



переоцінювати їх вплив на соціально-економічну сферу одноосібного селянського господарювання доколгоспного періоду, на сутність господарського механізму, умови його повсякденного функціонування. Тому, звертаючись до різнобічної діяльності кредитної кооперації, що діяла головне в аграрному секторі народного господарства, необхідно ґрунтовно простежити її витоки, зважаючи на те, що значною мірою заснування формально нової радянської виробничо-кредитної кооперативної системи на селі у 1921 р. по суті було відновленням дореволюційної кредитної сільськогосподарської кооперації.

**Мета:** з'ясувати закономірності та особливості розвитку української сільськогосподарської кооперації протягом перших двох десятиліть ХХ ст.

**Основні результати дослідження.** У статті розкрито закономірності та особливості розвитку української сільськогосподарської кооперації протягом перших двох десятиліть ХХ ст. Показано вклад вітчизняних теоретиків і практиків кооперації, а також роль Всеукраїнських з'їздів кооперації і Тимчасового центрального українського кооперативного комітету. З'ясовано вплив революційних подій 1905 – 1907 рр. та 1917 – 1921 рр., а також Першої світової війни на динаміку й напрямки кооперативного руху.

**Висновки.** Історія сільськогосподарської кооперації в Україні бере свій початок у 1850-х – 1860-х рр. Перші кредитно-кооперативні організації на селі мали заможницьке забарвлення; їхньою характерною рисою був високий рівень пайових внесків, виплатити які, незважаючи на можливість розстрочки, було дуже обтяжливо для рядового селянського господарства. Двома потужними поштовхами до розвитку кооперативного руху в Україні стало наростання обсягів цукроваріння у 1870-х – 1880-х рр. та революція 1905 – 1907 рр. Царський уряд надавав великого значення й докладав значних зусиль для організації надійного контролю за кооперативними об'єднаннями селянства. В 1904 р. було створено Управління у справах дрібного кредиту, мета діяльності якого полягала в політизації кооперативного руху. На думку російського уряду, мережа кооперативів на українських землях обов'язково набула б «не лише соціалістичної, але й мазепинської» спрямованості. Всупереч названим труднощам, протягом 1907 – 1912 рр. у Києва та Катеринославі розпочали роботу два регіональні центри кредитної сільськогосподарської кооперації. Незважаючи на всі економічні труднощі військової пори, збої у функціонуванні грошового обігу, наростання інфляційних процесів, протягом 1916 – 1917 рр. в Україні розгорнули роботу вже близько 40 місних спілок кредитних сільськогосподарських товариств.

Логічним наслідком організаційно-економічної розбудови української кооперації стало проведення в квітні 1917 р. першого Всеукраїнського з'їзду кооперації, на якому було утворено спеціальний орган – Тимчасовий центральний український кооперативний комітет, на який покладалось завдання організації загальноукраїнського кооперативного центру. Зрештою, теоретики і практики кооперації відіграли помітну роль не лише в розбудові національної економіки, але й у процесах державотворення.

**Ключові слова:** сільськогосподарська кооперація, кооперативний рух, селянство, кредит, фінанси, революція, Всеукраїнський з'їзд кооперації, Тимчасовий центральний український кооперативний комітет.

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## THE AGRICULTURAL ISSUE ON THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF PEASANT DEPUTIES\*

*The article reveals the peculiarities of the activity of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies. The authors elucidate the circumstances of the development of an agrarian resolution, which was signed on May 25, 1917. The issues discussed by the delegates at the congress were researched. The main provisions of the resolution and its importance for the development of agricultural legislation by the Provisional Government are outlined. The influence of the activity of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies on the agrarian policy of the Provisional Government was investigated.*

**Key words:** agrarian issue, Provisional government, peasant deputies, All-Russian congress.

**The statement of the issue.** Socio-economic, socio-political changes in modern Ukraine apply to all spheres of society's life. One of the most urgent challenges is agrarian issue. Ukraine never needs to reform the agrarian legislation. The research of historical experience, in particular the activities of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies for solving the agrarian issue, will, if not avoided, at least attenuate the possible negative consequences during the implementation of the modern agricultural policy in Ukraine.

**Research analysis.** The newest historiography from the theme we have raised is presented by the workings of S. Safonov [17], L. Litoshenko [30], V. Romanovsky [39], and others. At the same time, the substantive study needs to be influenced by the activities of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies for the resolution of the agrarian issue by the Provisional Government.

The authors of the article **aim** at investigating the influence of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies on the resolution of the agrarian issue by the Provisional Government.

**The statement of the basic material.** During the First Coalition of the Provisional Government, the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies took place. Its convocation was initiated by the All-Russian Peasant Union and the All-Russian Co-operative Congress. The Provisional Government did not protest because it hoped to find support from delegates to the congress [10]. And the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies took place in Petrograd from May 4 to 28, 1917. It was attended by 1353 delegates, of whom 672 were representatives of the peasants of 70 guberniyas and regions [11, 19]. The chairman of the congress was elected M. Avsentiev [12, 68; 13].

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Several issues were raised on the agenda: attitude to the war; the issue of defense and struggle for peace; revolutionary democracy and ruling government; preparation for the Constituent Assembly; national issue in Russia; land issue and issues of peasant life; issues of working life; the issue of soldier's life; organization of production, transport, etc.; food issues; financial policy; local self-government; organizational issues and elections. One of the first issues discussed by the delegates to the congress was the issue of attitude to the Provisional Government. It was noted that the congress, on the one hand, sees in the creation of the Provisional Government the strengthening of labor democracy of cities and villages, and on the other - it is a step forward to combat the growing threat of All-Russian devastation [14, 324]. The SRs hoped that the congress would give consent to the introduction of "ministerial-socialists" to the Provisional Government [15, 69].

Of all the issues that the All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies had to consider, the land issue was given 10 days of discussion during May 16-25, 1917 [15, 69]. The main idea that was heard at the congress is the need to keep the peasants from land self-capture, to preserve the great land tenure untouched before the convening of the Constituent Assembly and the creation of a "strong power" on the ground [16, 20]. M. Oganovsky and O. Peshekhonov explained that the councils, land committees and other peasant organizations should not act as a means of combating landowners, but as a means of protecting the land from self-captures to the Constituent Assembly [16, 20]. M. Oganovsky advocated the idea that the peasantry understands the need to solve the agrarian issue. This is evidenced by the fact of the All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies. In his opinion, a new political model of power has been formed: in the center of which there is a "dome of power" that has its own representation on the ground [5, 18]. In the future, it would be necessary to develop peasant organizations simultaneously, since the land committees cannot keep the peasants from speeches and hobbies and find out the agrarian situation on the ground [5, 18]. Only such an association would be able to find the right solution to the agrarian issue, to keep the land fund intact until the Constituent Assembly and at the Constituent Assembly to adopt a "single basic land law" [5, 19].

The Minister of Agriculture V. Chernov made a statement that neither the congress nor the Provisional Government have the right to issue laws on the abolition of large private ownership of land, only the Constituent Assembly may do so, and the local governments and land committees should prepare the laws. Peasant land self-capture is unacceptable [17]. The specialist spoke about the significance of the population census. It has been a prerequisite for clarifying the agricultural situation on the ground. In the past, the peasants were afraid of the census. One of the tasks of the government is to explain to the peasants the significance of the census and the need for it to solve the agrarian issue [18, 15]. The Minister of Agriculture urged delegates to the congress that the land should be used by the peasants who work on it. Local self-government bodies would be responsible for this. One of the conditions for the regulation of agrarian relations, according to Chernov, was the definition of labor standards specially for each

region. The report sharply condemned the fact that most of the lands were owned by the landlords [19, 43-75].

The Minister of Agriculture of the Provisional Government V. Chernov supported the position of close cooperation between the Ministry of Agriculture of the Provisional Government and the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, was a supporter of the creation of new orders in the countryside and contributed to the drafting of relevant bills. This caused dissatisfaction of the landlords. The Union of Landowners named all the views and bills of the Minister of Agriculture V. Chernov "Chernovsky redistribution" or "black redistribution" [39, 458]. Peasants, as V. Buldakov wrote, on the contrary, sought to "black redistribution" [40, 176]. The Provisional Government received constant complaints from landlords on peasants' riots. They demanded that the government take effective action to settle the situation, sending it to the capital of the delegation [39, 458]. This caused dissatisfaction with the Cadets in the coalition. The most active opponent of V. Chernov was G. Lvov [39, 458]. In the future, G. Lvov did not support V. Chernov's policy and none proposed by him the bill, in addition to the abolition of the Stolypin laws [39, 480].

On June 15, 1917 V. Chernov at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Peasants' Deputies called on the Executive Committee to participate in the work on the drafting of bills for agrarian reform, which was engaged in the Main Land Committee. V. Chernov believed that without preparatory work, the Constituent Assembly would turn into a nationwide rally [41, 131; 42, 2]. To avoid this, a "General Plan of Activities of Local Land Committees for Land Reform Preparation" was developed and published [43]. Its positions were as follows. Before the convening of the Constituent Assembly, the land committees should work on developing an agrarian bill [44; 45]. When discussing this important issue, land committees need to take into account the specifics of each region and not forget about the need for compliance with the state plan. The local land committees must conduct and calculate the features of future agrarian reform at the local level [45]. In general terms, a list of the problematic issues that the land committees had to work on, and develop projects for their solution. These issues were as follows: Is it necessary to conduct alienation of land; what kind of land should be abandoned; in which order to conduct the alienation procedure; how to deal with land of cultural value; establishment of labor and consumer norms; how to deal with people who are not engaged in agriculture, or whether they should be given land; Providing peasants with land through individual or community use, etc. [46]. Upon completion of the drafting of the projects, the land committees needed to start developing agrarian reform calculations. Having developed the ways and methods of carrying out the agrarian reform, the land committees were obliged to display all this in figures: the establishment of terms, costs, population of the population in need of land, etc. [45].

S. Maslov, speaking at the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, expressed the opinion that it would be impossible to leave the existing land orders without changes to the convening of the Constituent Assembly, a number of measures should be taken. First of all, it is necessary to suspend the validity of the Stolypin laws, in particular the removal of land from commodity



circulation, its gift, and laying [20, 96]. The delegate was not a supporter of peasant performances. He noted that there were peasant demonstrations and pogroms throughout the country. These are the territories where the peasantry is unorganized. The organized peasantry behaves the opposite, it expresses the desire to move the land to the working peasantry and tries legitimately to realize its desire in life [21, 3]. S. Maslov categorically condemned the unauthorized seizure of land by the peasants, called for a legal solution to the challenge [22, 1-2]. The land must pass into the hands of the peasantry in a lawful way. "Forms of the transition of land to the hands of the labor peasantry should be developed at special peasant congresses and finally approved by the Constituent Assembly" [21, 3]. In his opinion, to review and lease prices was needed, because they were too high for the peasantry. In the case of misunderstandings, special commissions should be established on the ground, as in the case of reconciliation cameras [21, 3]. The report of S. Maslov caused many questions. Recently, the delegates of the congress met the speaker's answer to the question of how to act in case if the landlord would not express a desire to lease the land or give it at too high rents. He replied that in this case the local land committee should "enter into negotiations with the landowner" [20, 97]. S. Maslov explained that the land committee would call the landowner and offer him the conditions for reconciliation, but if the situation is not settled, the case is transferred to the Main Land Committee [20, 97]. On May 21, 1917, the *Izvestia* of the All-Russian Council of Peasants' Deputies reported that at the congress the majority of delegates expressed no confidence to S. Maslov [16, 21].

The work of the Congress was held in difficult circumstances. Representatives from the peasants could not understand why the congress would not develop those provisions that would allow the transfer of land to the peasantry immediately. Solutions were difficult to come up with, as the delegates had differences in their views [23, 115]. The work was complicated by V. Lenin's report from the May 22, 1917 [15, 69]. The views of V. Lenin, who represents the Bolsheviks, on the decision of the agrarian issue have not changed. All the land should belong to the labor peasantry. The land of the landlords must go to the peasants. According to V. Lenin, the only question that has arisen is whether the peasants should immediately take the whole land to their own hands, without waiting for the convening of the Constituent Assembly, yet still it is necessary to wait for their convocation and the elaborated legal provisions [24, 166; 25, 204]. V. Lenin, on behalf of the Bolshevik Party, called on the peasants not to wait for the Constituent Assembly to be convened and to "take the whole land", but without allowing pogroms and damage to property" [26, 39]. According to his views, as long as there is a private ownership of the means of production, the exploitation of poor peasants and hired workers will take place [27, 19]. The First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, like the Provisional Government, deliberately delay the convening of the Constituent Assembly, thus protecting the interests of the landlords [26, 39]. The Constituent Assembly will finally issue laws on the agrarian issue, but the peasants themselves must be disposed of locally and start doing it immediately [26, 40]. V. Lenin expressed his misunderstanding why the peasant majority should adapt to one landowner and

seek peaceful arrangements with him, instead of acting immediately [28, 38].

Speech by V. Lenin did not add unity of opinions to delegates of the congress. According to the rules of the congress, after the speech of V. Lenin, the delegates had to approve the resolution on the agrarian issue. However, SRs doubted its successful signing and delayed the meeting for another two days. Also, at the congress, a letter by G. Plehanov was read, in which he urged the peasants not to touch landlords' land. He supported the idea of moving the land for a ransom. In defense of this, G. Plekhanov put forward the following argument: if he took away the land without a ransom from the landowner, he would become a beggar, and thus the authorities would promote the spread of begging [15, 70]. This appeal did not significantly affect the change in the views of delegates, and therefore they continued to call for the immediate transfer of all lands to the peasantry. The Socialist-Revolutionaries were forced to add to the draft resolution the provision on the immediate transfer of land to subordinate land committees. According to the Socialist-Revolutionary, this transfer should be carried out by the Provisional Government by issuing pre-requisite bills [15, 70].

S. Maslov noted the divergence of views among delegates of the congress. He emphasized that after the speech of V. Lenin, the controversies that had been before intensified, and the possibility of reaching an agreement became scarce. Most delegates supported the idea that all land should be transferred in public use, but the views on how to achieve this goal varied. Some argued that it was necessary to immediately abolish private ownership of land, remove it from the landlords and give it to the peasants, and the Provisional Government to legitimately reinforce these actions. Other delegates insisted that the Provisional Government does not have such powers and that it is necessary to wait for the convening of the Constituent Assembly [29, 1].

On May 25, 1917, the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies adopted the "Regulation on the Agrarian Issue" [31, 2]. The document stated that all land was transferred to a nationwide use without redemption [32, 1]. Peasants can dispose of land themselves. To do this, they must unite in peasant organizations. The Provisional Government should contribute to such a will of the people [31, 2-3]. Further, the resolution contained provisions on addressing the agrarian issue in the country. Individual interests should be object of

state regulation, and all land should be turned over to land committees [31, 3]. This was the position that the Social Revolutionaries added to the resolution after the speech of V. Lenin on May 22, 1917 at the congress. Important for the peasants was the point about the right to manage the prisoners of war [31, 3], since after the mobilization of the male population for the war, agriculture was in dire need of the working population. All agricultural property was transferred to the use of peasants. "Collecting of grain, hay, catching fish, storing bread, harvesting the forest" passed under the control of land committees [31, 3].

Large powers were given to local land committees. They had the right to set and regulate rental rates; resolve disputes concerning lease relations; had the right to resolve the agrarian issue on the ground prior to the convening of the Constituent Assembly; to observe the



prohibition of sale and purchase of land, its transfer, inheritance, mortgaging, sale, etc., up to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly [31, 4]. Peasant Congress expressed the hope that with the observance of these provisions will be the opportunity to solve the agrarian issue in Russia. Peasants should keep calm and understanding, not to carry out pogroms or to capture landlords' estates [33, 2].

The First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies adopted the "Regulations on the Councils of Peasants' Deputies". They were not given authority, but their task was to protect and represent the interests of the peasantry [26]. The executive body of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies was elected - the Executive Committee. It was tasked with monitoring the work and regulating meetings of local congresses of peasant deputies [26, 51]. In the future, the Executive Committee played a separate role in the work of the Provisional Government to resolve the agrarian issue in Russia. Some agrarian issues were re-examined at the Second All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies [34].

We consider the Convocation of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies as the manifestation of the democracy of the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government did not interfere with the convening of the congress because it was expecting support from him. According to the results of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, the social and political activity of the peasantry was intensified. Peasants perceived the Decree as the final transfer of land to the use of peasants. The peasantry recognized the authority of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, since it believed that the delegates in the resolution fully expressed their interests [35, 457]. One of the Congress delegates N. Bykhovsky wrote in 1929 that the leaders of the congress hoped that it would be costing only the transfer of land to the subordination of land committees. However, this position played an evil joke and turned into new peasant riots. Point about the transition of all lands in the public use only increased the confidence of the peasants in the rightness of their actions [36, 117]. The Provisional Government tried to weaken the revolutionary nature of the peasantry. The Executive Committee of the Soviets of Peasant Deputies came to the aid of him. Its members called for the "legitimacy and order" of the peasants [15, 74]. Often the Executive Committee sent its delegates to settle the situation on the ground. Such attempts have not always succeeded [15, 75]. Peasants were further organized for conducting riots [27, 21]. V. Lavrov wrote that peasants tend to "listen and learn first of all what they want" [37, 33]. The Provisional Government has repeatedly noted that the resolution on land committees is understood by the peasants incorrectly, but could not stop peasant riots.

Taking into account the resolution of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, the draft law on the regulation of land relations in the state was drafted in the Main Land Committee. According to him, the following land was passed to the volost land committees: "a) which were let out by land owners; b) actually confiscated by peasants from the structure of agricultural estates; c) left, which were not handled by the owners" [38, 300]. Volost land committees, providing the lands to the peasants, independently established the conditions for their payment [38, 300]. The Provisional Government did not support this project and it was not implemented,

and after large landowners left the right to dispose of land [38, 301].

One of the components of the agrarian issue was the purchase and sale of land. The First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies failed an attempt to ban the purchase of land. The result of the actions of the landlords (sale of land to foreigners, fragmentation of estates for fictitious agreements, speculation in forest areas) became a requirement of peasants to issue a law prohibiting land sales. The Provisional Government has promised to the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies that the law on the termination of land deals will be issued. On May 17, 1917, Justice Minister P. Pereverziev telegraphed an order to suspend the execution of acts of purchase and sale transactions and land mortgages. [47, 184]. This ban triggered a wave of dissatisfaction initially from landlords, and then banks. The first threatened to stop payments to banks, as well as non-payment of taxes. This could lead to banks failing to pay maturity coupons, and threatened to lose capital for mortgage holders. Banks also threatened that all debts of landowners will have to pay the state, and a reduction in revenues to banks will negatively affect the finances of the state. The pressure from the landlords and banks led to the fact that on June 23, 1917, the Ministry of Justice telegraphically revoked the law prohibiting the sale of land [47, 185]. The old laws have been rescinded.

**The conclusions.** The activities of the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies were a manifestation of the democratic-liberal regime of the Provisional Government. The collision of various political forces, the presence at the congress of representatives of peasant and landlord delegates, the possibility of free expression of opinion - is an example of the democratic nature of the activities of the First All-Russian Congress of peasant deputies. The congress did not develop an optimal model for solving the agrarian issue. The elaborated resolution and regulations raised the social and political activity of the peasantry, the distrust of the peasantry to the Provisional Government, and the intensification of disputes between representatives of various political forces.

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## АГРАРНЕ ПИТАННЯ НА І ВСЕРОСІЙСЬКОМУ З'ІЗДІ СЕЛЯНСЬКИХ ДЕПУТАТІВ

**Постановка проблеми.** Період правління Тимчасового уряду є одним із найдискусійніших періодів в історії. У оцінках його діяльності погляди істориків діаметрально протилежні. Від бездіяльного антинародного режиму до демократичної влади. Однією із найактуальніших проблем, що постала перед Тимчасовим урядом стала аграрна. Скликання І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів стало підтвердженням того, що Тимчасовий уряд розглядав різні шляхи вирішення аграрного питання.

Автори статті ставлять за мету дослідити вплив І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів на вирішення аграрного питання Тимчасовим урядом.

**Основні результати дослідження** Діяльність І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів відбулася за складних суспільно-політичних та соціально-економічних обставин. Тимчасовий уряд не чинив супротиву до скликання І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів. Діяльність з'їзду стала відцентровою точкою формування нового політичного режиму в державі. Однією з нагальних питань стала проблема селянських самозахоплення, яка була односторонньо засуджена всіма делегатами з'їзду. За результатами його діяльності було підписано 25 травня 1917 р. резолюцію. Представники коаліційного Тимчасового уряду сподівалися на підтримку від делегатів І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів у вирішенні аграрного питання.

**Висновки.** Діяльність І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів є проявом демократично-ліберального режиму Тимчасового уряду. Зіткнення різних політичних сил, присутність на з'їзді представників селянських та поміщицьких делегатів, можливість вільного висловлення думки – є прикладом демократичного характеру діяльності І Всеросійського з'їзду селянських депутатів. З'їздом не було вироблено оптимальної моделі вирішення аграрної проблеми. Направлені резолюція та положення викликали посилення суспільно-політичної активності селянства, прояв недовіри селянства до Тимчасового уряду, посилення суперечок між представниками різних політичних сил.

**Ключові слова:** аграрне питання, Тимчасовий уряд, селянські депутати, Всеросійський з'їзд.

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## РОСІЙСЬКА РАДЯНСЬКА ПРОДОВОЛЬЧА ПОЛІТИКА В УКРАЇНІ НА ПОЧАТКУ 1920-Х РР.

У статті досліджено організацію радянською владою продовольчої кризи початку 1920-х рр. та голоду 1921 – 1923 рр. в Україні. З'ясовано чинники, що спричинили поглиблення продовольчої кризи, висвітлено заходи радянської влади щодо ревізії продовольства, проведення активної політики хлібозаготівель у період посухи та неврожаю в Україні. Розкрито ключові принципи радянської продовольчої системи: монополія заготівель і розподілу продовольства, націоналізація торгівлі та організаційні форми продовольчих апаратів як органів ревізії. Доведено, що «хлібна політика»