

Resources of ethno-cultural discourse in memory of the early Stalin stage of political practices. Late 1920s – early 1930s

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Abstract

The article highlights the resources of ethno-cultural discourse of memory: languages and their carriers as mechanisms of socialization and acculturation of the picture of the world, its frames, actors, resentment, traumas, frontiers. This is an important cognitive category in a number of sciences that study the organization of human knowledge (philosophy, logic, psychology, theory and practice of artificial intelligence, etc.). As a set of knowledge, it exists in the memory of a person, reflects his interaction with the surrounding world, filled with different circumstances. The most active was the language sphere, political projects and their practices aimed at forming or changing the picture of the world in the minds of people were in dire need of using its resources. The early Soviet experience of their application is considered.

Keywords: resources of ethno-cultural discourse: languages and their speakers, early Soviet experience of their application.

Introduction

In the relevant in our time studies of memory, frames that highlight resentment, trauma, frontiers, oblivion, overcoming, nostalgia, the main actors of the process and historiography are still chronologically focused on the events of the Great Patriotic War. Attention to this important problem, highlights the attention of historiographers to it, including, and in Kazakhstan. But the aggregate complexity of the subjects of action in the civil confrontation of those who looked at different aspects of ideas and ethno-cultural practices relating to the history of all-Russian federalism, the formation of the Soviet state, which created the conditions for victory in the tragic clash of ideologies and peoples in 1939-1945, remains out of attention. At the same time, the actual inversions of history and memory, the wars that are being waged, need such in-depth comprehension and clarification. During the civil war, the elites, before switching to the Soviet side and participating in the formation of the USSR, tried their luck not only in the white camp, but also among representatives of the United States and the Entente countries, from M. Kemal. The totality of alliances and agreements, their collapse makes the memory

look at the role of Russian federalism in a new way. A large-scale historical picture of the vicissitudes that took place in the space of power, and the complexity at one point becomes obvious at times. But the *totality of views* on federalism as a condition for "reconciliation", as a mechanism for solving ethno-cultural problems, especially relevant for the analysis of the century-old Soviet state, is not analyzed. The main attention of historians is concentrated on the struggle of "their" elites with the politicians of the center, more often on their defeats. The process of confrontation, their common history, was determined by the absence of serious conflicts between "their own", linguistic, and often religious proximity. Each of the peoples lived on its own ethnic territory: national cordons were insignificant. The choice of federalist structures was influenced by international maxims, reaction to the dynamic change in the political map of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In this article we will focus on the processes that formed memory about these events of the North Caucasian peoples, with the Kazakhs they are related by many linguistic and religious kinship, a common fate.

The first appeals of the Council of People's

Hospital and Clinical Management

Commissars to working Muslims and the Declaration of the Peoples of Russia in the autumn of 1917 sharpened attention to the problem of ethno-linguistic diversity and the role in their pictures of the world of different spatio-temporal chronotopes, defined as modernity (modernity) and archaic (traditional society). Ethnic languages became the main means of describing the ethno-cultural discourse of the political practices of the early Stalinist stage. They soon received the status of a *natural resource of state-building*. The content in the form of leaflets in Arabic and, as the note to the "Decrees of Soviet Power" (Moscow, 1957. p. 80) specifies, Azerbaijani (rather, Turkic!) languages are reflected in the texts of millions of copies. The second most important resource and mechanism for forming a picture of the world should be called native speakers. We will focus on both of them.

Although the history of the practices of using the languages of the Caucasian peoples in political circumstances has a long and rich tradition, interest in them in this context has not been studied. Illiterate for the most part, the population did not leave direct sources to judge its picture of the world. The Ingush public figure V.G. Dzhabagiyev in 1905 considered the former government guilty of this. "The experience of a whole century has already shown quite clearly," he wrote, "that Russia does not know how to govern the Caucasus, that it does not know how to navigate in local conditions, does not know how to reconcile ethnographic and religious contradictions. She has neither the initiative nor the desire to study and get to know the people under her control: she has been and continues to be engaged only in external *mushtroving*, without any influence by cultural means." Pre-revolutionary Caucasian studies is characterized by the idea of the Caucasus as a single complex historical and cultural region, which has little to do with reality. On December 22, 1922, the secretary of the Dagestan Regional Committee I. Aliyev, the chairman of the DagCEC M. Dalgat and the prosecutor of the republic A. Takho-Godi objected to the decision of the South-Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to recall from Dagestan the first People's Commissar of Education S. Gabiyev to work in Rostov: "recall ... nor can a dozen centrists be reimbursed, who will spin among 33 languages and tribes, write off several circulars from the party directory, and go back, leaving bewildered mountaineers" (Kazharov, 2011: 112; Dolgieva, 2000: 96).

The difference in positions in relation to the ethnic, religious and, most importantly, linguistic diversity of

the peoples of the North Caucasus existed in the Caucasus was not only in the multiplicity of languages spoken by Caucasians, but also in their belonging to different language families and groups. A number of representatives of the elites believed that this was an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of a single North Caucasian nation, while others, in particular, those who emigrated, argued that such diversity did not interfere with unification at all. Ossetian B. Baytugan wrote: in need of deep comprehension and clarification, "the centuries-old joint life, the common historical destinies, the same nature of the surrounding nature, etc. created all the necessary conditions for the consolidation of the mountaineers into a nation" (Repressions, 1996: 260).

In the publications of private archives of figures of European emigration of the 1920s and 1930s, the feelings of the national community of the Northerners of the Caucasians were perceived as an illusory phenomenon, which adds difficulties in assessing the formation of the picture of the world (Babich, 2011: 10).

Communicating with the emerging political reality helped languages, in turn, to adapt to it, to transform it. In Shklovsky, one of the representatives of Russian formalism, considered the struggle for political power to be the main function of language and the picture of the world it creates in political communication. It turned out that figuring out why different political concepts make people see differently is the most fascinating thing about understanding reality. In *Sentimental Journey* (1923) he reflected the *politically important talent* for the organic communication of new leaders in the country, especially by highlighting Lenin: he "rolled his thought like a huge cobblestone; ... he *humbled doubts before him*, like a boar reed" (Shklovsky, 2018: 25). **Lenin's attitudes set political imperatives for the practice of "reformatting" human consciousness and behavior.** Lunacharsky wrote in 1930: he was offered abroad to write a book about Lenin's contribution to these changes: "Lenin as complete, new and ... a type of genius that is transparent in its socio-psychological structure" (Lunacharsky, 1980: 286).

The authorities, ordering ethno-cultural discourse in the political space, needed to have an adequate language to form a real picture. Language, which united people into a symbolic network, was one of the basic technologies of practice, gave and transmitted to it a deeply embedded meaning. The solution was seen in mastering the native language as a resource

for materializing avant-garde ideas in the most difficult conditions and circumstances.

The party leaders sought to influence public consciousness, realizing their goals through the vocabulary of the language. The linguistic problem of nomination (that is, naming) acquired special ideological value. Firstly, by changing names, giving them a new meaning, the connection with the pre-revolutionary past of many spheres of life was interrupted. Secondly, everything that reminded of it was forgotten. Thirdly, the impression of renewal of all aspects of society was created. Fourth, the change of names should demonstrate significant changes in the object of the nomination itself. With the change of names, the illusion of qualitative changes arose.

The pragmatic side of things was determined by *the teaching and messianic* attitude. The formalization of it is called "the split of culture into special discourses" (Habermas, 2003: 12).

In 1925, a special commission in Dagestan compiled in local and Russian languages a questionnaire for collecting folk legends, songs, handwritten texts about the life of the mountaineers. Many Dagestanis sent such texts. At the same time, J. S. Korkmasov and A. Takho-Godi wrote to the famous religious figure Ali Kayaev: "The Dagestan government decided to create a book on the history of Dagestan, ... to glorify the heroism of the Dagestani peoples, to illuminate their progress before the whole world, to immortalize the name of Dagestan and its heroes who fought for freedom... You should write a history of what you saw, did." During the Civil War, the concepts of "Caucasian" and "North Caucasian solidarity" were used. But according to the estimates of emigrants, "the narrow national egoism flourished magnificently": the minds of the Caucasian elites "were busy organizing individual peoples, each fenced and established only its own borders, not paying attention to what was being done in the neighbors." There was no coordinated position in the center. The transcript of the meeting of the State Commission for Education of the Narkompros of the RSFSR on July 3, 1919 reflects the drama of the problem for a rigid "imperative": tasks of "communist and international": "immediately, perhaps, to introduce one national language", "the national question should not exist" (GA RF. F. A-2306. Op. 2. D. 102. L. 96, 103).

However, B.B. Karataev (Chingizid, the great-grandson of Abulhair Khan, who represented the Kazakhs at the meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee) cooled the guardians of such approaches. He stressed that the problem with the

transfer of power to the working people "has not lost its acuteness at all." Representatives from the field came out with warm support: "Unfortunately, ... central workers have no information. In such cases, we consider it our moral obligation to stand up and scream... for those who think socialistly, Marxists", the goal of enlightenment is "undoubtedly ... should be 1) assimilation of nationalities ideally... Then... one single universal proletarian culture." But "we must also reflect" on the fact that "socialist social life is conceivable only when it takes an energetic, active part in this construction ... 99.9% chuvash, mordvins, votyaks, cheremis, etc." Only then will "you awaken the people's self-consciousness, ... you will bring all the rudiments of opportunity and strength." But then we will have to admit that the native language is "the only instrument of influence." Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the RSFSR M. Pokrovsky, who led the meeting, summarized: "the general thesis is such that every nationality has the right to learn ... in my native language, I apologize for the vulgar expression, how much will fit. Of course, we will not add or create a new, because we are communists, because we are internationalists, because we do not attach much importance to national culture." But "to interfere with independent development ... we should not" (GA RF. F. A-2306. Op. 2. D. 102. L. 112-117).

Other delegates still considered it necessary "complete ideological unity and organizational fusion of educational work, regardless of language. The party of "internationalists" of the Narkompros insisted on organizational unity. The Central Committee of the RCP (Bolshevik) supported, of course, the resolution "proposed by the Narkompros": "A unified policy in the field of education of all languages. Unified Narkompros. Center". However, the question "remains debatable for the party" (RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 112. D. 32).3. П

In the course of discussions, debates, and discussions, a mechanism for solving managerial problems was created. In 1919, the Narkompros determined the competence of *the departments of the languages* of national minorities by the instruction on the organization and activities of structures organizing their education of October 31, 1919. In April 1918, *the Department for the Affairs of the Muslim Proletariat of the Caucasus and Turkestan* consisted of three (in fact four) subdivisions: for the Affairs of the North Caucasus and Dagestan, the Crimea, for the Affairs of Turkestan and for the Affairs of Transcaucasia (Chebotareva 2003: 852) to work on the synthesis of eastern ethno-cultural substrates of language

Hospital and Clinical Management

families. In June 1918, the Department of Mountaineers of the Caucasus was created, which was headed by U. Aliyev. Power structures were used as mechanisms for the introduction of "modern" European and Russian resources, technologies and practices. Their task is to fight the memory of tradition, to promote the image of the world order, the revolutionary shifts that are replacing monological evolutionary views on life, to strengthen *the understanding of the political landscape*, to absorb political and social terms at an accelerated pace, *using themselves* as a force factor. On the one hand, to increase the capabilities of their resources, new modern institutions were filled with scientific teams. On the other hand, collectives took up for the development of new, often talented, technologies, building new techniques for working with the population. The implementation of the internationalist theory dominated the first goal, it had to be strengthened in terms of content and personnel. Changes in the economy, the state, society, the whole concept of changes had to be carried out by "assaulting" the inner world: "a new, so to speak, socialist man in the mountain regions can be forged and brought up," Islam Karachayli assured (Khubiyeu, 1984: 5, 9-10).

A certain theoretical and methodical pluralism remained a distinctive feature. The traditions of studying Caucasian linguistics at the faculties of oriental languages were combined with the research practices of the faculties of history, philology and law in the faculties of social sciences. By the end of 1919, six departments were allocated in the structure of the FON: political-legal, socio-economic, philosophical, historical, philological, ethnolinguistic. Oriental studies were read in the last four departments [Oriental Studies in Petrograd, 1923: 89]. Ethnolinguistic departments actively cooperated with philological departments, for example, in Petrograd with the famous Department of Caucasian Philology. In the 20-30s, the course of the history of the Caucasus was taught by V.D. Dondua, a special course on the ethnography of the Caucasus was taught by L.I. Lavrov. Caucasian studies occupied a prominent place in the research work of the Faculty of Geography, there was also an ethnographic department.

In October 1920, the Narkompros began to revise the curricula of the FON departments. They were aimed at sociological courses, at the problems of class struggle, training specialists for the state apparatus. The strengthening of sociological imperatives was reflected in the Committee for the Study of Languages

and Ethnic Cultures of the Peoples of the East established in Moscow at the Moscow section of the RAIMK (it was often called the North Caucasian because of its attention to the region). He was also charged with studying the political "applicability of Latin, Russian and Arabic scripts to the North Caucasian languages." The Committee employed well-known specialists in the North Caucasian and Turkic group of languages: N.F. Yakovlev, L.I. Zharkov, N.B. Baklanov, A.S. Bashkirov, E.M. Schilling. The main task of the Committee is to create alphabets for the previously unwritten peoples of the North Caucasus and Dagestan. The compilation of grammars of the North Caucasian languages began. In 1922, N.F. Yakovlev developed kabardian grammar, he was assisted by Kabardian B.A. Chemazokov. Yakovlev took part in the compilation of grammars to the smallest languages of the peoples of the Caucasus - Khinalug, Kryz, Budugs, Jacks (GA RF. F. R-4655. Op. 1. D. 288. L. 84), who spoke dialects of Kyurin, i.e., Lezgin. The history of the introduction of new graphics for the Khinalug people began in the 20s. with the movement for the Romanization of Turkic languages. In 1920 there were 2,196 of them. The census of 1926 recorded only 105 Khinalugs in the Azerbaijan SSR, the rest were registered as Turks with the Khinalug language. Some of them lived in the Dagestan ASSR and were later attributed to the Avars. For their graphics, Azerbaijani was chosen as the basic script. At the same time, Khinalug and Azerbaijani were not related. Later, attempts were made to create a script on a Cyrillic basis (Khoroshkina, 2012: 98-99). The writing system for the Kryz, which merged into the Lezgin group, had its own development. Nakh-Dagestani language family. A.N. Genko and V.I. Abaev were engaged in the compilation of the Ossetian-Circassian dictionary, the work, apparently, remained unfinished (Oriental Studies, 1923: 89).

In 1926, the Committee received a new status and became known as the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Cultures of the Peoples of the East of the USSR. There were five sections in the structure of the Institute: among them Caucasian, Turkic-Tatar, Iranian.

In the context of the increased influence of the ethnic factor and its linguistic resource on the political situation in the country, turbulent relations of ethnic elites with the authorities, in Rostov-on-Don in June 1925 at the II regional conference on culture and education of mountain peoples, N made a report on the prospects for the use of their languages. Yakovlev. With the placing of native

languages in the focus of politics, he feared the "Babylonian pandemonium," the prominences of unprofessionalism (Stenographic Report, 1926: 306). Such a prospect for the development of native languages aroused keen interest and equally sharp criticism of emigrants. Ossetian B. Bilatti recalled: "the problem of a common language" has long been put "in the order of the day" as a problem of "the language of mutual relations and communication. Before the conquest of the North Caucasus by Russia, the problem was solved in such a way that the role of a common language was played, on the one hand, by the Arabic language, and on the other hand by the local Turkic dialect languages: Karachay-Balkar and Kumyk. " Bilatti developed his theoretical reflections in line with pre-revolutionary Caucasian studies: "Scientific studies of the Caucasian languages available ... the traditions of almost two centuries have long revealed the close ties and kinship that exist between these languages in general, and between the languages of the North Caucasus, in particular... With regard to the genetic community of their peoples ... The Caucasus is one of the most consolidated parts of the world. In the North Caucasus, the sense of linguistic and genetic community is also enhanced by a sense of national community that unites the inhabiting tribes into one people, with the same national aspirations and aspirations" (Krasovitskaya, 2010: 274-294).

N. Yakovlev raised all the historical practices of writing systems from the half of the XIX century for non-written languages, analyzed their failures in life (CDNIRO. F. 7. Op. 1. D. 13). 201. Л. The interests of ethnic elites multiplied the "Babylonian pandemonium" (according to Russian linguists) and the "parcellation of languages" (according to the assessment of North Caucasian emigrants), laying in memory resentment, trauma, frontiers in the relationship between the apparatuses of power in autonomies of different ranks, taking into account not the boundaries of the settlement of their peoples, but the boundaries of newly created autonomies. One of the bright prominences flared up among the Adyghe ethnic groups. Full-fledged work on their language began at the beginning of the XX XX In Kabard, on the basis of the works of Bersei and Uslar, in the 1890s, Kabardian dictionaries, grammars and textbooks of the district inspector of the Caucasian district L.G. were published. Local specialists continued to improvethem for the updated primer in 1920, but the influence of the administrative factor began. A month after the meeting in Rostov-on-Don, on July 20-24, the Adyghe-Kabardian commission for

the adoption of a single circassian for 1925 r all *Circassians* met in Kislovodsk. of the alphabet on a Latin basis. Present: from the Adyghe Autonomous Okrug - head of the region S. Siyukhov, D. Ashkhamaf, Sh. Kubov; from the Kabardian Autonomous Okrug - chairman of the rabpros T. Borukaev, people's teacher T. Kashezhev, from the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Okrug Kabardians - member of the regional executive committee A. Shovgenov, inspector of the oblon A. Altudokov. The committee (mentioned above) was represented by N.F. Yakovlev, the North Caucasian Kraion – by U. Aliyev. The conference, having heard the report of S. Siyukhov on a *single alphabet for the Circassians*, recognized that it "is the result of the collective work of the Adyghe-Kabardian commission, which is why it should be called the "Adyghe-Kabardian alphabet, compiled by the Adyghe-Kabardian commission." there shall be no deviation from the alphabet existing in Kabarda, no change in it, and in view of the fact that the meeting did not agree with this instruction, they shall remain at the meeting with an advisory vote." The Commission demanded that the Kabardinsky CEC "provide its representatives with the authority to resolve the issue of the Common Adyghe alphabet in substance and in its entirety" (NARA. F. R-21. Op. 1. D. 7–8 vols.). 75. Л This is how the *administrative resource* of the KBAO manifested itself. Back in June, a conference in Pyatigorsk approved the Kabardian alphabet in the Latin alphabet of the head of the kbao region B.L. Khuranov. By chance, in a Latin script, the local printing house picked up a single leaflet. Propagandists considered this publication sufficient that in their view the opponents "began to fall, considering themselves powerless to fight against a healthy trend for Latinization." In 1924, N.F. Yakovlev together with D.A. Ashkhamaf he developed a project of the Latinized alphabet of the Adyghe language. By 1926, the project appeared. For another year, it was simplified and taken as a basis in the Adyghe region. 1923 r.

The result of Khuranov's work was the publication in 1924 of a textbook of the Kabardian language with illustrations. He wrote: "I managed with my modest work for the first time to practically implement the slogan of our leader Comrade Lenin about the need to switch to a single graphic on a Latin basis, as the unifying principle of all nationalities" (Zhiletzhev, 2018: 9-13). There were confessions: children learn to read faster, but adults "began to treat the study of the Kabardian language with some carelessness." But it was claimed that by sending out free newspapers, "the hesitation among teachers, children

Hospital and Clinical Management

in schools, adults at the likpoints were eliminated" (Adyge, 1926: 172). In 1925-26. "Balkars, Chechens, tothe Arachays, to the Adyge, who still doubted the possibility of implementing the Latin script, switched" to it (Adyge, 1926: 172).

An important role in the policy of memory formation was played by the "organs of state propaganda of Communism" - political enlightenments created in the structure of the republican narkompros. Their main goal was to create a new person who followed the principles of collectivism, voluntarily subordinated his interests to the interests of society and was ready to sacrifice himself for the benefit of society, who would adhere to a materialistic and atheistic worldview and had as his highest goal the achievement of a better, rich and happy life for future generations. They worked "on assignments and under the ideological guidance of the RCP committees" and reported directly to Moscow. (GA RF. F. A-2313. Op. 1. D. 8). Their considerable forces are thrown at communicating with the population by means of agitation and propaganda. Propaganda, being primitive, but passionate, called for an incredible leap of peoples from vegetativeness in the villages, to a radical revolution, first of all, in the minds and hearts of everyone. She turned against the memory of old beliefs, values and behavioral patterns in order to assimilate the ideals of the new world order. The authorities demanded from the traditional society the adoption of new symbols, the demonstration of the successes of the new system. Along with ideas, plans, projects dedicated to a new life and a new person, they had to reflect their spirit. Young men and women who left their parents' shelter, or were deprived of it during the years of revolutions and wars, who paid a huge emotional price, having left their native places, parted with the language of childhood, faith, witnessed cruel disappointments and monstrous victims, strict requirements for the transition to modern models of behavior. In the late 1920s, the Bolsheviks launched a campaign to introduce the European style of dress to Muslim women, giving it a political meaning (GA RF. F. R-3316. Op. 21. D. 679. L. 28).

In the center of political practices and their bets on success remained the modernization of alphabets, the change of writing graphics. U. Aliyev agitated for the Latin alphabet with a series of discussion articles. The articles were scathing, with a clear overkill. Highlighting the problem of an inevitable break with the world of Arab culture, with fellow tribesmen, who emigrated in significant numbers, he believed: Soviet

Russia should become an example to them. to be a channel of communication and a mirror for imitation and reflection of the ideas of the world revolution. To the main objection of opponents that the change of the alphabet "should be done not by revolution, but by cultural evolution," he cut off: "to talk about gradual reform through evolution is tantamount to the implementation of socialism through evolution" (Aliyev, 1926 a: 16).

The authorities studied the situation, understanding the institutions of culture and education, given the weakness and insufficiency of their means, with which they had (subjecting them to strict reform) the necessary picture of the world in the human mind could not be created quickly. Very serious adjustments to the mechanisms of formation of the content of the picture of the world were made by the general census of the population in the USSR, conducted in 1926, in which not only the emphasis shifted: the former, focused on *native speakers* (1896) has now moved to their *ethnicity* - the result of "post-revolutionary self-determination of nationalities". It was explained: "The questions on nationality and native language introduced into the program of censuses of the USSR are fundamentally different from the content of these questions in the census programs of the bourgeois countries. Our nationality is determined not on the basis of origin, not by "blood", not by racial grounds, as the German fascists do, but by the free self-determination of each citizen" (Vorobyov, 1938: 104).

In the census, according to the knowledge of the language of native speakers, they were arranged in importance after self-designation, number, settlement in the territory. The wording of the question was clarified: the respondent was asked to answer which language he considered native? Imagining the languages of description of the ethno-cultural discourse of the early Stalin stage as modern knowledge about the North Caucasus, the practices of the early Soviet regime, ***it is important to understand, testified: the Soviet model of the 1920s and even the 1930s*** broadcast with significant ideological notes samples of approaches to the description of scientific practices **of the late imperial period**, but relying on the emerging ***new social imagination***. The census was designed to play an important role in stabilizing the nation-state structure of the North Caucasus.

But the linguistic complexity of the region remained an acute problem of the ethno-cultural discourse of the new government. A significant part of the speakers of the languages retained their picture of the

world within the borders of the North Caucasus: their ethnic homeland, institutions and cultural resources. They claimed varying degrees of political and legal self-activity. It was necessary to correlate and, if possible, combine the requirements of ethnic societies to organize their lives in the new conditions. Early Stalin's religion remained a field of competition and struggle, not hesitating to appeal to ethnic memory, fueling in it a complex of unrealized hopes.

Many narratives, actually created during the great Islamic revival in Russia (mid-eighteenth century), characterizing the development of culture, religion and literature throughout the region, still dominated. These were testimonies from oral histories, legends about saints, family trees, biographical dictionaries. The original genres also included Islamic manuscripts. The ancestors of today's elites were involved in their intellectual production. From this point of view, the Bolsheviks' perception of those, albeit not "socially close", but "qualified personnel" looks more interesting. They were hired by the authorities to perform work not of a "muscular, but of a cerebral nature." Lunacharsky believed: the main function of the intelligentsia, being "the carrier of the most qualified consciousness of the people", "guardian of public interests", i.e., to accumulate, improve, disseminate and apply social experience. "In other words, its task was to "concentrate the consciousness of society", to form a new picture of the world among the population. Lunacharsky divided the ethnic elites into "old" and "new", "top" and "grassroots" intelligentsia (Lunacharsky, 1927: 27). They did not agree with each other even on what should be the list of autonomies to be created, a new guideline for the formation of the picture of the world, and, accordingly, the memory of it.

Divided into representatives of the "Arab" and "Russian schools", focusing on at least two cultural and civilizational orientations and views on the course of change, the "Arabists" called for a "new adat, a new covenant!" (Aliyev, 1926a:10), supporters of the "Russian school" took part in the construction of a "perfect and just world", which was constantly talked about by propaganda, a world of general welfare, which would lead humanity from the present that did not suit the majority to some better future, for which it is necessary to rebuild almost all spheres of existence. But even "part of the Dagestani students," writes M.K. Dibirov, is not hostile to Nazhmuddin, and part of the alims, feeling that the election of the Imam would entail serious consequences, they discussed this issue at the meeting and decided to rename the

Imam to "Mufti" – the spiritual father. To this they persuaded Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky" (Dibirov, 1997: 3031).

Ossetian publicist Alag Irsky, assessing the period of "the century of prison for the masses and the outskirts of the Russian satrapy", recreated the portrait of those who considered it important "to return to the foremother, to bathe in her host of joys and sufferings", and those who became "children of the Russian school, Russian universities and gymnasiums". The latter, as the author claimed, "learned "something and somehow". Without the firmness of support and understanding, for it was a teaching based on a foreign culture. Many feel crippled." But those and others "all – left out of time and place – children of timelessness ... remained seated on two chairs... Everyone stayed halfway" (Mamsirov, 2005a: 9-11). The poet S. Gorodetsky, the son of the local ethnographer M.I., noted about how the views changed. Gorodetsky, in a letter to B.E. Etingof, 1919 "Do you remember these gardens of Babylon, where you and I climbed over the abyss to caress with Russian hands the cuneiform inscriptions of Argishti II, and where one day I found you, who still does not trust me, in a secret conversation with soldiers ... on the Mysteries of Marxist Knowledge of Human Destiny... Boris Yevgenyevich Etingof was the first to briefly and cleverly show me the abyss over which the Russian intelligentsia stood in a certain part, unable to understand the historical in the personality of Bolshevism. On wrote: "Every country, every nation has its cherished strongholds. When the history of a people develops happily, it becomes the center of cultural and political life. When fate haunts a nation, it is a bulwark of national life, an island of hope, a pledge of rebirth." But in October 1920, Etingof himself, the commissioner of the Narkompros of the RSFSR for the education of the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, asked Moscow to allow the teaching of Arabic in schools of the North Caucasus (GA RF. F. A-2306. Op. 1. D. 406. L. 41; Op. 3. D. 18. L. 5).

Rare facts are given by Kh.B. Mamsirov about the contradictory moods of the mountain intelligentsia, which, admits the head of the education system in Adygea, S. Siyukhov, worked "tirelessly". By carrying out party guidelines, she usurped both the means and the institutions of culture, the organizational and control mechanisms. Many, revolutionary-minded" took a direct part in the establishment of Soviet power in the region. Their immediate task was to impose new rules of life, mounting them in a new picture of the world. Unfortunately, the rich journalistic material

Hospital and Clinical Management

of his dissertation is not used to deepen of this aspect (Mamsirov, 2005b: 186-190).

The spirit of rivalry dominated, which the Bolsheviks could not help but use. Demarcation among ethnic elites was a matter of time. On December 6, 1924, the bureau of the regional committee adopted a resolution "On the relations of the peoples of neighboring autonomous regions and neighboring districts". In order to "strengthen national peace between the nationalities of neighboring autonomous regions and neighboring districts," it recognized the desirability of mutual participation of representatives of neighboring autonomies and districts in the work of congresses and extended meetings of plenums of executive committees for business discussion of topical issues (CDNIRO. F.R.-7. Op. 1. D. 25. L. 41). In the past, they, daring agitators for a wonderful future, studied at religious universities in Cairo and Constantinople, Russian universities and gymnasiums, in whose classrooms it is difficult to learn the subtleties of class attitudes: it is more important to understand: the mountaineers "do not need anything more than the work of a conscientious and knowledgeable teacher." S. Siyukhov, like others, "is full of health and strength, looking for his star under the sky, a young man with unspecified beliefs and ideals, obsessed with vague but tempting dreams." Of course, the mountain intellectuals read a lot of revolutionary literature, but about "with the working question ... in life perfectly" they did not touch, assimilating from books "the great and leading role of the working class in the revolutionary movement" (Siyukhov, 1997: 33-34). Islam Karachayli, surrounded by "offended, seekers of truth and justice," absorbed all the "sorrows and joys of his countrymen." The articles of the 16-year-old boy were published in the *liberal* magazine "Muslim" in Paris in 1908-1911. There, in 19-11, in his work "Class Failures of Understanding in Karachay" and glorified the whole and ideal community: to leave behind "all the imaginary caste differences and personal ambitious scores and amicably, as equal members of one working family, let us begin to revive and educate dark brethren on the basis of fraternal self-esteem" (Khubiyevev, 1984: 5, 9 – 10).

In the eyes of many, they differed from the class doctrine. However, the positions they occupied in the Soviet organs of the authorities left no choice. Siyukhov, as follows from his autobiography, although by 1927 "he was never a member of any political party" and "firmly stood on the platform of Soviet power and sympathized with the RCP (b) more than any other socialistic party," but how sincere was

an explanation that "the fear that it would be difficult to sufficiently fulfill all the requirements imposed on a member of the RCP (b)" was deterred from membership by "Siyukhov, 1997: 30).

In the spring of 1918, U.D. Aliyev was already in charge of the department of mountaineers of the Caucasus of the People's Commissariat, directly subordinate to Stalin. He met with Lenin, sent him analytical notes on the situation in Karachay, together with Kurdzhiev created the Karachay autonomy, then held responsible posts: deputy head of the North Caucasian kraion, chairman of the Regional National Council. In the mid-1920s, U. Aliyev wrote about his fellow tribesmen: "The mental development of the Karachays does not yet have a harmonic expression in the form of a language that is still scarce in its development; this is externally reflected in many ways. The limited material life was reflected primarily in the language. The main and, at the same time, almost the only occupation of the Karachays is cattle breeding. Therefore, while it comes to cattle breeding and the subjects related to this occupation, the Karachay language is both rich and diverse, but further, with regard to the more complex processes of human culture, it is often helplessly pathetic and scarce... This scarcity is particularly pronounced when it comes to more complex abstract categories, such as socio-political concepts. Even the words "Soviet power" cannot be translated exactly into the Karachay language" (Aliyev, 1927 b:10).

The elites were different in social origin: M. Eneev from a spiritual family, B. Kalmykov from a merchant family, S. Siyukhov, as he writes in his autobiography, from a family of ordinary Circassians who lived "their labor agriculture", I.A.-K. Khubiyevev is from the family of an Aul clerk, an interpreter of the Gorsky Court. But there were also well-known princely and noble families, as can be seen from the report of the commission of the North Caucasian Regional Committee of December 24, 1924, it, examining the KCHAO, revealed a number of those who held responsible posts: Deputy Regional Executive Committee Tambiev, Zavvolono Botashev, Nachalnik of the threat of Prince Konokov, but "the orgburo only in the last elections" indicated "no nobles", against Tambiev and Botashev "there were no special objections" (Mamsirov, 2005b: 186-190).

In the construction of the North Caucasian autonomies in the 1920-30s, the Center encouraged the desire of the "former" to occupy responsible positions: the network of power structures in conditions of extreme shortage of personnel multiplied in direct dependence on a particular

political campaign. Each had to be led and responsible for its success, it, in turn, became an important mechanism for fixing a fragment in the picture of the world.

There was a struggle of elite groups to obtain a high status of their language. The status opened up opportunities to obtain more resources and environments to influence the consciousness of the mountaineer. In the Dagestan ASSR (more than 30 peoples from the Caucasian, Turkic and Indo-European language families lived), there were sharp discussions in the leadership about the rights of "their" language to dominate the republic. The Plenum of the Dagestan Regional Committee of the RCP in early 1922 appointed Turkic (Azerbaijani) as "the main written languages), Avar, Dargin and Lak languages". The regional committee appointed Russian, Turkic and Avar languages as the official languages for "congresses, conferences and other official meetings. The oral languages of interethnic communication are the Avar language for the regions of mountainous Dagestan, Turkic for southern Dagestan, and Kumyk for northern Dagestan. But on June 29 1923 r. Dagobkom, "remembering" the imperial practice, declared the "Turkic-Kumyk language" the state language of the DASSR: "The experience done in teaching the Turkic language in the schools of Nagorno-Dagestan gave brilliant results", "the Turkic-Kumyk language is the only language of communication of citizens of indigenous Dagestan" (Protocol, 2000:18).

But in 1925 in Makhachkala, at the First All-Dagestan Conference of Press Workers and Workers, J. S. Korkmasov countered: "An empty, invented phrase is still often repeated among us, that Dagestan did not have a culture in the past." Speaking against "empty, invented phrases" that "there is no literature and science in the Avar, Dargin, Lak and Kumyk languages, because there is no calculation for several thousand people, it is much easier to teach these few thousand any cultural language" (Samursky (Efendiyev), 1925:116), he noted: "In Dagestan, the spoken and written word has always been of great importance." "The ink of a scholar is as worthy of respect as the blood of a martyr," "Paradise exists as much for those who wield a pen as it does for those who have fallen by the sword," "Indeed, in our history, the spoken and written word goes alongside the sword and fights on the same front. The historical spoken word in our country pulsates along with the whole life of the country. It rises and falls with it, reflecting all stages of development" (Korkmasov, 1926: 4).

In the second half of February 1926, during a lecture trip to Baku, V. Mayakovsky "for the first time in his life" observed dubious achievements of Romanization: "Turkic words of signs in Latin script ... Go. There is a garden on the hillock. Stairs of white stone. There was a cemetery. They told the relatives to move it. Now the park and the garden are growing, and *the staircase is made of untaken monuments*" (Mayakovsky, 1958: 311).

The bodies of the Glavpolitprosvet and its republican structures, political enlighteners often reported on the next successes achieved by new forms of work with the population - in cult campaigns, cultestafets, kulsturms, assessing as positive those facts when they, having spent "a lot of labor, nerves", broke the "wall of resistance". But on June 3, 1929, the Adyghe Regional Committee was forced to admit: the publications of "the past and the year before last are not sold in the warehouse in their huge 70-90% mass" (Khuranov, 1926: 74). The population defended Muslim schools, zakat, etc. In 1937, testimonies were published in emigrant publications: a mullah in the village of Verkhny Kurkuzhin teaches at school. In the lessons in Upper Balkaria, "the Koran is taught in the lessons at school, saying that "the Quran will be asked in the other world" (More on the Soviet Enlightenment, 1932: 28, 7-8). Information reached the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: in Circassia, a "counter-revolutionary article" was placed in the newspaper "Cherkes Plizh" in an editorial in kabardian language. "And this article was circulating for a month, and no one could expose it, because none of the Kabardian leaders read it. This article was exposed and after the exposure was shown to the chairman of the regional executive committee, Comrade Psychomakhov, to read it. Tov. Psychomakhov waved his hand, vaguely saying: "I once knew how to read Kabardian, now I can't." Such, it is emphasized, "most of the leaders in the region" (GA RF. F. 1235. Op. 125. D. 118. L. 6 vol.). In Karachay in 1930, the number of titles of party literature exceeded the number of educational (27 titles against 20) (Civil Aviation of the Russian Federation. F. 1235. Op. 125. D. 118. L. 6 vol.). It was not possible to hide the inscriptions of the number of trained in the structures of the educational program in the Latin alphabet. Later, documents on the results of the "cult storm" in 1931 show that out of 750,000 illiterates during the summer period of the "assault", only 350,000 were covered. In Vladikavkaz, the "Soviet public" did not even "know about the cult storm." "Assault" forms of work spoke of ill-being, overestimation of reporting data. (Miloslavsky, 1931: 6).

Hospital and Clinical Management

A. Gadiyev noted: in the autonomies they replace "the mass movement ... mandatory involvement" (Gadiyev, 1931: 50). In 1932, it was recorded: "a huge negative role is played by the fact that the Soviet apparatus in the aul works on an incomprehensible mass of collective farmers, poor individuals and middle mountaineers in the language" (Tlyunyaev, 1932: 45).

The specificity of the heritage of Islam imposed a ban on the depiction of "everything that is "created by Allah"". In the 30s, fine art was still evaluated as "the weakest site" (Gamalov, 1933: 31). The novelty of the cultural product attracted, but did not necessarily push, to consolidate in the mind assessments desirable to power. The highlander could hardly understand why the face of the mullah or some fat man on the poster was necessarily hostile to him?

Emigrants, analyzing the experience of using the mountain intelligentsia in leading positions, made unflattering conclusions in their address even after the trials of national draft dodgers in the late 20s and at the height of repressions of the 30s. But they noted: "communist nationalists", "even free from any signs of "bourgeois nationalism", automatically ... counteract the egalitarian and Russification aspirations of the Soviet government": their "loyalty ... Rests... At the II North Caucasian Regional Methodological Conference on the Elimination of Illiteracy in September 1925, the poet S. Gorodetsky wrote: "In the statistics of the mountain autonomous regions there are terrible figures: 82% (Kabardino-Balkaria), 85.3% (North. Ossetia), 88.5% (Adyge-Cherkess), 94.4% (Karachay-Cherkess), 96.4% (Ingushetia), 99.4% (Chechnya). This is the percentage of illiterates. This is the mountain reality. It would be utopian to think that Ilyich's legacy on the elimination of illiteracy by the 10th October anniversary can be fulfilled here 100%" (Abisalova, 2019: 85-99). In the KBAO, an inspector from Moscow, Rozin, noted in 1930: education in the national language is conducted in the 1st group - 18 hours a week, in the second - only 6 hours, in the third, fourth and fifth - in the Russian language: "only the first group is indigenized." As a result: "a languageless teacher teaches languageless students – and languageless results are obtained" (Katz, 1930: 34). True, such conclusions did not prevent the Central Headquarters of the Down with Illiteracy Society in 1931 to award the KBAO with the "passing national consciousness" for "the correct Bolshevik leadership and the correct implementation of Lenin's national policy" and recommend this "valuable experience" for transfer to other regions. The center contains figures stating that

the schools of Circassia are rooted by 90%, Kabarda - by 70%, Karachay - by 80% (Take new heights, 1931: 7. 5). In 1930, Adygea was declared a republic of continuous literacy, moreover, "the first in the USSR", its successes were directly related to the successful course of collectivization (Rimsky, 1931: 37 - 39), (On the struggle against national traditions, 1931: 23). Emigration called "numbers an ordinary Soviet bluff – spectacle." The inability to create a new socio-cultural atmosphere was perceived as a political failure.

On November 6, 1931, the collegium of the Narkompros of the RSFSR stated: in the KBAO "a national writing system has been created on the basis of a unified Latin alphabet, in which national textbooks and manuals are published" (GA RF. F. 2306. Op. 69. D. 2116. L. 83). However, a year later, the grammar of T.M. Borukaev was subjected to devastating criticism: using it it is difficult to adjust the spelling in the Latin alphabet even the words: Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov (Takhtamyshev, 1930: 94), (Serdyuchenko, 1933: 64).

The explanations in the terminological dictionaries of such important concepts for the emerging picture of the world as the revolution, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the communist, the collective farmer, the activist, etc. were especially annoying. For example, in Kabardian orthography, the words "bourgeoisie" - "biziaz", in the Adyghe orthography "revolution" - "rivoluc", "proletariat" - "prelitar", etc. seemed consonant, but incomprehensible, N. Yakovlev's attempts to create synonyms on the basis of his native language were rejected, searching for them was considered something "unusually musty, old" (Serdyuchenko, 1933: 63). The need to work at the pace dictated by the party organs led to the fact that even the words existing in the native language began to be replaced by Russian, but written in Latin. Words that are "simple and easily replaceable", directly behind them, were introduced into the dictionary "mechanically-arbitrarily", written in Latin even without changing the grammatical endings. This impoverished the native language, made it difficult to understand the meaning.

By and large, the mountaineers did not care about the semantic accuracy of the translation of socio-political terms: they turned out to be not only inaccurate, but also ambiguous. The inaccuracy in the translations of specific decisions and resolutions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the RSFSR, local decrees and instructions on, for example, how factory

stores should buy fence books and supply workers, the population could not help but worry. Such inaccuracies created much more significant problems. Everyday rules of life interested people much more than they did. when the translator could not cope with the accuracy of the term "financial capital" (Bulguchev, 1933: 109). The daily communication of the population with the authorities was difficult. The authorities noted inconsistencies: telegraph messages (they abounded in the connection of the center with places) cannot be accurately transmitted and read because of the constant experiments on the unification of letters, their abbreviation, the constant change in the design of letters. The result was "a distortion of the political meaning ... and great confusion" (Korkmasov, 1936: 17).

The imposition of what the authorities perceived as new views obtained in the course of mastering modern resources said: the attitude to the Latin alphabet as a reformed means of writing, the new education system alienated people from the former picture of the world contained in their languages. Denouncing, accusing, condemning outdated adats, approaches and slogans of the authorities, their sharp journalistic pathos of speeches, educating the highlander, made it difficult to form a new picture of the world. Incomprehensible abbreviations of words, a lot of neologisms fell on the heads of the highlanders. The moment of change in the fate of the mountaineers was dramatic. The head of the science department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), K. Bauman, on May 15, 1936, signaled to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the A. AnDreeva and N. To Yezhov: "The new alphabets are only called Latinized... In fact, it is a hodgepodge of Latin, Russian and newly created graphic signs, reminiscent in its complexity and intricacy of the former Arabic script... The Latin alphabet has only 24 characters, while the Kabardian language has 65; and in Abaza, 68 phonemes (sounds) ... Long-term experience has shown that Kabardian and Abaza children hardly master their alphabets only in the fifth year of study, and no one has yet learned to read this "Latinized" writing fluently. " K. Bauman accused D. Korkmasov and S. Dimanstein of "gross perversions of the national policy of the CPSU (b) and blunting political vigilance." "The presence of gravity in language construction" led to the fact that "individual national republics and regions at their own discretion adopted, abolished and changed alphabets, spelling and terminology" (AP RF. F. 3. Op. 33. D. 15. L. 114-121).

The process of Cyrillicization of the writing of the peoples of Russia with the facts of political arbitrariness and lawlessness of the 1930s, the repression of active participants in Latinization, led to the silencing of the topic, its actual derivation from scientific analysis, especially to assess the impact on the problem of memory of both the events that took place and the events that preceded. This affected the state of historical research, narrowed the source base of the documents put into circulation, since their interpretation in historical relationships was not clear enough. Many of the achievements of this political practice remained incomprehensible. The highlanders retained vivid examples of the layer of ethnic culture that is closest to the deep foundations of the people's worldview. Heard in early childhood, they awakened memories of their homeland, their father's home, their mother's song. This was an important thread that connected them with the mental structures of ethnic self-consciousness, which was a means of salvation from the threat of assimilation and Disappearance. One of the visitors to the USSR, the Irishman, orientalist, who studied until 1917 in Petrograd, E.J. Dillon in 1929 noted: "Sometimes I think that the Bolsheviks, without noticing it, continue to be in a country hostile to them. They simulate the existence of some desired things, acting as if their assumption is true" (Plaggenborg, 2000: 39).

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that he has no competing interests.

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