
ASPECTS OF MANAGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF MUSLIM CLERGY IN KAZAKHSTAN OVERVIEW OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE SOVIET UNION

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Abstract

The research studies different regulations and aspects of management of the Institute of Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan during the two eras: the period of the existence of the Russian Empire and the former USSR. The main tendencies and changes of the policies towards the Institute of Muslim clergy on the territory of Kazakhstan have been analysed and compared. Two main institutions of Muslim clergy became a focus of study: The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (OMDS in Russian) and the Spiritual Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (SADUM in Russian). The study has three main goals: to investigate the main regulations of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union towards Muslim community and Muslim authorities in Kazakhstan; to observe how these regulations have changed over time and to find out the positive and negative implications of these regulations for Muslim community. The comprehensive literature search has been implemented together with the comparative historical review of the published literature and considered as appropriate methods to address the above-mentioned goals. The research found out that processes happening over that period of time were not homogeneous, but rather carried chaotic and fluctuating character. It was argued that the modern Spiritual Board of Muslims of Kazakhstan (DUMK in Russian) is a successor of OMDS and SADUM. Despite widespread opinions that the Russian rule and its constant persecution of Muslims had only negative impacts, it was claimed that it had a significance role in the development of institutionalization of the Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan. Moreover, it was revealed that there are some parallels and similarities between the approach of OMDS and the Russian Empire respectively in requirements for Muslim clergy and the approach of modern Kazakhstan government and DUMK.

Keywords: Russian Empire, Soviet Union, Kazakhstan, OMDS, SADUM

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1. Introduction

It is widely accepted that Kazakhstan has been a part of the Russian Empire and after that joined Soviet Union for several centuries (XVIII–XX). Within this period, Kazakhstani society has endured numerous extremely fluctuating policies coming from both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. As it will be discussed later in this article, this fluctuating nature of the authoritative policies towards Kazakhstani Muslims manifested itself in some sort of tolerance attitude to even persecution and discrimination. It is hard to find an aspect in the lives of Kazakhstani population, that these policies have not touched during that time. One of such prominent aspects was a religious issue.

Islam has always been a predominant religion on the territory of Central Asia. Nowadays, each of five Central Asian countries has more than 70% Muslims [Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *The results of the national population census in 2009*, 12.11.2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20110722142449/http://www.eng.stat.kz/news/Pages/n1_12_11_10.aspx]. For instance, the Republic of Kazakhstan has been concerned with ‘State-Church’ relationships for centuries. In this regard, Islam has played a vital role within this relationship. Moreover, being the biggest country in this region and having the closest borders with Russian Federation, this has tremendously influenced and even changed the shape of Islamic paradigm in Kazakhstan. As Zaniah Marshallsay, a professor at the School of Communication, International Studies and Languages of University of South Australia has said: “In large part, the long border that it shares with Russia has made it more accessible to direct Russian influence, most discernible in the make-up of the country’s population” [1].

Being a part of the Russian Empire and the former Soviet Union for an extensive period of time, modern Kazakhstan cannot build its own policy, identity and society without carefully looking back to the past. There is a crucial need for objective investigation and study of all the positive and negative consequences of imperialistic regime of Russia. In this regard, unfortunately, Bhavna Dave, a senior lecturer in Central Asian Politics in the Department of Politics and International Studies at School of Oriental and African Studies of University of London, accurately stated: “...the Central Asians have also not yet developed their own contribution to colonial or postcolonial studies...” [2] Although a question whether the Soviet Union was a colonial/imperial state is out of the focus of the current research, it is a true fact that the researches in Central Asian have not yet scrutinized the implications of the Russian Empire and the Soviet time from the scientific and comparative points of view. In the academic field, the question of Islam in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union has been studied by several Western scholars [3, 4]. Unfortunately, little has been done in the field of comparative analysis between the Russian regimes in terms of policies within the religious and political context.

This study aims to investigate how the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union authorities dealt with Institutions of Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan. What were the official positions of these two regimes towards the Muslim

management system in Kazakhstan? How those positions have changed over time? What were the differences in policies of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union? These are the central questions of the current article.

It should be noted what authors of the current research mean by the management of the Institute of Muslim clergy. The term management of the Muslim clergy involves the following aspects and characteristics: administrative aspect (i.e. organizational structure within the clergy, documentation, clerical hierarchy), social and political aspects (the relationship between the official Muslim clergy and profane people, religious education, political views of Muslim authorities and their relationship with the government).

Thus, the main objectives of this research are:

- 1) to evaluate the main regulations of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union towards Muslim community and Muslim authorities in Kazakhstan;
- 2) to analyse how the above stated regulations changed over time;
- 3) to ascertain the positive and negative implications of these regulations for Muslim community.

The authors of this article strongly agree on the fact that investigating these questions is of paramount importance, which in turn would provide a good foundation in order to study the modern policies of the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan towards Muslim communities. Bhavna Dave said: "...state formation in Kazakhstan, as well as Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, has proceeded alongside the consolidation of the Soviet-erected regimes" [2]. Hence all of the changes made in the past in some degree have influenced the modern policies of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In endeavours to accomplish the goals of the current article, authors employed comparative-historical method. A reason for this is that this type of method allows researchers to "investigate two or more historical phenomena with respect to their similarities and differences in order to arrive at explanations, interpretations and further conclusions" [5, p. 40]. Moreover, this kind of methodology clarifies different cases in contrast to each other [5]. In a case of this article it is the cases of Institutes of Muslim clergy within the period of the Russian rule and Soviet one.

So, this research is divided into three sections: 1) Aspects of management of the Institute of Muslim clergy during the existence of Russian Empire, 2) Aspects of management of the Institute of Muslim clergy during the Soviet era, 3) Concluding remarks.

2. Aspects of management of the Institute of Muslim clergy during the Russian Empire

At the end of the XIX-XX centuries, a predominant part of Kazakhs practiced Sunni Islam [6]. Despite widespread opinions that Kazakhs practiced Islam at a very superficial level, in-depth research shows that in that period of time they were not only fully aware of the basics of Muslim ideology and followed its canons, but even educated their children in Muslim schools, visited

mosques on a regular basis and “consequently, they were Muslims without any doubt with intensive religious life, which was supported by activities of Muslim clergy” [6].

Before the end of the XVIII century, the Russian Empire implemented severe policies towards Muslim community, and that was expressed in the form of the capital punishment for proselytizing and converting Orthodox Christian to the religion of Muhammad [M. Tikhomirov and P. Epifanov, *Sobornoe ulozhenie 1649 goda*, <http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/etext/1649.htm>, accessed 30.12.2018]. The activities of the Office of New Converts (‘Kontora Novokreshchennykh Del’) amplified forcible conversion to Christianity [3]. In general, during this period Muslims of Russian Empire were severely persecuted and lost all of their belongings. According to Alan Fischer (1947-2015), a well-known scholar in Slavic studies, attempts of Russia to get rid of Muslim influence in some regions were not successful since Islam was already deeply embedded in daily practice of people and became *sine qua non* of Kazakh nation [7].

Interestingly enough, that in 1762 this situation changed when Catherine II became the empress of the Russian Empire [7]. In on-going Russian-Turkish war, the Ottoman Empire tried to get a loyalty from Central Asian Khanates and Kazakh Zhuzes, which posed a serious threat to interests of the Russian Empire. There were some intercepted messages from Turkey to the Khanate of Bukhara and Iran by the Russian Empire, which meant that the Ottoman Empire tried to convince these states to participate in this war [8]. (Zhuz (kazakh. meaning ‘horde’) – a tribal and territorial division in Kazakhstan. There are three main zhuz – the Senior zhuz (‘Uly zhuz’), the Middle zhuz (‘Orta zhuz’), the Junior zhuz (‘Kishi zhuz’).) This forced Russia to make decisive steps towards toleration of Muslims.

The first step of Catherine II was to terminate the work of the Office of New Converts [3]. She gave a permission to build wooden mosques in some regions (such as Kazan, Voronezh and Astrakhan) [3], albeit “several delegates reported that many had been destroyed by arsonists of unknown origin” [7, p. 545].

Then the Holy Synod declared ‘Toleration of All Faiths Edict’ in the name of Catherine II in 1773, where a main concern was about a policy of non-interference of Christian clergy into the construction of mosques [3]. On the territory of Kazakh steppe, it was manifested in building the mosques and madrasas (Islamic schools) in Orenburg, Troitsk, Petropavlovsk and Verkhneursk [A. Frank, *Islamic Transformation on the Kazakh Steppe, 1742-1917: Toward an Islamic History of Kazakhstan under Russian Rule*, http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/pdf2/frank_large.pdf, accessed 30.12.2018].

Despite these attempts, it had a little effect on the society. That is why in 1788 Catherine the Great, with the help of Osip Igelstrom, the governor of Orenburg Guberniia (Governorate, an administrative subdivision of the Russian Empire), launched the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (‘Orenburgskoe

magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie' – 'OMDS'), which had an overwhelming impact on the foundation of the unified Muslim community [http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/pdf2/frank_large.pdf]. OMDS regulated activities of mosques and Muslim community in general in St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Volga-Ural area and Siberia. The Kazakh steppe fell under its jurisdiction as well [9]. It was considered as a first stage towards formalization of the management system of the Institution of Muslim clergy on the territory of Kazakhstan. Igelstrom himself appointed the staff of this Assembly (imams, akhunds (analogue to Christian 'Bishop'), mudarrises (teachers at madrasas) – they were Muslim figures who were loyal to Russian administration and were willing to spread Russian policy in appointed territories. So, the first muftis (spiritual leaders of Muslim community) of OMDS were Muhammad al-Husayn (r. 1788-1824) or Muhammad Husainov according to Russian sources, a diplomat for the Russians on the Kazakh steppe and 'Abdassalam bin Abdarrahim (r. 1825-1840), who was affiliated with the Orenburg Border commission and Russian administration [http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/pdf2/frank_large.pdf]. Husainov and Abdarrahim both were often sent with diplomatic missions to three Zhuzes of Kazakhs, which indicated the important role of the Kazakh steppe in the view of Russian authorities [http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/pdf2/frank_large.pdf].

In light with these events, Muslim community and its activities gradually fell under Empire's control and OMDS became an intermediate governance body between Tsarist authority, Muslim clergy and Muslim people [3]. For example, the language of all documents from OMDS to authority had to be written in Russian language, which meant that "only Russian officials or Muslims who knew Russian language would be appointed to its posts" [7, p. 550]. It was Russian authority who made programs of examination for different spiritual ranks/titles. For example, a decree enacted on 22th September of 1788 by Guberniia says the following: "candidates have to be loyal and of good behaviour in order to hold a spiritual post of Mohammedan law", which meant that all of the Muslim authorities have to be absolutely loyal to Russian Empire [10]. At the beginning of 1800 OMDS had examined 1921 people from Muslim elites. Only in one year of 1791, 789 people were examined, including 7 akhunds, 2 assistants of akhunds and 527 imams [11]. Moreover, every madrasas was forced to monthly submit a list of teachers, students and course programs. As Fisher says: "In the first decade of the Spiritual Muslim Assembly 1,921 Muslims passed its examinations and requirements, including 7 akhunds, 527 mullahs, 2 teachers, and 51 tutors" [7, p. 544].

Slowly competence of OMDS regarding management of Muslim clergy and Islamic institutions had been expanding. The Orenburg Assembly consisted of Mufti and three qadis (assessors). The Assembly was some type of Muslim Supreme Court which issued fatwas – legal decisions in Islamic terminology [12]. These decisions were restricted to matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance, burial and mosque building. The spiritual leaders of OMDS had to get an approval from official bodies to appoint an imam for certain regions

[http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/pdf2/frank_large.pdf]. In 1828 the Muslim authorities, mainly imams had to fulfil the civil registry books ('metricheskie knigi') sent by local body where they would register births, marriages/divorces and deaths. That was meant to be an additional regulatory measure implemented by the Russian Empire. It is important to note that by doing that the government had a real chance to gain control over the situation in different parts of its vast territory, including the Kazakh steppe. The Russian authorities did that through the administrative management of OMDS rather than through the local akhuns or imams [11].

In 1830 OMDS got the right to solve cases of disobedience of children to their parents, in 1849 – the right to charge imams and so on [13]. In its activities, the Spiritual Assembly was guided by a peculiar synthesis of the norms of the Sharia and Russian legislation. Under suppression of Russian authority, it had to enforce the regulations, which restricted clergy to adopt rules of the Sharia law explicitly contradicting the laws of Russian government.

One more shift in the Tsarist-Muslim relationships occurred in 1832, when previously established the Main Directorate of Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions in 1810 had been changed into the Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions (Department dukhovnykh del innostrannykh isповедanii – DDDIF), which was under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. From now on this ministry 'was responsible for maintaining the "principle of religious toleration as far as this toleration corresponded to state interest" [9, p. 208]. The Spiritual Assembly was also under its jurisdiction.

The period between 1862 and 1885 also played a vital role in the Tsarist's attitude towards Muslims in Central Asia. During this period under the rule of Alexander II, the Russian Empire fully conquered Central Asian region. As a consequence of that, the new paradigm of Islamic policies by Russia had come into play. Therefore, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in attempts to institutionalize Muslim community, specifically Muslim elites (so-called 'ulama'), turned mosque congregations without any Western-type of clergy and hierarchy into "the bureaucratized hierarchy of the Holy Synod" [9, p. 207]. (Ulama (Arab. 'scholar') - a scholar, transmitter and interpreter of knowledge about Muslim way of life, Qur'an, Hadith, etc.) Authorities granted to Muslim elites the official status of 'Muslim clergy'. After passing exams, the Russian government itself granted imams with a license and they became well-known as 'ukaznoi mulla', meaning an imam who was appointed by Russians.

On 16th of July, 1888 Alexander III enacted the law called 'An implementation of educational censure for spiritual actors of Mohammad religion'. According to this law, from 1891 candidates for assessors' positions in OMDS were required to pass the exam, which included the curriculum of the first four grades of gymnasium, candidates for positions of akhuns – the exam including the curriculum of one-class national school and candidates for posts of mullahs in rural areas had to prove the knowledge of Russian language [13].

However, despite all above mentioned facts the situation in Central Asian region slightly differed. Islam was not as fully institutionalized as in the other parts of the Russian Empire [9]. For example, when in 1880 the Turkestan quitted the Orenburg Assembly, K.P. von Kaufmann, the governor-general of the Turkestan, “ordered the exclusion of all mullahs with a license issued in Orenburg (ukaznye mully)” [9, p. 215]. The political ideology of Kaufmann later was called as ‘ignorirovanie’ – ‘disregard’. In order to reduce the influence of Islam in the Turkestan region and the Kazakh steppe in general, he tried to take away state’s support at all. For instance, he decided not to “subject the Islamic authorities (‘ulama’) to a spiritual directorate” [14]. In this regard, on March 4th 1880 the Spiritual Assembly was forbidden “to extend its influence into the governor-generalship of Turkestan” [15].

So, as the evidence suggests, the policies of the Russian Empire towards Islamic religion in the Kazakh steppe endured several phases: 1) XVII – the middle of XVII century – ‘Russification’ or ‘Christianization’ of all foreign confessions, but still without clear official view; 2) the second half of XVII – the middle of XIX century – the period of Catherine II reign, where Islam was finally acknowledged and Islamic hierarchy was implemented; 3) the later part of XIX – the beginning of XX century – the period of fluctuating attitude of the Russian Empire towards Muslims in the Central Asia, particularly in Kazakhstan.

In spite of extremely contradictory policies of the Russian Empire, it could be stated that some of those regulations had a somewhat positive impact on the development of Kazakh Muftiyat. First of all, before that time, especially before the rule of Catherine the Great, Muslim authorities and elites worked in a immensely vague and even chaotic way. The policies of the Russian Empire helped to organize, centralize and institutionalize the Institute of Muslim clergy. Most aspects of Muslim rituals (marriage, divorce, births, deaths) became more structured, which helped Muslims themselves. That methodology would later become a foundation for future independent Kazakh Muftiyats, which again reveals the positive sides of some of the policies of the Russian Empire.

3. Aspects of management of the Institute of Muslim clergy during the Soviet era

Due to the limitations of the current research, the period of the February Revolution in Russia and Russian Provisional Government is out of the focus. A few things should be noted in this regard. The Provisional Government employed unprecedented measures to ensure civil rights, freedom of press, thought, speech and religion. This led Muslim intellectuals of Central Asia to think about the future of Muslim community within the state. Almost immediately after the Provisional Government came into force, the First All-Russian Muslim congress had been held in Moscow in May 1917 where its participants discussed a potential opportunity to establish regional Muslim autonomies [16]. However, the Russian government continued the Russian

Empire's policy towards Muslims in this region. Hence the previous governor-general was replaced by a Provisional Executive Committee and the Steppe area with its administrative functions remained under the rule of government [16].

Right after the Bolsheviks obtained the power in 1917, an official Soviet position on this matter had been revealed in the Message "To all working Muslims of Russia and East", where it was stated: "From now on your beliefs and rituals, your national and cultural organizations are declared free and inviolable. Settle your national life freely and unhindered. You have the right to do this." [17] This is mainly related to a fact that communists tried to gain a loyalty and support for Soviet regime since it was weak and unstable. In 1918 Soviet government announced several decrees concerning Muslim issues, such as 'On separation of the church and government and school and church' dated back 20 January 1918 and 'On establishment the Commissariat of Muslim affairs'. The objects of this Commissariat were to make contacts with Muslim people without a particular geographical affiliation. Later that year Decree 'On organization of Muslim commissariats' was aimed to promote an idea of 'class struggle'. These Commissariats were founded in Semipalatinsk and Vernyi.

During the first years of the Soviet rule the new structure of the Muslim Institutes were in the process of formation. Muftiyats were replaced by the Spiritual Administrations. Consequently, the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly was changed into the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims (CDUM in Russian), which was responsible for the territories of Inner Russia, Siberia and Kazakhstan. In 1922, the Government gave back the territories, which belonged to mosques and madrasas.

This seemingly tolerant view to different confessions changed dramatically from 1926 onwards. In 1927 in a report 'Muslim clergy of Central Asia in 1927' it was stated that Muslim clergy was a direct enemy. In the period of 1920-1930, the Soviet rule started to attack all existed religions, including Islam. Mosques were closed (26000 mosques functioned in 1912 and only 1000 remained in 1941), system of Islamic education was abolished, and Muslim spiritual leaders were persecuted and arrested. A majority of Muslim administrations were closed, only CDUM was still open, but its activity had been frozen. All of the Russian Muslim Congresses had stopped. In several cases Muslim leaders and their families were exiled to Siberia. As a result of that, the numbers of Muslim clergy had rapidly declined: "In Ust'-Kamenogorsk region in 50 villages there were the same amount of parishes with 88 priests and now only 2 priests remain in the city of Ust'-Kamenogorsk and village #6 of Ulansk volost" [17, p. 58]. On June 8, 1927 the Decree 'On measures of struggle against Muslim religious movement' was enacted, where the following regulations have been prescribed: 1) Enroll children to Muslim schools from 18 years old; 2) The Spiritual Board of Kazakhstan shall be separated from the Spiritual Board of Ufa; 3) To instruct the bodies of the OGPU (The Joint State Political Directorate) and the NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) to control a ban of financing the Muslim schools and mosques; 4) To instruct bodies of the OGPU and the NKVD to control over the prohibition of

holding religious meetings and congresses; 5) To create the Commission against religion, etc. [A.B. Musagulova, *Bor'ba sovetskoi vlasti protiv religii i ee otritsatelnie posledstivya v nacionalnom samosoznanii (Soviet power struggle against religion and negative effects in the national consciousness)*, <http://pps.kaznu.kz/kz/Main/FileShow2/21755/84/2/3/0//>, accessed 30.12.2018].

The attitude to religious organizations started to change only with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) (a term often referred in Russia to indicate the war between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany). The war started by Nazi Germany forced Soviets to reconcile with its society. An urgent need for strengthening social and political basis of the regime made Soviet government already in the first months of the war to allow believers, including Muslims of Central Asia, to re-establish their system of Muslim clergy.

Following that, in October 1943 the Kurultai (In Kazakh: a political and military council) of Muslims Ulemas had been held, where it was decided to create the Spiritual Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (SADUM in Russian) based in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Ishan Baba-khan (r. 1943-1957) was appointed as the Mufti.

Being afraid of the widespread activity of religious groups, the Soviet Union founds the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of People's Commissars, which was dedicated to control all of un-Orthodoxy Christian religions, including, of course, Islam. If one asks why not Orthodoxy Christianity, even though Christianity was also considered undesirable, it has always been viewed as "an integral part of Russian culture, Islam is regarded as exotic and inimical to that culture, and thus as running counter to mystique of Russian particularism, which has never really been absent from Soviet Communism" [18, p. 43].

Here is the need to investigate more carefully the activities and functions of SADUM, because it has been the only official representative body for Islam in Central Asian region from its creation until a collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991. Firstly, it was created to mobilize forces against the Nazi Germany since the Kurultai has declared the Message to all Muslims: "We, Muslim clergy and representatives of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenia, Kyrgyzia and Kazakhstan, on behalf of all Muslims address this Message to you, our dear sons and brothers! With shoulder to shoulder, will all nations together fight like brave lions against the Nazi invaders, destroy the hated fascists so that none of them remain on our planet!" [A. Habudtinov, *K 70-letiyu Dukhovnogo Upravleniya musulman Srendei Azii i Kazakhstana (To the 70th anniversary of the Spiritual Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan)*, <http://www.islamsng.com/kaz/faces/7326>, accessed 30.12.2018] This demonstrates once more that the Soviet government used Islam and all other confessions in its own interests – to call people to the war. SADUM consisted of the followings bodies: Administration (Hayat) of 11 people, Revision Committee (Taftish xayiti) of 5 people. Each Republic had so-called 'kidayyat' – a representative body. In

Kazakhstan Abdul Gaffar Shamsutdin was appointed its leader. According to its own charter, the objectives were:

- to administrate and control religious affairs and rituals via ‘kidayyat’,
- to promote Islam among believers,
- to solve difficult and conflict problems regarding religious rituals,
- to conduct fatwas on different issues,
- to produce religious literature,
- to make contacts with foreign Muslim organizations, etc.

However, this time of relative peace and tolerance did not last long. In the process of anti-religious campaign in 1959-1962 the government again started anti-religious propaganda and persecution of Muslim clergy with a vengeance. One of main aspects of communistic propaganda in 1960-1970 was a furious fight against religious traditions in everyday life, which continued to some degree until the fall of the Soviet Union.

Thus, analysis of primary and secondary sources reveals the following stages of Soviet-Muslims relationships not only in Kazakhstan, but also in the whole Central Asian region:

- 1917-1928 – the first phase of governmental-confessional relations in USSR. During this stage, the main Decrees have been enacted. A Soviet model of these relations have been crystalized. The Institutes of Muslim clergy gained some sort of freedom. More mosques, religious literature and madrasas appeared.
- 1929-1942 – a peak of communistic ideology; mass persecution of Muslim imams; mosques closed; worships and rituals banned; widespread propaganda of atheism and Marxism. Reduction of importance of CDUM and other Institutions of Muslim clergy.
- 1943-1960 – more tolerant attitude due to the war against the Nazi Germany. The use of Muslim authorities in order to promote patriotism and to mobilize people to take part in this war. Foundation of SADUM.
- 1960-1991 – return of similar methods of the second period. Propaganda of communism.

The management of the Institute of Muslim clergy for almost 60 years survived different periods: from tolerant attitude to open persecution and punishment. In authors’ opinion, the most significant moment of that period was an opening of SADUM, which was a successor of Imperial OMDS. SADUM would later be the foundation of the modern DUMK (The Spiritual Board of Muslim of Kazakhstan) after Kazakhstan gained its independence.

4. Conclusions

At the beginning of this article, the researchers set the following goals:

- 1) to study the main regulations of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union towards Muslim community and Muslim authorities in Kazakhstan;
- 2) to analyse how these regulations have changed over time;

- 3) to find out the positive and negative implications of these regulations for Muslim community.

As it might be seen from the first two paragraphs of this article, the Institute of Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan had been managed by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union extremely ambiguously. The Institutes of Muslim Clergy and its members endured numerous different occasions, from persecution and capital punishment to establishment of its own administrative authority.

The negative sides of the management of the Institute of Muslim clergy during the two periods of the Russian rule were similar and did not differ much. For instance, in both eras Muslims were harshly discriminated. The official Institutes of Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan were found through different aggressive policies of the governments. Most of the times Muslim leaders had to be under control of the government and they did not have a single right for their own regulatory decisions.

As it was noticed before, despite obvious negative sides, there were certain positive implications to it. It was these obstacles and experiences which helped OMDS, later SADUM and finally DUMK to get helpful experience in organization, institutionalization and administration of its Institutes.

The research has found out that:

- 1) The history of the Institutes of Muslim clergy in Kazakhstan was very vague and occasionally chaotic, from having no regulations at all to even rigid rules of the government (neither of which are applicable for use during modern context of Kazakhstani society).
- 2) Modern organization of DUMK in Kazakhstan is deeply rooted into the past forms of OMDS and later SADUM.
- 3) The policies of the Russian Empire in spite of its restrictions, violations of human rights, still had positive implications on the development of the Institutions of Muslim clergy.
- 4) There are very peculiar parallels between functions of OMDS in regards to requirements for Muslim clergy (such as a compulsory need for secular education) and the modern paradigm of Kazakhstani government and DUMK (there is a growing tendency of need for secular education for imams and religious actors).

Thus, there is a crucial need for further thorough investigation of this topic since it could reveal more interesting views on how modern DUMK functions and why it functions in the certain ways. Moreover, the current subject is also significant since it could potentially help the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan to deal with secularism and its paradigms in the circumstances of the modern reality.

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