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РЕВОЛЮЦИЯҒА ДЕЙІНГІ КЕЗЕНДЕГІ ҚАЗАҚ ЖҰМЫСШЫ КАДРЛАРЫН ҚАЛЫПТАСТЫРУ ТУРАЛЫ МӘСЕЛЕГЕ


Аңдатпа

Мақала революцияға дейінгі кезеңдегі ұлттық жұмысшы кадрлардың тарихын Қазақстанның Ұлттық индустриялық кадрлары тарихының маңызды кезеңдерінің бірі ретінде қарастырылады. Қазақ жұмысшы кадрларын қалыптастыру процесі дәл 1917 жылғы Қазан төңкерісіне дейін басталғаны белгілі, қазақтың дәстүрлі қоғамының стратификациясы барысында кедейленген шаруаның белгілі бір бөлігі жұмыс іздеп жергілікті темір жолдар, балық аулау және өнеркәсіптік кәсіпорындар салуға бағытталды. Бұл ретте олар туған ауылымен экономикалық байланысты үзбеді және ауыл шаруашылығы жұмыстарына қатысу үшін қажеттілігіне қарай сол жерлеріне қайта оралды. Салалық бөліністе қазақтың көптеген жұмысшылары тұз, балық аулау және тау-кен өндірісінде жұмыс істеді. Білікті еңбек қажет болған өндеу өнеркәсібінде олардың саны өте төмен болды. Сонымен қатар, қазақтар құрамында білікті кадрлар аз болды. Олар негізінен қосалқы жұмыстармен, біліктілігі жоқ еңбекпен айналысты және сәйкесінше аз жалақы алды. Ауыр еңбек жағдайлары, төмен жалақы, көптеген айыппұлдар, алдау, есеп айырысу, яғни рұқсат беру, билік пен кәсіпорын әкімшілігінің озбырлығы жергілікті жұмысшыларды өздерінің экономикалық және саяси жағдайларын жақсарту үшін күресуге итермеледі. XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XX ғасырдың басында қазақ жұмысшылары да стихиялық, ұйымдастырылмаған сипаттағы өңірдегі жұмысшы қозғалысына қатысты. Мысалы, қазақ жұмысшылары белсенді қатысқан Қазақстандағы ең ірі ереуіл 1905-1907 жылдардағы орыс революциясы жылдарында Успен кеншінде болды.

Түйінді сөздер: Қазақстан, қазақ жұмысшылары, Ресей империясы, шаруа, кәсіпшілік, өнеркәсіп, теміржол көлігі.


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К ВОПРОСУ О ФОРМИРОВАНИИ КАЗАХСКИХ РАБОЧИХ КАДРОВ В ДОРЕВОЛЮЦИОННЫЙ ПЕРИОД


Аннотация

Статья рассматривает историю национальных рабочих кадров в дореволюционный период, как один из важнейших этапов истории национальных индустриальных кадров Казахстана. Известно, что процесс формирования казахских рабочих кадров начался именно до Октябрьской революции 1917 г. когда в ходе расслоения казахского традиционного общества, определенная часть обедневших шаруа в поисках работы направлялась на строительство местных железных дорог, промыслы и промышленные предприятия. При этом они не разрывали экономические связи с родным аулом и возвращались туда по мере необходимости для участия в сельскохозяйственных работах. Это широко распространенное явление называлось отходничество. В отраслевом разрезе достаточно большое количество казахских рабочих было занято на соляных, рыбных промыслах и в горнодобывающем производстве. В обрабатывающей промышленности, где требовался квалифицированный труд, их численность была незначительной. В составе казахов мало было квалифицированных кадров. Они занимались главным образом подсобными работами, неквалифицированным трудом и соответственно получали скудное жалование. Тяжелые условия труда, низкая зарплата, многочисленные штрафы, обман, обсчет, т.е. вседозволенность, произвол властей и администрации предприятий толкали местных рабочих на борьбу за улучшения своего экономического и политического положения. Во второй половине XIX века и начале XX века в рабочем движении в регионе, имевшем стихийный, неорганизованный характер участвовали и казахские рабочие. Например, самая крупная забастовка в Казахстане, где активно участвовали казахские рабочие, произошла на Успенском руднике в годы русской революции 1905-1907 гг.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, казахские рабочие, Российская империя, шаруа, промыслы, промышленность, железнодорожный транспорт.

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TO THE QUESTION OF THE FORMATION OF KAZAKH WORKERS IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Abstract

The article considers the history of national workers in the pre-revolutionary period as one of the most important stages in the history of national industrial personnel in Kazakhstan. It is known that the process of formation of Kazakh workers began precisely before the October Revolution of 1917, when, in the course of the stratification of the Kazakh traditional society, a certain part of the impoverished sharua, in search of work, had to go to the construction of local railways, crafts and industrial enterprises. At the same time, they did not break economic ties with their native aul and returned there as needed to participate in agricultural work. This widespread phenomenon was called otkhodnichestvo. In the sectoral context, a fairly large number of Kazakh workers were employed in the salt, fisheries and mining industries. In the manufacturing industry, where skilled labor was required, their numbers were negligible. There were few qualified personnel among the Kazakhs. They were mainly engaged in auxiliary work, unskilled labor and, accordingly, received meager salaries. Difficult working conditions, low wages, numerous fines, fraud, cheating, i.e. permissiveness, arbitrariness of the authorities and the administration of enterprises pushed local workers to fight for the improvement of their economic and political situation. In the second half of the 19th century and early of the 20th century, Kazakh workers also participated in the labor movement in the region, which had a spontaneous, unorganized character. For example, the largest strike in Kazakhstan, where Kazakh workers actively participated, took place at the Uspensky mine during the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, Kazakh workers, Russian Empire, sharua, crafts, industry, railway transport.

Introduction. The relevance of the study is reinforced by the urgent need to implement a comprehensive, scientifically based industrial and innovative development program for the leading sectors of the economy, the implementation of which is not carried by imported labor, but by highly qualified technical personnel from the indigenous population of Kazakhstan. Thus, the topic of the article is directly related to the study of the history of the formation and development of national industrial personnel in Kazakhstan, which began in the pre-revolutionary period since the region was involved in the all-Russian economic market. The historical experience of the formation of Kazakh of workers, technicians and engineers is important for understanding that the causes of many current phenomena in the development of the national detachment of industrial cadres are rooted in the past, in those problems that were not resolved in a timely manner, and in modern conditions are becoming an important aspect of socio-demographic and migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Methodology. The source base of the study is the materials of the Kazakhstan and Russian archives, as well as published collections of documents and materials.

This study was developed on the basis of the principle of historicism which is a necessary condition for understanding the laws of social development. The basic requirement of the principle of historicism is the consideration of all processes and phenomena in their origin and development, in connection with the specific circumstances that gave rise to them. Thus, the principle of historicism serves as an objective reflection of reality.

The real problem was developed using the basic general historical methods of historical research: historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical-typological and historical-systemic. The most universal method is historical-genetic, which is aimed primarily at the analysis of development. The essence of this method is the sequential identification of the properties, functions, changes of the investigated object in the process of its historical movement. This allows you to get closer to reproducing the real history of the object. The historical-genetic method allows us to identify causal relationships and patterns of historical development. The historical-typological method made it possible to distinguish certain groups of the population based on the similarities of certain properties and differences. The historical-systemic method was applied when considering the population as a whole through the corresponding social system.

The methodological basis of this study is the theoretical provisions, the conclusions and generalizations of a number of social scientists of previous years and the present.

For the methodological understanding of our problem, the studies of major Kazakhstani historians, created since the late 1980s and under the conditions of the sovereignty of our state, are of great value. During these years, a new stage in the development of the historical science of Kazakhstan begins; the historians have started critical rethinking of the past. For instance, the materials of the book of Academician M.K. Kozybaev "History and Modernity" [1] his conclusions on the current state of historical science in Kazakhstan have become very significant for the contemporary historical studies.

Discussion. The historiography of the history of the formation of the national industrial personnel of Kazakhstan in the pre-October period can be divided into two major stages: Soviet and modern. The research topic was especially comprehensively developed exactly in the Soviet period, and the main contribution to the study of the topic was made in the 1950-1960s. Among the publications of those years, a prominent place is occupied by the monograph of P.M. Alampiev [2]. In this solid scientific work, the author, as far as possible under those historical conditions, covers the economic condition of Kazakhstan in the pre-October period, the restoration of industrial production after the civil war, and measures for the industrialization of the region. This work is of great scientific interest to us, because there is a separate chapter devoted to the creation of national workers in the industry of the region.

Of great interest in the study are the works of B.S. Suleimenov, A.B. Tursunbaev, P.K. Galuzo on the history of agrarian relations in pre-October Kazakhstan.

Suleimenov B.S. in his monograph thoroughly and comprehensively researches such aspects of the topic as the social stratification of the colonial aul, tax oppression, the agrarian policy of the autocracy and the resettlement movement, the mass theft of sharua lands, dependence from bays, etc. The study of these issues is important to determine the degree of pauperization of the Kazakh peasantry and determine the social sources of the formation of national workers and the channels for their acquisition [3].

Tursunbaev A.B. studied the socio-economic development of aul and the formation of workers in the region, their relationship with aul at the end of the 19th century. He also considered the factors of social, property differentiation of the Kazakh traditional society, the sources of replenishment of Kazakh workers. Speaking about the peculiarities of the process of the birth of national workers, the author rightly noted the following: "The formation of the Kazakh proletariat, as well as the birth of the Kazakh bourgeoisie, took place under conditions of colonialism and domination of patriarchal-feudal relations in aul, which hindered the development of these processes. However, in that historical situation, the Kazakh proletariat had a broader base for its formation than the Kazakh bourgeoisie. The latter was most drawn to usury and trade and least of all was represented in industry. The Kazakh proletariat had a base for its formation in industry as a whole. Of course, this industry was in its infancy and had a colonial character. And yet the Kazakh proletariat in its development overtook the Kazakh bourgeoisie [4].

P.G. Galuzo paid great attention in his fundamental work to such important problems as the property and class differentiation of aul in the second half of the 19th century and up to 1914; the resettlement policy of tsarism, the Russian peasant colonization of the region, changes in the national composition of the population in the course of migration processes, etc. The study of these problems was necessary in terms of identifying social sources for the creation of national workers and forms of their replenishment [5].

Kazakh agricultural historians B. Suleimenov, A.B. Tursunbaev, P.G. Galuzo considered only the process of the property, social stratification of the peasantry, without specifically examining the further movement of the pauperized sharua, their role in the formation of local labor cadres. In this regard, the works of D.Dilmukhamedov, F.Malikov, M.Kh. Asylbekov are of great importance. It should be noted that many monographs and articles were published in 1950s and the subsequent period of the historiography of our problem. But it is necessary to briefly dwell on the studies of those authors, whose works have a generalizing, comprehensive character.

The monograph by E.Dilmukhamedov and F.Malikov highlights a number of issues on the research topic: the state of the mining, fishing and manufacturing industries, sources of replenishment of the working ranks, the process and specific features of the formation of the local proletariat, its economic situation [6].

The authors also study the history of the revolutionary movement in Kazakhstan on the eve and during the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 until the February bourgeois-democratic revolution and the participation of Kazakh workers in the all-Russian revolutionary process.

F.M. Malikov in his article "Formation of the working class of Kazakhstan during the period of imperialism in Russia", researches the problem in chronological framework from 1900-1916, i.e. on the eve of the October Revolution [7].

M.Kh. Asylbekov in his monograph, on the basis of numerous archival materials that were not previously put into scientific circulation, discloses such aspects of the problem as the formation of workers from among the ruined Kazakh peasants, the participation of Kazakhs in the construction of individual railway lines, their number in the construction of specific railway lines, vocational and qualification structure, working conditions, discrimination in payment, living conditions, medical care, participation in the revolutionary movement, etc [8].

In the second half of the 1960s a monographic study of A.N.Nusupbekov was published [9].

Here this historian made an attempt to highlight the main trends in the formation and development of Kazakh industrial workers over a fairly long historical period - from 1917 to 1940. Based on the analysis of various sources, the researcher concluded that the process of the emergence of national workers in Kazakhstan began in the 1860s and noticeably intensified in the first decade of the XX century. Despite the fragmentary nature of statistical information, the lack of generalizing data on the national composition of the proletariat, the author made approximate calculations and came to the conclusion that Kazakh workers had a large proportion of the industrial workers in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan. But the formation process was not completed then. Nusupbekov A.N. notes that there were few skilled workers among the workers from the indigenous population, many of them were engaged in daily work, he dwells on national discrimination in conditions, wages, speaks of the close connection of Kazakh workers with the village [9, p.41-42].

Doctoral dissertation of M.Kh. Asylbekov is devoted to the history of the railway workers and engineers of Kazakhstan [10]. The value of this study lies primarily in the fact that it was written on the basis of a huge number of reliable sources, while almost all of them were introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

This work is probably one of the few in Kazakhstani historiography, where such serious attention is paid to the problem of national personnel. In almost all sections of the monograph, and there are five of them, M.Kh. Asylbekov comprehensively studies this topic.

The advantage of the monograph is the desire of its author, as far as it was possible in that socio-political situation, with strict state censorship, inaccessibility of archival documents of many state bodies, to objectively highlight the history of the formation and development of Kazakh personnel of railway workers and technical specialists over a fairly long period -from 1917 to the end of 1960s.

The author notes that until 1917, the composition of the railroad workers of the region was dominated by Russians who migrated from the inner provinces of Russia, and representatives of this ethnic group constituted the absolute majority among permanent workers. Representatives of non-Russian nationalities predominated among day laborers. This was explained by the restrictive measures of tsarism against the admission of non-Russians to railway work [10, p.19].

The modern period historiography of the research topic includes works published in the late 1980s to the present.

Actual aspects of this multifaceted theme that require further in-depth study are clearly defined in the article by M.Kh. Asylbekov and A.Sh. Altaev [11].

In the historiography of our topic, a special place belongs to the first volume of the "History of the working class of Soviet Kazakhstan" [12], which also examines the formation of national cadres in the pre-Soviet period.

Results. Kazakhstan in the late XIX-early XX centuries represented the backward colonial outskirts of the Russian Empire, agriculture was the basis of its economy: livestock - mainly among the Kazakhs, husbandry among the displaced population. The region was a market for goods and a source of raw materials for industrial centers of the metropolis, and this predetermined the emergence of the main industries and transport, the development of which primarily depended on the availability of their raw materials on the ground. In close connection with these factors, mining and manufacturing industries gained some development in Kazakhstan. The first was presented by enterprises for the extraction of non-ferrous metals, coal and oil. These were the coal mines of Karaganda (627 workers in 1915), Ekibastuz (760 workers in 1916), Baikonur (206 people in 1915), Dzhezkazgan (389 people in 1914), and Uspensk (before the war - 500 people), Ridder (in 1917 - 570 people) mines, Spassk plant (before the war - 800 people), Embensk oil fields (in 1916 - 3260 people), etc. According to rough estimates, in 1917, the total number of workers at mining enterprises reached 20 thousand. All these enterprises due to the weakness of Russian capital in the early twentieth century. ended up in the hands of foreign, mainly Anglo-French joint stock companies [2, p. 113-115; 4, p. 130-132; 6, p. 4].

The manufacturing industry for the processing of agricultural and livestock products consisted of small enterprises, among which the relatively large ones were the Kargaly cloth factory near the city of Verny, a

meat cannery in the Kokchetav district, a cannery in Petropavlovsk, a meat refrigerator and a steam mill in Uralsk, a santonin factory in Chimkent, mills in Semipalatinsk [6, p.267].

Salt production was developed in the Baskunchak, Elton, Iletsk, Koryakovsk and other fields, where the number of workers in 1916-1917. reached 5 thousand people. Fisheries arose on the Caspian coast, the Aral Sea, on the rivers Ural, Syr-Darya, Ili, Chu, Bukhtarma, lakes Zaysan and Balkhash, where about 15 thousand workers were employed in 1916-1917 [6].

Railways in Kazakhstan were built for military-strategic and economic purposes of the metropolis. Their total operational length barely reached 2.7 thousand versts by 1917. Per 1 thousand sq. km. of the territory of the region accounted for only about one verst. These were the dead ends: Pokrovsk Sloboda - Uralsk of Ryazan-Kozlovsk, Aul-Semipalatinsk of Altai, Arys-Burnoe of Semirechenskaya, Troitsk-Kustanai of Samara-Zlatoust railways. The Petropavlovsk section of the Siberian Railway crossed a small territory of Northern Kazakhstan. The Orenburg-Tashkent Railway (1901-1905) was the main railroad of the region: its length within Kazakhstan reached 1,600 miles. In addition, there were local lines serving the production needs of the mining industry: Ridder, Ekibastuz, Karaganda, Lenger, etc. According to estimates by M.Kh. Asylbekov railways in the region in 1917 employed about 30 thousand workers [8, p. 26-36].

Thus, in the mining and manufacturing industries, in the oil, salt and fisheries (in 1917 - more than 65 thousand people), as well as in railway (30 thousand people) and water (1 thousand people) transport of the region, at the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century, the process of forming a cadre of workers was underway, the total number of which in 1917 was, according to researchers, more than 90 thousand people [12, p. 73]. This conclusion is indirectly confirmed by the data of the All-Russian Industrial and Professional Census (1913-1918), according to which in 1913 in Kazakhstan there were 675 factory enterprises with 51,104 workers (without some industries and fisheries) [13].

Due to the poor development of industrial sectors of the economy and, as a consequence, the small number of workers – 90 thousand, with 6228.3 thousand of the population of the region, which accounted for only 1.4%, the process of their formation into an independent social force - class, in the pre-October period, did not end. The workers of Kazakhstan from the very beginning of their formation were multinational, mainly consisted of Russians, Ukrainians and Kazakhs; the qualified part of them was recruited in those industrial centers of Russia where there was - accordingly, excess labor for the newly opened or under construction factories and mines in Kazakhstan. So, for example, workers were brought to mining enterprises from the Urals, to the Emba oil fields - from Baku, locksmiths, carpenters and others - from the Volga region and Central Russia [2, p.120-121].

Low-skilled and unskilled laborers were recruited locally from the urban poor, artisans, handicraftsmen, as well as from impoverished migrant peasants and Kazakh sharua, who were looking for additional earnings at nearby enterprises. In the group of mining enterprises from 9 factories and coal mines in Central Kazakhstan in 1915-1916 there were 4804 workers, out of which 1299 were Russians, i.e. 30.2%, Kazakhs - 3005 people, i.e. 69.8%. At the same time, there were 77.9% of Kazakhs at the Karsakpays plant (389 people out of 499), Spassky – 67.6% (662 people out of 979), Karaganda mines - 81.9% (719 out of 830), Ekibastuz – 51.3 % (215 out of 419), Baikonur - 55.4% (113 out of 204), Uspensky mines – 75.6% (254 out of 336). Pokrovsky – 74.7% (183 out of 245), Dzhezkazgan - 68.4% (141 out of 206), Karsakpai – 47.1% (229 out of 486) [6, p. 130; 36, p. 68].

As can be seen, from the above data, Kazakhs comprised more than half (51.3% in the Ekibastuz mines) and the vast majority 82% (in Karaganda mines) in the mining enterprises of the region. The exception was the Karsakpay mine, where the Kazakhs were slightly less than half of its workers. In 1916, at the enterprises of the Kyrgyz mining (Ekibastuz) society out of 2211 people. there were 1547 Kazakhs, or 70%, in the Ridder mines in 1917 out of 570 people. – 200 or 35.1%, and at the Emba oil fields in 1916 - out of 2 thousand people there were 1690 Kazakhs or 84.5%. Thus, almost at all mining enterprises and oil fields of the region, Kazakhs, with rare exceptions, made up the vast majority, and on average for the above enterprises – 71.6% (6501 out of 9169 people) [6; 9].

Unfortunately, there are not only any generalizing data, but even fragmentary information about the number and proportion of Kazakhs in the composition of workers in the manufacturing industry. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that almost all enterprises of this industry were located in cities - regional and district centers, where the Kazakh population, with rare exceptions, was insignificant. So, for example, in 27 cities of Kazakhstan, according to the 1897 census, there were only 39.9 thousand Kazakhs, who accounted for 15.6% of their population (Russians were 49.5%, and Tatars - 10.9%). In 9, i.e. in one third of the cities of Kazakhstan, Kazakhs numbered from 1.2% (Zharkent) to 8.2% (Verny), namely: in Uralsk – 1.4%, Kustanai – 3.2%, Aktyubinsk – 3.4%, Chimkent – 4%, Aulie-Ate-5%, Ust-Kamenogorsk-7.5%, Atbasar – 7.6% [20].

Of course, this affected the national composition of workers in manufacturing enterprises, where the share of Kazakhs was much lower than in the mining industry. According to V.V. Zasorskiy and K.A. Alexander, who conducted surveys of industrial plants in the Turkestan region, (without the Trans-Caspian region, Amudarynsky department, Kapalsky, Dzharkentsky and Lepsinsky districts of the Semirechensky region) in 1913 there were 792 factory enterprises with 20,925 workers, the vast majority - 83.6% of whom was employed in the manufacturing industry. According to their national composition, they were distributed as follows: Uzbeks – 60.7%, Russians – 22%, Tajiks – 5.5%, Uyghurs – 5.5%, Kazakhs - 4.5%, others – 5.1%. In the Syrdarya and Semirechensk regions, where the manufacturing industry was poorly developed and despite the predominance of Kazakhs in their population, the number of national personnel was insignificant: 10.9% and 25.5%, respectively [14].

In fisheries, and especially in the salt industries, Kazakhs, as a rule, were much more prevalent among hired workers. On the Caspian coast and the Ural River in the 1860-1870s during the season (from March 15 to May 15) the number of fishermen reached 10 thousand people, of which about 7 thousand were Kazakhs. Poor Kazakhs were hired for the entire time of fishing, from March 1 to almost the end of November. In 1901, there were 1.3 thousand workers in the fisheries of the Mangyshlak Uyezd, of which Kazakhs were 700 people and Turkmen were 600. In 1913, there were 843 workers in the Priembensky Sea Area, of which 57 were Russians, 796 were Kazakhs. In 1914, out of 1,161 workers in the fisheries of the Ural Region (part-time workers, women in fish processing, catchers - contractors and local Kazakhs), 612 were Kazakhs. In the fisheries of the Syr-Darya region, on the Aral Sea and the river, the workers consisted exclusively of Kazakhs, here in 1900 there were only 3 thousand people. A significant number of Kazakh workers were in the fisheries of the Semipalatinsk region, on the lake Zaysan, the Irtysh and Bukhtyrma rivers [2, p. 115; 4, p.105-110].

The Kazakhs, as already noted, made up the vast majority in the salt fields: in the Baskunchak their share reached 80% (out of 2 thousand people), in 1911, 4,624 workers worked in the salt fields of the Semipalatinsk region. Researchers point out that in the salt fields in 1914-1915, when the large Koryakovsk fields were temporarily closed in 1912-1915, there were more than 5 thousand Kazakhs, including 3 thousand in the Ural and Turgai regions, in Semipalatinsk-2 thousand [6, p.115-117].

A completely different situation with working Kazakhs was observed in transport, especially on railway lines. Their specific gravity here was very low, due to a number of factors. The vast majority of railway professions required special technical training and labor skills acquired by long-term work in this position, which was not the case for Kazakh workers. On the other hand, tsarism did not allow “foreigners” to work related to the movement of trains, establishing restrictive measures for this purpose. Nevertheless, Kazakh workers were widely involved both in the construction of railway lines and in the day-to-day work on their operation. There were an overwhelming majority of them in the construction of the Orenburg-Tashkent and Semirechensk roads, especially in their earthworks. M.Kh. Asylbekov believed that among the railway workers of Kazakhstan, the number of Kazakhs was approximately 5-6 thousand people, and their proportion reached 20% [12, p. 78].

What were the social sources on the formation of Kazakh workers? In the late XIXth and early XXth centuries Kazakh traditional society experienced a process of social stratification into feudal lords, large bays, prosperous peasants and middle peasants, reapers, farm laborers and other groups. This is described in detail in the writings of B.S. Suleimenov, E. Bekmakhanov, A.B. Tursunbaev, P.G. Galuzo and other agricultural historians, as well as in monographs by E. Dilmukhamedov, F. Malikov, M.Kh. Asylbekov [3; 29; 34].

Here it is necessary to make a brief analysis of how and where the Kazakhs came in search of hired work, as additional income to their own household, or their only livelihood income. Firstly, reapers, farm laborers and other impoverished Kazakhs from the nearest villages went to industrial enterprises and railways. They worked mainly seasonally, which depended not only on the temporary nature of the enterprise or fishing, but also on the needs of the personal economy of the worker (haymaking, livestock care, etc.). So, for the gold mines of Ust-Kamenogorsk district, Kazakh workers were recruited from the nearest volosts, and for the Koryakov salt mines - from Pavlodar and Karkaralinsk districts, for the fisheries of Mangyshlak - from the district itself [6, c.106,116; 28, c.96].

The same thing was observed at mining enterprises and railway lines. Contemporaries noted that on the construction of the Orenburg-Tashkent railway “the number of newcomers is insignificant,” and in some sections of the road, such as within Perovsk and other districts, “construction work was provided exclusively to the local Kyrgyz population” [21].

In the “materials” of F. Shcherbina’s expedition in Omsk, Perovsk, Kazalinsk and other districts, it is noted that a significant number of Kazakhs from these areas worked in the local sections of the Siberian and

Orenburg-Tashkent railways on earthwork, clearing snow, repairing the track and loading wagons, some of these works “were carried out at different times of the year and usually for long periods”, which indicates the well-known separation of Kazakh workers from their farm and village [16].

This is also evidenced by the participation of the Kazakhs in the construction of not only the West Siberian road through Northern Kazakhstan, but also of more remote sections of the Siberian Railway. In 1895, from the Pavlodar district of the Semipalatinsk region 2.5 thousand Kazakhs came over to the construction of the Central Siberian railway. (Station Taiga-Achinsk) [12, p. 67-68].

Unfortunately, there is no specific data on the age composition of Kazakh workers, but the available information related to industrial workers in general suggests the following: among the workers of mining enterprises by 1917, the absolute majority were people aged 18-39 years old - 88%, extracting plants- 82%, and in manufacturing - 68%. [7, p.66].

Despite the lack of data on the experience of Kazakh workers, with a strong turnover of the labor force due to the seasonality of most industrial enterprises and crafts, it must still be emphasized that in the pre-October period, the process of creating a cadre of permanent workers began, albeit weakly. So, for example, Kazakh daily workers of the Orenburg-Tashkent railway, were employed in earthworks, repairing the track and loading wagons, which were produced "at various times of the year and usually for long periods." In the gold mines of the Ust-Kamenogorsk and Zaysan districts there were many Kazakh workers with several decades of labor experience. As far back as 1887, in connection with the strike and unrest in the Zaysan district mines, the head of the district noted: “Kyrgyz miners ... have been mining work for more than ten years, they are experienced people, many of them speak Russian” [6, p.180].

At some enterprises, especially mining, Kazakhs also worked in the winter. For example, at the Zyryanovsk mine, developed from 1791 to 1904. continuously, in the winter, up to 500 Kazakh workers lived in the small houses, which they built. Contemporaries noted that “the Kirghiz for some mining operations are irreplaceable workers” [6, p.115].

The same situation was observed at the construction of Ekibastuz (Voskresensk) railway. In 1898, an eyewitness wrote: “There was almost no such work, except for special skill, where it was impossible to see the working Kyrgyz. He’s also at the sawmill, he’s in workshops at the depot, he’s on fire engines, he could be seen everywhere, tanned, working with other Russian workers, so the percentage of Russians was the smallest in comparison with the number of Kyrgyz people.” At the same time, an eyewitness claimed that here on the Ekibastuz railway there were many Kazakhs who also worked on the construction of the West Siberian railway [17].

But it is impossible to exaggerate these facts, because the process of creating permanent workers in Kazakhstan in the pre-October period was very weak.

In the absence of a factory inspection and control over the activities of entrepreneurs in the region, the situation of workers was much worse than in the industrially developed regions of the Russian Empire. The Kazakh workers were in a particularly difficult situation. In relation to them, methods of open discrimination, great-power chauvinism were used, which manifested themselves in everything: in pay and working conditions, life, social insurance, medical care, etc. Kazakh workers carried out mainly hard work, for which they received a meager salary. For equal work, Kazakh workers were paid less than Russians. So, at the Emba oil fields, the Kazakh miner received 70 kopecks per day, but the Russian miner - 85-95 kopecks [9, p. 42].

A well-known researcher of the region of that time M. Krasovsky wrote: “Russians performing the same work receive twice and three times more than the Kyrgyz” [6, p.164].

The beggarly wages of the workers were constantly reduced by fines, short-cuts, deceit in the issuance of part of it with food and goods. Illiterate Kazakh workers were defenseless against the arbitrariness of entrepreneurs and owners of commodity shops, who openly and with impunity deceived and robbed them. The working day was set by the owners arbitrarily. It was 10-12 hours at the Emba oil fields, and up to 14-16 hours at the salt fields. For the vast majority of railway workers, a 12-hour working day was officially set. They had to work even harder [2, p. 117].

There were few qualified personnel among the Kazakh workers. So, at the enterprises of Ridder, out of 293 Kazakh workers, only 4% were employed in skilled work. At the enterprises of the Kyrgyz joint-stock company of the total number of working Kazakhs, only 7% were qualified [9, p. 42].

Characteristic features of the conditions in which local workers worked were primitive implements of production (wedge, keel and shovel) at mining enterprises, the absence of basic safety measures, massive traumatism, with frequent cases of injury and death, etc. When they came to work, the working Kazakhs were denied the right to housing, they were obligated by contract to live in their yurts, although most did not have them [12, p. 79-80].

Hard working and living conditions, low wages, long working hours (12-14 hours), chauvinism and national discrimination forced Kazakh workers to fight for their economic rights. In 1887, riots and a strike involving Kazakh workers against the delay in wages took place at the Zaysan district mines. In June 1891, 140 workers of the Vladimir gold mine of Ust-Kamenogorsk district declared a strike, caused by the transfer of miners for "negligence" to low-paying jobs – to hauling and dumping sand. The strike was led by I.D. Dzhagaltaev, U. Dzhankazin, K. and M. Bajuliny, U. Tulegenov. This strike was also suppressed by force [6, p. 179-181].

Over 300 Kazakh workers participated in builders' protests in May 1895 on the Middle Siberian site of the railroad. Over 2.5 thousand of Kazakhs worked near Achinsk. The contractors, who hired them, did not fulfill their promises under the concluded agreements, sent them to work in the worst and wetlands. Wages were low, often delayed, outraged by all this, on May 20, 1895, over 300 Kazakh workers stopped work and went on strike. It should be noted that the Kazakh workers, before and after, witnessed the numerous strikes of Russian and other workers. This taught them how to fight for their rights against the owners, raised their consciousness, ideological conviction and the strike was decisive [8, p. 121]. The strikers, through their delegation of 8 people, led by Zholan Shalkeev and Baigazi Kuttykulov, presented the contractor with demands for strict adherence to agreements on hiring for construction work and transferring them from wetlands to better places of work. But their demands were not satisfied, and the strike continued and threatened other sections of the construction. Local authorities, frightened by this, began to take all possible measures to suppress the strike. They even tried to use the head of the Muslim clergy of Achinsk, who persuaded the Kazakh workers to stop the strike. But it didn't work out. Then, on the orders of the Yenisei governor, a reinforced police squad arrived, mass arrests of the strike participants began, and 109 Kazakh workers were captured. The news of the arbitrariness of the authorities quickly flew; work on certain sections of the road stopped in protest. Workers helped the leaders of the strike, Zh. Shalkeev and B. Kuttukulov, temporarily hide from the police. On June 1, 1895, the Yenisei governor arrived at the scene with an escort. Again, numerous arrests began. Shalkeev and Kuttykulov were also arrested, and the workers were forcibly driven to construction. But they categorically stated that until their previous demands were fulfilled and those arrested were released, they would not begin work. The railway administration and local authorities were forced to yield: the basic demands of the workers were met, and those arrested were released. Thus, with the help of Russian workers from other sections of the line, the strike of the Kyrgyz workers ended in victory [8, p. 121].

In December 1903, a strike of the miners of the Karaganda coal mines took place [22, c.286-287; 35, c.191]. It was led by Bekbosyn Sikhymbaev. The reason for the strike was that Kazakh miners who lived "near the mines in their own winter quarters" were allowed to take coal for heating their homes only from garbage dumps. On December 20, the workers demanded from the administration that "coal had to be prepared for them and given from stacks". In addition, they put forward other economic demands. To which the administration offered the miners to extract coal for heating mines at their own expense. However, the workers refused and demanded payment. This strike lasted two days [6, p.191]. The administration began cracking down on labor activists. It expelled workers from work and deprived of housing the miner S. Serikbaev and his family in the winter. He was one of the leaders of the strike. In response, the miners went on strike and forced the administration to re-employ Serikbaev. After that, the strike was called off. [6, p. 191].

The Kazakh workers went on strike on July 4 at the Nadezhdinsk mine in the Zaysan district, led by Meirkhan Kemalov. The reason for the strike was non-payment of wages. Workers said if the money was not paid, they would all leave the mine. However, their requirements were not met. Then on July 4, at 8 in the morning, all the workers left the mine. The case of the organizers of the strike, including Kemalov, lasted until 1907 [6, p.192].

The largest strike in Kazakhstan during the years of the Russian revolution of 1905-1907 took place at the Uspensk mine (Akmola region), the foreign capital enterprise. It employed more than 300 workers, including 265 Kazakhs. The main reason for the protests of the miners was the workers' indignation at the impolite and impudent British attitude towards them, as well as low salaries and high food prices, which have now become much higher in factory shops" [18]. They were headed by I. Topornin, I. Nevzorov, A. Baychagirov, A. Kaskabaev. It was on their initiative that the Russian-Kyrgyz Union was formed at the mine. The demands of the strikers were discussed more than once at a general meeting of Russian and Kazakh workers. The text of the "petition" was finally adopted on December 6. All mine workers signed this document. The Russian text of the petition was translated into Kazakh by the workers Utemisov, Umirbekov and Batyrbekov. On December 7, the document was handed to the mine manager Fell N. The latter, fearing

the further development of the critical situation, sent a letter to the governor of the Nelda volost of Akmola district Zh. Mustafayev with a request to pacify Kazakh workers [19].

The administration of the enterprise did not accept a single demand, and on December 9 the Russian-Kyrgyz Union, without waiting for the date set in the petition - December 12, decided to immediately begin the strike. They hit the alarm. Work at the mine stopped. The next day, on December 10 in the morning, red flags appeared on the roofs of the barracks and the office of the mine. The workers' guards did not allow the manager to leave the enterprises. The Uspensk Mine was isolated from the outside world. Workers of the Karaganda coal mines, who stopped work on December 10, joined the miners' strike. The strike of miners created an alarm for the district administration. Negotiations began between the striking workers and the manager. The administration agreed to accept some of the demands. The strike ended. However, a group of punishers arrived at the Uspensk mine and in Karaganda. Workers were persecuted; nine of their leaders were fired and expelled from the mine. Work at the mines of Karaganda resumed under pressure from the police [19, p. 386-388].

Unfortunately, the authors found only this rare, fragmentary information about the growth of social activity of national workers. But even from the available documents it is possible to tell about the inclusion of Kazakh workers in the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the tyranny of the owners and tsarism.

Conclusions. Thus, the process of formation of Kazakh workers began precisely before the October Revolution of 1917, when, in the course of the stratification of the Kazakh traditional society, a certain part of the impoverished sharua, in search of work, had to go to the construction of local railways, crafts and industrial enterprises. At the same time, they did not break economic ties with their native aul and returned there as needed to participate in agricultural work. In the sectoral context, a fairly large number of Kazakh workers were employed in the salt, fisheries and mining industries. In the manufacturing industry, where skilled labor was required, their numbers were negligible. There were few qualified personnel among the Kazakhs. They were mainly engaged in auxiliary work, unskilled labor and, accordingly, received meager salaries. Difficult working conditions, meager wages, numerous fines, fraud, cheating, i.e. permissiveness, arbitrariness of the authorities and the administration of enterprises pushed local workers to fight for the improvement of their economic and political situation. In the second half of the 19th century and early of the 20th century, Kazakh workers also participated in the labor movement in the region, which had a spontaneous, unorganized character.

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