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PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1980-S.

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Abstract. The purpose of this study is to analyze the implementation of language policy in Kazakhstan in the second half of the 1980-s. The novelty of the article lies in the fact that the authors, based on the analysis of soviet, foreign and Kazakhstani studies on this issue, made an attempt to identify problems in the language situation in the under review period. The authors came to the conclusion that the process of russification of Kazakh society continued and continued more intensively among urban youth and was associated with a fairly high degree of urbanization of the Kazakh population during the study period. The Kazakh language was ousted from the most important and significant spheres of public life of the republic, therefore, both Kazakh youth and representatives of other ethnic groups were not interested in learning the Kazakh language, knowledge of which, unlike the widely used Russian language, did not guarantee either admission to universities or career growth, nor a wide choice in the professional path.

The article deals with the problems of language policy and the place and role of the Kazakh language in the education system during the years of «perestroika» in Kazakhstan. By the mid 1980-s the Kazakh language was practically ousted from all spheres of activity, a significant part of the Kazakh youth formed an idea of the «non-prestigiousness» of their native language. In connection with the ongoing processes in the Kazakh SSR by the end of the 1980-s the question of giving the Kazakh language the status of a state language arose sharply. The work is based on archival materials of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, statistical data on the number of national schools.

Key words: language policy, Kazakh SSR, russification, Kazakh language, soviet national policy.

1980-ШІ ЖЫЛДАРДЫҢ ЕКІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫНДА ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ТІЛ САЯСАТЫНЫҢ ПРАКТИКАЛЫҚ ТУРҒЫДА ЖҮЗЕГЕ АСЫРЫЛУЫ

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Аңдатпа. Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты XX ғасырдың екінші жартысындағы Қазақстандағы тіл саясатын іске асыруды талдау болып табылады. Мақаланың жаңалығы мынада: авторлар осы мәселе бойынша кеңестік, шетелдік және қазақстандық зерттеулерді талдау негізінде қарастырылып отырған кезеңде тілдік жағдайдағы проблемаларды анықтауға тырысты. Авторлар қазақ қоғамын орыстандыру процесі жалғасып, қала жастары арасында анағұрлым қарқынды жалғасып, зерттелетін кезеңде қазақ халқының урбанизациясының жеткілікті жоғары дәрежесімен байланысты деген қорытындыға келді. Қазақ тілі республиканың қоғамдық өмірінің ең маңызды және маңызды салаларынан ығыстырылды, сондықтан қазақ жастары да, басқа этностардың өкілдері де кең таралған орыс тіліне қарағанда, қазақ тілін үйренуге қызығушылық танытпады, университеттерге түсуге де, мансаптық өсуге де, кәсіби жолдағы кең таңдауға да кепілдік бермеді.

Мақалада тіл саясатының мәселелері және Қазақстандағы Қайта құру жылдарындағы білім беру жүйесіндегі қазақ тілінің орны мен рөлі қарастырылады. 1980 жылдардың ортасына қарай қазақ тілі іс жүзінде барлық қызмет салаларынан ыстырылды, қазақ жастарының басым бөлігінде ана тілінің «беделсіздігі» туралы түсінік қалыптасты. 1980 жылдардың аяғында ҚазКСР-да болып жатқан үдерістерге байланысты қазақ тіліне мемлекеттік мәртебе беру мәселесі өткір көтерілді. Бұл жұмыс Қазақстан Республикасы Президенті Мұрағатының мұрағаттық материалдарымен, ұлттық құрам бойынша оқитын ұлттық мектептердің саны бойынша статистикалық деректермен негізделді.

Түйін сөздер: тіл саясаты, Қазақ КСР, орыстандыру, қазақ тілі, кеңестік ұлт саясаты.

ПРАКТИЧЕСКАЯ РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ 1980-Х ГГ.

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Аннотация. Целью данного исследования является анализ реализации языковой политики в Казахстане во второй половине XX века. Новизна статьи заключается в том, что авторы на основе анализа советских, зарубежных и казахстанских исследований по данной проблематике предприняли попытку выявить проблемы в языковой ситуации в рассматриваемый период. Авторы пришли к выводу, что продолжался процесс русификации казахского общества, более интенсивно продолжавшийся в среде городской молодежи и связанный с достаточно высокой степенью урбанизации казахского населения в исследуемый период. Казахский язык был вытеснен из наиболее важных и значимых сфер общественной жизни республики, поэтому, как казахская молодежь, так и представители других этносов не были заинтересованы в изучении казахского языка, знание которого в отличие от широко применяемого русского языка не гарантировало ни поступление в вузы, ни карьерного роста, ни широкого выбора в профессиональной стезе.

В статье рассматриваются проблемы языковой политики и места и роли казахского языка в системе образования в годы перестройки в Казахстане. К середине 1980-х гг. казахский язык был практически вытеснен из всех сфер деятельности, у значительной части казахской молодежи сформировалось представление о «непрестижности» родного языка. В связи с происходившими процессами в КазССР к концу 1980-х гг. остро встал вопрос о придании казахскому языку статуса государственного. Работа фундирована архивными материалами Архива Президента Республики Казахстан, статистическими данными по численности национальных школ, обучающихся по национальному составу.

Ключевые слова: языковая политика, КазССР, русификация, казахский язык, советская национальная политика

Introduction. The soviet national policy was aimed at the linguistic and cultural russification of non-Russian nationalities in the USSR. Estonian researcher, linguist Mart Runnut believes that the main feature of the language policy in the Soviet Union was the dominance of political ideology, and a clear Soviet language policy as such never existed, because it was just one aspect of soviet communist ideology. Ethnicity was seen as a temporary phenomenon. It was believed, that the problems associated with ethnicity and the «national question» in general at the official level had long been resolved in the Soviet Union, and that there were and never would be any ethnic or linguistic conflicts between nations. The Russian language was declared as the language of international communication. Thus, the convergence (i.e. transition) of ethnic non-Russians to Russian and the decrease in the number of languages spoken were considered as a positive sign of development towards a communist future (Runnut, 2013). In the USSR and in Kazakhstan

in particular, the Russian language was promoted not only as a «lingua franca», but also as a key component of the all-Soviet cultural basis (Duncan, Mavisakalyan, 2015: 628).

This policy has led to serious negative consequences in Kazakhstan. Due to the massive industrial and agrarian migrations of the Slavic population to the republic and the constant decline in the demographic share of the Kazakhs, the Kazakhs became not only a minority in the republic, but many of them, especially in the cities, were largely russified (Ubiria, 2010: 693). Kazakh writer Zhumabay Zhakupov believed that during the years of «perestroika», Kazakh society was already divided into two groups. The first group included Kazakhs who were linguistically and culturally russified, the so-called «shala Kazakhs» or «semi-Kazakhs». The second group included those who were fluent in the Kazakh language and who were called «nagyz Kazakhs» or «real Kazakhs». Zh. Zhakupov writes that the Kazakhs in soviet times had two options – the first is isolation and boycott of Soviet reality, the second is to accept this reality and adjust to it. The majority of Kazakhs chose the second option. Children who were born in the 1960-s and 1970-s in Kazakhstan accept their position as a national minority as a natural reality. Accordingly, a whole generation of young Kazakhs has grown up who do not know or poorly know their native language in Kazakhstan by the 1980-s. The Soviet education system led to the fact that having come to Russian-speaking nurseries / kindergartens, schools, universities Kazakhs quickly mastered the Russian language (Zhakupov, 2009). Thus, part of the Kazakh (often urban) youth formed an idea of the unnecessary of their native language in the late 1980-s. Many young people strove to defiantly speak only Russian.

This situation also created problems in relations with the older generation. Russian researcher S.V. Cheshko describes the language situation in republic based on his observations during his visit to Kazakhstan. The researcher recalls a situation, which, in his opinion clearly illustrates the complexity and inconsistency of the processes of linguistic interaction and its influence on the consciousness and behavior of people. The situation occurred in one of the regional committees of the Communist party of the KazSSR. Two Kazakh girls spoke among themselves in Russian, but when an elderly Kazakh man appeared, they immediately switched to the Kazakh language. S.V. Cheshko argues that in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period, Kazakhs and Germans easily switched from their native language to Russian and vice versa. According to S.V. Cheshko, as a result of the language policy of the party, the phenomenon of «languagelessness» arose in Kazakhstan. Situation when a person does not fully speak more than one language and speaks in a kind of mixed language (Cheshko, 1996: 169-170). We argue with the opinion of this author about the « languagelessness » among the Kazakhs: the knowledge of the Russian language and the degree of knowledge of it by the Kazakhs was quite high (it can hardly be called «languagelessness»), while the knowledge of the native language among young Kazakh citizens became problematic.

Materials and methods. During analyzing the practical implementation of the language policy in Kazakhstan in the studying period, the authors used general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction, etc. as well as the methods of the component and comparative analysis of statistical materials that contribute to the study of language problems. In addition, the authors also used the method of comparative analysis when comparing the dynamics of the number of students in general education schools and higher educational institutions by language.

For a holistic understanding of the processes that took place during the period under study, the works of the Soviet authors, the works of modern Kazakh and foreign researchers devoted to the study of national politics in the Soviet period were analyzed. In this article there were used the works of Soviet, Kazakh and foreign researchers: M.M. Suzhikov, G.S. Sapargaliev, S.V. Cheshko, E.P. Zimovina, B. Dave, M. Runnut, S.Z. Zimanov, Zh.B. Abylkhozhin, Zh.U. Kydyralina, A.N. Alekseenko, Zh.S. Aubakirova and etc.

An attempt of objective comprehension determines the use of archival documents. In particular, documents from the 708 fund - the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan were studied in the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Archival documents contain information about the practical implementation of the national policy in the republic.

Discussion. Throughout the entire period of existence of Soviet power, the issues of implementing national policy and regulating interethnic relations were relevant. A significant role was played by scientists who carried out the order of the top party leadership on this topic. Scientists-researchers conducted surveys, peer reviews, published a huge amount of literature, promoting the ideological campaigns of the party. Among Soviet authors it is necessary to mention about book by Suzhikov M.M. and Sapargaliev G.S. So,

the book contains materials of specific sociological research, examines the role of the state in the regulation of interethnic relations.

Most of the works of foreign authors in the post-Soviet period, especially in the 1990-s, are devoted to the analysis of the model of relations between the center and the union republic, particular, S.V. Cheshko's work «The collapse of the Soviet Union: an ethno-political analysis». English-speaking researchers M. Runnut, A. Duncan, A. Mavisakalyan, G. Ubiria pay attention to the use of the Russian language as a key component of the all-Soviet cultural basis. The work of the British political scientist B. Dave contains information about sociological surveys showing the widespread russification of urban Kazakhs. In addition, the researcher analyzes the population censuses, which are the tool of the colonial state through which the «majority» and «minorities» can be formalized.

There are not so many modern domestic researchers involved in the study of Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan as a special object of study. It is necessary to note the work of the scientist S.Z. Zimanov «Theory and practice of automation in the USSR». S.Z. Zimanov reveals the life of nationalities within the USSR, the exercise of the right of nations to self-determination. Within the framework of this study, data on the difficulties with bilingual services for the population of Kazakhstan in the period under review are of interest. In modern domestic historiography, it is necessary to highlight the work of Zh.B. Abylkhozhin. The author examines the issues of the socio-economic and socio-political history of Soviet Kazakhstan, touching on the problems of national politics in the post-Stalin period and before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Zh.U. Kydyralina made a significant contribution to the study of Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan. Zh.U. Kydyralina's works contains significant documentary material taken from the funds of both Kazakh and Russian archives. Analyzing the sources, the author reveals serious negative trends in the implementation of national policy in the period of the 1950s-1980s. But Zh.U. Kydyralina emphasizes that revealing the essence of the Soviet national policy should not lead to a negative attitude towards the Soviet past. Despite the repressions against the national intelligentsia, the belittling of the culture and language of the Kazakhs, the deprivation of independence, some positive projects should not be denied, such as: improving the level of education, developing medicine, means of communication, etc. Kazakh historians-demographers Alekseenko A.N. and Aubakirova Zh.S. explore ethno-demographic processes, problems and difficulties of adaptation of the Kazakh rural youth in the urban environment associated with ignorance / poor command of the Russian language, etc.

Research results. The Kazakh language during the years of Soviet power was ousted from the economic and industrial spheres, office work was carried out mainly in Russian. A generation of young Kazakhs who do not speak Kazakh language began to join the Soviet Kazakh nomenclature. As a result, the Kazakh language turned out to be limited exclusively to the sphere of domestic relations. Hence, the phrase «knowledge of the Kazakh language at the household level» appeared in the Kazakh society.

This situation caused discontent among representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia and activists which manifested itself not only in the discussion and condemnation of the current language situation, but also in certain actions. So, in the document of the CCS of Kazakhstan «On the unhealthy political situation» (autumn 1986) contained information on the issue of teaching children the Kazakh language in Alma-Ata. This document contains information that «this situation was provoked and fueled» by the writer Sh. Smakhanuly and journalist S. Karataev, as well as other representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia. They compiled lists of Kazakh children, posted announcements in institutions and on the streets of the city calling for Kazakh families to send their children only to Kazakh schools. Activists organized meetings on behalf of parents' committees, at which they put forward ultimatum demands for the immediate opening of national kindergartens and schools (Kydyralina, 2008).

At one of the meetings of the commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan on national and interethnic relations in September 1987, it was recognized that significant shortcomings that infringe on the rights of citizens have not yet been eliminated in the language services for local residents. For example, the first secretary of the Kegen district Committee of the Alma-Ata region B. Danyshpanov noted: «for example, such an everyday situation as visiting a savings bank. Sometimes having arrived from a distant country, a shepherd is forced to waste a lot of time waiting for outside help in filling out the necessary forms... The same is at the post office, where it is very difficult to send a parcel, a telegram in Kazakh language. All questionnaires, other numerous documents are filled in Russian.

Numerous other examples were cited at this meeting which testify the neglect of the interests of the indigenous nationality, especially in terms of its linguistic communication. *For example*, in the presence of the Kazakh and Russian population the sessions of the Councils of People's Deputies were held only in Russian in Aktobe, Kzyl-Orda, Kokchetav, Kustanai, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan and Tselinograd regions. Some ministries and departments ignored the requirements to respond in Kazakh when receiving letters and complaints in the Kazakh language (Zimanov, 2009: 425-426).

The situation with the sphere of usage of the Kazakh language remained difficult. For example, in the Kazakh SSR there were 7,900 schools in the 1987–1988 academic year with a total enrollment of 2,991,700 students (Table 1). According to the data in the Table 1, the share of students in schools in the Kazakh language was 30%, while according to the 1989 census, Kazakhs in the republic made up 38% of the population (Suzhikov, Sapargaliev, 1989: 66). According to the 1989 census, 98.5% of Kazakhs declared that the Kazakh language is their mother tongue, however, according to B. Dave, this does not mean that they used Kazakh as their «first language» or, presumably, spoke on it most of the time (Dave, 2004: 449).

Table 1 - The number of schools in the Kazakh SSR in 1987–1988 academic year.

| | | |
|---|-----------|-------|
| Total number of schools | 7 900 | 100% |
| General contingent | 2 991 700 | 100% |
| Of them: | | |
| Kazakh schools | 2 540 | 32% |
| The total contingent of students in the Kazakh language | 908954 | 30% |
| Russian schools | 4 179 | 53% |
| General contingent of students in Russian | 2009257 | 67% |
| Uzbek schools | 73 | 0,9% |
| The total contingent of students in the Uzbek language | 58205 | 1,9% |
| Uyghur schools | 11 | 0,13% |
| General contingent of students in the Uyghur language | 13230 | 0,44% |
| Tajik schools | 3 | 0,03% |
| General contingent of students in the Tajik language | 2 056 | 0,06% |
| Mixed schools | 1094 | 14% |
| Note - (Suzhikov, Sapargaliev, 1989: 66) | | |

According to the table, the total number of students studying in Russian was 67%. M.M. Suzhikov and G.S. Sapargaliev note that the amount of children entered Kazakh schools was fewer on 7,600 in 1988 than in 1986 (Suzhikov, Sapargaliev, 1989: 66). In our opinion, this was due to a number of reasons: firstly, these were also echoes of the repressions against the participants of the 16 December 1986 and, in our opinion, the remaining fear of a repetition of repressions of such kind; secondly, there was no pragmatic part in studying the Kazakh language due to its low status and lack of demand in the republic; thirdly, survey data showed that some Kazakhs sent their children to study in Russian schools, considering education in Russian is better and more prestigious, and teachers more competent than in Kazakh schools. This statement could take place, since often in Russian schools the quality of teaching staff and the level of teaching was significantly higher than in Kazakh schools (there were problems with the lack of personnel who taught in the Kazakh language). This statement could take place, because in Russian schools the quality of teaching staff and the level of teaching was significantly higher than in Kazakh schools (there were problems with the lack of staff who taught in the Kazakh language); fourthly, education in universities was conducted mainly in Russian (we will show these data below).

At the beginning of 1970, respondents were asked to indicate not only their native language, but also any other language of the peoples of the USSR that they spoke fluently. This allowed the state to collect data on the degree of bilingualism among various nationalities. Census of 1989 showed that 64% of

Kazakhs were fluent in Russian. In addition, they defined Russian as their «second language», also called the «language of inter-ethnic communication» and an integral component of «bilingualism». Data on «second language» proficiency (invariably Russian for non-Russian groups) provided more useful insight into the prevalence of bilingualism (the ease with which Russian is acquired) and the extent to which the native language has been supplanted (Dave, 2004: 450).

B. Dave cites unofficial observations in the early 1990-s, which show that a little less than one third of Western Kazakhs could speak Kazakh and an even smaller percentage of Kazakhs had ability or need to read and write on it. There were different assessments of «proficiency» in the Kazakh language and conflicting opinions on how «proficiency» in the language should be defined. As a result, the levels of «proficiency» and the number of those who do not speak their native language were the subject of highly subjective assessments. As an example, the researcher cites Abduali Kaidarov's opinion, a Kazakh linguist and head of the «Kazakh tili» language revival society, who negatively assessed the situation in which about 40% of Kazakhs could not speak their native language. Well-known Kazakh scientist-demographer M.B. Tatimov disputed these figures and argued that the level of Kazakh native language proficiency should be determined by the degree the language is spoken in the family (i.e. intra-ethnic setting), and not by the degree of public use. Thus, in his opinion, according to this criterion, the number of Kazakhs who did not know their native language was 28% not 40% (Dave, 2004: 450).

However, the situation with the Kazakh language teaching has somewhat changed in 1990–1991 (Table 2).

Table 2 – Number of students at schools by language of teaching (at the beginning of the academic year)

| Schools by language-teaching | 1986–1987 | 1990–1991 |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Kazakh | 931 000 | 1 008 000 |
| Russian | 2 079 000 | 2 027 000 |
| Uzbek | 60 000 | 65 000 |
| Uighur | 14 000 | 14 000 |
| Tajik | 2 000 | 2 000 |
| Note – (Suzhikov, Sapargaliev, 1989: 67) | | |

According to the «Statistical yearbook of Kazakhstan in 1990», the number of Kazakhs studying at Kazakh language schools increased up to 77 000 in 1990-1991 compared to 1986–1987, and the number of students in Russian in the same years decreased by 52 000 (Statistical Yearbook., 1991). In our opinion, this was influenced by a number of reasons: firstly, the natural increase of the Kazakh population, in comparison with the Russian; secondly, the level of external migration to Kazakhstan began to decrease significantly and a negative balance of migration of the Russian-speaking population became apparent. KazSSR in comparison with other union republics of the Soviet Union, suffered the greatest migration losses; thirdly, the rise of national self-consciousness among the Kazakh population.

Clearly, the dynamics of the number of students at schools by language of teaching are presented in Table 2 and Figure 1 in this period.

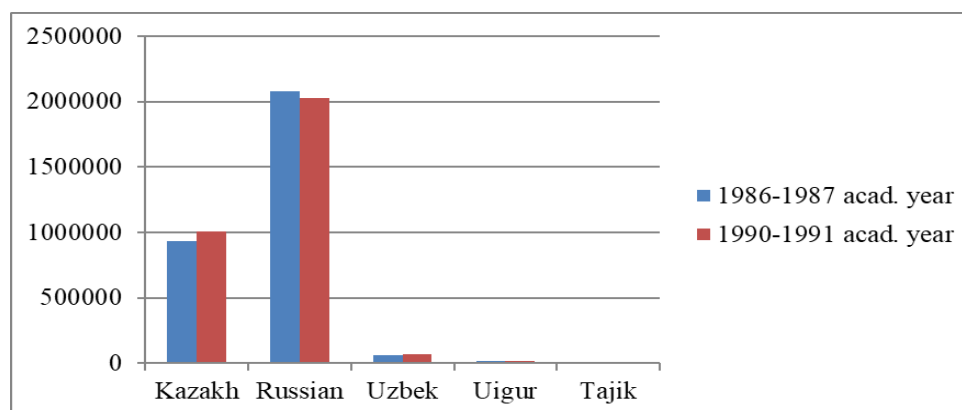


Figure 1 – The proportion of students at schools by language of teaching (at the beginning of the school year)

The trend of russification is also confirmed by other Kazakh historians- demographers A.N. Alekseenko and Zh.S. Aubakirova. The authors noted that the younger generation who lived mainly in cities was russified as much as possible. The process of entry and adaptation of the Kazakhs from the countryside to the russified urban space was very difficult. Young Kazakhs were forced to adapt to a system where everything functioned only in Russian (Alekseenko, Aubakirova, 2017: 127-129). According to the materials of the All-Union population census in 1989, the level of urbanization of the Kazakh population of the republic was 38,4%. For example, in the cities of Kustanai region the Kazakh population was 21.2% in 1989, in the cities of Ural region – 21.5%, in North Kazakhstan – 23.9%, in Taldy-Kurgan – 24.6%, in Kokchetav – 26.7%, in East Kazakhstan – 29.6%, in Chimkent – 29.8%, in Dzhambul – 31.2%, in Semipalatinsk – 32.2%, in Pavlodar – 39.2%, in Aktobe – 39.3%, in Tselinograd – 41.6%, in Kyzyl-Orda – 56.5%, in Karaganda – 58.6%, in Dzhezkazgan – 60%, in Guryev – 60.8%, in Alma-Ata – 22.5% (Abylkhozhin, 2019: 159-160). Arriving to the cities, Kazakh rural youth faced with a number of social and everyday problems and different cultural and linguistic environment where they could not always be fully realized for a number of reasons, including poor knowledge of the Russian language, etc., which caused discontent among the Kazakh youth.

However, despite the difficulties with adaptation, the Kazakhs youth sought to receive higher education. Figure 2 clearly demonstrates the increase in the number of students of Kazakh nationality in higher educational institutions in Kazakhstan (Figure 2).

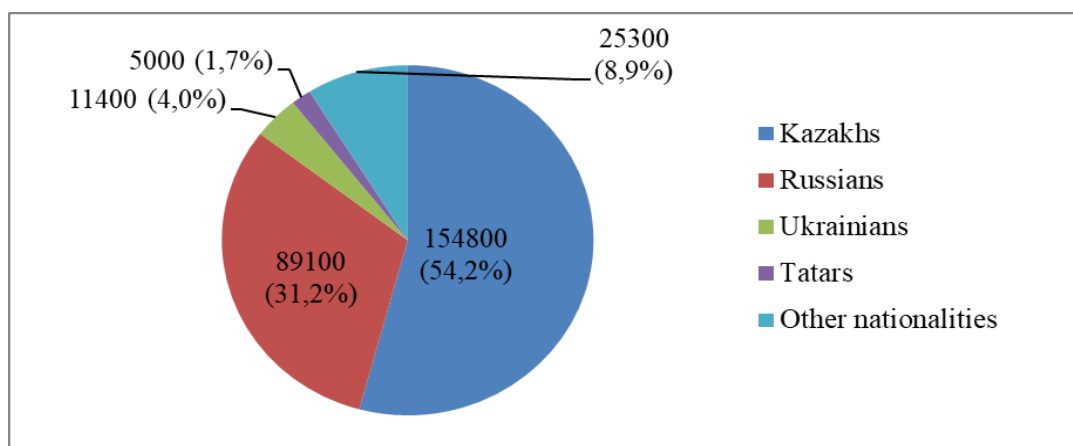


Figure 2 - The share of students of universities of the Kazakh SSR according to the nationality for 1989–1990

Figure 2 shows that the proportion of Kazakhs who studied at universities significantly exceeded the proportion of students among representatives of other nationalities. Kazakh historians explain this by the fact that the 1970-s were marked by a high birth rate among the Kazakh population. The population explosion generation of the 1970-s entered at student age. In the young age structure there were much more Russians, but they had already passed their student age. It should be noted that the share of students among Kazakhs varied depending on the region (Table 3).

Table 3 – Composition of Kazakh students by regions at the beginning of the 1989–1990 academic year

| Region | Population | Percentage |
|---------------|------------|------------|
| Aktobe | 4 895 чел. | 52,7 |
| Guryev | 4 175 чел. | 78,9 |
| Dzhambul | 9 915 чел. | 61,8 |
| Dzhezkazgan | 2 812 чел. | 69,7 |
| Kyzyl-Orda | 4 256 чел. | 74,6 |
| Semipalatinsk | 9 272 чел. | 63,1 |
| Turgai | 1 437 чел. | 68,7 |
| Ural | 6 823 чел. | 73,5 |

| | | |
|---|-------------|------|
| Chimkent | 10 803 чел. | 66,8 |
| Alma-Ata city | 60 890 чел. | 60,2 |
| Note – Compiled by the author according to the source (Zimovina, 2017: 98-99) | | |

* The table does not contain data on the number of Kazakh students in East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan, Kustanai, Kokchetav, Tselinograd, Karaganda, Pavlodar regions.

The data of Table 3 are visually presented in Figure 3.

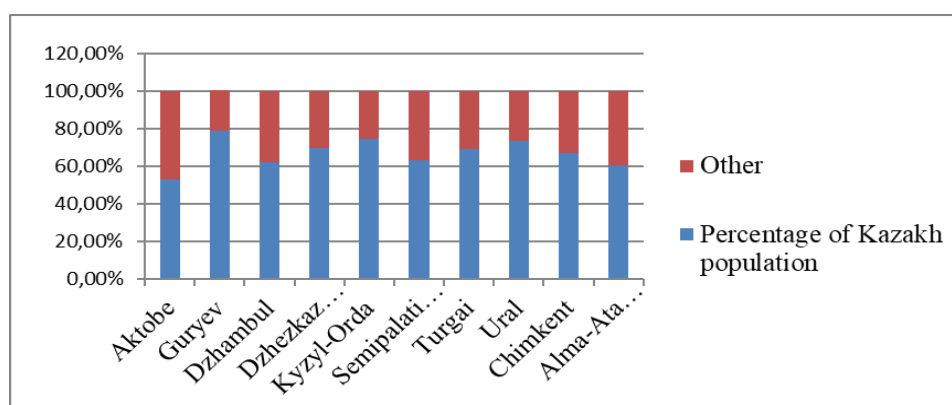


Figure 3 - Composition of Kazakh students by regions at the beginning of the 1989–1990 academic year

Table 3 shows 9 regions and 1 city (Alma-Ata) where the share of Kazakh students exceeded the share of Russian students. In East Kazakhstan (56.1%), North Kazakhstan (61.5%), Kustanai (42.8%) and Pavlodar regions (45.2%) Russians made up the majority of students. In the Tselinograd and Karaganda regions, Kazakhs made up the bulk of the student body, 43.6 and 43.1%, respectively (Zimovina, 2017: 99).

During the period under review, 55 universities operated in Kazakhstan, of which 23 universities had a pedagogical profile, and there education was conducted in two languages – Russian and Kazakh. Only Russian departments functioned in technical institutes. It was much more difficult for young people from Kazakh schools to study at universities in Russian than for representatives of other nationalities (mainly Slavic). At the same time, the number of those wishing to enter technical universities grew every year, because technical education was more in demand by the national economy of the USSR than humanitarian education. Of course, the ideal option would be to study in such universities not only in Russian, but also in Kazakh language, but by that time there were simply no conditions for this.

In the Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of quality of training and use of specialists Ministers of the USSR «On measures on fundamental improvement of the quality of training and usage of specialists with higher education in the national economy» (March 25, 1987) is noted that the development of higher and secondary specialized education in the Union republics has reached a level where the question is already being raised not only of regulating the social composition of students, but also of regulating the national composition. First of all this was justified by the conditions of perestroika and by the necessity to provide sectors of the national economy with qualified staff among representatives of all nationalities. A series of articles about the current ethno-structural situation in universities appeared on the pages of the periodical press. The main idea is that in many union republics, including Kazakhstan, the number of students of indigenous nationality exceeds their share in the population of the republics. For example, there were 75.8% of Kazakhs studied at the Kazakh State University and at Karaganda State University was 59% during 1984–1985 academic year, while the share of Kazakhs in the population of the republic was 38%. This situation was assessed as «abnormal». A policy of «regulating the national composition» of student youth began. As a result, such policy was aimed at separation on the nationality feature and was aimed at limiting the educational process primarily for representatives of the indigenous

nationalities of the republic (Zimanov, 2009: 426-427). The ongoing «national regulation» was contrary to the norms of the Constitution and other laws which regulated the field of education. All citizens of the USSR, regardless of nationality, had the right to education (Zimanov, 2009: 430).

Thus, the question of giving the Kazakh language the status of a state language arose sharply in connection with the ongoing processes in the Kazakh SSR by the end of the 1980-s. There was a kind of division among languages in the soviet linguistic environment. The situation when languages «could have equal rights, but not always equal value», since they were limited to the privilege of using only «within their vital interests». There was a decrease in the importance of the languages of the peoples of the republics of Central Asia. 70-80% words and terms of a scientific, technical, socio-political, pedagogical nature were borrowed from the Russian language. Subsequently, such a «favor» of the conceptual apparatus from the «big brother» functionally complicated the rehabilitation of national languages that received the status of state languages (Abylkhozhin and others, 2010: 85).

The necessity to establish bilingualism in the republic was identified at the expanded meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in February 1989. At the meeting of the bureau it was noted that the scope of the Kazakh language is extremely limited. There were typical situations that in almost all state structures wherever a person turns they speak only Russian. The best option to solve the urgent language problem was to give state status to both the Kazakh and Russian languages. Thus, the people's deputy of the USSR M. Shakhanov wrote to U. Dzhaniybekov who was the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan about the receipt of numerous appeals (several thousand signatures from different parts of Kazakhstan) with proposals and demands to give to the Kazakh language the status of the state language, and to the Russian language - the status of the language of interethnic communication. M. Shakhanov also pointed out that he is also supporter of these appeals (AP RK, 1713: 5).

But in the future, life showed that in order to improve the status of the Kazakh language the more correct political decision was the constitutional approval of only Kazakh as the state language. The Russian language has acquired the status of the language of interethnic communication. In Kazakhstan, unlike other union republics, there is no negative attitude towards modern Russia. In Kazakhstan, the language problem was resolved without sharp conflicts.

Conclusion. There were ignored such problems as the need to develop and support national cultures, the awakening of national identity, the development of the language of the indigenous population, the formation and development of national history in Kazakh SSR by the mid-80-s of 20-th century. The Center strictly controlled everything that happened in the republic and instantly reacted to the slightest attempts to depart from the official ideology. As a rule, interethnic contradictions in society have always aggravated during periods of crisis manifestations in the state. The causes of crisis processes and protest movements were often due to the inability of the country's leaders to make adequate decisions in the field of national policy. Any national aspirations ran counter to the socialist ideology and the problems were solved by the suppression of the desire of Moscow to russify the non-Russian peoples.

Thus, in our opinion, based on the materials of the analysis of the school and university educational systems in KazSSR, it can be summarized that the process of russification in Kazakhstan continued and proceeded at a faster pace than in other republics of the Union. This is explained, first of all by the smaller share of the Kazakh population in the ethnic structure, mass migration of the Slavic population to Kazakhstan, a high level of urbanization of the Kazakhs and a long-term «fear syndrome» «conditioned by the collective memory of famine, death and stalinist repressions» more catastrophic and large-scale in terms of losses compared to other Central Asian republics.

During the existence of the Soviet regime, the scope of the use of the Kazakh language was constantly narrowed. Mostly rural Kazakhs could write and speak the Kazakh language but this hindered their urbanization and complicated the process of obtaining higher education. Not all Kazakhs were fluent in the literary Kazakh language and a very small number of representatives of other ethnic groups that inhabited Kazakhstan were interested in speaking Kazakh (most often, few of the families of Germans, Russians, and others who lived in Kazakh regions spoke Kazakh). Ignorance and unwillingness to learn the Kazakh language by representatives of other ethnic groups is perceived by some Kazakhs as disrespect for

their language and culture. The latter circumstance is a source of certain discontent among the Kazakhs at the present time. Until now the proportion of Kazakhs fluent in Russian remains high.

At present, the language problem remains the cornerstone of the national policy of Kazakhstan. The Law «On the State Languages of the Republic of Kazakhstan» declares that «the state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan is Kazakh, the official language is Russian» (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1997). The sphere of usage of both languages is also separately indicated. All conditions are being created in the republic for the development of all languages. Along with the Kazakh language the Russian language is officially used in state organizations and local governments. Today, civil peace and ethno-political harmony are preserved in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Equality of rights and freedoms of all citizens is ensured, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation. Kazakhstan became the first country in the post-Soviet space to propose a new model for ensuring interethnic harmony being an artificially created «friendship laboratory» under the Soviet Union.

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