INTERNATIONAL FACTOR IN ABETMENT OF THE GREAT REFORM OF 1861

Introduction. The Great Reform of 1861 has been extensively studied, both in terms of its preconditions and in its course and consequences. However, it is usually considered in the context of the internal political and economic realities existing in the Russian Empire as of the mid-19th century. In the meantime, one can see its details much more capably and scrupulously, considering this reform against the backdrop of pan-European processes taking place in the socio-political reality of the time. Moreover, such a perspective is obviously important when one considers the status of the Russian Empire in the international relations of the European continent. The ruling court of the empire, as well as the educated part of its subjects, were extremely sensitive to their own perceptions by the elite of other countries, as well as to the reputation that had spread in the newly born (at that time) sphere of so-called European public opinion.

The events of Revolution in 1848 intensified civic activity in the countries of Europe and, moreover, European politicians were compelled to take into account the public opinion in both domestic politics and in the sphere of international relations. However, for the Russian Empire, such civic activity was not peculiar until the event of Paris Peace in 1856, when Russia suffered from international shame for results of the Crimean War. The explosion of critical sentiment among the educated part of Russian society then became one of the most significant catalysts for reforming the Russian Empire, and in particular, for carrying out the Great Reform in 1861.

Purpose is to find out the general content of interest that formed around the Russian Empire as of the mid-19th century and provided a stimulating role for carrying out the 1861 reform.

Results. Still long before the Crimean War, and even more so during its course, perception of Russian politics in the circles of the Western European community was extremely negative. The same sentiment regarding the politics of autocracy spread also among the Russians themselves from the second half of the 50s in 19th century. Therefore, despite of the Alexander II statements at the accession to the throne about the continuation of his predecessors’ policy and even open denying of plans to abolish serfdom by him, political circumstances forced him to change his mind and organize the Great Reform of 1861.

Conclusions. The natural processes of transformation of societies into nations, which took place in Europe during the struggle of individual peoples for their civil rights – in the Russian Empire was used as a technological method, as a tool for self-preservation and empowerment. National sentiments were stirred by the tsarist ruling circles among all groups of the Russians, so that people got the illusion of oneness with their autocrat as the main representative of state power. But in no way did it have anything to do with the changes in the formation of nations in the West, where the main feature of society-nation became the political subjectivity of each of its members. Thus, the Great Reform of 1861 was substantially driven by an active part of the Russian public, influenced by Russia’s loss of authority in international relations at that time. However, tsarism used this reform politically to extend its own reliance on the peasantry and deprive itself from the need to please the nobility.

Keywords: 1861 reform, European public, national feelings, international influence, Russian nationalism.
Despite the guarantee of property rights, the state has not yet established a proper mechanism for the realization of property rights to the land allotment. Constantly introducing a moratorium on the sale of agricultural land. Therefore, it is urgent to solve the land issue for the current government.

**Research analysis.** A positive phenomenon in contemporary Ukrainian historiography is the emergence of works in which researchers have abstracted from the stereotypical assessments of the Ukrainian State and the personality of Hetman P. Skoropadsky. It is important that the agrarian reform received special coverage at the dissertation level. So, in particular, P. Skoropadsky’s agrarian policy is covered as a component of economic policy, or even more broadly, of the internal policies of the Ukrainian governments from 1917 to 1921. [5].

The first comprehensive study of this important and complex topic is the dissertation of G. Terela «Agrarian Policy of the Ukrainian State of P. Skoropadsky» [6].

In the extremely heterogeneous and genre-rich historiography of the Ukrainian State in 1918, its agrarian policy is ambiguous and sometimes diametrically opposed. Some researchers positively evaluate the Hetman’s intentions to reform in favor of the landless peasants and thus to create a strong social base for the Hetmanate [7]. The other part argues that agrarian reform has led to the restoration of landlord ownership, repression against the peasantry, growing mass dissatisfaction with the hetman’s power and occupation forces [8].

Significant contribution to the study of the topic was made by R. Pierog, who in identified the socio-economic and political reasons for reform, the process of drafting legislation, the attitude of different social strata and the main causes of failure his research [9]. Equally important are the works of S. Kornovenko, who made a comparative analysis of the basic provisions of the agrarian reform of P. Skoropadsky with the domestic (Soviet, UNR Directory) and European analogues (Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Baltic and Balkan Peninsula) in one of his works [10]. In another publication, the researcher revealed little-known biographical data of V. Kolokoltsev, his activity as Minister of Agriculture in the Hetman’s Government and his participation in the development of agrarian reform by P. Skoropadsky [11].

**The purpose.** The existence of different views on the agrarian reform of P. Skoropadsky testifies to the urgency and necessity of further in-depth study of the outlined topic of the study. Therefore, the authors of the publication aim to find out the peculiarities of the formation and development of agrarian legislation of P. Skoropadsky and to analyze its content in the context of the development of domestic agrarian legislation and agrarian reform.

**The statement of the basic material.** The first legislative act of Hetman P. Skoropadsky – «Charter for all Ukrainian people» (hereinafter «Charter») – laid the fundamental foundations for agrarian reform. The Charter stated that «the rights of private property – as the foundation of culture and civilization – are being restored to a full extent and all orders of the former Ukrainian Government, and exactly the Russian temporary Government are abolished and abolished. Full freedom is being restored for the sale of land for sale. Along with this, measures will be taken to alienate lands at their true value from large owners, to give land to small-scale farmers» [12, 82-83].

The directions of the future large-scale agrarian reform were specified in the statement of the hetman government of May 10th. The main purpose of this reform was to create in Ukraine a «peasantry with a healthy, well-to-do land and capable of raising its productivity to the highest extent» [13, 99-100]. To achieve this, a Hetman High Land Commission was created. In the provinces and counties – special land commissions, which had to resolve the conflicts that arose between landlords and peasants. At the beginning of his reign, P. Skoropadsky was compelled to fulfill the preconditions signed at the meeting on April 24, 1918, by the Chief of Staff of German troops, General Greener. Paragraph six, in particular, provided that «the agrarian question should be resolved through the restoration of private property and the payment of land divided between peasants. In the interests of agriculture’s ability to export, large agricultural holdings must be kept within certain legal limits» [4, 269].

The implementation of this policy was facilitated by the creation in mid of May 1918, instead of abolished land committees of temporary land commissions. Promoting the return of former owners to their farms has been recognized as one of the main responsibilities of these commissions. The creation of provincial and county land-liquidation commissions, which were supposed to perform the functions of arbitration between landlords and peasants, did not contribute to strengthening the authority of the Hetman government. This was due to the fact that their composition did not allow small owners to protect their rights [15, 164].

The most important in the Hetman’s agrarian legislation was the Law «On the Right to Sell and Buy Land in Rural Areas» from June 14, 1918. It defined the peculiarities of the acquisition of land for ownership by different social categories. In particular, the right to sell without limitation was granted to each owner of agricultural and forest property in the counties, but the amount of land purchased or purchased as a gift should not exceed the specified 25 tenths. Only a specially created State Land Bank (August 23, 1918) had the exclusive right to buy agricultural and forest lands, but subject to further sale of land on the basis of this Law [16, 463-464].

The amount of land purchased or acquired as a gift should not exceed 25 tenths. Agricultural companies were entitled to purchase land plots at the rate of no more than 25 tenths for each member of the company. In view of this, land associations were obliged to differentiate the land acquired between all members of the society for two years. If no such demarcation was made, then this obligation was to be fulfilled by the existing county land commissions, the decisions of which were considered final and not subject to appeal. In order to avoid abuse by the land commissions, complaints about the violation of the rules of this law should come to the General Court, which had the right to annul the relevant decision of the commission [17, 16-17].

These provisions concerned both arable land and forestland. However, the areas with forest plantations were offered for sale only with the permission of the Minister of Land Affairs. His sanction could be used to buy extra-terrestrial sites when it was justified in writing.
by public needs. In this case, the buyer was required to certify, within a year, the fulfillment of the stipulated intentions and to repay all debt obligations on the claims of the mortgage banks and individuals according to the size of the land. The size of the lots purchased from public auction, which was carried out in the order of forced collection of mortgage or private debt, was not limited. Banks and courts were required to notify the county land commission about such bidding. In case of their possible protest (land commission) the case was referred to the district court. In violation of the established norms of land purchase, its surpluses (more than 25 tenths), by decision of the court, it became state property. Supervision of the implementation of the law was entrusted to county and provincial land commissions. In order to avoid abuse by land commissions, complaints about violation of the rules of this law were filed with the General Court, which had the right to annul the relevant resolution of the commission. The previously established right of inheritance of land, both by law and by will, has not changed [18, 122-124].

In agreement with N. Kovaleva’s opinion, we believe that this law could not be the main document for the implementation of agrarian reform, since the following issues remained unresolved: the price of land; system of control over the allotted property; implementation of its basic provisions in practice [19, 93].

Representatives of the hetmanate gave an important place in the planned agrarian reform to the State Land Bank. In our view, this key instrument of land redistribution has been delayed. On August 23, 1918, the Hetman signed the Law «On Approval of the Statute of the State Land Bank» (hereinafter referred to as the Bank), and it was published in the State Newspaper on September 14 [20]. According to D. Doroshenko, the main task of the bank was to create long-term small farms and to provide them with all support in improving their productivity [21, 275]. In order to be able to accomplish this task, the Bank was granted the right to perform the following operations: issuing long-term loans for the purchase of land, issuing loans secured by land, buying land at the expense of the Bank, parceling and selling them, issuing loans secured by land for radical reclamation [22, 27]. On the latter point, this was news in the practice of state-owned banks in Ukraine.

Loans from the Bank for the purchase of land for ownership could be obtained by: a) individuals; b) co-owners; c) village associations, communities. The size of the loan, however, could not exceed 60% of the special land valuation. It could not exceed the selling price agreed between the buyer and seller. In addition, restrictive standards were established for the assistance that the Bank could provide to peasants in the purchase of land, which were specified in the law of June 14, 1918 and in §36 of the Bank’s Charter. The Bank issued loans in the form of 4/13 mortgage letters for a term of 14 to 66.5 years [22, 27]. The pricing was done by a special commission, the sale and purchase operations were regulated by the Council of the Bank and approved by the Minister of Finance with the consent of the Ministry of Land Affairs. [10, 75].

For the deployment of the bank’s activities from the state treasury allocated a modest amount. As for such needs – 50 million rubles. For comparison, the government allocated 278 million rubles to service the sugar monopoly in July. Movable and immovable property of the Kiev branches of the All-Russian noble and peasant land banks went to the Bank. Unfortunately, the Bank inherited their considerable debt obligations [23, 78].

However, the Bank did not manage to fulfill its historic role in the landless peasants endowed with land and in creating a large and solid layer of middle-class farmers in Ukraine. With the overthrow of the hetmanate, the Bank was also liquidated.

At the same time, the real advancement of agrarian reform did not take place, as it was expressed by most politicians. At the same time, V. Kolokoltsev, the main initiator of agrarian reform, spoke very carefully about its prospects. He understood that no one would dare to forcibly take land from landowners, and therefore its rapid completion was not possible. However, in the fall it became apparent that the Minister of Land Affairs himself was a brake on reform. His views on the prospects of agrarian reform did not meet either the views of P. Skoropadsky or the hopes of the Allies [23, 79]. Therefore, on October 24, P. Skoropadsky approved a new government. The Ministry of Land Affairs was headed by V. Leontovich, who was tasked with speeding up the preparation of the agrarian reform project. The ministry created a Higher Agrarian Council headed by the hetman himself.

The Higher Agrarian Meeting began its work on 25 October. Developments in the country did not allow P. Skoropadsky to pay sufficient attention to the work of the commission. Its meetings turned into a constant debate. In this regard, the hetman ordered V. Leontovich to prepare a package of bills for consideration by the government. The «Land Reforms Draft» was drafted on November 8 and submitted to a government meeting on the 10th. According to the mentioned document, the state bought land from large landowners, distributing them among peasants at a rate of no more than 25 acres per person; farms of high agro-cultural importance remained in the size of 150-200 tens each. Higher standards remained for the farms providing the sugar industry and for those of scientific importance (750-1250 tens) [24, 31].

Considering the issues of agrarian relations reform in modern Ukraine, in our opinion, we can distinguish the following key points. Thus, in particular, according to the draft Law of Ukraine «On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Circulation of Agricultural Lands», the ban on alienation of agricultural lands of all forms of ownership shall be lifted from October 1, 2020. Unlike the Hetman’s Law «On the Right to Sell and Buy Land in Rural Areas», the Draft Law on the Land Market establishes a minimum starting price for the sale of land and state and municipal property at land auctions at a level not lower than a regulatory monetary valuation [25].

In addition, the draft of the above mentioned buyer provides for the right of citizens to buy land for peasant (farmer) farming, which they belong to the right of permanent use and the right of life inherited possession. It is proposed to be able to buy such land by installments up to 5 years at a price equal to the normative monetary valuation of such land [25]. At the same time, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has to develop a mechanism for buying land for farming, and the banking system will create conditions under which farmers will be able to obtain available credit resources to form their own land
bank. In our opinion, the positive here is the experience of the Hetmanate in establishing and operating the State Land Bank.

To enable farmers to buy land, the Cabinet has provided 4 billion UAH in the budget for 2020, on preferential loans for farmers. Farmers will be able to take out a loan at 3-5% per annum. In order to help the money go to small businesses, the Cabinet has set a credit limit of 5 million UAH. [26]

The buyer also provides for restrictions on the aggregate area of agricultural land that may be owned by a citizen and a legal entity and related persons – no more than 35% of agricultural lands of farming land, 15% of agricultural lands of the region and 0.5% agricultural lands of Ukraine [25]. That is, the buyer will not be able to purchase more than 210 thousand hectares in one hand. In fact, the buyer recognizes the permissible and legal option when 200 people purchase the entire array of agricultural land in Ukraine or 13 people will own all agricultural land within the same area. The government says that by the second reading restrictions on land purchases will be tightened. In our view, such restrictions are essential.

The conclusions. So, to sum up, there are grounds to state that the basic provisions of the agrarian legislation of the Hetmanate in 1918 were adequate to all-historical circumstances of the time and were aimed at empowering landless peasants. At the same time, Hetman was forced to postpone some elements of reform, significantly delaying the process of agrarian transformation. This caused dissatisfaction with the broad peasant masses and led to the consolidation of the opposition forces of P. Skoropadsky.

The current buyer «On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Circulation of Agricultural Lands» is also positively assessed, since it creates legal grounds for opening up the agricultural land market in Ukraine, which is certainly a significant step forward in the issue of civilized land regulation and land management, the revival of Ukrainian agriculture. However, the conditions for opening the land market offered by the legislator are far from perfect, and if adopted in the proposed version – the ultimate goal of agrarian reform may not be achieved. We propose that the current legislator pay attention to the State Land Bank not only as a historical experience in the implementation of agrarian reform, but also as an effective tool for creating of a civilized land market in modern Ukraine.

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ВИРІШЕННЯ АГРАРНОГО ПИТАННЯ В УКРАЇНІ: ДОСВІД УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ 1918 Р. ТА СУЧАСНІСТЬ

Постановка проблеми. Аграрне питання є фундаментальним чинником і наріжним каменем суспільних відносин. Намагання вирішити його впродовж тривального часу породжують суспільні дискусії, реформи, а ймовірно і війни. У зв'язку із поширенням ефективності вирішення правових проблем нищівного аграрного питання в Україні увалу дослідників привертає історичний досвід творення вітчизняного законодавства в аграрній сфері. У такий спосіб актуалізується тематика досліджень аграрної реформи гетьмана П. Скоропадського з огляду на складні процеси реформування земельних відносин у сучасній Україні. Певний досвід вирішення аграрного питання можна віднести також і в сучасному українському законодавстві. Потрібна незабутня наполегливість на реалізації майнових прав на земельний наділ, постійно запроваджувати мораторій на продаж земель сільськогосподарського призначення. Тому актуальним є вирішення земельного питання і для нинньої влади.

Автори публікації ставлять за мету зв’язати особливості становлення і розвитку аграрного законодавства П. Скоропадського з їх аналізом, визначаючи його місце в контексті розвитку новітньої вітчизняної аграрної реформи.

Основні результати дослідження. У статті автори розкривають фундаментальні основи аграрної реформи, які були закладені в першому законодавчому акті гетьмана П. Скоропадського «Грамоти до всього українського народу». Авторами проаналізовано особливості набуття земель власності різними соціальними категоріями, які були визначені в одному з навколишніх гетьманських законів «Про право продажу в купівлі земель у сільській місцевості». Вищою історичний досвід Державного Земельного є на основі реалізації аграрної реформи та з’ясовані основні недоліки та
Постановка проблеми. Чернігівська губернія стала другим центром селянської повстанської боротьби в 1918 р. Із зміни загального революційного підйому в Україні створювалося те, що Чернігівське повстання потяглося й відбувалося на тлі одного з найбільших робітничих виступів – всеукраїнського страйку захисників (розпочався в середині липня й тривав до середини серпня 1918 р.) та селянського повстання на Київщині (початок червня – серпень 1918 р.). Якщо повстанці Київщини виступали за відновлення УНР і влади Центральної Ради, то організатори повстання на Чернігівщині прагнули встановлення пролетарської радянської влади за участі селянства. Їхній задум відповідав ідеї селянської революції, рр. над усіх інших більшовицької частини РСРП ще на початку ХІХ ст. Глибокий теоретичний аналіз ленінської візії цієї революції й участі в ній селянства здійснив черкізійський дослідник І. Фареній [1]. Прийняття ленінського бачення селянської революції для українських реалій дозволяє перевірити розвиток Чернігівського повстання 1918 р.

У історичній літературі Чернігівське повстання, незважаючи на публікацію значної кількості джерел, не знайшло об'єктивного висвітлення. Дослідник 1920-х рр. В. Качинський, аналізуючи вияви селянського руху в 1918 р., Чернігівське повстання оцінював як об’єктивну потребу звільнення пролетарської радянської влади за участі селянства у регіоні. Причини початку революції та її структура відповідно до перебігу селянського повстання в Чернігівській губернії освітлено в справжньому часі. Якщо селянська революція вигинула, то вони трогли Богдан Кравчук, який зазначав, що в Чернігівській губернії зусилля селянства відокремлено з числа радянської влади, рр. у віклині селянського руху не знайшло об’єктивного висвітлення. У національно-освітньому плані використання селянських часток бачилися замість небажаного, які викликали незадоволення широких селянських мас й затягували процес аграрних перетворень. Перед селянами відкладалося т.п. розв’язання до миття спілки. Яка основа селянської проблеми в Чернігівській губернії в 1918 р. В. Качинський, аналізуючи вияви селянського руху в 1918 р., виділив ці дві головні причини затягування та гальмування.

Мета дослідження полягає в з’ясуванні ролі українських більшовиків в організації та перебування повстання на Чернігівщині від кінця серпня 1918 р.Основними завданнями дослідження є визначення ролі селянства у цьому повстанні та аналіз створення ЦК КП(б)У до повстанського руху на Чернігівщині.

Вилучальна частина та вихідна тема «Селянська революція» (1917 – 1921 pp.): селянський фактор (номер державної реєстрації 0118/003864)