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# THE EXPERIENCE OF ORGANIZING MEASURES TO TRANSLATE OFFICE WORK INTO KAZAKH LANGUAGE (1923-1925)

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**Abstract.** The article examines the experience of organizing measures to translate office work into the Kazakh language in the first years of the Soviet rule. A century of history has shown that the measures taken at the beginning of the 20th century at the state level to translate documents into the Kazakh language turned out to be ineffective. The essence of organized events for the translation of office work is revealed as the introduction of internship institutions and translators. The accumulated experience in the legal regulation of certain issues of office work by the Turkestan and Kazakh Central Executive Committees is analyzed.

A historical assessment is given of ineffective measures to organize office work in the Kazakh language in 1923-1925.

**Key words:** Turkestan, Soviet system of government, procedural commission, Kazakh record keeping, People's Commissariat, Institute of Interns.

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# ІС ЖҮРГІЗУДІ ҚАЗАҚ ТІЛІНЕ КӨШІРУ ШАРАЛАРЫН ҰЙЫМДАСТЫРУ ТӘЖІРИБЕСІ (1923-1925)

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Түйіндеме. Мақала кеңестік биліктің алғашқы жылдарында іс жүргізуді қазақ тіліне көшіру жөнінде шараларды ұйымдастыру тәжірибесін қарастыруға арналған. ХХ ғасыр басында мемлекеттік деңгейде қолға алынған іс қағаздарын қазақ тіліне көшіруді іске асыруға бағытталған шаралар нәтижесіз болып қала бергеніне бір ғасырлық тарих куә. Практиканттар және аудармашылар институттарын енгізу тәрізді іс жүргізуді жергілікті тілдерге көшіру іс-шараларын ұйымдастыру мәні ашып қарастырылады. Түркістан және Қазақ Орталық атқару комитеттері қабылдаған іс жүргізудің жеке мәселелері құқықтық реттеудің жинақталған тәжірибесі талдауға алынады. 1923-1925 жж. қазақша іс қағаздарын жүргізүді ұйымдастырудың нәтижесіз шараларына тарихи баға берілді.

Кілт сөздер: Түркістан, кеңестік басқару жүйесі, іс жүргізу комиссиясы, қазақша іс қағаздарын жүргізу, халық комиссариаты, практиканттар институты.

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# ОПЫТ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ МЕР ПО ПЕРЕВОДУ ДЕЛОПРОИЗВОДСТВА НА КАЗАХСКИЙ ЯЗЫК (1923-1925)

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Аннотация. Статья рассматривает опыторганизации мер по переводу делопроизводства на казахский язык в первые годы советской власти. Вековая история показала, что предпринимаемые в начале XX века на государственном уровне меры по переводу документов на казахский язык оказались малоэффективными. Раскрыта сущность организованных мероприятий по переводу делопроизводства на местные языки как внедрение институтов практикантства и переводчиков. Анализируется накопленный опыт ПО правовому регулированию отдельных делопроизводства Туркестанским и Казахским Центральными исполнительными комитетами. Дана историческая оценка малоэффективным мерам организации делопроизводства на казахском языке в 1923-1925 гг.

Ключевые слова: Туркестан, советская система управления, комиссия по делопроизводству, казахское делопроизводство, народный комиссариат, институт практикантов.

**Introduction.** The purpose of the article is to examines the essence of the measures taken in 1923-1925 to transfer office work into the Kazakh language. Analyzing the measures taken in the organization of office work in the Kazakh language a century ago, the historical assessment shows that there is a deep connection between the past and the present. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the introduction of a new model of governance forced the Kazakh people to move from imperial rule to the new Soviet system of government. The organization of the work of the state apparatus at the local level, along with the Kazakh language, in Russian, first of all, required great attention to paperwork. This was due to the fact that the state apparatus, along with the system of central and local institutions, also included the bodies of central government that managed strategically important areas, including the "United People's Commissariats." This is a clear demonstration of the full subordination of Kazakhstan to the "principle of direct rule" and the dominant role of the central government in the system of governance. Accordingly, it was determined that the language spoken by the authorities would be the language of communication. Saken Seifullin arguedt hat "with out the Kazakhization of the office language, the Kazakh language will not prosper and its scope will not expand" [Iztileuov, 2016]. Kazakh intellectuals did their best to find the best way to make Kazakh the language of office work. A vivid example of this was the work of the Central Commission for office work, which was established in Turkestan and in the Kazakh lands, centered in Orenburg, before the Kazakh lands became unified.

For the first time in Turkestan, attention was paid to the Kazakh language at the state level, and legal measures were taken to approve it. The importance of the procedure was that the decision of each management case was approved on paper and was closely linked with the control over its implementation. It was natural that the results of decisions made at all levels of management were reflected in various documents. Observance of this rule had ensured the effectiveness of public administration since ancient times and was considered as a tool for the management of office work.

The first steps in the translation of office work in Kazakhstan into the Kazakh language were taken in Turkestan. It is noteworthy that the first Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1924 established a single Soviet state on a constitutional basis. The same year, the lands inhabited by Kazakhs in the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic became part of the Kazakh Soviet Autonomous Socialist Republic. Prior to that, Turkestan was the first to initiate office work in Kazakh. The centuries-old state of the Kazakh language, which was under the oppressive influence of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet ideology, can be clearly seen in the organization of measures to move office work in the Kazakh language. The promotion of the Kazakh language carried out based on Soviet nationality policy in the 1920s known as 'korenizatsiia' ('indigenization') during which the government advanced indigenous Kazakh cadres and promoted the Kazakh language in many fields including in administration and education (Fierman, 2005). Yet 'korenizatsiia' policy was short-lived and soon was replaced by active and systemic Russification policy, which led to the substantial reducation of the use of the Kazakh language in administration, education and urban areas (Fierman, 2005). This in turn prompted the reversal of the indigenization process that was dubbed by Slezkine as the "Great Retreat" (Slezkine, 1994).

Materials and methods. The sources related to office work is rich, and the basis of this scientific research is unpublished materials. Due to the lack of extensive research on this topic, most of the sources are not yet involved in scientific use and circulation. Another difference is that any document can be a source of office work, because in each document, set of documents, document systems one can see the level of work with documents, more precisely the order of creation, execution, and storage of the document. In this sense, the record itself is the main source of its history. As part of this search, priority was given to unpublished data concentrated in the archives - valuable archival materials of original value. As of today, more than 25 million cases are stored in the National Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Archival documents concentrated in the funds of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan № 5 – "Kazakh Central Executive Committee", № 30 – "Kazakh Council of People's Commissars", № 774 – "Central Commission for the introduction of the Kyrgyz language under the Kazakh Central Executive Committee" were used in the study.

Depending on the specifics of the object of study, different research methods were combined with archival, source and documentary research methods. Familiarization with the general activities of the central and republican authorities, its place and role in the system of public institutions, the main content of its activities, the nature and forms of interaction of the institution with other institutions. For this purpose, the methods of analysis of the organizational structure and functions of the institution were used.

**Discussion.** Although the main reason is the centuries-old historical continuity of Kazakhstan and Russia and the resulting common traditions in office work and archiving, the peculiarities of the history of office work in the country have not been studied by Kazakh and Russian scholars. Therefore, the consideration of this issue in the domestic historiography is limited to the author's research (Yskak, 2009). The reason for this is that the importance of office work documents in the written monuments of history and culture of the Kazakh people and the fact that they reflect the Kazakh social environment are ignored.

Priority is given to the description of the current legal framework of office work, rather than considering the emergence and development of office work. This trend clearly shows that in literature has not studied in

depth the issues of documentation, as well as aspects of the office work are not widely considered. Practical aspects of office work and documentation are published in the journals "Archives of Kazakhstan", "Bulletin of the Archives of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan", "Paperwork in Kazakhstan", "Problems of Document Management". In Kazakhstan, the historical analysis of the organization of office work in the early twentieth century is not widely undertaken. Discussing the development of the legal framework of office work, considering the formation of public administration in the process of creating and strengthening the Soviet state in connection with the modernization of its management system (Zaitseva, 2018). The historical analysis of the development and reform of the office work system revealed that the office work system was secondary to the administrative apparatus. Along with the level of development of the new system of governance and office culture, the system of public administration was modernized. Laws reflected in the decrees and legislative acts of the Soviet era allowed to analyze the main events in the formation and development of public administration.

However, analyzing the current state of office work, the gaps in the formation and development of its regulatory framework allow us to assess the historical continuity of the past. Netshakuma's analysis of the current state of regulations to identify shortcomings and problems in the archives and record keeping in individual countries of South Africa expands the scope of the research. Based on qualitative research methods, this study believes that the adoption and implementation of common legislation covering all aspects of archives and office work will be a key condition for creating an effective integrated system of archives and document management (Netshakuma, 2019).

Carrère d'Encausse said, "There is nothing more difficult than reconciling the national interests of Russia with the interests of other nations, and the course of the history of the twentieth century shows that no optimal solution has been found. Kirill and Methodius, a secret political organization founded in Kiev in 1846 by young intellectuals, expressed in their program 'national aspirations and efforts for the political transformation of the empire', clearly defending the independence of the Slavic states within the Republican Slavic Federation and "language is the main symbol of the nation" (Carrère d'Encausse, 2007: 135). Carrère d'Encausse indicated that the Eurasian Empire the longest-lived empire in the history of empires, the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Empire after 1917, wanted to present a "model of a highly developed state with no resemblance to all mankind" (Carrère d'Encausse, 2007: 135). The forcible subjugation of different peoples in different territories was carried out through the centralization of power and the simplification of the political system. That was why the Russian people and the Russian language had a dominant role.

It is known that if the field of office work, which fully ensures the functioning of the state apparatus, requires the communication service of the language, it is, of course, primarily reflected in the documents required for management decisions. Regarding language policy, Kaidar Abduali said, "It is known that in the former Soviet era, when science was developed on the basis of party principles and ideological processes, all scientists were studying the policy of the state. Although this language policy proclaimed the free development of national languages, in practice it began to implement the idea of "converging and uniting around a common language." As a result, many languages were withdrawn from public life and ceased to be full-fledged languages. One of them was the Kazakh language" (Kaidar Abduali, 2014: 5). It is known from history that for the Kazakhs in both empires, despite the fact that the Kazakh language was legalized along with the Russian language, it remained in the shadow of the Russian language.

**Results.** The first result is that, despite the declarative nature of the legal acts on the translation of office work into the Kazakh language, in a short period of time measures were taken to organize the office work in the Kazakh language.

So, how was office work in Kazakh organized in Turkestan, where people of different nationalities lived during the Soviet era? The issue was raised, considered and resolved on a legal basis in accordance with a government decree. Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan and the Council of People's Commissars on correspondence and office work in local languages was published on August 29, 1923, No.130 (CSA RK, 217: 5-6). Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan Kydyraliev, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Islamov, Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of Turkestan Shutemov were tasked with overseeing the implementation of the resolution signed by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Implementation of this resolution provided for the smooth and systematic translation of office work and correspondence into local languages without disrupting the normal functioning of institutions. In accordance with the resolution, important measures were taken to achieve concrete results in Soviet correspondence and office work and the rapid transition to local languages. First, publication of all decrees and resolutions in Russian, Uzbek, Turkmen and Kazakh languages; secondly, all Bolshevik executive committees stated that after the publication of this resolution, correspondence with higher and lower bodies would be conducted only in the local language. In addition, immediately after the

publication of this resolution, it was obliged to transfer the office work in the regional offices to the local languages within three months, observing the order of bilingual office work in the central institutions. It was stated that correspondence in rural, village and kishlak councils in mixed local areas must be conducted in local languages. When it came to correspondence in Russian, it was allowed in local areas where the Russian population predominated. County executive committees and their subdivisions were obliged to communicate with their subordinate executive committees only in local languages.

In the organization of office work in local languages, in all people's commissariats it was planned to appoint heads of departments or divisions from qualified local staff or employees who knew the local language. This was seen as a way to facilitate control over the organization and conduct of office work in local languages. The most important work in this direction was the mandatory introduction of the subject "Soviet correspondence and office work" in the local language in the last grades of schools in order to prepare a reserve of theoretically trained Soviet workers from the local population. It was planned to open relevant courses at the Turkestan Central Executive Committee for the training of secretaries of Bolshevik and district executive committees, all people's commissariats would be obliged to implement them, develop a plan for opening departmental courses and implement them (CSA RK, 217: 5-6).

In the Kazakh Autonomous Republic, founded in 1920, Kazakh office work measures were taken about three months later than in Turkestan. It should be noted that before the Kazakh land became a unified system, legal acts on Kazakh office work, namely the decree was adopted in Turkestan on August 29, 1923, and in the Kazakh Autonomous Republic uniting the Kazakh regions on November 22, 1923. It is noteworthy that the resolution of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee "On the introduction of office work in the Kazakh language", adopted on November 22, 1923, may be of strategic importance at that time. This was because it provided for the fulfillment of three important tasks identified to implement the resolution of the All-Kazakhstan Congress of Soviets and the decree of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. They were, first on the recognition of the Kazakh and Russian languages as the state language in the territory of the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (KazASSR). Secondly, on the introduction of office work in the Kazakh language in addition to the Russian language in state, public institutions and organizations of the USSR. Thirdly, the adoption and issuance of resolutions, instructions, circulars, mandatory resolutions and other legislative and governmental acts in two languages. Chairman of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee Mendeshey, Secretary of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee in accordance with Article 1 of the resolution signed by Saduakasov (CSA RK, 2: 104-105), proceedings in mixed areas are conducted simultaneously in the Kazakh and Russian languages.

The most important point of this article was that together with the counties of the provinces where the office work in Kazakh was introduced from January 1, 1924:

- all Kazakh territories under the control of the Kazakh ASSR.
- Aday, Turgai, Shalkar, Temir, Aktobe and Irgiz districts of Aktobe province.
- all districts of Bokey province.
- Zhambeiti, Guryev districts of the Ural province.
- Karkaralinsk and Zaisan districts of Semipalatinsk province.
- Akmola, Atbasar and Shirlik districts of Akmola province.

In accordance with Article 2, it was planned to introduce the Kazakh language in full in all other districts and provinces of the Kazakh ASSR, except for the Orenburg province and its districts, no later than July 1, 1924. However, during this period, the district and provincial authorities were obliged to adapt the office work in the Kazakh and Russian languages. No decision had been made on the Orenburg province. The Kazakh ASSR within two weeks instructed to establish a clear list of agencies not included in Articles 1 and 2 of this resolution and submit it for approval by the Presidium of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee. As for the republican bodies and institutions, they were instructed to organize bilingual office work. All republican institutions would begin to adapt their devices to the conduct of business in both Russian and Kazakh, and the deadline for the introduction of the Kazakh language in them would be January 1, 1925. It was obvious that the priority given to the Russian language in this resolution would gradually legitimize the dominant role of the Russian language and bring the Kazakh language closer to it. This was evidenced by the fact that paperwork in the Kazakh language was carried out locally.

No later than January 1, 1924, the People's Commissariat of Labor and Peasant Inspectorate with the participation of the Commission for office work entrusted the development of samples and forms of special record keeping for the organization and implementation of office work in institutions and their implementation at the district level. Introduction of compulsory teaching of the subject "Clerical work" in special educational institutions and professional courses for staff training was considered. Article 7 stated that, "Establishment of special commissions under the Kazakh Central Executive Committee and provincial

executive committees, the rights and responsibilities of which are determined by special rules, to guide and direct the conduct of business in the Kazakh language and to develop relevant instructions for the Peoples Commissariats of Internal Affairs and Justice to further expand this resolution" (CSA RK, 2: 104-105).

At the local level, provincial and district commissions were formed in accordance with the resolution of the Presidium of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee of March 20, 1924 "Regulations on provincial commissions for the introduction of office work in the Kazakh language of in the Kazakh ASSR." The Central Administrative Commission was responsible for the implementation of the instructions of the state bodies of the province on the introduction of office work in the Kazakh language and the management and control of the work of district commissions. The provincial commissions were appointed by the Presidium of the three-member Provincial Executive Committee, whose local bodies were the district commissions (CSA RK, 51: 3-3 reverse).

In pursuance of the resolution of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee of November 22, 1923 "On the introduction of office work in the Kazakh language" on April 10, 1924, sent a letter CC-26 to all provincial commissions. The letter was intended to provide detailed information on the replacement of employees of central and local institutions with Kazakhs. In accordance with Article 3 of the above resolution, it was proposed to immediately replenish all institutions with Kazakh staff and perform the following tasks. First, it instructed the relevant People's Commissariat to begin replacing current staff with people who know the Kazakh language and script. In the meantime, the number of positions to be replaced, approved by the Central Commission for office work, may be minimal, and the right to further expand and resolve the issue ought to be transferred to the relevant People's Commissariat. The implementation of this work at the local level was entrusted to the provincial commissions. One of the most important and responsible tasks would be to fill vacancies in all provincial and district departments with unemployed Kazakhs and people who know the Kazakh script. Although it was planned to introduce additional staff, this issue would be announced in a special message due to the timing of the Central Government's allocation of funds to Kazakhstan (CSA RK, 24: 1).

The Kazakh Central Executive Committee stated in 1924 in response to the circular of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee № 838.6/4. In accordance with the circular proposal of the Presidium of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee of June 26, 1924, No. 838.6/4, September 28, 1929, No. 259, the Department of Nations under the Central Executive Committee submitted a detailed report on the translation of office work at the federal level into Kazakh. The goal was to create a common framework and a common plan for the translation of office work into the Kazakh language. Nurmakov, a member of the Council of Nations and a member of the Central Commission for office work of the Presidium of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee, was going to be sent to the Council of Delegates with the necessary materials and directives. However, it was clear that the consideration of this issue had been postponed for a long time, as this meeting, which was scheduled to be held within the Session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, was not held. In particular, the replenishment of government agencies in Kazakhstan with additional staff of Kazakh employees, the organization of courses were measures that could not be postponed. The Kazakh SSR could not implement these measures without the financial support of Moscow. Lack of funds and their non-allocation soon would delay the continuation of this work, and even adversely affect the results achieved in this regard. Having stated these facts, the Presidium of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee considered the submitted materials and asked to allocate the maximum requested funds for the implementation of the planned measures (CSA RK, 20: 17-17 reverse).

The second result is that the institute of interns was the most rational way to organize Kazakh office work.

The commission set up in Turkestan was tasked to staff local bodies with local employees and to oversee the transition process of office work into local languages. The establishment of a partnership between the Turkestan Commission for office work and the Central Commission for office work and the sharing of practical experience demonstrates the principle of partnership. This was evidenced by the circular letter of the Turkestan Commission to the Central Commission for office work dated March 4, 1924. The Commission, which shared important information in the form of a brief report, described in detail the experience of its work. The first measure was to determine the number of staff of all institutions operating in the Republic of Turkestan, including 'combined' and 'non-integrated' people's commissariats, cooperatives, economic entities that were branches of local authorities and institutions in Moscow. Depending on the number of staff identified in the country, a preliminary plan would be developed to send interns, namely interns and staff from the necessary local population. While the Central Commission was responsible for staffing the central bodies, in oblasts and counties, oblast and county commissions operated according to the center's plan, respectively. In total, the Central Commission, which dealt with the main issue of staffing, sent about five

hundred people to the institutions during 6 months of work, about 10% of whom were transferred to the staff from the very beginning due to sufficient knowledge of office equipment. As a result of this work, the share of full-time employees from local communities in Turkestan institutions ranged from 2 to 76%. Interns ranged from 1 to 47%, and all institutions in Tashkent were fully staffed with local staff. An excellent example of this was the institute of interns.

In accordance with the decree No. 130 of August 29, 1923, in Turkestan on correspondence and office work in local languages "In the technical staff of the People's Commissariats, state economic bodies, regional executive committees, the local population is instructed to search for interns who will be trained for 6 months to prepare for relevant positions in their areas. Interns are provided with funds at the rate of responsible employees of the 10<sup>th</sup> category of the relevant institution, and the placement of interns in the staff of the institution is established". Thus, the introduction of the first institute of interns for the organization of Kazakh office work.

In order to improve the quality of the interns' institute, an institute of representatives would be established in the institutions to accelerate the recruitment of well-versed interns, and close contacts would be established between the interns and the administration of the institution. In order to evaluate this work, the Central Commission for office work conducted regular inspections. However, the Turkestan Commission for office work notes that there were still problems with the staffing of institutions with local staff and paperwork. The biggest difficulty in the new Soviet system of government was the lack of funding. In this regard, the commission noted that "the greatest difficulty in maintaining the institution of interns remains a financial problem." However, in the case of non-aligned people's commissariats, a total of 250 interns would receive a monthly loan of 20 rubles each. The estimate for the United People's Commissariats would be considered by Moscow and would take some time (CSA RK, 67: 65-67).

Summing up the results, the question arises as to what the position of the Central government was in the conduct of office work in Kazakh. The transfer of office work to the local languages at the discretion of the central government should bring the local population closer to the Soviet state apparatus. This required the translation of Soviet propaganda documents into local languages, an explanation of the Soviet government's position, and a strict accounting of the funds allocated for this purpose. To this end, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on April 14, 1924, adopted a resolution "On measures to transfer office work of state bodies in the national regions and republics into local languages." It approved the implementation of specific measures to adapt the Soviet apparatus in the national regions and republics to the life of the local population and their active involvement in Soviet construction, indicating the need to gradually translate the records of all government agencies or their individual units into local languages.

The content of this decree, which provided for the implementation of the most important management decision, did not violate the basic legal norms, but the fact that the norms were approved in the highest interest of the nation and then did not contradict the policy of the Central Government clearly demonstrates hypocrisy and double standard. In fact, training and retraining of local staff to serve the local government was a priority. In this regard, the organization of courses, the adoption of interns required strict coordination with the financial capabilities of the state. When transferring office work into local languages, consistency should be maintained, such as ensuring the introduction of spoken language in the local languages in the departments of the state apparatus that directly serve the general public, especially employees of government agencies and enterprises. Preference should be given to people with equal opportunities in the civil service who speak local languages. These measures were aimed at the development of local languages, which do not contradict the interests of the local population.

The next paragraph of the resolution states that, "the transition to office work in local languages should in no case complicate the work of the central bodies of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, communication with them should be conducted in the language adopted in these institutions." Thus, without restricting the rights of the nation and observing the rule of law, but ultimately recognizing its dominant role "by bringing the Russian language closer to or uniting within the framework of the central government." In addition, a plan would be developed to translate and publish the most important decrees and codes into local languages in a short period of time to make the decrees and codes issued by the Soviet government widely available to the public. These publications, which were centralized, served the autonomous republics and oblasts, as well as ethnic minorities of the rest of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The plan to expand the work on the transition to local languages should be initiated, first of all, by the republics and regions that are far behind in terms of culture and life, because they did not have access to Soviet culture and Russian language (CSA RK, 17: 38,38 reverse). Due to the lack of interest of the authorities, the lack of

necessary funds, the Central Commission for office work failed to achieve the goal of organizing and implementing office work in the Kazakh language.

Conclusion. In conclusion, language as a historical category coexists with the people, and it is clear that it records the history of the nation as well the people. A century ago, it was planned to increase the status of the Kazakh language by the Soviet state by expanding the use of Kazakh, and measures were taken to transfer office work into the Kazakh language. However, the legal acts of both the center and the republican authorities on the transition of office work into the Kazakh language became declarative. Nevertheless, in 1923-1925, the work of the Central and local commissions for office work was organized, managed and concrete measures were taken. According to incomplete data, the share of Kazakh documents in the archives of government agencies is only about fifteen percent of the total, which indicates the results of the translation and transition of office work into the Kazakh language. The Institute of Interns, which had been recognized as the most effective, had established close ties between the administration and interns in a short period of time, and the Institute of Translators had become an ineffective method of conducting bilingual office work. Establishing the legal basis for the organization of office work in the Kazakh language, chanting it as a tool for implementing Soviet policy, first raised the issue of bilingual office work, and then the full transition into the Russian language. As a result, the party established full leadership and strict control over the work of the Central and local commissions for office work, which were engaged in the transferring office work into the Kazakh language. As a result, we are witnessing the inability of the Kazakh language to rise to the status of the "state language", while creating a gap between the past and present generations.

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