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ETHNONATIONAL AND ETHNOCONFESSIONAL DAGESTAN: PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY

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The issues of preserving and strengthening the historical and cultural interaction and unity of Dagestan and Russia are analyzed. In the context of the socio-philosophical approach and historical approaches, a retrospective analysis of national and ethno-confessional relations in the Republic of Dagestan is proposed, the specifics and features of development, forms and methods of their improvement are shown. The problem of studying interethnic conflicts as additional factors of destabilization of the economic and socio-political situation and complicating the implementation of reforms is being actualized. It is emphasized that the development and implementation of a scientifically grounded national policy in the realities of our time is the main task of scientists and the government of Russian society.

Key words: ethno-national region, ethno-confessional, ethnos, patriotism, unity, peoples of the North Caucasus, nationality.

[Э.Ш. Мусаева, М.Г. Мустафаева, Ф.М. Мустафаев Этнонациональный и этноконфессиональный Дагестан: проблемы реализации национальной политики]

Анализируются вопросы сохранения и укрепления исторического и культурного взаимодействия и единства Дагестана и России. В контексте социально-философского и исторического подходов предложен ретроспективный анализ национальных и этноконфессиональных отношений в республике Дагестан, показана специфика и особенности развития, формы и методы их совершенствования. Актуализируется проблема исследования межнациональных конфликтов как дополнительных факторов дестабилизации экономического и социально-политического положения и затрудняя проведения реформ. Подчеркивается, что вопросы разработки и реализации научно-обоснованной национальной политики в реалиях современности является основной задачей ученых и правительства российского общества.

Ключевые слова: этнонациональный регион, этноконфессиональность, этнос, патриотизм, единство, народы Северного Кавказа, народность.

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The problem of developing and implementing a scientifically grounded national policy in the realities of our time is the main task of scientists and the government of Russian society, a characteristic feature of which is polyethnicity and polyconfessionalism. To create an effective and constructive national policy, first of all, it is necessary to analyze interethnic relations in the country as a whole and in its individual subjects.

The Concept of the State National Policy, adopted 25 years ago (June 15, 1996), made it possible to prevent the split of the Russian state, but the task remains urgent and it is the preservation of the state integrity of the Russian Federation. Representatives of various ethnic groups and confessions living in different constituent entities of the Russian Federation understand and realize the danger of separatist tendencies.

We agree with the authors [1; 3; 6] that in modern conditions the civil world and the integrity of the Russian state depend on how a new multinational and confessional Russian identity will develop. In his speech on the national question, President V.V. Putin noted that "For Russia with its diversity of languages, traditions, ethnic groups and cultures the national issue, without any exaggeration, is fundamental. Any responsible politician, public figure must be aware that one of the main conditions for the very existence of our country is civil and interethnic harmony" [4, p. 43].

When speaking of the multinational and multi-religious Russian identity, many politicians mean precisely the Russian-Orthodox identity and events unfold in such a way that they are trying to adapt it to modern conditions.

The socio-economic and political transformations of the 90s of the 20th century exacerbated contradictions in all spheres of life, which was reflected in interethnic and interfaith interaction between peoples living in the territory of Russian society. The post-Soviet period of development of our society is marked by the complication of ethnic relations. This was facilitated by external and internal destructive forces interested in the further escalation of interethnic and interreligious conflicts. The opposing forces understood that by using national ideas and confessional differences for their own purposes, they would provoke rivalry between peoples and confessions.

The processes of the 90s in the 20th century destroyed not just the power of the USSR, but completely destroyed the national-state structure of the socialist type. The destruction of socialist interethnic interaction led to the growth and aggravation of interethnic confrontation and conflicts. These processes have led to an unprecedented politicization among ethnic groups and the search for new forms of interaction and, accordingly, the search for identity [8, p.102].

We believe that in the study of the role of the ethno-confessional factor and, accordingly, the implementation of national policy in multi-ethnic and ethno-confessional Dagestan, is hampered by the lack of confidence in the consciousness of the peoples of Dagestan in political power and state-legal institutions. Absenteeism and lack of trust led to the loss of the legitimacy of the authorities. Public opinion testifies to the low prestige of the bodies of all branches of government. The overwhelming majority of political leaders and statesmen do not inspire confidence among Dagestani citizens, as they are associated with certain ethnic clans, Tukkhums, who have been in power for a long time [8, p.104].

Analyzing the ongoing processes in Dagestan society, it is important to understand their conditionality by the following objective reasons:

- strategically difficult geopolitical position;
- a unique ethno-confessional composition;
- inclusion of the republic in the system of trans-regional ethnopolitical relations.

We believe that it is also necessary to consider the process of the formation of a new Russian statehood and, accordingly, multinational and confessional Russian identity as objective reasons.

When considering the problems of implementing national policy, it is necessary to state not only the growing role of the ethnic factor in the social and political life of Dagestan, but also to take into account the connection between ethnic and religious. Many authors note about the incomplete process of national and Islamic revival in the republic [2, p.17].

More than 100 nations and nationalities of the Russian Federation live in the Republic of Dagestan, of which 27 are indigenous peoples. The language of interethnic communication is Russian, newspapers and magazines are printed in the languages of 13 ethnic groups of Dagestan, television and radio broadcasts are conducted, etc. It is obvious that the national-confessional policy in such a complex region as the Republic of Dagestan should maximally and comprehensively take into account this diversity, reflected in the processes of interethnic interaction at all stages of national-linguistic construction and, which is especially important when managing the prevailing national relations.

As noted by F.M. Mustafaeв, in the Republic of Dagestan, omissions and mistakes have often arisen and still do, which contribute to the emergence of corresponding contradictions between individual parties and elements of the system of interethnic relations. To this category we included individual miscalculations and shortcomings in social planning, the management of national relations, the selection and placement of leading national cadres, the work of television, etc. [9, p.153].

The events of the 90s of the XX century, when the artificial destruction of the single economic, political and socio-cultural space of the USSR took place, still raise questions and discussions not only in the scientific community, but also among representatives of civil society. The questions raised remain unanswered till this day. Many politicians, taking advantage of the situation of uncertainty, began to criticize the so-called "obvious mistakes in the economic and social policy of the socialist state" [8, p.100].

We believe that when analyzing and characterizing this period, it is necessary to take into account two errors, which had very important consequences. The first consisted in the fact that the central government took up the "raised expectations of democratic values" declared by individual politicians. The prevailing opinion was that all problems (economic, social, ethnic, etc.) would be solved by themselves, quickly and without consequences. The main thing is to destroy to the ground the "old communist past".

The second mistake refers to the complete disregard of one's own historical past and world experience when analyzing interethnic processes. It is important to emphasize that this approach was typical in the analysis of all spheres of life in Russian society. We are witnessing to what sad and destructive consequences this understanding, methods and methods of aggravated ethno-confessional contradictions throughout Russia and in the Republic of Dagestan have led.

Practice shows that thinking about "what would be if ... or how would be..." is completely unconstructive, and, therefore, we believe that the current stage of interethnic interaction requires a special approach to the analysis of the current situation in the field of interethnic relations. In order to reduce the intensity and neutralize negative tendencies, to prevent a new escalation of the tension of ethnic conflicts, it is necessary to study the causes of the emergence of interethnic conflicts, to develop forms and methods of their regulation.

When analyzing the problems of implementing the national policy of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to comprehensively consider the foundations of legal regula-

tion. Modern priorities were built gradually. The implementation of the national policy consists in the participation of the state in the process of regulation, management and solution of a whole range of urgent problems in the field of interethnic interaction [7, p.15].

We understand that this area is very complex, dynamic, burdened with various imaginary and obvious contradictions. It must be remembered that everything related to ethnicity and religiosity is very emotional. The solution of some problems in the interaction between peoples does not guarantee against the emergence of others.

The state national policy is aimed at shaping the achievement of interethnic peace and harmony within the Russian society and is based on the following normative legal acts: the Constitution of the Russian Federation; Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 1666 of December 19, 2012 "On the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2025"; Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 683 of December 31, 2015 "On the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation"; Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 808 of December 24, 2014 "On Approval of the Fundamentals of State Cultural Policy"; Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 1662-r, dated November 17, 2008, defining the concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020; Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 2403-r dated November 29, 2014, which defines the foundations of the state youth policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025; Federal Law No. 131 of October 6, 2003 "On the General Principles of Organization of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation"; Federal Law No. 184 of 6.10.1999 "On the General Principles of Organization of Legislative (Representative) and Executive Bodies of State Power of the Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation"; Federal Law No. 82 of 30.04.1999 "On guarantees of the rights of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" [3, p.28].

These normative legal acts set themselves such tasks as the development of federal relations, the development of national cultures and languages of the peoples of Russia, the provision of political and legal protection of small peoples and national minorities, the achievement and support of peace and harmony in Russian society, etc. [10, p.9]

It is important to emphasize that the Concept of the State Ethnic Policy of the Russian Federation, adopted in 1996, allowed the federal center in the second half of the nineties to prevent a split and destruction of the integrity of the Russian state. Having fulfilled such a progressive role, at the beginning of the 21st century it began to fail to cope with new problems and challenges of an interethnic and confessional nature. Especially in the North Caucasus. Strengthening the vertical of power, the federal center was lagging behind in responding to ethno-confessional contradictions and conflicts. National policy did not anticipate new hotbeds of confrontation.

The political leadership strove to strengthen the federal center, which manifested itself in the asymmetry of the federal structure of Russia. We agree with the position of V.G. Ignatov and V.N. Butov, who believe that the state national policy was developed to a greater extent by state organizations, and therefore, as the further development of interethnic relations shows, the "national policy" lost its ethnic aspect, since it was about protecting the interests of Russians [5, p. 97].

The Russian Federation is built on a combination of national-territorial and territorial principles of voluntary unification of its subjects, and all this is fixed and formalized by the Federal Treaty. Obviously, federalism is one of the means of regulating and preventing conflicts in the field of interethnic interaction, ensuring equality and self-determination for all ethnic groups living on the territory of the Russian state.

In 1992, the State Committee for National Policy was created, which featured a change in name and frequent changes in leadership. This ministry (the Ministry for Federal Affairs, National and Migration Policy) was abolished in 2001 and the Ministry of Regional Development took over the processes of interethnic interaction.

We believe that these processes indicated that the Concept of State Ethnic Policy was not coping with its tasks and the decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated December 19, 2012 No. 1666 approved the "Strategy of State Ethnic Policy in the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025". We believe that the "Strategy of State National Policy for the Period up to 2025" will allow the use of additional resources for more successful and effective functioning. It is necessary to focus on the fact that the Strategy is not just a document, but a program of ideological significance. When the authorities and the active part of civil society in Russia came to the understanding that the successful development of the whole society is impossible without consent and unity in a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society.

The concept fulfilled the main task of uniting the multiethnic Russian society and did not allow further disintegration like the USSR. The Concept clearly indicated the goal of coordinating the activities of federal bodies of state power, bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, other state bodies and bodies of local self-government in the field of state national policy of the Russian Federation, ensuring their interaction with civil society institutions [10, p. 11; 12].

Simple and eternal truths i.e., peace, harmony, cooperation is relevant at the present stage of development as never before. As a result of societal transformations in all spheres of life, Russian society lost its previous value attitudes, and the "new" ones were not "created or proposed." "Having changed the course of development and lost their guidelines," the social institutions did not offer anything intelligible. The process of socialization has lost its continuity in the absence of a systemic impact on the younger generations.

The systemic crisis of the 90s also affected Dagestan. The difficult socio-political and economic situation was aggravated under the influence of "new political forces" interested in the transit and escalation of interethnic and confessional tension in the republic. The massive outflow of the Russian-speaking population from the republic, political killings, terrorist acts have become a reality in our daily life. The emergence of national movements that pursued their ethnic interests was aggravated by the emergence of a religious movement alien to Dagestanis "Wahhabism" [3, p.102].

In a difficult and explosive situation, unfortunately, we are forced to admit that the federal center and the government of the republic were not ready for such a scenario and, accordingly, adequate measures were not taken to minimize the level of conflict in Dagestan. There was no promptness in taking tough measures in relation to these negative tendencies.

Dagestanis, in whom kinship ties are strong, under the influence of political and economic problems were forced to look for new foundations of life in order not to lose their ethnic and confessional identity. This reality turned out to be beneficial not only to the "newly-fought Dagestani politicians", but without going into consideration of the problems of geopolitics, to the ethnic and Muslim diasporas of the near abroad. As we have noted in many publications [3; 4; 8; 11] the demarcation of political forces along ethnic and confessional lines was a powerful factor of destabilization not only in Dagestan, but throughout the Russian Federation.

The Republic of Dagestan was the first among the constituent entities of the Russian Federation to develop and approve in 1993 a Comprehensive Program for Solving the

Problems of National Relations. The state program of the Republic of Dagestan "Implementation of the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2025" in the Republic of Dagestan for 2015-2017" conflict zones for which the funds were directed. At the same time, the development of national cultures was considered not as an independent direction, but as an element in the system of interethnic relations, allowing to involve representatives of different peoples in positive joint activities, to expand knowledge about the culture and traditions of peoples living on the territory of Dagestan [11, p. 98].

Despite the existing geopolitical and natural resource advantages, the Republic of Dagestan is in an extremely disastrous situation and belongs to the most subsidized subjects of Russia. The main problems of the socio-economic development of the republic remain the high level of unemployment and poverty of the population. Today, more than 23% of the economically active population in Dagestan does not have a job, but they are actively looking for it not only in the region, but also beyond its borders. Despite the measures taken by the government of the Republic of Dagestan to provide employment, the problem is complicated by the outstripping growth in the number of able-bodied population in comparison with the number of jobs created, the lack of permanent work in rural areas.

Unfortunately, at the federal level, the positive experience of Dagestan society, like that accumulated in other constituent entities of the Russian Federation, is not fully taken into account. On the contrary, anti-Dagestan propaganda and xenophobia are gradually but very actively exaggerated and intensified, supported by the state media. All this leads to further confrontation and conflict. In Dagestan, some national movements announced their secession from Russia and the creation of an Islamic republic. Some socio-political organizations, dissatisfied with the ongoing national policy, project the processes of destruction, sometimes contributing to the escalation of tension and discord between the ethnic groups living in Dagestan [2, p.16; 11].

However, despite the measures taken, there is an increase in social, interethnic and interfaith tensions in the republic. According to studies, the reasons for this are social factors (the growth of social inequality, the costs of the spontaneous growth of ethnic self-awareness in adolescents and students, a decrease in the general cultural level), shortcomings of the educational system (low level of ethnocultural awareness, conservatism of methods and forms of work with youth, lack of development individual system of cultural values).

Thus, interethnic conflicts become an additional factor in the destabilization of the economic and socio-political situation, thereby complicating the implementation of reforms. If one does not react to these conflicts, the influence of the ethnic factor on the processes taking place in the republic will progress.

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