

Socioeconomic Transformation and Governance Challenges in the North Caucasus During Soviet Stagnation

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Abstract:

The article presents the results of the development of the North Caucasus of the Brezhnev era of 1965 - 1970, an analysis of the situation of the regions, the processes of urbanization, modernization, as well as the implementation of the domestic policy of the government of the country. The authors of the article highlight the activities of the central party-Soviet government, which sought to control the ethnopolitical situation on the ground, including the North Caucasus, through personnel policy. Implementing the concept of formation of a management team from a local society. Along with the representatives of the titular ethnic groups, Slavic representatives were appointed to key places in the local government apparatus, often from other territories and regions, i.e. neutral cadres, which was intended to smooth out the polyethnicity of the North Caucasus region. Based on studies of historical experience, assumptions are made about possible changes in the political situation by the mid-1980s, due to the ambiguous assessment of the Soviet period, which is still controversial.

Ключевые слова: *urbanization, modernization, "stagnation", "developed socialism", "conservative course", "communist system", party-Soviet leadership, the North Caucasus.*

INTRODUCTION:

The development of the North Caucasus in 1965 - 1985, the situation of the regions in the conditions of the internal political course L.I. Brezhnev and the change in the political situation in the region in the mid-1980s for many decades has been the subject of controversial debates in political, historical and public circles. The characteristic terminology of the Brezhnev era gives rise to the possibility of constant debates of many generations. This is the term "stagnation", born of perestroika, this is the name

itself from that era of "developed socialism", this is the modern definition of "conservative course", "communist system". All these terms reflect not so much the essence of that time, as the perception of these years by different social groups. In general, we can talk about the desire of the party-Soviet leadership to maintain stability in the country, which explains the failure of the rehabilitation of Stalinism. The conservatism of the internal policy of the authorities was precisely to ensure the stability of the position of the ruling elite. On the other hand, the objective needs of world development and the impact of world trends on the Soviet Union dictated the modernization of the economy and social sphere of Soviet society. On the whole, this period of Soviet history was characterized by an internal contradiction between attempts to modernize economic and public life and the ineffectiveness of its results, which created the prerequisites for the coming crisis. This process was fully manifested in the life of the North Caucasus of the 1960s-1980s.

MATERIALS AND METHODS:

The development of the North Caucasus region in the last decades of the existence of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, reflected the all-Union tendencies, and on the other hand, they were generated by local specifics. One of these regional trends was the steady increase in the population density of the North Caucasus. This tendency is actively manifested today, in terms of the fact that in the region, constituting no more than 2.1% of the territory of Russia (1), more than 26 million people live (2), and the population of the North Caucasian republics continues to increase. Another regional trend characteristic of the North Caucasus over the centuries has been and remains its unique polyethnicity. Population of the North Caucasus in the 1960s - 1980s It was represented by more than half of the ethnic groups of Russia.

In the years described, several other trends in the development of this region appeared. First, it is about the stability of the administrative borders of the republics and territories that make up the territory of the North Caucasus, in contrast to previous decades. In the pre-war period and the first post-war decade, for example, 6 major transformations took place in the configuration of territories and their administrative boundaries, constituting a single regional concept of the North Caucasus, and in the 1960s - the 1980s. there was only one such change, which consisted in a certain expansion in the territory of Adygea in 1962.

An important trend related to the socio-economic development of the North Caucasus region was a new

stage of modernization, characteristic of the whole country and designed to create a single economic complex of the Soviet Union, which would contribute to achieving uniform development of all regions, republics and regions. Modernization most deeply penetrated precisely in the traditionally agrarian, "marginal" regions, to which the North Caucasus can be attributed. It was this tendency that gave rise to a number of essential features of a sociocultural and political nature in the development of the North Caucasian macroregion.

This trend has become a prerequisite for accelerated urbanization in both the national and Russian-speaking regions of the North Caucasus. This was manifested in the growth of cities in the republics and territories of the North Caucasus. However, in the 1970s. the administrative renaming of large rural settlements into cities was typical for the Soviet Union as a whole. The growth of cities testified the example of Ordzhonikidze - the capital of the Siberian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Of 634.7 thousand square meters. meters of housing, built by 1970, 419 thousand square meters or 66% accounted for the city (3).

Urbanization was particularly widespread in the 1970s. in the Stavropol region. Changed the ratio of urban and rural population of the Stavropol Territory. During the 1960s - 1970s. the proportion of urban residents here was already half of the population, while the proportion of workers increased by 10% and amounted to more than half of those employed in social production. Although a significant part of them were state farm workers, a significant increase was accounted for by factory, construction and factory workers (4). Urbanization significantly affected the Kuban, which was traditionally positioned as a rural area. By the end of the 1970s here the number of urban dwellers also exceeded half the population.

Urbanization manifested itself in a change in the structure of the North Caucasian cities, much of which became university and industrial centers. Finally, in the process of urbanization, the rural life of the region increasingly acquired the features of urban culture, which was facilitated by the social policy of the Soviet government in the countryside. Urban culture precisely in the 1960s - 1970s. began to penetrate more and more into the rural daily life of this agrarian region. Young people in the village began to dress and behave in a city-like manner, collective farmers and state farm workers more and more often built their leisure time according to the urban type, and the features of urban family life can be traced in the villagers' homes, where personal cars,

"urban" furniture, and household appliances appeared.

As a result of the urbanization processes in the country, the outflow of the rural population to the cities took place. This social phenomenon has not bypassed the North Caucasus, although it had somewhat more blurred forms than in the regions of Central Russia. At the same time, this trend in the history of the North Caucasian republics had far-reaching consequences in the late 1980s - 1990s.

The general Soviet domestic political tendency of the late 1960s - 1970s, expressed in a memoir approach to public life, when for each year there were several anniversaries of national and local significance, accompanied by numerous awards in the region with a complex administrative-territorial structure, which was the Northern Caucasus, acquired special significance. Anniversaries, as a rule, were accompanied by numerous personal and collective awards. For example, only in 1964 and from 1966 to 1973. North Ossetia and a number of its teams received 9 high government awards from the Order of Lenin to the Order of the Badge of Honor. Among these groups were 3 industrial enterprises, 2 collective farms, the Russian Drama Theater, and a republican newspaper. The republic itself twice - in 1964 and 1973. She was awarded the Order of Lenin and the Order of Friendship of Peoples.

The same "starfall" was characteristic of all regions of the North Caucasus. For example, on November 20, 1970, the Order of Lenin was awarded the Krasnodar Territory (5). In the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1977 there were 32 Heroes of Socialist Labor, and in all since the return of the title More than 13 thousand people received prizes from the exile to their homeland. The Republic was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1965, and the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of Friendship of Peoples in 1972. In the Stavropol region only from 1965 - 1970, orders and medals were awarded. about 1 thousand people were awarded, th including 3 working and Collective Farm 1, including two representatives of Karachay-Cherkessia, were awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor (6).

As in the republics, whole farms and enterprises received awards in the Stavropol Territory. So, in 1967, the collective farm "Proletarian Volya" received the Order of Lenin, and the Bolshevik ovtsovkhov, the Communist lighthouse and Pobeda collective farms, and the Yasnaya Polyana state farm were awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor.

On the other hand, an important moral circumstance was the fact of recognizing the work of not only leaders and politicians, but also ordinary workers. For example, along with the chairman of one of the collective farms of the Georgievsky region I. Kozyr, the shepherds G. Kharechko from Ipatovsky, A. Simonenko from Arzgirsky, and J. Shevchenko from Apanasenkovsky districts were awarded. The country's highest rank is the Hero of Socialist Labor in the early 1970s. got Stavropol: mechanic farm them. Kalinin, Kursk District, G. Semenov, shepherds of the state Bolshevik breeding plant P. Zhikharev and the Victory collective farm of the Petrovsky District V. Titarenko, milkmaid M. Ulayev from the Lenin Way collective farm of the Krasnogvardeysky District, A. Postnikov's poultry house from the Rodina collective farm of Kochubeyevsky District (7).

In an all-Union context, this was a typical commemorative official body, and in an ethno-regional context, such events raised the prestige of the people in their own eyes and promoted the growth of national self-awareness. On the other hand, premium preferences gave rise to a kind of competition between regional and national elites, the struggle for the favor of the Center to a particular territory and its leadership.

The local tendency of the republics of the North Caucasus has been the increase in the share of a number of “titular” ethnic groups in a number of republics. For example, the proportion of Karachays in the KChAO according to the 1989 census was 1.2%, and according to the State Statistics Committee in 1993, their share reached 34% (8). This situation was also related to the beginning of the migration outflow of Russians from this macro-region. In the 1970s, according to a number of researchers, 90-100 thousand Russians left the North Caucasus, and in the 1980s. this flow was 110 thousand people (9). So, according to some scientists, in the 1970s. the growth rate of the Russian population slowed down significantly in Kabardino-Balkaria, and the decline in the number of titular national groups, Kabardians and Balkars, characteristic of the republic of the

1950s-1960s, stopped (10). This was accompanied by ethnic homogeneity and the “indigenization” of the population of the North Caucasian republics, which began in the 1970s. If in the 1950s. For well-known reasons, there were 50% Russians in Chechen-Ingushetia, in 1981 they made up only 23.5% of the republic’s population. But Chechens by this year made up 57.8% of local residents (11).

However, in the North Caucasus in the 1960s - 1980s. Migratory processes from the region increased. One of the reasons for this was the redundancy of the rural population, characteristic of the agrarian regions of the South. In the 1960s, for example, up to 20 thousand Chechens left for Kalmykia, Stavropol, and the Don. In the 1970s the space where Chechens went to live permanently expanded to the Black Earth, Siberia, the Volga region. For the most part, their main occupation outside the republic was cattle breeding. In the 1980s 60 thousand shepherds of the southern region were Chechens, and in 1989, up to a quarter of Chechens were outside the republic (12).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

Soviet postwar modernization in the North Caucasus faced archaic forms of social life. As a result, on the one hand, the processes of Europeanization accelerated, and on the other, teip kinship and traditional social ties did not disappear, but were transformed into family clans and a “shadow” economy. This destabilized social reality. For example, for CHI ASSR, Dagestan in the 1970s - 1980s. the growth of rivalry between these clans was characteristic (13). The negative attitude of the Soviet government towards religion in general, Islam, in particular, did not eliminate the traditional institutions of Islam, which were driven underground. These are the Murid brotherhoods, which in 1969 held an illegal meeting of the Ulama in Ingushetia. In religious communities, arbitration courts based on Sharia and Adat were secretly preserved. By the mid-1980s. Checheno-Ingushetia alone had more than 280 muridist groups with 8 thousand participants, 430 mullahs. More than 52% of the local population of the republic at this time recognized themselves as believers (14).

Table 1: National composition of the population of Russia according to the census data (thousand people)

Nationality	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2002 in % to 1926
All population of Russia	100623	108262	117534	130079	137410	147022	145167	144,3
Peoples of Dagestan	589	721	798	1153	1402	1750	2663	452,1
Adygei	65	86	79	98	107	123	129	198,5

Ingush	72	91	56	137	166	215	413	573,6
Kabardians	140	161	201	277	319	386	520	371,4
Balkars	33	42	35	53	62	78	108	327,3
Ossetians	157	196	248	313	352	402	516	328,7
Karachay	55	74	71	107	126	150	192	349,1
Cherkess	29	38	45	51	61	-
Chechens	318	400	261	572	712	899	1360	427,7

During this period, one of the important trends in the socio-political development of the USSR was the final crystallization of the nomenklatura elite as an independent social stratum with peculiarities of the material situation due to proximity to distribution, nomenclature privileges, a crisis of ideological attitudes. This trend was also characteristic of the regions, but at the same time it had its own characteristics in the North Caucasus. First, the nomenclature of the North Caucasus was more deeply affected by corruption, because had more administrative levers for its strengthening - the presence of all-Union resorts, as a place of relaxation for representatives of higher authorities, greater prosperity of the population, including the Stavropol region and the Kuban. In addition, the above-mentioned demographic situation in the republics, as a result, led to an increase in the proportion of the so-called indigenous ethnic groups in local government and among the intelligentsia. Although the Center sought to control these processes, they objectively contributed to the revitalization of the influence of the title factor in regional political life.

In all regions of the North Caucasus region, the formation and sustained reproduction of local political elites, both national and regional - "Kuban", "Stavropol" - was a manifestation of the all-Union tendency to strengthen the position of local elites from the Union republics to the edges and regions. On the one hand, during these years, the traditional order of distribution of seats in the leadership of the republics between representatives of the Russian and titular ethnic groups took shape, when the Russian first person had local people as deputies and vice versa, when the first person from local people had Russian deputies. On the other hand, at this time the competition of nomenklatura groups in the political and spiritual space of the region is becoming more active. For local elites of the North Caucasus, career elevators are accelerating, which later, during the years of perestroika, had a great influence on the composition and characteristics of the central government. In the mid-1980s. there is a "root-finding" of the leadership of the republics of the North Caucasus.

To a certain extent, changes in the ethnic composition of the local communities of North Caucasian society were also promoted by some social decisions of the Central Authority. For example, in the 1960s - 1970s. at the direction of the highest party leadership throughout the country, a struggle was launched against unregistered, spontaneously arisen rural settlements. In the national republics, it served as a signal for the resettlement of inhabitants from the mountains to lowland villages. So, part of this campaign was the resettlement of Chechens in the Cossack regions. However, instead of the assimilation of ethnic groups expected by the authorities, the Cossack population was driven out of their villages by representatives of the Chechen ethnos.

Similar processes were observed in Dagestan. After the creation of 4 new districts of Dagestan in the Nogai steppe in the 1960s - 1970s. began to systematically resettle up to 300 thousand mountaineers, thanks to which all areas became multinational, including Kizlyarsky district, where the Russian population prevailed. In the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Region, there was an increase in the Karachai population both in the Cossack districts of Hak and in the cities of Cherkessk and Karachaevsk (15). Similar migration processes were touched at the end of the 1970s - the beginning of the 1980s. and the Slavic regions of the North Caucasus, in particular the Stavropol Territory, which was actively mastered by the peoples of Dagestan. For example, from 1979 to 1989. the number of Avars in the province increased 2.1 times, and Dargins increased 2.5 times (16). Kuban was not an exception, where Chechens began to actively relocate.

The central party-soviet power sought to control the ethnopolitical situation on the ground, including the North Caucasus, through personnel policy. Along with the representatives of the titular ethnic groups, Slavic representatives were appointed to key places in the local government apparatus, often from other territories and regions, i.e. neutral frames, which was designed to smooth out polyethnicity of the North Caucasus region. Since the main economic strategy of the Soviet policy of the last decades was to include

the region in the all-Union economic complex, then, as one modern researcher rightly noted, the ethnosocial interests of the peoples of the North Caucasus were realized in the administrative-political area (17). We add that these interests were carried out in the socio-cultural sphere.

At that time, the new concept of the “new historical community - the Soviet people” appeared in the theoretical developments of the authorities, in particular in the materials of the XXIV Party Congress (1971). According to the interpretation of party ideologists, this is a supra-ethnic education that unites all peoples of the USSR. The thesis on the formation of a single historical community - the Soviet people was replaced by an analysis of the deep-rooted reasons for the growth of national identity, interpreting it as a manifestation of nationalism. This engendered some strengthening of the role of the Russian element in national areas. Not by chance, representatives of the national republics complained about the reduction of national schools in the republics. In the first post-perestroika years, the Soviet people were regarded as a new, supra-ethnic historical community solely as a type of Soviet myth. However, despite the propaganda exaggeration and ideological justification, the Soviet historical community was a reality based on a common destiny, a common way of life, the integration of economic life, the prevalence of common motives of public consciousness. This also applies to the peoples of the North Caucasus. Confirmation of the existence of such a civic community that stood above ethnic consciousness was the recognition of the Russian language as the main means of inter-ethnic communication in the national republics and regions, including the North Caucasus. The ego was confirmed by the assimilation of the economic everyday life of various peoples, and the increase in the number of ethnically mixed marriages. For example, in Chechen-Ingushetia in 1971, there were 6% of inter-ethnic marriages, and in 1965 only 1.6% of such marriages (18).

At the same time, the authorities felt internal contradictions between the horizon of social expectations and the real state of things, which was accompanied by the growth of the national identity of the peoples of the USSR. The leadership sought ideological grounds for overcoming ethnic differences, which conflicted with one of these tools in the early 1980s. became a series of celebrations of "voluntary accession" of the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia to Russia. This campaign was also supposed to strengthen the priority of the Russian ethnos as the leading one in the Soviet Union. Thus,

in 1982, on the initiative of A. Vlasov, the first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush regional committee of the CPSU in Grozny, the anniversary of the “voluntary entry of Chechen-Ingushetia into Russia” was celebrated. In the wake of this event, a group of Chechen and Ingush historians (M. Muzaev, A. Vatsuyev, Y. Akhmadov, X. Akiyev, Y. Vagapov, X. Akhmadov) opposed the concept of “voluntary entry”, demonstrating the presence of a split in the public consciousness of North Caucasian societies and strengthening of nationalist tendencies.

CONCLUSION:

Summing up the above, we note that during these years two parallel trends in the socio-cultural development of the North Caucasian republics appeared. The Soviet modernization of the second half of the twentieth century, which accelerated the social and geographical mobility of local ethnic groups, the diversity and multiplicity of social interactions, mass education, the growing share of intellectuals from among the titular ethnic groups contributed to the adherence to a common Soviet identity. At the same time, these same factors became a means of ethnic consolidation and a weapon for raising the sense of national community. By the mid-1980s. The rise of mass national consciousness was noted, which, on the one hand, was an indispensable condition for the cultural and historical continuity of the peoples of the North Caucasus in the modern conditions of their existence. On the other hand, this tendency was actively exploited by local political elites to unleash the sentiments of separatism and national exclusiveness.

The ego was confirmed by a series of latent ethnic conflicts that in the 1960s – 1970s. with the help of power methods, the authorities managed to extinguish. We are talking about, for example, the 4-day Ingush rally in Grozny on January 16, 1973, when its participants demanded to attach the Prigorodny district of North Ossetia to the Chechen-Ingush Republic. This was preceded by a "letter of 26", which in March-April 1972 was written by Ingush communists and sent to the CPSU Central Committee under the title "On violations of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic." In addition to problems in interethnic relations and territorial contradictions, it also spoke about the high degree of corruption of the republican leadership. The rally was broken up with the help of the military, and participants, as well as the authors of the letter, were waiting for persecution. The decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the antisocial nationalist manifestations in the city of Grozny", adopted on

March 13, 1973, assessed the rally as the extreme manifestation of nationalism and an antisocial phenomenon.

At the same time, the Center responded to the social problems of the republic. At the beginning of the summer, the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR adopted a Resolution "On Additional Measures for the Development of Housing and Public Utilities, Health, Education, Culture and Consumer Services in the Prigorodny District of the North Ossetian ASSR". Under pressure from the central government, several Ingushs were accepted into some of the leading positions in the RI of the ASSR. For Ingush children, privileges were introduced for admission to universities in North Ossetia. The teaching of the Ingush language was restored in the schools of the Prigorodny district, and the Prigorodnaya district newspaper was also published in the Ingush language.

Unfortunately, the national policy of the last Soviet leaders did not take into account the challenges of the time associated with the growth of national self-awareness and the consequences of "departmental" injuries. Time demanded scientifically grounded and purposeful efforts of the party-state power for harmonization of ethnic, social and all-union interests. In practice, the leadership of the Center in some respects contributed to the development of processes that in the late 1980s. turned into a crisis. The government continued to create preferential conditions for the formation of national cadres and thereby nurture future ethnic elites, formalized the policy of regulating interethnic relations based on double standards, driving ethnic conflicts into the inside, and thereby creating conditions for the formation of "national extremism" (19).

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