THE ROLE AND POSITION OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE IN FORMER USSR COUNTRIES

Abstract. Today Russian for the present plays a role of language for international communication continuously being used in a number of business communities, financial and bank systems and even some state structures in CIS countries. Majority of population of these countries (about 70%) use it masterfully enough. The integral part of any culture is a language. A language is a cultural tool which forms personal identity, vision, mentality and social attitudes. Russian language is not an exception. In the second half of XX century over 300 million people (by some calculations - up to 500 million people) used Russian as native, non-native or foreign language [4, 23]. According to some scholars around 286 million people can speak Russian. This language is quite popular because more than 100 states in the world have Russian classes. Russian was and continues to remain one of the leading world languages. As for official status of Russian language, nowadays it takes the third place after Chinese (over 1 billion) and English (750 million) in the world. Russian is one of 6 official languages of the UN, an official and/or a working language in most of authoritative international organizations such as IAEA, UNESCO [6]. In the world Russian is spoken by over 300 million people, including over 140 million who consider it as their native language. Russian is a communication language for over 160 different nationalities. The formation of a single informational space in the post-Soviet countries is an important, but difficult challenge which requires close cooperation among the former Soviet republics in different fields. However, constant contradictions and conflicts between the CIS countries initiate some problems in the creation of single information space in the CIS countries. After disintegration of the Soviet Union the Russian language in the post-Soviet space existed without any support for a long time that caused not only the negative tendencies but disturbing signs of irreversible destruction of this communicative institute in a number of the new independent states. The article includes full analysis of Russian language status in the CIS countries and describes legislative acts in this field, the provision of Russian-speaking mass media separately in each CIS country and also looks into issues related to legislative restrictions of broadcasting in Russian language.

Key words: Russian language, USSR, CIS, state language.

The integral part of any culture is a language. A language is a cultural tool which forms personal identity, vision, mentality and social attitudes. Russian language is not an exception. In the second half of XX century over 300 million people (by some calculations - up to 500 million people) used Russian as native, non-native or foreign language [4, 23]. According to some scholars around 286 million people can speak Russian. This language is quite popular because more than 100 states in the world have Russian classes. Russian was and continues to remain one of the leading world languages.

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as their native language. Russian is a communication language for over 160 different nationalities. Russian language position in top ten languages in Internet is number 8 (figure 1).

The collapse of the Soviet Union and education system on its territory and independent states created a set of the most challenging problems not only in the field of economics and state constructions, but also in the field of culture. The extraordinarily difficult situation arose in such important sphere as a role of Russian and its relation to other local languages of the title nations in all new states of the Commonwealth.

From the middle of 90th years of XX century situation began to change but in some states it remains the same. The Russian scholars pay more attention to the role of Russian language as a key to integration in CIS. The Soviet past in the form of an imperial complex is still powerful and let Russia (Moscow) control other states. According to Pyanov (2011), most independent states have unmotivated myths and fears concerning Russia, pursuing own political purposes and tasks.

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Figure 1 – Top 10 languages in the Internet.
The new CIS countries accept Russian not merely as Russian language but as the language of the USSR and Soviet’s language. In this function, Russian proves in two main qualities. First “the Soviet language” [21] undertook a role of international communication language within the newly independent states. Secondly, it acts as the age (generational) communication medium tool. Thus, the need for Russian will be reduced naturally in the process of reduction of the “Soviet” generation citizens.

However, the situation through generation can sharply change. Nowadays, we can evidence a process of Russian-speaking space destructions. The role of local languages has been increased and this phenomenon is typical for all CIS. Russian is losing its positions in social, political and economic life, culture, mass media and education. Young generations of CIS tend to speak more English than Russian.

Russia has been urging all CIS member states to grant Russian language with an official status. So far Russian is an official language in only four states which are Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Russian is also considered an official language in the region of Transnistria and the autonomous region of Gagauzia in Moldova.

According to Sherbakova (2016), the population of CIS totaled around 282 million people and three times less than population of EU (742 millions).

![Figure 2 – The age diversity of population of CIS and EU](image)

According to forecasts, in next 10 years the number of people who speak Russian to languages in the CIS countries, at preservation of the current trends, will increase almost twice (that is approximately up to 80 million people) and will exceed the number to some extent knowing Russian (60 million people) (Sherbakova, 2016).

The number of many former Soviet republics which speak Russian among the younger generation is especially quickly reduced. It is necessary to track, as far as possible maintaining an appropriate level of knowledge of Russian in some areas of the Commonwealth. In Central Asia, the situation with knowledge of Russian language was an object of detail studies. Kyrgyzstan is a leading country with highest number of labor migrants in Russia. According to Poddubskaya (2015) population in Kyrgyzstan speak Russian worse than in Kazakhstan. One of the possible explanations is the fact that majority of Russian speaking Kyrgyz population are currently living in Russia (Moscow).

Poddubskaya (2015) paid close attention to the quantity TV program broadcast in Russian language in CIS countries. According to paragraph 5 of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic (2007) and the Law “About Official (Russian) Language of the Kyrgyz Republic” of 2000, Russian has the official status and besides it is the language of international communication.

Russian and Russian-language media take the leading positions in the republic. “The largest and influential in the republic and, first of all, in the capital are Evening Bishkek, Case No. and Word of
Kyrgyzstan newspapers which are issued in Russian. Still, Russian programs remain the most watchable with Gostele radio which also broadcasts on Channel One and VGTRK, a considerable part of the population gives them preference before local 

At the beginning of 2010, the number of the Russian population in Kazakhstan constituted 23.3% of the population of the country. At the same time, 84.8% of the population of the country know Russian. In Kazakhstan Russian has the official status which confirmed in the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Law of 1997 “About languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan”. In 2004 Government made amendments in Law of language according to the “language of work and office-work of public authorities, the organizations and local government bodies of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the state language Kazakh, but Russian has equal rights” [10]. Nevertheless, in 2006 Government declared the decision that all official papers should be in Kazakh. The current state language programme has the multilanguage policy.

The president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev published in the state newspaper “Egimen Kazakhstan” (“Sovereign Kazakhstan”) an article in which disposed to transfer the Kazakh alphabet from Cyrillic on Latin by 2025. This news causes the negative chain reaction in “patriotic” Russia. 

Kazakhstan remains to one of the three Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union where Cyrillic alphabet is used (in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). In XX century Kazakhstan had already gone through two language reforms which took place in 1929 when they transformed from Arabic alphabet to Latin alphabet (a year after Atatürk translated Turkish into Latin) and later in the 1940s transforming it to Cyrillic alphabet. Nowadays about a quarter of Kazakh population does not speak Kazakh at all. Instead they speak and write Russian which has the official status set by the Constitution in this country. Nevertheless, many users of social networks in Russia apprehended Nazarbayev’s order to translate Kazakh into Latin in bayonets, have regarded it as the treachery of the closest ally and next “knife in a back”. Many oppose this reform inside and outside Kazakhstan including its untimely and expensive (“How much will cost to change an alphabet”, 2018). 

According to Aidos Syrym (2017), Kazakh passed a long way from ethnic minority to the qualified majority.

71 percent of the populations are ethnic Kazaks. Still percent 8–9 – the Turkic people, the growing Uzbek diaspora which in 15 years will become the second for the number in Kazakhstan, the Uighur diaspora and other. These are the Turkic people, birth rate at them very high, and vital aspirations entirely

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**Major ethnic groups in Kazakhstan (late XIX - mid XX century)**

![Graph of Major ethnic groups in Kazakhstan (late XIX - mid XX century)](source: Government census data)

Figure 3 – Major ethnic groups in Kazakhstan (late 19 – mid 20 century)

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others. Therefore the situation will change, but it is necessary to speak correctly, to correctly explain that transition to Latin concerns only Kazakhs or people who know Kazakh. It will not affect others.

Russian-language media make about 70% of the printing market and 58% of electronic media. It is quite exciting for me as Kazakh citizen observe political battles in media especially Russian TV. The information attack on Kazakhstan from Russia media raises many questions in the relationship between two countries. Solovyov's attacks against Kazakhstan are not casual. The political scientist Satpayev (2018) is sure that all these games are well planned, and we will see more "traps."

In Tajikistan the situation is much worse: the adult population badly knows Russian, and the youth - almost does not know. According to paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, November 6, 1994, Russian has the status of the language of international communication. Russian is native for a minimal number of residents of Tajikistan (only 3%), it is still rather widespread among the population. In recent years activity of Russian-language media in Tajikistan underwent many changes. In August 2010 the Russian and Tajik sides reached the agreement on renewal of TV channel broadcasting in the territory of Tajikistan. In Tajikistan, according to the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan of 1994 a state language is Tajik, Russian - the language of international communication. The translation since 1998 of office-work in the country into Tajik narrowed the sphere of use of Russian.

In Transcaucasia - in all three countries (Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan) less than a third of the population well know Russian. Russian will lose the positions in Armenia and Georgia.

Armenia is a member of Eurasian Trade Union. The reason for Armenian membership is entirely political, the unstable situation in Nagorniy Karabakh.

According to the report MFA of Russia "Russian in the world," about 70% of the population of Armenia know Russian. Despite it, Russian is officially recognized as the language of ethnic minority according to the European Charter of regional languages (it was accepted in Strasbourg on November 5, 1992).

In the system of secondary education in Armenia, the special place is allocated to Russian. It is intermediate between the family Armenian and foreign languages (generally it is English, the insignificant place is taken French, German, Spanish and Persian). Foreign languages by curricula are included in the schedule from the 2nd class, and 1-2 hours a week are allotted to them. The Armenian school students learn Russian from the 1st class and till 2-3 hours a week. Both the authorities of Armenia, and society, in general, consider studying of Russian priority. In 2012 Russian is equated to foreign languages.

From three countries - Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine - the most disturbing situation develops in Ukraine. If now the vast majority (70%) of the adult population in general well knows Russian, then the youth knows Russian much worse (41%).

Thus, in our opinion, in Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Moldova in the short term, there will be no considerable reduction of a share of the Russian speaking population. On the contrary, in Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine it is possible to predict the rather severe weakening of the position of Russian.

Considering Russian problem in the former Soviet Union particular attention, it is necessary to pay it to official legal status in the particular countries. After the collapse of the USSR, the system of measures of change of the status of Russian and its role realized in the legislation in national culture, and interethnic communication became a cornerstone in bases of public policy in the field of the national culture of the newly independent states. The problem of giving of the special status to Russian is very relevant and essential as the provision of Russian in the state is a critical factor of preservation of its positions.

According to the model law on languages of the CIS accepted by Inter-parliamentary Assembly of the State Parties on December 4, 2004: A state language is a language which is legislatively fixed for obligatory use in political, economic, social, cultural and other official spheres.

The official language is the language which is legislatively fixed for use in official spheres along with the state. The language of an ethnic minority is the language of the ethnic group living in the territory of the state.

Thus, in full the issue of the status of Russian is resolved only in Belarus. The status of Russian fixed in the results of a referendum of 1995 and then confirmed in the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus of 1996. The paragraph 11 of the allied contract of Russia and Belarus provides that official languages of
the Union State are state languages of the State Parties without prejudice to the constitutional status of their state languages.

"More than 80% of the ten-million population of the country Belarus, including practically all city dwellers use Russian. In the Republic, students learn Russian at all schools".

Most media of Belarus broadcast in Russian. Moreover, in the media market of Belarus, practically all central radio stations and TV channels of Russia are presented. Also in Belarus, the printed materials which are turned out in Russian are widely submitted.

In the Republic of Moldova, the status of Russian is not defined by the Constitution of the Republic Moldova of 1994, but the right for functioning and development of Russian (article 13, item 2) is defined. However the law "about the functioning of languages in the territory of the Moldavian SSR" 1989 according to which article 3 "Russian as the language of international communication continues to work in the country.

Official languages in the territory of Gagauzia (autonomy as a part of Moldova) are Moldavian, Gagauz and Russian, and in the unrecognized Dnestr Moldavian Republic, those are Russian, Moldavian and Ukrainian.

Besides confirmation of the rights of the ethnic minorities established by international law, the law contains a number of the provisions which are bringing closer Russian to the status official and also provides the proportional representation of ethnic minorities in structures of executive and judicial authority of all levels, in army, bodies of protection of public order.

In Azerbaijan, according to the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Republic and the Law "About a State Language," Azerbaijani is state language. The status of Russian is not defined, however actually Russian performs the function of the language of international communication.

The situation with Russian in Georgia is complicated. Georgia ratified the framework convention on the protection of ethnic minorities. In Abkhazia (which is considered by the Georgian authorities and a part of the international community as a part of Georgia) Russian is "language of the public and other institutions." In South Ossetia (is also considered by the Georgian authorities and a part of the international community as a part of Georgia) – Russian (since July 2012) is a state language along with Ossetian. Political conflicts between Russia and Georgia considerably complicate cooperation of the countries in the creation of a shared information space.

It is impossible to call favorable a situation on information space of Georgia. Aggravate all political conflicts. So, regularly arising contradictions between Georgia and Russia on the questions connected with the status of South Ossetia also affect language aspects. For example, in 2008 some private owners of movie theaters in Georgia refused broadcasts of movies in which the Russian speech sounds. At the same time access to the Russian Internet, servers were blocked, and the ban on the broadcast of Russian-language media (subsequently this ban was partially withdrawn) is imposed [8].

In Abkhazia, the Abkhazian language has the status state, and Russian is "language of the "state" and other institutions," and in South Ossetia Russian is official.

In Uzbekistan in an edition of "The law on a state language" till 1995 Russian had the status of the language of international communication, but on the new edition of "The law on a state language" accepted on December 21, 1995, to Russian the part of language of "ethnic minority" is assigned.

In Turkmenistan the status of Russian is not defined, till 1996, according to the Constitution of the Republic Turkmenistan and "The law on language" of 1990, Russian had the status of the language of international communication.

Researchers note a tendency to the replacement of Russian from political and social spheres of life of Turkmenistan. So, in 1995 the official ban on the existence of the Russian community in Turkmenistan was imposed that resulted currently in the total absence of the Russian-Turkmen organizations in the territory of the state.

Due to the de-Russification policy in Turkmenistan Russian-language media are almost not present. The Russian-language press is presented by the only edition – the Neutral Turkmenistan newspaper. In 2002 import of the Russian-language press to the state territory was strictly limited. On television, there is 10-minute news in Russian. Experts note that at this juncture residents of the country give preference to the viewing of satellite channels, namely – Russian-speaking.
The forcible annexation of the Crimea, the long and terrible military conflict in Ukraine that all show how Moscow treat and control former USSR countries.

In Ukraine Russian has several statuses at once (that is one does not exclude another). According to the Constitution, the status of the state is set only to Ukrainian through the Constitution of Ukraine guarantees "free development, use and protection of Russian, other languages of ethnic minorities of Ukraine" (Art. 10). Also Russian has the status of international communication according to "The law on languages in the Ukrainian SSR" according to which Russian is the language of "international communication of the people of USSR."

Russian has no status of a state language of Ukraine, but since official language accepts 2012 in the southern and east regions of the country. In a society constantly there are discussions about the status of Russian.

The language question is not the first year disputable both in external and in the domestic policy of the state. The attempt to give to Russian the official status state in 2004 terminated in failure. Currently, in Ukraine, the strong tendency to the replacement of Russian is observed that encounters high resistance in regions where 90% of the population – Russian-speaking. It, in turn, generates the conflicts between Russia and Ukraine.

In July 2012 in Ukraine, the law "About Fundamentals of the Public Language Policy" according to which Ukrainian position as a state language was adopted. The free use of regional languages is possible in territories where not less than 10% of the population considered Ukrainian. The relevant law was repealed on February 23, 2014. However, in the aggravated political situation Petro Poroshenko after the introduction to a position of the president of Ukraine said that he does not intend to provide to Russian the status of the state, having noted that in Ukraine Ukrainian will only be the official language. The head of state made the corresponding statement on an award ceremony of Taras Shevchenko.

Since April 19, 2004. The national council of Ukraine concerning TV and radio broadcasting the body responsible for licensing of media stopped registration of the mass media using non-state language. Programs and movies in Russian continue to be broadcast but have to be followed by the Ukrainian credits at the same time.
On January 22, 2007, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Ukraine signed the memorandum with distribution companies and demonstrators of movies according to which the companies undertook to duplicate, sound or subtitles in Ukrainian of the film copy of foreign production 2007 to finish a share of dubbed films for children's audience to 100%. In June 2007 several general management of the Council of Europe (on legal issues, concerning human rights and concerning education, culture, and cultural heritage) in essence condemned "insuperable desire to limit the use of language in the sphere of the home video".

The most critical indicator of the spread of Russian in the former Soviet Union is the number of educational institutions teaching in Russian and number of the studying school students in them. From public policy in education in Russian, it is possible to designate two aspects: education in Russian and studying Russian.

It should be noted that in Belarus and Kazakhstan a considerable part of the population speaks fluent Russian. Moreover, in these countries a significant share of students in Russian. However in Kazakhstan less than a half of pupils of schools studies at Russian already that became the result of considerable narrowing of education in Russian.

On the contrary, in Armenia, Tajikistan, Georgia, and Uzbekistan, a share of the population which is knowing Russian, rather small. At the moment an opportunity to get an education in Russian in these countries is practically absent: here it is not enough, or at all, there are no Russian schools, and the share of students in Russian is minimum. While in Armenia and Tajikistan there is a high need for expansion of a possibility of studying Russian for schools.

It should be noted that if in the 90th years of the XX century in the newly independent states of the CIS there were sharp reductions of education in Russian (several thousands of Russian schools were closed, and the number studying at the Russian schools was reduced more than by 2 million people), then after the 2000th years this process continues though in some countries it was slowed down. School training at Russian remains in most the Post-Soviet states: in Belarus - 75% of pupils, Kazakhstan-41%, Ukraine - 25%, Kyrgyzstan - 23%, Moldova-21%, Azerbaijan - 7%, Georgia - 5%, Armenia-2%.

In all countries, Russian is demanded as the means of communication with Russian-speaking fellow citizens at work and in life. It demonstrates to the preservation and the importance of the Russian-speaking environment in all new independent states. About a half of residents of the newly independent states say

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**Agents of Russian ‘soft power’**

- RT & Russian-speaking TV (post-Soviet area)
- Embassies and cultural centres
- ‘Invisible agents’: higher efficiency?
- Russkiy Mir (‘compatriots’)
- International institutions tribunes (the UN, UNESCO…)
- Geopolitical allies tribunes
- Communities abroad

Figure 5 – Russian as soft power.

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that "knowledge of Russian in life is useful" and therefore it is crucial to learn Russian. The population of the CIS countries especially notes communicative function of Russian as means of the international communication. At the same time, Russian continues to bear humanitarian function: it is necessary for reading literature in Russian, including professional that reflects its importance as a translator of scientific and unique knowledge and also gives the chance of familiarizing with the Russian culture.

It is impossible to deny that a part of the population of the republics of the CIS gives the vital importance to the Russian-speaking environment, Russian is wanted to be learned, want to communicate on it. Therefore Russia has to maintain the Russian culture and Russian.

Despite discrimination and the belittled status in the states of the CIS, Russian still keeps the commanding presence as the language of international communication or as a language of minorities (minority language).

Considering the prospects of development of Russian-speaking space in the CIS, the primary responsibility for ensuring the status and support of Russian, of course, has to lie on the states in which the Russian-speaking population lives. At the same time the Russian Federation as a basis of the Russian people, its language and culture can and has to render protection and carry out protection of the Russian population of the states of the CIS, the compatriots. Besides, protection of the language rights and rights of ethnic minorities - one of the international obligations of the Russian Federation. It is worth to remember that saving of Russian is also strengthening of the prestige of the Russian Federation, its positions on the international scene.

The main directions of this act providing along with protection of the rights of compatriots concrete actions for preservation and development of Russian, culture, education, information space.

The most important basis of support of the Russian-speaking environment in the states of the CIS are the projects approved and realized by Russia:
- the program of work with compatriots abroad,
- federal target program "Russian,"
- the state program on rendering assistance to voluntary resettlement to the Russian Federation the compatriots living abroad.

Thus, the analysis of a problem of the status of Russian in the former Soviet Union allowed drawing the following conclusions. First, Russian performs some significant functions in the former Soviet Union.
- First of all, it is a function of the language of interstate value, the language of science, culture.
- Secondly, in the course of formation of the newly independent states on the former Soviet Union, there is a gradual disintegration of uniform language space.
- Thirdly, the status of Russian in each country in the former Soviet Union has the specifics. It is connected with some factors, such as features of the economic and political development of the country during the Post-Soviet period, the number of the Russian-speaking population living in the territory of the country, specifics of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation with this or that country.
- Fourthly, in the maintenance of Russian as means of international communication on space of the CIS, the Russian Federation begins to play a unique role, carrying out many federal programs.

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ПОСТКЕСЕНТРИК КЕҢІСТЕКТЕГІ ОРЫС ТІЛІНІҢ РОЛІ ЖӘНЕ ОРЫНЫ

Аннотация. Ресей аумағында өмір сүретін 130 миллион адамын, орыс тілінің ана тілі саңайттын
дардың саны 200 миллион адамға жетеді. 300-350 миллион адамдарының бойынша орыс тілінің, тұрғындардың және мәдениеттерінің міндеттерін анықтауға
жататын құрылымын көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: орыс тілі, КСРО, ТМД, тіл турали.

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РОЛЬ И СТАТУС РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА
НА ПОСТСОВЕТСКОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ

Аннотация. Численность людей, которые считают русским родным языком, превышает 200 миллионов
человек, 130 миллионов из которых живут на территории России. В 300-350 миллионов оценивается число
людей, владеющих русским языком в совершенстве и использующих его в качестве первого или второго
языка в повседневном общении. Всего же русским языком в мире в той или иной степени владеют более
полумиллиарда человек, и по этому показателю русский занимает третье место в мире после китайского
и английского. Спорным на сегодняшний день остается также вопрос, падает в последние десятилетия влияние
русского языка в мире или нет. С одной стороны, языковая ситуация на постсоветском пространстве, где до распада СССР русский язык служил общепризнанным языком межнационального общения, весьма противоречива, и здесь можно выявить самые различные тенденции. А с другой стороны, русскоязычная диаспора в дальнем зарубежье за последние двадцать лет выросла многократно. Влияние политических мигрантов России и присоединения Крыма, а дальнейшая война на Северо-Западе Украины, изменило отношение многих стран к статусу русского языка. Согласно ряду исследователей, «русский язык – это мягкая сила», способ интеграции, как жителей постсоветского пространства так и русско-язычной диаспоры. Ряд исследователей отмечает что в новых условиях русский язык, кроме своих основных функций, самой историей призван выполнять еще одну важную социальную функцию – способствовать реинтеграции и развитию межэтнических языков, которым угрожает опасность исчезновения с политической карты мира. Одной из социальных проблем Казахстана на сегодняшний момент является отрицательное сальдо миграции населения. Цифры представляются различными статистическими ведомствами разнятся. В настоящем время самой популярной страной для миграции населения в СНГ является Россия.

**Ключевые слова:** русский язык, СССР, СНГ, закон об языках.

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