time, the deployment of groups in the local places actually began. In a circular letter from KazTU (trade union council) dated January 28, 1928, it was reported, «circles of atheists and groups of the Union of atheists have an extremely weak distribution in the KazSSR.» In the report of the Kustanai District Party Committee to the Kazakh regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the state of anti-religious propaganda in the district as of June 1928 it was noted that the District Organizing Bureau of the Atheists Union was created in October 1927, "no work was carried out, a new composition of the Organizing Bureau of the Atheists Union was elected, which began to work" (AP RK. F. 141. Op. 1. D. 2251. L. 26-27).

The situation was no better in the volosts of the Akmola region. The results of a survey by a special commission of volost reading homes in 1929 showed that "anti-religious work is not being carried out; there were cases and various speeches that repelled and aggravated the population, since the majority of the surrounding masses are sectarians" (GAGN. F. 116. Op.1. D. 70. L. 370). In the Estonian, German, Tatar villages of the Akmola region in the 1920s, the believing population prevailed. Teachers and political education workers could not cope with the tasks of anti-religious propaganda (GAGN. F. 116. Op.1. D. 70. L. 398). Even more difficult was the work of drawing the women into anti-religious work. "As before, the church, the old woman, the healer represent great authority for women. There are few circles of atheists," noted the commission (GAGN. F. 116. Op.1. D. 70. L. 107).

The peculiarity of anti-religious propaganda in Kazakhstan was that the atheists had to fight against different confessions. The most persistent centers of religiosity remained in Kazakh villages, where the traditions of Islam were strong, as well as in settlements where national minorities lived compactly, characterized by a high level of religiosity and the focus of sectarianism. It was difficult to conduct anti-religious propaganda in such areas. In comparison with them, Russian-speaking cities quickly acquired an "atheistic appearance".

After discussing the results of anti-religious work in a number of regions of Kazakhstan, officials concluded that anti-religious work should be carried out "through in-depth study of issues of a natural science nature, agricultural circles, raising scientifically sound and at the same time environmentally friendly questions in reading houses. To involve paramedics, veterinarians, agronomists, and other cultural workers in the village for this work" (GAGN. F. 116. Op.1. D. 70. L. 374). The topics of anti-religious lectures corresponded to the task of introducing natural science knowledge to the masses: "Espionage – sabotage under the brand of religion", "History of life on earth", "Communism and religion", "The origin of the class essence of Easter", "Defense of the USSR and religion" (GAYuKO. F. 385. Op. 1. D. 25. L. 39).

Trade union organizations, guided by the instructions of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, rendered every possible assistance to the groups of the Union, trying to involve as many people as possible in the groups (AP RK. F. 141. Op. 1. D. 2251. L. 27). Party and Komsomol agitators were actively involved in the work. Short-term courses and anti-religious workers' universities began to open in the republic. In 1929, anti-religious workers' universities with Russian and Kazakh branches were opened in the cities of Kustanai and Uralsk, with 60 students each (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 1). Trade unions, Komsomol organizations, women's organizations, as well as unions of atheists were sent to universities to train their employees (Preodolevaya "the religious influence of Islam ...", 1990: 200).

Since 1928, in the USSR, with the announcement of the course of the "offensive of socialism along the entire front," large-scale persecution of religion began, and propaganda grew into a fierce struggle against the religious worldview. With the issue of the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR of April 8, 1929 "On Religious Associations", the fight against religion enters a new stage. In Kazakhstan, an anti-religious policy was carried out in conjunction with the announced course of the secretary of the Kazkraikom (Kazakh district committee), I. Goloshchekin, towards the sovietization of the Kazakh village (Nurtazina, 2008: 13). The struggle against religion acquired a tough and uncompromising nature of class confrontation and was expressed in the mass seizure and closing of objects of religious worship, in the persecution of clergy of all faiths. The directive letter of the Kazkraikom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks "On measures to strengthen anti-religious propaganda through the Atheists Union" announced a course towards turning the Atheists Union into a mass organization and indicated that when organizing new groups of the Atheists Union, special attention should be paid to those areas where there is a special influence of religious organizations (AP RK, F. 141, Op. 1, D. 2807. L. 32).

Introducing into the public consciousness the theory of the aggravation of the class struggle in the process of building socialism, the Soviet government now fought religion as not an «abstract idea of God», but as a «counter-revolutionary force» (Slezin, 213: 180). In an appeal to the chairmen of the district organizing bureaus of the Atheists Union, it was emphasized that the masses needed to be shown that "mullahs, ishans and other preachers of religion, together with Trotsky-Bukharin and national-fascist gangs, under the guise of religious holidays, will conduct hostile work aimed at undermining the socialist economy, to strengthen religious obscurantism "(GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 2). Here is an excerpt from the text of the lecture "Espionage and sabotage under the guise of religion" by the executive secretary of Karaganda Council of the UMA Galiyev: "Church and sectarian leaders provided assistance to right-wing Trotskyist and bourgeois nationalists. The sworn enemies of the people were praised in churches and chapels. …These bandit «brothers in Christ», put together enemy gangs, organized deserters, interfered with the strengthening of the defense power of the Soviet republic and at the same time declared their «recognition» of Soviet power and «sympathy» with the ideas of communism (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 170. L. 47, 52).

The turning point in the activities of the Union was the II Congress, held in 1929, at which the organization was renamed the Union of Militant Atheists (UMA). The name change did not mean a change in the nature, structure and content of the organization's activities, but emphasized even greater determination in the fight against the religious worldview of the Soviet people. The congress outlined a number of tasks to transform the UMA into mass organizations and increase the pace of anti-religious propaganda among the population (AP RK. F. 141. Op. 1. D. 2803. L. 104). Since 1929, the UMA moved from moderate forms of struggle against religion to harsh administrative-command methods of suppressing the religious worldview. With the participation of small groups and activists of the UMA, there was a massive closure of churches and mosques. Religious, iconic buildings were transferred to clubs, libraries, and warehouses. It is at this stage that the active persecution of believers and the suppression of religion in all its manifestations begins.

On October 19, 1930, the Decree of the Kazregionkom of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks "On the immediate tasks of anti-religious work in the KazSSR and the creation of the Regionorgburo of the Union of Atheists" was issued. It noted, "the godless movement of the masses took place spontaneously and in an unorganized manner", expressed mainly in the closure of churches and mosques, was associated with mass manifestations of such excesses as administration, insulting religious feelings, which "eld to the strengthening of the position of the kulaks and the bayist". The resolution determined further tasks – to create regional organizing bureaus and hold regional conferences of atheists; establish two staff positions in the regional apparatus of the UMA; organize regional short-term courses for the training of grassroots workers; increase the issue of anti-religious literature in the Kazakh language and systematically cover the issues of anti-religious struggle in the pages of newspapers (Preodolevaya "the religious influence of Islam"..., 1990: 222).

The forms of anti-religious propaganda in the 1930s differed little from those of the past; through the efforts of atheists, anti-Urazine, anti-Easter and anti-Christmas campaigns were regularly carried out. In working with the Muslim population, emphasis was placed on exposing the "reactionary" nature of Muslim holidays: "The enemies of the people seek to incite religious fanaticism during the days of Uraza and Uraza-Bayram, preaching the need for strict observance of Islam by believers, they are trying to undermine their physical and

spiritual strength, distract their attention is from socialist construction, from the struggle against the enemies of socialism" (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 3). The UMA started antireligious work among women homemakers, in collective farms, house administrations, and in hostels. There were readings, talks, artistic evenings, excursions. They used propaganda materials from the newspapers and magazines "Godless" and "Anti-religious". However, despite the extensive activity in the first half of the 1930s, researchers consider this time to be a period of decline in the activities of the UMA. For many, membership in the organization became a formality (Tabunshchikova, 2017: 174).

In the second half of the 1930s, the anti-religious struggle in the republic was gaining momentum. A number of circumstances contributed to this. First, the data of the All-Union Population Census of 1937 showed that two-thirds of the country's population consider themselves believers. This testified to the failure of anti-religious work and could not but alert the authorities (Pokrovskaya, 2007: 22). Secondly, an inspection of the state of antireligious propaganda, carried out during the period of preparation for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, showed that the regional and district organizing bureaus of the UMA did not actually conduct any activity, in many districts the groups of the UMA were not organized. In the South Kazakhstan region, out of 23 districts, there were only 4 districts, in East Kazakhstan region out of 28 - in 21, in Almaty region out of 27 - in 15 districts. In the Almaty and Aktobe regions, the organization «turned out to be the enemies of the people – national fascists and Trotskyists, who ruined this work, the organizations do not have any account of members, assets, there is no elected district council of the UMA» (GAAO, F. 3274, Op.1, D. 32, L. 62). Thirdly, at the first congress of the CP (b) K in 1937, it was stated, «anti-religious propaganda is a completely forgotten and abandoned area of party work.» At the congress, it was proposed to the regional committees, city committees and district committees of the CP (b) K to restore anti-religious propaganda, to allocate the best propaganda forces for its conduct, to organize widely the groups of the union of atheists, to unite around them an anti-religious activist from propagandists, scientists, teachers, doctors, agronomists, systematically conduct anti-religious lectures and discussions.

After the congress, local work began on the implementation of its decisions. In the areas most religiously covered, it was allowed to have a released worker as part of the UMA district bureau. In order to intensify anti-religious work and provide practical assistance, instructors from the Regional Organizational Bureau of the UMA were sent to such areas (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 6.) Following the recommendations «from above», the regional authorities involved members of the UMA in the production Stakhanov brigades, held rallies of atheistic labour leader workers (GAAO. F. 3274. Op.1. D. 32. L. 3).

In the 1930s, socialist competitions for the best production of anti-religious propaganda were widely practiced. For example, the Regional Council of the UMA of the South Kazakhstan region competed with the Kyzyl-Orda and Aktobe regional councils of the UMA (GAYuKO. F. 385. Op.1. D. 25. L. 39). The groups of the UMA at the Kokchetav prison, where an anti-religious circle conducted its work, competed with the groups of Atbasar prison (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 65). In 1939, the Kazakh groups of the UMA supported the proposal of the Aktyushin group, in the Ryazan region, to hold an all-Union competition for the best organization of work (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 170. L. 3).

In accordance with the instruction of the Central Council of the USSR UMA, issued in 1939, the first Republican Congress of the UMA of Kazakhstan decided to apply actively

artistic methods of anti-religious struggle. To do this, they used the potential of local history museums, opened a central anti-religious museum and provided it with personnel, created a branch of the anti-religious museum in the city of Turkestan in the mosque of Khoja Akhmet Yasawi (GASKO. F. 3272. Op. 1. D. 346. L. 55).

The effectiveness of the work of the UMA organizations was assessed by such indicators as the number of created small groups, the number of members in them, the number of events held and lectures delivered. Apparently, not by chance, by the end of the 1930s in the republic there was an increase in the number of groups of atheists and their members. In Chimkent city and districts of the South Kazakhstan region, according to data as of 01.08.1939, 457 UMA groups were organized: production – 42, collective farm – 234, school – 96, Soviet – 85. They consisted of 14840 people. Of these: workers – 1928, collective farmers – 8648, students – 4264. Including members and candidates of the Communist Party – 1083, Komsomol members – 294 (GAYuKO. F. 385. Op. 1. D. 25. L. 2). There are 58 small groups with 2667 members in the Pakhta-Aral region. In Keles region, 38 small groups were active, uniting 1195 members (GAYuKO. F. 385. Op. 1. D. 25. L. 39). According to the Union of Militant Atheists of Kazakhstan, as of April 1939, the number of its members was 82,107 people, united in 3,362 small groups. As of January 1, 1940, the UMA of Kazakhstan consisted of 4657 groups, and the total number of members made up 148173 people (AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1. D. 859. L. 15).

Despite the increased activity of the UMA in everyday life, the population tacitly continued to observe religious rites and holidays (GAAO. F. 25. Op. 1. D. 146. L. 65). The highest officials did not deny these facts either. In the report of the Chairman of the Council of the UMA of Kazakhstan, Ibragimov, it was noted that «churchmen, mullahs and sectarians are trying to use every gap in the production of anti-religious propaganda... they are campaigning for the restoration of mosques and churches, for the observance of religious holidays and fasts, for visiting holy tombs and mazars...» (AP RK. F. 708. Op. 1. D. 591. L.11).

#### Results

- 1. The organization and activities of the Union of Atheists in Kazakhstan took place under the direct supervision and in accordance with the recommendations of the Central Council of the Union of Atheists of the Workers of the USSR.
- 2. The history of the Union's activity in Kazakhstan in the pre-war period can be conditionally divided into two stages. The first stage from 1926 to 1929 is the period of formation, characterized by the formation of the organizational structure and the beginning of the activities of the Union. The second stage from 1929 to the end of the 1930s is the stage of reorganization of activities and the transition to harsh the methods of fighting against religion.
- 3. At the first stage, the activities of the UMA were aimed at organizing anti-religious propaganda and using moderate methods of combating religion. At the second stage, the anti-religious struggle was declared a class struggle aimed at completely eradicating the religious worldview from the consciousness of the masses. An increase in the number of local groups of the Union and members in them characterize the stage.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the activities of the UMA organization in Kazakhstan had their own characteristics and difficulties, due to the motley confessional composition

of the population of the republic. Anti-religious agitation propaganda was carried out by deploying the groups of the Union and circles of atheists, red yurts and women's clubs, publishing magazines and newspapers, brochures and posters, and lecturing. Various forms and methods of anti-religious agitation and propaganda were used, but overall the work was carried out haphazardly and ineffectively. The reasons were not only the lack of educated personnel capable of resisting the religious worldview of the population, but also the formal attitude to the anti-religious struggle of officials at both the republican and regional levels. The reorganization of the Union in the late 1920s, the support of party, public and state bodies practically did not contribute to the effectiveness of the organization.

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### 1920-1930 жылдары Қазақстандағы жауыққан құдайсыздар одағының қызметі<sup>1</sup>

Аннотация. Жауыққан құдайсыздар одағы (ЖҚО) ерікті қоғамдық ұйым ретінде құрылып, дінге қарсы күресуді көздеген. Осы мақсатты кең көлемде жүзеге асыру үшін өлкелік, губерниялық, уездік және болыстық кеңестер құрылған. Белсенді атеистерден тұратын аймақтық бөлімшелер бұл одақтың ұйтқысына айналған. Авторлар 1920-1930 жылдары Қазақстандағы құдайсыздар одағының аймақтық бөлімшелері қызметіне кешенді талдау жасап, олардың құрылымдық ерекшеліктерін, дінге қарсы насихаттың сипаты мен мазмұнын ашып көрсетеді. Сонымен қатар, мақалада мұрағат дереккөздеріне дискурсивті талдау жүргізіліп, ЖҚО аймақтық бөлімшелерінің құрылу тарихы, даму кезеңдері, қызметінің негізгі бағыттары, бұқараның діни дүниетанымымен күресінің формалары мен әдістері зерттелген.

Зерттеу нәтижелері бойынша Қазақстанда ЖҚО-ның құрылып, қызмет жасауы орталық партия және кеңес органдарынан келіп түскен нұсқаулықтар мен ұсыныстарға сәйкес жүзеге асырылғаны

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Зерттеу Қазақстан Республикасы Білім және ғылым министрлігі Ғылым Комитетінің гранттық қаржыландыру бағдарламасы бойынша «Қазақстандағы мемлекет пен конфессиялар арасындағы қатынастар: XX ғ. басы – 1930 жж. аяғы» жобасы шеңберінде орындалды (жобаның ЖТН: AP08855487).

дәйектеледі. Авторлардың пікірінше, дінге қарсы үгіт-насихаттың әртүрлі нысандары мен әдістері қолданылса да, жұмыс жүйесіз және тиімсіз жүргізілген, өйткені бұқараның діни дүниетанымына қарсы күреске республика халқының көп конфессиялы құрамы, ұлттық азшылықтар шоғырланған облыстар мен аудандардағы діни ахуалдың жағдайы үлкен әсер еткен.

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### Деятельность Союза воинствующих безбожников в Казахстане в 1920-1930 годы

Аннотация. Союз воинствующих безбожников (СВБ) создавался как массовая добровольная общественная организация, ставившая своей целью борьбу с религией во всех ее проявлениях. Главную свою задачу Союз видел в том, чтобы эффективно выстроить организационную структуру, образовать краевые, губернские, уездные и волостные советы с целью массового охвата населения антирелигиозной пропагандой. Основным структурным элементом Союза являлась местная ячейка, ядро которой состояло из активных безбожников. Авторами предпринята попытка дать комплексный анализ деятельности региональных ячеек Союза безбожников в Казахстане в 1920-1930-е годы, показать особенности построения организационной структуры, характер и содержание антирелигиозной пропаганды. Методом дискурсивного анализа архивных источников изучена история образования региональной организации СВБ, обозначены этапы ее развития, рассмотрены основные направления деятельности, формы и методы борьбы с религиозным мировоззрением масс.

По результатам исследования установлено, что организация и деятельность СВБ в Казахстане осуществлялась в соответствии с инструкциями и рекомендациями, поступающими из центральных партийных и советских органов. Применялись разные формы и методы антирелигиозной агитации и пропаганды, но в целом работа велась бессистемно и малоэффективно. Борьба с религиозным мировоззрением масс осложнялась пестрым конфессиональным составом населения республики и состоянием религиозной ситуации в тех районах и волостях, где компактно проживали национальные меньшинства.

**Ключевые слова:** безбожники, антирелигиозная пропаганда, атеизм, конфессии, советская власть, религия, Казахстан, архивные источники.

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