

SECTION 1. HISTORY OF UKRAINE

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MEASURES OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE INTRODUCTION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE (EARLY XX CENTURY)

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In 1903, the Russian government took the first step toward reforming the local economy management system of Right-Bank Ukraine. According to the law of April 2, 1903, in the Kyiv, Podil and Volyn provinces, committees for zemstvo affairs were introduced, consisting of officials and vowels. The implementation of the law did not mean the introduction of local self-government in Right-Bank Ukraine. In essence, it was just an attempt to reform local government and strengthen the development of the local economy. She testified that only elected zemstvos should become an alternative to zemstvo committees for local economy in the region [10, p. 4].

Significant attention to the zemstvo self-government was paid by national politicians of the early twentieth century. In particular, in the UDP program documents, the nationalization of land was associated with its transfer to the ownership of local governments. The UNP program provided for the inclusion of representatives of zemstvo and city self-government institutions in state institutions. The rules of land use were to be determined by local communities on the basis of "zemstvo laws" [11, p. 53].

The policy of procrastination with the introduction of zemstvos in the Right Bank of Ukraine was primarily due to the tsar's fears about the spread of Polish and Ukrainian liberation movements. The consequence of this policy was the economic and cultural backwardness of the region, so the problem of introducing zemstvo self-government here became socially and politically significant.

In the early twentieth century, the urgent needs of the economic development of the region, the need to involve the population in entrepreneurial activity, the pressure of opposition political forces forced the tsar to abandon the policy of slowing down this reform on the Right Bank. The catalyst for the transition of the Russian ruling elite to a pragmatic position on the Right Bank was the democratic revolution of 1905-1907, during which the government was forced to revise existing legislation on local government and the judiciary [8, p. 3]. The government's policy towards the Polish population in the region has become somewhat lenient. In 1905, some of his rights were restored, in particular, the right to rent, mortgage and acquire land without restrictions, to hold noble elections, to have representation in the highest state authorities [12, p. 376].

In 1890, the second Zemstvo reform was launched, which contemporaries interpreted as a "counter-reform." The Zemsky Regulation of 1890 transformed zemstvos into a component of the state system of government, strengthened their bureaucratization, and established corporatism during their formation. The principles of public self-government were replaced by state principles, according to which zemstvos were to carry out state instructions to manage the local economy.

The status of the zemstvo changed during the revolution of 1905–1907. Zemstvo activists gained legal opportunities for political activity both as deputies of the Duma and by influencing the State Council, which was formed with the participation of zemstvo representatives. The representation of the peasantry in the zemstvo institutions was restored [4, p. 56].

In 1906, P. Stolypin became the head of the Russian government, in whose plans agrarian transformations were associated with the improvement of local government and the improvement of local self-government. In cooperation with the peasants, Zemstvo officials were to promote the economic renewal of the village [6, p. 114]. It is obvious that Stolypin's efforts were aimed at strengthening Russian imperialism. He, like the vast majority of the Russian elite, regarded the right-bank Ukraine as the «primordial Russian land», called the Ukrainian population the «Western Russian people» [7, p. 80].

It should be noted that the zemstvo legislation of 1864 and 1890 did not provide for any restrictions on voters on ethnic grounds, and therefore, when extending to the western, in particular the right-bank Ukrainian provinces, Polish landowners could take leading positions in local government. Attention was paid to the property qualification, the reduction of which gave preference in the zemstvos to persons of Polish nationality and made an active actor in the economic life of a wealthy peasant – Ukrainian [1, p. 20].

In 1908, government work on a bill on zemstvos in the Western Territory was completed. The minimum qualification for elections to zemstvos was halved and for property owners consisted of 50 – 75 acres of land, or 7.5 thousand rubles. Small and medium-sized landowners, if they had 10 to 20%

qualification, had the right to elect commissioners to county election congresses, where candidates for zemstvo vowels were directly elected. The minimum size of land ownership for participation in zemstvo elections was 5 tithes. Voters were divided into non-Polish, Polish and peasant. According to the government's distribution, the number of vowels from Poles should be five to eight times smaller than from voters of Polish nationality and peasants combined, and could not exceed 15% of vowels. Therefore, the property qualification was determined by the government for each curia and county by a separate "Schedule", which was added to the bill [9, p. 13-15].

Kyiv was considered a special zemstvo unit. 8 representatives from this city were elected to the provincial zemstvo assembly.

In contrast to the Regulations of 1890, the Orthodox clergy were restored to their suffrage, and women received suffrage [5, p. 57]. Restrictions remained. Peasants at the village assembly could vote only candidates, who were then elected at county congresses. Trying to minimize the influence of Poles on the activities of future zemstvos of the region, the government separately determined that the majority of members of zemstvos should be of Russian nationality; in turn, only vowels of this nationality could represent the zemstvo in school councils [2, p. 8].

In October 1908 the draft law on zemstvos of the Western region was submitted to the State Duma, and in the spring of 1911 the bill was approved by the State Duma with minor changes and submitted for approval to the upper house of the Russian parliament – the State Council which rejected him [3, p. 415].

The rejection of the bill by the State Council led to a government crisis and P. Stolypin resigned. Only Emperor Nicholas II could resolve the conflict. It should be noted that the head of government was supported by members of the royal family, most government officials and individual members of the State Council. Nicholas II yielded to the demands of P. Stolypin and the bill was adopted separately. On March 14, 1911, the "Nominal Supreme Decree" came into force to extend the current zemstvo position to six western provinces of the Russian Empire, including three right-bank Ukrainian ones: Kyiv, Volyn and Podil.

Subsequently, the range of tasks and the legal status of zemstvos underwent significant changes. During the First World War, the zemstvo institutions were tasked with solving the tasks of arranging the rear, rebuilding the local economy, rehabilitating the wounded, and so on. With the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917, zemstvo institutions were democratized, estates and ethnic restrictions on zemstvo elections were abolished, and zemstvo self-government was introduced in parishes. The competence of zemstvos was extended to almost all spheres of local socio-political life of the regions. During the Ukrainian Revolution (1917–1921), zemstvos became local authorities.

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