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SOME ASPECTS OF THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS POLICY IN THE PAVLODAR REGION DURING THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

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Abstract. *Introduction.* One of the foundations of the Bolshevik theoretical doctrine was militant atheism. Thus, among the practical activities of the Bolsheviks after coming to power was an uncompromising struggle against any religion. Within these goals, anti-religious state legislation was formed, which not only separated religion from the state and school but also deprived religious organizations of property and legal entity status. *Goals and objectives.* To study the situation when on this basis, all confessions existing in the country were subjected to persecution without exception. *Results.* The anti-religious campaign took on its most aggressive character in the 1930s. Despite the hypocritical calls of the central authorities to adhere to the laws and the principle of voluntary renunciation of faith, the local authorities, relying on strict anti-religious legislation, committed unprecedented abuses by force, destroying religious organizations, taking temples away from believers, and repressing clergy and religious activists. *Conclusion.* This article is based on archival materials and examines the issues of the unfolding anti-religious campaign in the Pavlodar region. It outlines the directive settings based on which the religious landscape in the country and the republic began to change; identifies the main directions of the struggle against religion locally through the closure of prayer buildings and their conversion for economic needs, prohibition of religious rites, persecutions against the clergy, and others.

Keywords: Religion, anti-religious policy, anti-religious propaganda, clergy, religious organizations, ideology, religious cults, repression

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СОҒЫСҚА ДЕЙІН ПАВЛОДАР ОБЛЫСЫНДАҒЫ ДІНГЕ ҚАРСЫ САЯСАТТЫҢ КЕЙБІР АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* Большевиктік теориялық доктринаның негіздерінің бірі жауынгер атеизм болды. Сондықтан, большевиктердің билікке келгеннен кейінгі практикалық іс-әрекетінің міндеттерінің қатарында кез-келген дінмен олардың толық жойылуына дейін бітіспес күрес міндеті тұрды. Осы мақсаттарға сәйкес дінді мемлекеттен және мектепті діннен бөліп қана қоймай, діни ұйымдарды заңды тұлғаның мүлкі мен құқығынан айыратын дінге қарсы мемлекеттік заңнама қалыптасты. Осы негізде елде болған барлық конфессиялар қудалауға ұшырай бастады. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Аталған мәселені зерттеу негізінде елде болған барлық конфессиялар қудалауға ұшырағандығын көрсетуге бағытталған. *Нәтижелер.* Дінге қарсы науқан 1930 жылдары ең агрессивті сипатқа ие болды. Орталық биліктің заңдар мен сенімнен өз еркімен бас тарту принципін сақтауға екіжүзді шақыруларына қарамастан, жергілікті билік қатаң дінге қарсы заңнамаға сүйене отырып, діни ұйымдарды жойып, сенушілерден ғибадатханаларды алып, діни қызметкерлер мен діни белсенділерді қуғын-сүргінге ұшыратып, бұрын-соңды болмаған озбырлықты күштеп қолданды. *Қорытынды.* Ұсынылған мақалада архив материалдарына сүйене отырып, Павлодар өңірінің мысалында өрбіген дінге қарсы науқанның мәселелері қарастырылады. Елдегі және республика аумағындағы діни көрініс өзгере бастаған директивалық көзқарастар белгіленді; дұға ғимараттарын жабу және оларды шаруашылық қажеттіліктерге беру, діни рәсімдерге тыйым салу, діни қызметкерлерге қатысты қудалау және т.б. арқылы жергілікті жерлерде дінге қарсы күрестің негізгі бағыттары анықталды.

Түйін сөздер: Дін, дінге қарсы саясат, дінге қарсы үгіт-насихат, дін қызметкерлері, діни ұйымдар, идеология, діни культтер, қуғын-сүргін

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ АНТИРЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ В ПАВЛОДАРСКОМ РЕГИОНЕ В ДОВОЕННЫЙ ПЕРИОД

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Одной из основ большевистской теоретической доктрины являлся воинствующий атеизм. Поэтому среди задач практической деятельности большевиков после их прихода к власти стояла задача непримиримой борьбы с любой религией вплоть до их полного уничтожения. В соответствии с этими целями формировалось антирелигиозное государственное законодательство, не только отделившее религию от государства и школу от религии, но и лишившее культовые организации имущества и права юридического лица. *Цель и задачи.* Провести исследование данной ситуации, когда на этом основании гонениям стали подвергаться все без исключения конфессии, существовавшие в стране. *Результаты.* Наиболее агрессивный характер антирелигиозная кампания приобрела в 1930-е годы. Несмотря на лицемерные призывы центральной власти соблюдать законы и принцип добровольного отказа от веры, местная власть, опираясь на жесткое антирелигиозное законодательство учинило невиданный произвол силовыми методами, уничтожая религиозные организации, отбирая у верующих храмы, репрессируя священнослужителей и религиозных активистов. *Заключение.* В предложенной статье, основываясь на архивные материалы, рассматриваются вопросы развернувшейся антирелигиозной кампании на примере Павлодарского региона. Обозначены директивные установки, на основании которых стала меняться религиозная картина в стране и на территории республики; определены основные направления борьбы с религией на местах через закрытие молитвенных зданий и передача их под хозяйственные нужды, запрещение религиозных обрядов, гонения в отношении духовенства и др.

Ключевые слова: Религия, антирелигиозная политика, антирелигиозная пропаганда, духовенство, религиозные организации, идеология, религиозные культы, репрессии

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Introduction

The Soviet government implemented social and political theories of the class struggle, using the revolutionary enthusiasm of representatives of workers and landless peasants. However, their negative attitude toward traditional religion and their desire to expropriate the property of religious organizations led to a brutal conflict between these organizations and believers. The conflict resulted in the death of thousands of people who were not involved in the political struggle. Additionally,

enormous material wealth, including temples, mosques, monasteries, and works of art created over centuries, was damaged.

As a result of the conflict, religious societies were prohibited from conducting religious propaganda and discussing current political, economic, and social issues at meetings. Religious upbringing and education were excluded from schools and all educational institutions in the USSR, and parents were even prohibited from raising their children religiously. This was a difficult time for religious organizations and believers in the Soviet Union.

In this regard, it is relevant to study the anti-religious struggle of state power, which involved seizing religious institutions and property, promoting atheism, and repressing the clergy. This article examines anti-religious policy in the Pavlodar region, using archival materials from the local state archive and the Center for Documentation of Contemporary History of Semey. The study aims to consider the main operative documents that regulated the Soviet government's religious policy before the war, the stages of anti-religious policy, and its implementation in the Pavlodar region, where religious organizations of various faiths were concentrated.

This article presents a unique work that utilizes documentary materials from archives that have not been previously studied in the scientific literature. The object of this study is noteworthy, as it focuses on a little-explored aspect of historical science at the local level. The article is the result of three years of hard work by the State Commission for the Complete Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression, which has enabled the identification of a vast amount of previously unpublished archival sources.

Materials and methods

The issue of anti-religious struggle and propaganda is a complex and multifaceted problem that requires a systematic approach. While there are a variety of archival materials available today, the lack of systematicity in all available information and data on the ongoing anti-religious policy poses a significant challenge. Despite the positive developments in research work in this direction, including the State Commission for the Complete Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression's collection and publication of Collections of Archival Documents in the regions, and the publication of scientific material, the issues of identifying and systematizing all locally available materials have not yet been finally resolved.

To address this challenge, a historical-critical approach has been used in this article, drawing on archival and historiographic materials. This approach allows for a critical analysis of the documents and a more nuanced understanding of the formation of anti-religious policy in the early years of the Soviet state. In addition, a historical-genetic method was used to trace the stages of emerging state-religious relations in the early Soviet era, within the framework of anti-religious policy.

It is necessary to highlight that archival materials serve as documentary evidence of the events related to the anti-religious struggle in Kazakhstan and the entire country before the war. These materials include reports of local executive bodies, certificates, information letters, and reports. Additionally, there is a separate group of documents that includes circulars, explanatory notes of the Authorized Council for Religious Affairs in the Kazakh SSR, and decrees of central authorities of the USSR. These documents allow us to understand the specifics of the organized work of government bodies in this direction and its results.

The following funds of the State Archive of the Pavlodar Region No. 17 – Pavlodar City Executive Committee, No. 3p – Pavlodar Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, No. 844 – Pavlodar District Administrative Department, No. 1p – Pavlodar District Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan were used.

Discussion and results

The historiography of the problem at hand has been examined by national and foreign authors, who have assessed the nature of the emerging relations between state power and religion in the 20–40s and post-war years of the Soviet era as contradictory and ambiguous. In the work of

the Kazakh researcher Saktaganova Z.K. “The Soviet Model of State Religious Policy in Kazakhstan and the Religious Everyday Life of Kazakhstanis in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century”, a periodization of state religious policy is proposed. She defines the period before 1929 as relative “religious freedom”, the 30s as a stage of extreme tightening of anti-religious policies, the war years as a period of partial revival of religious life in the country, and the post-war period as characterized by a new wave of anti-religious policies and atheistic propaganda. The author believes that the struggle against religion in different regions of the Soviet state had its characteristics, and on the territory of Kazakhstan, it was determined by the attitude specifically towards the Muslim religion (Saktaganova, 2017: URL).

In another work, Alpyspaeva G.A., Zhuman G. examines the socio-political aspects of Soviet state policy towards Muslims of Kazakhstan in the 20–30s of the 20th century in Islamic discourse in the state-confessional policy of Soviet power in Kazakhstan in the 1920–1930s. Based on the analysis of archival sources, the transformation of state-Muslim relations as Soviet power strengthened is shown: from a tolerant attitude towards Islam in the first years of the Bolshevik victory to the complete secularization of the rights and freedoms of Muslims in subsequent decades (Alpyspaeva, 2022: URL).

Similarly, the works of Zhanbosinova A.S. examine the evolution of the legislative and legal policy of the Soviet state regarding religious cult, while Rysbekova S.T. in the article “Changes in the religious policy of the state in Kazakhstan (20s of the twentieth century)” substantiates the reasons for the tightening of the religious policy of the state in Kazakhstan in the 1920s and comes to the conclusion that the anti-religious struggle became a cover for the processes of assimilation and Russification of national minorities in the Soviet state (Zhanbosinova, 2012: URL). (Rysbekova, 2014: URL).

The works of Russian researchers that focus on the cults of Christianity and Islam within individual regions are of particular interest. These studies shed light on the historical and political dynamics that shape the relationship between religion and state in Russia. Among these works are those of Ponomarenko M.V. and Khudoborodov A.L., who respectively examined the role of Islam in the religious policy of Soviet power in the first third of the 20th century (with a focus on Western Siberia) and the repressive policy of the Soviet state towards the Russian Orthodox Church in the 1920–1930s. What sets these works apart is their emphasis on the unfolding confrontation between state and religion on the territory of certain regions of Russia. These works also examined various aspects of the religious situation in the context of the Christian Orthodox and Muslim religions, including those related to political repressions against clergy, and seizure of church property (Ponomarenko, 2008: URL).

The topic of religion and its relationship with the state has been a subject of great interest in foreign historiography. The scientific consideration of religion is a complex and extensive topic, and for foreign scholars, it is imperative to study the state of religious affairs in modern-day Kazakhstan, a post-Soviet state, and the inheritor of social traditions that evolved after the spread of anti-religious policies for over seven decades. In this context, the work “Islam in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Experiencing Public Revival of Islam Through Institutionalization” deserves attention. This research delves into the intricate processes of the resurgence of Islam in Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries after the secularization policy implemented by the Soviet government. The work identifies the principal reasons that determined the religious resurgence, including those related to the change in political regime, the propagation of beliefs from other countries, the strengthening of the role of ethnic identity, and other related factors (Malik, 2019: 64-84).

Another work by the team of authors Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr, and Julian Tucker, “Religion and the Secular State in Kazakhstan,” examines the process of the genesis of Islam in Kazakh society in the pre-revolutionary, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods. As part of an extensive study devoted to the position of Islam, starting from the era of its origin in Kazakhstan, the policy of secularization, and its further development in modern conditions, attention is drawn to the reasons for the decline of the religious consciousness of society during the period of Soviet power. Various interpretations of the authors regarding the weakness of the Muslim clergy in terms of their

knowledge of religious canons and rituals are also presented, which may explain their unstable position during the Bolshevik invasion and the subsequent collapse of religious organizations.

However, the majority of foreign authors contend that despite these challenges, religious identity continued to remain a strong link in the chain of relations between religious organizations and the state. This view is corroborated by archival materials, which confirm that religion maintained an unshakable position for a significant period. Despite the bans and persecution throughout the Soviet period, active mullahs continued to carry out their religious activities (Cornell, 2017). “It removed religious references from public life and ensured that law and education were not guided by religious dogma. The downside is that it was guided by the quasi-religious dogma of Communism” (Cornell, 2017: 37).

Yu. Song's “Religion and Society in Soviet-Era Central Asia in Western Vision” summarises well-known foreign works on the problem of Islamic fundamentalism, including in post-Soviet countries. To study the history of Islam in Central Asia, some facts about the religious policy of the Soviet government are given (Song, 2021: 25). “The government did not entirely ban Islam, nor did it explicitly forbid the practice of the religion, but in 1927 an all-out crackdown on the religion began. In this campaign, a large number of clerics were removed and believers were imposed strict penalties, while most mosques were closed by the authorities”.

The author cites the arguments of other researchers on politics in the Soviet state: “About this campaign, Shoshana “Keller, an American scholar, believed that “The Soviet government attacked religion because its Marxist-Leninist ideology dictated an atheist. It also attacked because it could not tolerate any rival for power” (Song, 2021: 27).

The aforementioned works serve as a valuable contribution to the study of religion and the interplay between religion and the Soviet state. It is important to note that the works do not limit all the historiography available today on issues of religion and the interaction between state and religion under the conditions of Soviet statehood. The present article stands out for its regional focus, as prior works on this topic have neglected to examine the Pavlodar region under scrutiny. This study is further distinguished by its reliance on archival sources, which offer unique and valuable insights into the historical context at hand. It must be emphasized, however, that the conclusions and arguments presented herein are not intended to be exhaustive, as further research and access to additional primary sources may yield additional perspectives and nuances.

Anti-religious legislation

Religion and religious organizations played a crucial role in the lives of people in both urban and rural areas of early Soviet Russia. The rural priests, in particular, enjoyed significant authority under the previous regime, which posed a challenge to the newly established Soviet government. The religious organizations, being the most widespread in the country with a huge peasant population, were perceived as a significant threat to the new system. As a result, the Soviet government declared a merciless fight against them. In 1918, the Bolshevik government proclaimed its course towards the separation of church and state and took a confrontational approach towards religion and the clergy. This involved the closure and destruction of churches, mosques, and monasteries, arrests and persecution of the clergy, the opening of relics, desecration of holy places, and other similar measures of state power. These actions not only alienated the population but also caused indignation.

The population of Kazakhstan, in particular, consisted mainly of Muslims and Christians, and both communities experienced the full force of the authorities' attacks. It should be noted that the anti-religious orientation of state policy towards Christianity and Islam developed ambiguously. The number of Muslims in Russia by 1917 was more than 20 million people, and for a significant part of the population, faith was not only a worldview but also a way of life. Religious organizations and clergy spiritually nourished the faithful, administered justice following Sharia norms, and controlled the education sector. There were more than 26 thousand mosques in the country, and almost each of them had its school (Ponomarenko, 2008: URL).

The Decree “To all working Muslims of Russia and the East” of November 20, 1917, marked the first official stance of the Soviet government towards the Muslim religion. This document

conveyed a unique attitude towards Muslim believers and reflected a message of respect for their religious sentiments on the part of the Soviet government. It declared that the beliefs and customs of Muslims, including the Tatars of the Volga region and Crimea, Kyrgyz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks, and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens of the mountains, and highlanders of the Caucasus, were free and inviolable and should be organized freely and unhindered. The decree acknowledged the right of these people to organize their national life and emphasized that their rights, like those of all peoples of Russia, were protected by the full strength of the revolution and its bodies, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. The decree appealed for the support of the revolution and its authorized government, expecting sympathy and support from the Muslim population on the path towards renewing the world (Alpyspaeva, 2022: 11).

The Soviet government's initial promise of freedom of conscience and equality of rights and duties for believers of all faiths and non-believers was quickly challenged by subsequent government acts. The first central document that determined the ideological guidelines for the Soviet government's approach to Islam was developed under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) in 1918. The decree proclaimed freedom of conscience, providing every citizen with the right to profess any religion, or not to profess any, and prohibited religious associations from using coercive measures or punishment against their members. It also established the concept of equality of all religions before the law, meeting the aspirations of Russian Muslims. For Muslims, the Decree on the "Separation of Church and State" was particularly significant as it determined changes in the identification process. Individual self-awareness among Muslims began with religious self-identification, which sometimes meant more than ethnic self-identification. Islam was the only system that organized everyday life, education, upbringing, and social relations. The new decree was aimed at destroying the system. In this regard, the Muslim clergy stated that the new decree is retroactive. By the beginning of the 1920s, when the situation in the country had stabilized, ideological struggle tasks were set with particular urgency and force. A significant place among them was occupied by the struggle for the introduction of a materialistic worldview among the masses. The "anti-Islamic struggle" entered a new phase, with a particular resolution "On the organization of anti-religious agitation and propaganda" adopted at the XII Congress of the WPP(b) (Workers' and Peasants' Bolshevik Party) in 1923 serving as the starting guidelines for organizing mass cultural, educational, and anti-religious propaganda. The country's party leadership called on communists and local organizations to conduct anti-religious work with the Muslim population, taking into account national characteristics and the degree of influence of religion (Alpyspaeva, 2022: 11).

The Bolshevik policy towards Islam in the Soviet Union during the early 20th century was characterized by a unique combination of flexibility and specificity. The adoption of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the Commissariat for Muslim Affairs in 1918 was a clear indication of the special attention given to Islam by the authorities. This decree established the Commissariat for Muslim Affairs of Inner Russia under the People's Commissariat for National Affairs and paved the way for the creation of the Central Bureau of Muslim Organizations and the Muslim Bureau, which were designed to strengthen political work among the Muslim population. At the local level, revolutionary committees established Muslim departments headed by responsible workers from the indigenous population to deal with issues concerning the local Muslim population. The Bolshevik authorities even allowed Muslim military units to be formed in the Red Army. Bolshevik Muslim leaders were also granted permission to perform religious rites, as evidenced by the order of the Chairman of the Kirrevkom S.S. Pestkovsky in 1919 allowing Muslim employees to celebrate the Muslim holiday of Kurban Bayram.

M. Sultan-Galiyev, emphasized the specificity of Islam as a religion, noting that it had civil and political elements that were absent in other religions. He highlighted the presence of Sharia, or Islamic law, which was a code of laws and legal norms that regulated all aspects of the earthly life of a Muslim. Sultan-Galiyev also explained that the Muslim clergy in Russia had a stronger hold on their followers than Christian clergy due to the smaller size of mosque communities and the broader range of roles performed by the Muslim clergy, including those of priests, teachers, administrators, and

judges. The agility of the Bolshevik policy towards Islam was attributed to the need for broad social support and an understanding of the specifics of Islam as a religion. However, measures to destroy the economic and legal foundations of Islam were eventually taken. In 1924, Islamic and tribal courts were abolished, and by 1928, all religious schools, including the lowest (mektep) and the highest (madrasah) were closed. By 1930, the last waqfs were confiscated, stripping the Muslim clergy of their economic power and independence. In 1928, a massive attack on Islam began. It lasted until the war and was, according to the researcher Bennigsen, more severe than the anti-Christian one. By 1941, only a thousand mosques remained, compared to 45,000 that were served by 26,000 clergy in 1912. This attack was accompanied by intense anti-religious propaganda. Although the anti-religious policy weakened during the war years, it took on a new scope in the post-war period (Benigsen, 1983: 44).

Despite the large-scale anti-religious campaign aimed at eradicating Islam, believers and clergy began to actively fight for the right to practice their religion in the mid-1920s. However, the Soviet party organs considered the suppression of religious consciousness as their most important task and brought administrative command and repressive-coercive methods of religious policy to the fore. The statement of I.V. Stalin on September 9, 1927, that “The Party cannot be neutral about bearers of religious prejudices, about the reactionary clergy who poison the consciousness of the working people” was the signal for action. During the early years of the Soviet Union, anti-religious sentiments were on the rise. A significant impetus to the development of the anti-religious movement was the anti-religious commission headed by E.M. Yaroslavsky. The Commission's agenda was regularly brought up at meetings of the highest party bodies at Yaroslavsky's insistence. In December 1928, Yaroslavsky delivered a report before the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, outlining proposals for strengthening anti-religious work. The report emphasized that religious organizations had intensified their activities and were, in the speaker's view, violating existing laws (Mambetova, Muminov, 2023: p. 316).

The resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of January 24, 1929, declared Muslim organizations as counter-revolutionary organizations. Communists and Komsomol members massively closed mosques under the slogan “Close mosques, open clubs”. Many mosques were destroyed. The Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks also proposed to deprive the chairmen of religious communities and members of the executive bodies of religious parishes of voting rights and to deprive the clergy of the right to land use. In the initial Constitution of the RSFSR ratified by the Soviet government on July 10, 1918, deprivation of voting rights was already established. Article 65 of this document specified seven categories of individuals who were stripped of their right to vote, including “d) monks and clergy of churches and religious cults”. This provision encompassed Muslim religious ministers as well. The local administrative authorities, in compiling the lists of “disenfranchised” clergymen, utilized other paragraphs of Article 65 in various cases, such as “a) persons resorting to hired labor to make a profit”; “b) persons living on unearned income, such as interest on capital, income from enterprises, income from property, etc.; g) persons convicted of selfish and defamatory crimes...” Consequently, there existed a considerable likelihood that a mullah, if not deprived of voting rights as a clergy member, might still be disenfranchised as a “bai” (Shapoval, 2022: 158–159).

The campaign for the administrative closure of mosques was intertwined with the campaign for the forced collectivization of agriculture. By a decree of the USSR government of May 21, 1929, clergy living in rural areas were equated with kulaks. In February 1930, local authorities were given the right in areas of complete collectivization of agriculture to apply complete confiscation of property and eviction from districts, territories, and regions to kulaks and persons equated to them. By the end of the 1920s, Soviet religious legislation was finally formed, which went from the proclamation of freedom of conscience to ardent militant atheism, which did not tolerate any dissent in the spiritual sphere.

The historical features of the Pavlodar region, due to its geographical location and, in particular, proximity to Russia, predetermined its socio-economic specifics, as well as ethno-demographic,

cultural, and spiritual features. The Koryakovsk outpost, founded in 1720 during the construction of the Irtysh military line, became a permanent location for the Cossacks of the Siberian army. Subsequently, the Koryak outpost was renamed into the village of the same name, which became the center of barter trade. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the population of Koryakovskaya stanitsa, which received the status of the city of Pavlodar in 1861, began to increase due to merchants, artisans, as well as immigrants from the European part of Russia, including during the Stolypin agrarian reform. In 1897, the population of Pavlodar was 7,738 people. The Pavlodar region has become one of the centers of industrial production. So, in 1913 there were 107 enterprises with 906 workers, as well as 204 retail establishments. Further events of the Soviet period contributed to the further growth of industrial enterprises in the region during the years of NEP, and industrialization, as well as its transformation into one of the important centers of agriculture during the years of surplus and collectivization.

At the same time, the influx of migrants did not stop and the population was replenished by arriving workers, dispossessed peasants, migrants from starving regions of Russia, and repressed special settlers, including clergy. In 1920, more than 14 thousand people lived in Pavlodar, in 1940 – 34 thousand. Thus, economic relations, which determined the heterogeneity of the population, played a decisive role in the formation of a multi-confessional society, on the one hand, local – Muslims, who lived mainly in rural areas, and European – Christians, who arrived at different times.

At the beginning of the 20th century, various religious buildings existed in Pavlodar, reflecting the ethnoconfessional diversity of the region. The main place among them was occupied by mosques, Orthodox churches, and houses of prayer, which served as spiritual centers for local communities. These buildings not only performed religious functions but also played an important role in the cultural and social life of the city, contributing to the preservation of traditions and strengthening ties between representatives of various faiths. Among them is the Holy Trinity Cathedral of the City of Pavlodar, built-in 1893 with the care of the citizens of the city with the participation of Pavlodar merchant Artemy Ivanovich Derov and petty-bourgeois Dmitry Nikolaevich Asyamov. (Igumen Iosif (Eremenko), 2011: URL). During the anti-religious campaign, the building of the Trinity Cathedral was destroyed. This also affected eight other brick churches in the region. In 1929, the unfinished Vladimir Cathedral was transferred to the municipal service of the city, a power plant was placed in it, and then workshops and a foundry of the Oktyabrsky plant.

In the late 1930s, the Trinity Cathedral was closed, and all property and the entire written archive were confiscated. The question of transferring the temple to the club or other needs was raised. But the Stalinist point of liquidation at the root of all temples won, and demolition began. The Trinity Cathedral was dismantled brick by brick in 1937 and secondary school No. 8 and part of a residential building with 16 apartments on the territory of the churchyard were built from whole bricks (Beskorsaya, 2023: URL).

Among the mosques of Pavlodar, the White mosque was built in 1905 – a stone one on the site of a burnt wooden one. The first mosque was destroyed by a terrible fire in 1901, which affected most of the city. The new stone mosque was built mainly at the expense of the Tatar merchant Abdulfattah Ramazanov, and the Muslim community made its contribution. In 1938, services were banned and the mosque was closed. The city House of Pioneers was placed in the building, and it was decided to demolish the minaret. Then, during the war years, the Kazakh Philharmonic was located here, and since 1960 and for the next 20 years – a children's and youth sports school. According to the well-known local historian E. Sokolkin, there were 5, 203 Orthodox Christians; in addition, there were 436 co-religionists. The weight of schismatics, Kerzhaks, Old Believers, and sectarians was significant – 807 people. 104 Roman Catholics (Poles, Germans, Balts) lived in Pavlodar. In addition, Protestants joined the Christians, there were 420 of them. The second place after the Orthodox was occupied by the Muslim population, which included Kazakhs (they were then called Kirghiz), Tatars, and Sarts (immigrants from settled areas – Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva, etc.). Their number was 2,557 people (26.7 %). Jews (Jews) also settled in the city – 22 people. There were

Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Mordvins, Germans, Jews, Belarusians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Chuvash, and even Chinese, although there were few of them.

Thus, the Pavlodar region became the center of active economic activity and resettlement policy both during the Tsarist period and under Soviet rule, which determined the formation of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional composition of the population. The anti-religious policy became aggressive towards all confessions and fully corresponded to the general state line pursued in the country, as evidenced by the archival materials used in the course of the work.

Archival materials on the implementation of anti-religious policy in the Pavlodar Irtysh region.

The Soviet Union's campaign against organized religion and its institutions during the 1930s is a well-documented historical event. Among the numerous sources that shed light on the anti-religious campaign, the following writings offer a comprehensive analysis of the closure and liquidation of religious buildings in Kazakhstan. According to their research, the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (KCEC) proposed a strict set of guidelines for the closure of religious buildings, including the provision of full assistance to public organizations and individual Soviet activists leading anti-religious and cultural educational agitation. In addition, the closure of a church or mosque was to be initiated by citizens of the given village or city itself, through petitions and resolutions of local organizations and groups (Turlybekova, 2023: 121-122).

In 1930, the Secretary of the Regional Committee F.I. Goloshchekin addressed all district committees of the CPSU(b) with the following tasks: Give special attention to the development of anti-religious work, particularly in areas where large-scale closures of churches and mosques have taken place. All anti-religious struggle and work should be focused on: a) ideological struggle against religion, which is considered to be the main decisive factor in the fight against it, through in-depth, comprehensive mass work, without replacing it with administrative measures, while ensuring that no existing Soviet laws are violated; b) revitalizing the organization of the Union of Militant Atheists, turning it into a mass organization; c) exposing the class essence of religion and religious rituals (Karin, 2022: 259).

To strengthen anti-religious work, including in the city, at a meeting of the Pavlodar City Council of People's Deputies, the main directions of activity of government bodies were announced: "Noting the fierce struggle of class enemies: priest, sectarian, mullah, kulak, bai, strengthen anti-religious work for the confiscation of churches and prayer places houses as centers of counter-revolution. Sovietize the city, because such a one still lives according to the old psychology and traditions (philistinism, philistinism, dancing - the Pavlodar swamp) (The State Archive of Pavlodar region, SAPR, F. 17. Inv. 1. C. 55. P. 15-16).

The Letter from the Pavlodar District Council of Physical Culture of the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the KazSPEC (Kazakh Sports and Physical Education Club) on the transfer of the building of the Muslim-Tatar mosque in Pavlodar for a sports and physical education club from 1934 confirms the ongoing campaign against religious institutions. The letter requests permission to use the Muslim-Tatar mosque for a sports and physical education club, citing the complete absence of believers and the building's emptiness (SAPR, F. 2. Inv. 1. C. 16. P. 25).

In the document of the Deputy Chief of RO NKVD (District Department of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) in the Pavlodar district of the region of the same name in 1937 noted facts of activation of religious organizations and the clergy: Due to some weakness of the political and educational work of the collective and state farm masses, in several villages in our region Facts have been established of the activation of the Muslim clergy, which at this time is conducting specific counter-revolutionary work aimed at a broad expansion of religious work among the masses, organizing mosques, and campaigning for presentation of demands to the government for the use of religious disciplines in schools. At the state farm named Kakhiani, the former mullah Orumbaev Auzhan, through counter-revolutionary slanderous agitation among the workers of the state farm, achieves the organization of a mosque and a religious school. He has repeatedly stated to the employees of the state farm that according to the new constitution, freedom of religion is not true. If the government allows the free exercise of religion, then why does it not allow the opening of a

mosque and the organization of a religious school? You see, we have the results of the influence of Soviet power on young people; they are becoming non-believers; this influence must be paralyzed; we must strive to organize a mosque and a religious school" (SAPR, F. 1-p. Inv. 1. C. 215. P. 18–21).

The same document contains evidence of how the imam of the Tatar mosque in Pavlodar, Gabdualilov Zainulla, used the mosque as a place for his open counter-revolutionary propaganda. Explaining the Koran to believers, he uses his religious preaching for counter-revolutionary purposes, calling on believers to openly fight against Soviet power. In one of his sermons, he said: Currently, the religion of Islam is experiencing a severe crisis; no one can eliminate the religion of Islam. Black clouds surround the heads of Muslims (an open call to fight against Soviet power). This Gabdualilov obliges all mosque parishioners to raise their children closer to the religious spirit and threatens them with responsibility before God for failure to comply. Another imam of Pavlodar, Nayzin Abdrakhman, calls on the population to strengthen religion, citing the new constitution of the USSR. The new constitution did not abolish, but on the contrary enshrined the free exercise of religious rites, so our task is to use this opportunity by all means, to attract as many believers as possible, to take care of the mosque building, to carry out major repairs now, so that this once again strengthens believers in the idea that the religion of Islam lives. (SAPR, F. 1-p. Inv. 1. C. 215. P. 18–21).

Due to their irreconcilable attitude towards non-religious public life, representatives of the clergy became victims of the totalitarian system of the state. In 1932, the first persecution of believers and clergy began, accused, in particular, of parasitism, fraud, counter-revolutionary sabotage, and after 1936 – of espionage in favor of Japan, Germany, and England. Thousands of believers and clergy were thus executed as traitors to the Soviet homeland; others died in camps (Bennigsen, 1983: 45).

In the document already mentioned above on this matter, the following facts are given: "In the Kalinin village council, Mullah Isin Agazhan was engaged in underground religious activities, without official rights to perform religious rites, recently he became so insolent that he began to perform religious rites openly, organized public prayer services, which were attended by many communists. The same mullah carried out counter-revolutionary work among believers aimed at discrediting the leaders of the party and government. In addition, he carried out subversive work on the collective farm, called for the slaughter of livestock, while using his influence on the population as a minister of religion, Isin was brought to justice" (SAPR, F. 1-p. Inv. 1. C. 215. P. 18–21).

In addition to open forms of struggle against religion, persecution of believers, and the clergy, anti-religious propaganda was also actively used to educate people in the socialist system. All media were used for anti-religious propaganda: radio broadcasts, films, permanent or traveling exhibitions, and newspaper articles. The Journal for Science and Religion is a special periodical published in Moscow. Public and private lectures were held at home, and propagandists came to believers to convey the truths of dialectical materialism. Anti-religious activities, including propaganda, are a heavy and expensive tool, involving thousands of full- and part-time professionals (Bennigsen, 1983: p.46).

All anti-religious work was carried out through the Union of Militant Atheists of the USSR. To guide the work among non-Christian peoples and to implement the directives of the central bodies on issues of anti-religious propaganda, the Department of National Minorities was organized in the Executive Bureau (Executive Bureau) of the Union of Atheists in 1925, which created several sections. Periodicals played a significant role in anti-religious propaganda during the Soviet era. Regional, district, and local newspapers and magazines, including titles such as "Agitator", "Anti-religious", "Atheist", "Bolshevik", and others, were instrumental in publishing materials that urged readers to reject religious practices and advocated for the conversion of mosques into cultural and educational institutions. Periodicals in the national languages of both the indigenous and immigrant populations were of particular importance in advancing the Soviet government's policies. Based on the available document in the archives of GAPO (State Archive of the Pavlodar Region), it has been noted that during May and June 1939, a total of nine theoretical articles were published in the regional newspapers, namely "Kzyl-Tu" and "Bolshevik Way". During the same period, two answers to questions and six articles on the exchange of experience were published.

Articles were published as they were received from the press bureau, as well as reprinted from the central newspapers. It is also interesting to note that neither of the editorial offices of the regional newspapers had any heads or literary staff of propaganda departments at the time. The involvement of local authors in the newspaper industry is of considerable interest, especially in the Pavlodar region. However, the shortage of theoretically trained propaganda personnel in the region limited the ability to produce theoretical articles. It is worth noting that the management of wall newspapers is primarily handled by the Regional Party Committee through the Party District Committee. During the sowing campaign and preparation for the grain harvest, the committee held meetings for wall newspaper editors. To aid the collective farms, the regional party committee distributed models of brigade and collective farm wall newspapers in Russian and Kazakh. A meeting was also held at the editorial offices of regional newspapers between active district rural correspondents and editors of district newspapers to discuss the responsibilities of workers' correspondents and editors in implementing the decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (SAPR, F. 3-p. Inv. 1. C. 108. P. 19–27).

The dissemination of information through periodicals and public lectures was a key component of propaganda and agitation efforts undertaken by the leadership of organizations and collective farms in the Soviet Union. According to the report of the Pavlodar Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the propaganda and agitation department of the district committee organized 528 lectures and reports on the international situation, anti-religious topics, and the history of the Kazakh SSR in one year alone. Notably, 220 lectures were delivered in the Kazakh language, reflecting the importance of linguistic diversity in disseminating information to the local population. A significant number of lectures (144) were dedicated to the history of the Kazakh SSR, 60 of them were given in Kazakh. In addition, six lectures were devoted to the history of the party and were delivered in Russian. In general, all activities were aimed at building the collective consciousness of the population and promoting the goals of the Communist Party (SAPR, F. 3-p. Inv. 1. C. 180. P. 2).

The issue of confiscation of prayer buildings by local authorities in Kazakhstan was a legal problem, as it often took place without proper instructions and authorizations. According to decrees of the Central Executive Committee of Kazakhstan, churches and mosques could be withdrawn from the use of believers only if the decisions were not appealed within two weeks after they were announced. In case the believers appealed the decision, the religious building was to remain in the use of the believers until the final decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The question of the liquidation of the religious building required a careful, attentive, and unmistakable approach from the authorities, as it could have political consequences. However, the order was not taken into account or not taken seriously on the ground. It is not uncommon to liquidate religious buildings without the sanction of the central authorities. In some cases, churches were closed simply on the orders of individual representatives of various authorized organs (SAPR, F. 844. Inv. 1. C. 2. P. 3–5).

Believers sent letters and complaints to the central authorities that officials sometimes locked churches on major religious holidays and did not allow prayer meetings at home, removing utensils and religious supplies from churches without the participation of believers. Instead of handing over church property to groups of believers, they auctioned it off. Investigations were conducted to clarify the circumstances, but the matter was not always resolved in favor of the believers. By the normative documents, systematic work was envisaged to collect relevant documents that were the basis for the closure and transfer of religious buildings for various 'economic needs' of the population. Village councils were to collect and group materials related to the proposed closure of a church (or mosque), including information on church attendance, petitions and resolutions of public organizations, general meetings of citizens, etc., and to inform the chiefs of the district police and administrative departments in the district towns of the district. Take into account whether there are other relevant religious buildings near the church (mosque) to be liquidated, which could be used by the former parishioners of the liquidated church. If there was no such building, it was necessary to consider the possibility of equipping any premises for believers as a house of worship. In this way,

the remaining believers would have a full opportunity to freely fulfil their religious needs (SAPR, F. 844. Inv. 1. C. 2. P. 3-5).

Conclusion

Thus, the Bolsheviks' rise to power in October 1917 marked a turning point in political, economic, and social paradigms. The new government representatives emphasized the significance of issues related to the national, cultural, and religious life of the country, including the position of Islam. All religious movements faced aggressive policies from the Soviet government. Muslims, being the largest part of the population in Kazakhstan during that time, were a clear example of the overall anti-religious policy in the republic.

Pavlodar region, along with all other regions of Kazakhstan and the country as a whole, experienced the complexity of the policy of radical change in public consciousness. Not just spiritual foundations changed, but also the way of life of people, built on religious traditions. There was an irreconcilable struggle among the local population to prevent the closure of mosques, ban the activities of the clergy, and shut down functioning religious schools. Materials from the State Archives indicated the underground service of the mullahs and accusations against them from the authorities of their anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary activities. Large-scale anti-religious propaganda was organized through a network of local periodicals. Public meetings of workers and collective farmers were used for lectures on the negative impact of religion on the masses. Legal norms were violated because of the closure and removal of prayer buildings from the jurisdiction of believers. Despite complaints and letters from believers to local and central authorities, the policy of closing mosques and religious schools continued. By the end of the 1930s, measures of anti-religious struggle reached their peak.

It's important to note that despite the Soviet government's rejection of religion and promotion of atheism, traditional spiritual values, including religious ones, were not completely eradicated from society. Although many spiritual values were lost throughout the Soviet era, Islam, in particular, managed to survive and thrive through ceremonial and ritual practices within families, local communities, and partially preserved spiritual institutions.

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